International Perspectives in Geography
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Kazuharu Mizuno
Lobsang Tenpa

Himalayan Nature and Tibetan Buddhist Culture in Arunachal Pradesh, India

A Study of Monpa

Springer

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Preface

I learned for the first time that there was a mysterious area called the state of Arunachal Pradesh when I was still a high school student. We were being taught about the McMahon Line in a high school geography class. National borders normally appear as solid lines on maps, but extensive sections of the borders of Arunachal Pradesh were dotted on my atlas, which indicated the area was under dispute between India and China. I did not have any further information about the environment, people, or society in that region. It was a closed-off zone that foreigners were not allowed to enter, and I did not imagine that I would ever visit that part of the world.

During the British rule of India, the area was known as the North-East Frontier Tract (NEFT). India became independent from Britain in 1947. The NEFT was renamed the North-East Frontier Agency in 1951. It was renamed Arunachal Pradesh in 1972 and was considered a peripheral region with no particular value for development and was thus left untouched. The region was long regarded as nothing more than the unimportant southern outer edge of the Tibetan administrative territory. However, that peripheral area suddenly became the focus of political attention after the Chinese military invasion in 1962. The Chinese Army cut through Arunachal and almost reached Tezpur in Assam. The Indian government undertook regional economic development and reinforced its military defenses in Arunachal Pradesh. This change made the area even less accessible to foreign visitors.

I participated in a research project conducted by Dr. Kiyohito Okumiya called "Human Life, Aging and Disease in High-Altitude Environments: Physio-Medical, Ecological and Cultural Adaptation in Highland Civilizations," operated by the Research Institute for Humans and Nature of Japan. One of its study areas happened to be Arunachal Pradesh, which provided me with the opportunity to visit that mysterious region.

My first visit was in early July 2007. My main study area was an area occupied by the Monpa people, and I was captivated by the features of the region. In the early stages of my fieldwork, I investigated agriculture, forests, and rangelands. I then

moved the hub of my research to the village of Thembang [them bang] in the Thembang Circle Area of the West Kameng district. This led to a shift in my research interests.

One of the stories that the villagers told me was astonishing. I heard how Thembang Dzong [them bang *rdzong*] was built in the village of Thembang as the second fort for a prince who had moved there from Tibet; however, the previous fort, Dirkhi Dzong [bde skyid *rdzong*], remained somewhere deep in the mountains. The older fort was feared by the villagers since they believed that their ancestral souls occupied the surrounding area. I then trekked through the mountains and located Dirkhi Dzong. The villagers also informed me that the present senior and junior clans were, respectively, descendants of the royal family and their subordinates.

That encouraged me to investigate the background and details of the clan histories. In addition, the information I received that some forts—*dzong* [*rdzong*]—were originally built as tax offices by the Tibetan administration encouraged me to conduct studies of local taxation systems. That necessitated my travel not only across the Thembang region but also into the wider area of the Tawang [rta wang/ dbang] and Kalaktang [kha legs steng] regions. The journey revealed the ways in which the Tibetan administration governed the area. The accumulated knowledge suggested further areas of investigation, and the state of Arunachal Pradesh now constitutes an exciting zone of exploration for me as a field researcher.

I summarized the findings of my fieldwork, which were published by Showado, Kyoto, in a book titled *Arunachal Pradesh, India: Nature of Assam Himalaya and Tibetan Society* (in Japanese) in March 2012. After the book's publication, I felt it was highly important to inform people about the features of the area. That book was reviewed by several academic journals. Lobsang Tenpa, a researcher from the Tawang region who is currently based at Leipzig University for his doctoral thesis, encountered one of the reviews. His research was focused on the taxation system used by the Tibetan administration for the Monpa people, and he took interest in me as a Japanese field researcher working on a similar theme. I happened to be working at Regensburg University when he sent me his first e-mail. I visited him in Vienna, and we had some interesting discussions. His knowledge of the topic and the area was clearly far-reaching. I was immediately convinced of the potential significance of collaborating with him. We agreed to revise and enhance my Japanese book and publish an English edition. To enhance our collaborative effort, we undertook further fieldwork separately in 2012 and 2013. Additionally, Lobsang Tenpa has been conducting fieldwork in the region since 2009, and we compared and shared our findings.

Lobsang Tenpa, a researcher in Tibetan and Himalayan Studies, was indispensable to the publication of this revised edition in English. Today, Monpa people learn Hindi at school, and most of them do not understand Tibetan. Tenpa studied at the Central University of Tibetan Studies, Sarnath, and two other universities in Delhi and is fluent in Tibetan language and literature. Moreover, his research interests include various topics related to Tibetan culture. He kindly agreed to my idea of collaboration on the book, and we started working on it in Vienna in 2012. His input

filled gaps in my knowledge, and he corrected my misunderstandings. I invited him to my research office in Kyoto in July 2013. We held daily discussions over a week to compare and examine findings we had each collected from the field, and those efforts led to the completion of this book.

Not many books have ever been published about Arunachal Pradesh, and even fewer have been published on the Monpa people and their area. This is largely because international research collaboration has been scarce for the following reasons: First, the area was inaccessible to foreigners until the 1990s, and even today foreigners need to obtain special permission to enter the state. Second, there are a limited number of reports written by Indian researchers on the Monpa people, phonetic notations of Monpa terminology are often erroneous, and romanized Tibetan spellings are very rare.

In this English edition, we felt it necessary to present the terminology used by the Monpa people in Tibetan transliteration. The Monpa people belong to the Tibetan ethnic group, and the original Monpa words are presented in Tibetan orthography. The original Monpa (i.e., Tibetan) spellings include many unpronounced prefixes, and only written Tibetan can clearly and accurately convey their meanings. For example, "Dirang Dzong"—"Dirang Fort" in the Monpa language—is "rdi rang *rdzong*" when the Tibetan words are written using the Latin alphabet. With the exception of place names and proper nouns, the terminology used by the Monpa people is italicized in this English edition. The phonetic transcriptions of Monpa terminology used in the Tawang and West Kameng districts are followed by standard Tibetan, according to Wylie's (1959) transliteration, in square brackets. Some important terms are transliterated in every chapter for emphasis. See the glossary for further details about the transcription and transliteration of these terms.

All the contents of this book that are presented without references were based on interviews or participant observations undertaken in the field. The findings of many previous studies are at variance with what we observed. We present the findings from our fieldwork and references to those studies in this book. All uncredited photographs were taken by K. Mizuno.

We hope that this book will assist those with an interest in the area of the Monpa people in Arunachal Pradesh and will introduce its wonders to the outside world.

Kyoto, Japan Kazuharu Mizuno

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Acknowledgments

Dr. Kazuo Ando of the Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University, and Dr. Kiyohito Okumiya of the Research Institute for Humans and Nature of Japan and the Principal Investigator of the Research Project for High-Altitude Environments offered me the opportunity to visit Arunachal Pradesh. Mr. Passang Tsering [pa sangs tshe ring] supported me as an interpreter and local guide for a large part of the fieldwork. Mr. Bhupen Kalita, the guide for my second visit in February 2008, kindly responded to my request to observe agricultural fields in the Dirang Dzong [rdi rang *rdzong*] village. He took me to the household of one of his relatives, Mr. Rinchin Tsering [rin chen tshe ring], who was chairman of the Dung Kharpa Welfare Society [gdung mkhar pa*'i skyid sdug*]. After this encounter, Mr. Rinchin became a great source of information for my fieldwork.

Several people helped me with my fieldwork for this book. Regrettably, it is not possible to mention all of them here. However, I would like to express my gratitude to the following people: Mr. Dorjee Sonam [rdo rje bsod nams], the *tsorgen* [*gtso rgan*], village mayor, of Gyangkhar [rgyang mkhar] village; Mr. Lama Gombu [bla ma mgon po], the commissioner of the Tawang Monastery Museum; Mr. Yeshi Tsering [ye shis tshe ring] and Mr. Lekig Gombu [legs skyes mgon po], the first and third *tsorgen* of the village of Senge Dzong [seng ge *rdzong*], respectively; Mr. Jam Tsering [byams pa tshe ring], the second *tsorgen* of the village of Yewang [yid dbang]; Mr. Ahuja [a hu ja], the *tsespa lama* [rtsis pa bla ma] of the village of Gunthung [gung thung]; Mr. Pema Gombu [padma mgon po], the first *tsorgen* of the village of Lhou [lha'u]; Mr. Urgen Tsering [u rgyan tshe ring], the chairman of Lhou Junior High School; Mr. Tsering [tshe ring], the *tsorgen* of the village of Aodung [a'o gdung]; Mr. Rinchin Tsering, the *koenyer lama* [dkon gnyer bla ma] of Taklung Gompa [stag lung *dgon pa*]; Mr. Tashi Phuntso [bkra shis phun tshogs], the first *tsorgen* of the village of Lubrang [lu'brang/ grangs]; Mr. Netan [gnas brtan], the *minakpa lama* [mi nags pa bla ma] of the village of Aodung; Ms. Yeshi Wangmu [ye shis dbang mo], a teacher at Singsur Buddhist Nunnery [sing zur a ne *dgon pa*]; Khenpo Nyima Tashi [*mkhan po* Nyi ma bkra shis], head of Jangdokpalri Buddhist

Monastery [zangs mdog dpal ri *dgon pa*]; Mr. Phurpa Tsering [phur pa tshe ring], the *tsorgen* of the village of Manpat [sman pag], a village in the Lumla [klung la] Circle Area; and Mr. Pijush Kumar Dutta, a landscape coordinator for the World Wildlife Fund for Nature India (the Western Arunachal Landscape Program). These people as well as all those people whose names could not be mentioned here always welcomed my visits and questions. I also owe a very important debt to the people of the village of Thembang.

I would like to sincerely thank Mr. Takaaki Tanaka, the manager of the Study Group of Physical Geography, Kyoto University. He traveled with me for fieldwork in February, April, and May 2010. We explored mountains and valleys together and finally found Dirkhi Dzong covered with brambles in the final phase of the fieldwork. Thanks to Mr. Takaaki Tanaka, a few pieces of carbide were found among the ruins, providing useful clues about when the *dzong* was constructed. This date was unknown, even to the local people, and was identified here for the first time. His support in producing the figures in this book was also indispensable.

Dr. Yasuyuki Kosaka, Dr. Shinji Miyamoto, Dr. Kyoko Ishimoto, Dr. Akinobu Kawai, Dr. Koichi Usami, and other members of the Research Project for High-Altitude Environments provided insightful comments and suggestions. Dr. Naoji Okuyama, an expert in the Cultural History of Tibetan Buddhism, and Dr. Yumiko Ishihama, an expert in Tibetan Studies at Waseda University, offered constructive comments after the publication of the Japanese edition of this book. Dr. Satoshi Yokoyama, an expert in Southeast Asian Studies, and Ms. Kei Nagaoka, who is studying traditional medical practices in Tawang as a student at the Graduate School of Asian and African Area Studies, Kyoto University, provided invaluable suggestions. The English translation of the Japanese edition was supported by Dr. Hiroyuki Yoshida. Dr. Tomohiro Fujita assisted with the modification of the figures and checked the proofs.

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Mizuno K, Fujita T (2014) Vegetation succession on Mt. Kenya in relation to glacial fluctuation and global warming. J Veg Sci 25:559–570. doi:10.1111/jvs.12081

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Chapter 1
Nature, Society, and People in Monyul (Monpa Area)

People of Dirang playing games and enjoying a sunny summer's day: locals commonly spend sunny days together at markets in towns and villages

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Abstract The 24th Indian state, Arunachal Pradesh, has been part of the country since 1914, when the McMahon Line agreement between Tibet and the British Indian government at Simla was signed. Arunachal Pradesh means "Land of the Rising Sun." However, the McMahon Line is not accepted as a boundary by the Chinese government. Foreigners were prohibited from entering this area until the 1990s, and Indian military units are permanently stationed at key points in this mountainous state. Until recently, this area was veiled in mystery. Within Arunachal Pradesh, the region traditionally known as Monyul is currently divided into the Tawang and West Kameng districts. A range of mountains runs between the Dirang region (West Kameng district) and the Tawang region (Tawang district). This poses an obstacle for transport and is the major reason for differences in language, culture, and society between the two regions. The focus of this chapter is on the ethnicity of the Monpa [mon pa] people who have developed their own societies and cultures in this Monyul region, where the Arunachal Himalaya Mountains are the most prominent physical feature.

Keywords Ethnic group • Language • Monpa

1.1 Environment and Distribution of Ethnic Groups in Monyul (Monpa Area)

The state of Arunachal Pradesh is located in the northeastern part of India, to the north of Assam state, east of Bhutan, and south of Tibet (Fig. 1.1). The name Arunachal Pradesh translates as the "Land" (*achal*) of the "Rising Sun" (*arun*). There has been a long history of conflict over the ownership of this area between India and China. Foreigners were prohibited from entering the state until the 1990s, and therefore the area has been veiled in secrecy until recently. Even today, foreigners wishing to enter the area require special permission and an approved guide as an escort.

Arunachal Pradesh contains 25 major tribes and 100 sub-tribal groups distributed throughout the state who speak around 50 main dialects. The Monpa,[1] the people in the "Land of Mon" (mon *yul*) where the suffix *pa* denotes "people" and *yul* refer to "area", reside in the western region. They are among the major ethnic groups and historically have close ties with Tibet and the Tibetan Buddhist faith. Within Arunachal Pradesh, the Monpa area traditionally known as Monyul is currently divided into the Tawang and West Kameng districts. Religious temples are common in Monyul (Monpa area).

The climate of the West Kameng district is affected by the mountainous terrain along the southern slopes of the Eastern Himalayas, which are divided by long, deep, narrow valleys through which the Kameng River and most of its tributaries flow in a southward direction, eventually joining the Brahmaputra (Choudhury

[1] The phonetic spellings of Monpa terminologies in the Tawang and West Kameng districts are followed by standard Tibetan using Wylie's (1959) transliteration in brackets. The terminologies used by the Monpa people are italicized, except for place names and proper nouns.

Fig. 1.1 Location of the state of Arunachal Pradesh

1996). The average annual precipitation between 2000 and 2005 was as follows: 1,610 mm at Tawang [rta wang/ dbang] (3,025 m above sea level); 1,788 mm at Bomdila ['bum'di la] (2,430–2,700 m above sea level); and approximately 1,000 mm at Dirang [rdi rang] (1,700 m above sea level) (Kri 2010). The southern half of West Kameng receives more than 70 % of its rain from June to September, whereas the northern half receives 50–60 % of its annual precipitation during the same period. In the pre-monsoon season, from March to May, slightly more than 20 % of the precipitation is received to the southern half and less than 20 % by the northern half. Thunderstorms occur primarily during the pre-monsoon season, from March to May. Hill fog is a common occurrence during the monsoon season. In the valleys, fog frequently appears on winter mornings (Choudhury 1996).

The annual mean maximum temperature at Bomdila is 20.8 °C, and the annual mean minimum temperature is 6.0 °C (Gopalakrishanan 1994). In 2002, the average daily maximum temperature at Tawang was 19 °C in January and 29 °C from July to August; the average daily minimum temperature was –4 °C in January and 11 °C in July (Norbu 2008). At Dirang, where the altitude is approximately 1,300 m lower than Tawang, the air temperature is presumably 6–8 °C higher than at Tawang.

In terms of geology, Precambrian rocks cover more than 60 % of the total area of the East Kameng, West Kameng, and Tawang districts. Rocks of the Sela [ze la] (*la* means "pass") Group are exposed from slightly west of Dirang to the Sela Pass and farther northwest, constituting the major part of the Tawang Valley. The lithology of the Sela Group consists of such rocks as high-grade schist and gneiss, migmatite granite, and pegmatite from the Archaean age. Bomdila gneiss and the overlying

Dirang Formation are exposed in the Tenga area and from west of Kalaktang to Dirang and farther northeast. The lithology of the Bomdila gneiss of the Bomdila Group is augen, streaky gneiss, biotite gneiss, amphibolite, pegmatite, and other Precambrian rocks. The lithology of the Dirang Formation of the Bomdila Group is quartzite, phyllite, schist, crystalline limestone, graphitic schist, conglomerate, amphibolite, and other Precambrian rocks (Choudhury 1996). These rocks are suitable for building bridges, roads, and other structures.

The vegetation of the area consists of an evergreen broad-leaved forest zone, the aestatilignosa (beechen) zone, and a coniferous forest zone. Agricultural workers in lowland areas and pastoral people in highland areas use their environments to support their livelihoods.

The temperate forests in Dirang, Tawang, and Kalaktang valleys, located 1,500–3,000 m above sea level, are composed primarily of *Rhododendron arboreum*, *Quercus griffithii*, *Alnus nepalensis*, *Populus ciliata*, *Lyonia ovalifolia*, and conifers, such as *Pinus wallichiana*, *Taxus baccata*, and *Tsuga dumosa* (Choudhury 1996). Subalpine vegetation is found on hill slopes 3,000–4,000 m above sea level. It is composed of conifers, such as *Abies densa*, *Abies spectabilis*, *Tsuga dumosa*, and *Larix griffithiana*, small rhododendron, berberis, *Rosa*, cotoneaster, and other trees. The forest line is approximately 4,000 m above sea level. The forest around this line consists of shrubby firs, and alpine plants become prevalent above it. Herbaceous species, including anemone, primula, potentilla, *Pedicularis*, *Cassiope*, and *Aconitum*, dominate the alpine zone, which is more than 4,000 m above sea level.

A total of 1,300 orchid species have been reported in India, and about 600 are found in the northeastern region (Choudhury 1996). Over 76 species belonging to 65 genera with known medical uses have been collected in this area. The starchy corms of *Fritillaria cirrhosa*, known as *yathu* [*ya thu* or *a bi kha*], are considered to be of great medicinal value by the local people, who apply the crushed paste of the corms to relieve acute muscular pain (Choudhury 1996). Such species as *Berberis aristata*, *Coriaria nepalensis*, *Symplocos theaefolia*, *Geranium nepalense*, *Rubia cordifolia*, *Engelhardtia spicata*, *Taxus baccata*, *Galium mollugo*, and *Galium triflorum* are used for dyeing and tanning. The roots of *Valeriana hardwickii* and *Valeriana wallichii* are employed to produce perfumes (Choudhury 1996).

A range of mountains runs between the Dirang region (West Kameng district) and the Tawang region (Tawang district) (Fig. 1.2). This poses an obstacle for transport and is the major reason for differences in language, culture, and society between the two regions. The Sela Pass is a natural place for fortification and is strategically important to India (Fig. 1.3). Indian military units are stationed on both sides of the Sela Pass, and a strained atmosphere prevails in the area. Landslides occur at several locations on the road between the Arunachal highlands and Assam lowlands in the rainy season, and access is blocked when this occurs (Fig. 1.4). The Sela Pass is also closed owing to heavy snowfalls in winter (Fig. 1.5).

The local people have long lived under these severe natural conditions. The focus of the present study is on the West Kameng district (total population in 2011: 83,947) and the Tawang district (total population in 2011: 49,977). These districts, in which the Monpa people reside, are in the westernmost part of Arunachal Pradesh. This study aims to provide information on their environment and society.

Fig. 1.2 Arunachal Himalaya, which divides the Dirang [rdi rang] area from the Tawang [rta wang/dbang] area (background), and migrating workers from Nepal undertaking road construction

Fig. 1.3 Sela [ze la] Pass (elevation 4,200 m) is the inter-district boundary line between the Tawang and West Kameng districts. Many Indian military units are stationed on either side of Sela Pass to defend their country against a possible Chinese military action

Fig. 1.4 Landslides occur at many locations on the road between the Arunachal highlands and Assam lowlands in the rainy season

Fig. 1.5 Sela [ze la] Pass in winter: most drivers do not put snow chains on their tires, which often results in gridlock

1.2 Types of Monpa People

The word "Monpa" has been used by Tibetans to denote "people living in lowlands." The Monpa people are speakers of Tibeto-Burman languages and can be divided into three subcategories. The Tawang Monpa live in the Tawang region (Tawang district), the Dirang Monpa in the Dirang region, and the Kalaktang [kha legs steng] Monpa in the Kalaktang region in West Kameng (Fig. 1.6, Table 1.1).[2]

Fig. 1.6 Ethnic distributions in the Tawang [rta wang/ dbang] and West Kameng [nub Kameng] districts in the state of Arunachal Pradesh. The boundary between the Dirang Monpa [rdi rang mon pa] and Tawang Monpa [rta wang/ dbang mon pa], including Mago-Thingbupa [dmag sgo thing bu pa], basically corresponds with the district border. Map based on local interviews carried out as part of this study

[2] This categorization is based on geography. Linguistically, the categorization would be Dakpa [*dags pa*] speakers in Tawang, Tshangla [*tshangs la*] speakers in the Dirang and Kalaktang regions, and Drokpa [*'brog pa*] speakers in the Mago-Thimbu and Senge Dzong-Nyukmadung regions. Sherdukpen, Aka [Hrusso], Miji [Sajolang], and Bugun are other tribal groups in West Kameng who speak their own dialects.

Table 1.1 Subgroups of the Monpa [mon pa] people

Ethnic group	
Tawang Monpa	Tawang Monpa: *Ungpa* (Agricultural)
	Dakpanangpa: *Ungpa* (*yulpa*) (Agricultural)
	Tshosumpa: *Ungpa* (Agricultural)
	Mago thingbupa: *Brokpa* (Pastoral)
	Pangchenpa: *Ungpa/Brokpa* (Agricultural and Pastoral)
Dirang Monpa	Dirang Monpa: *Ungpa* (Agricultural)
	Lish-Chug Monpa (Lishpa & Chugpa): *Ungpa* (Agricultural)
	Boot Monpa: *Ungpa* (Agricultural)
	Sengedzongpa & Myukmadungpa: Ungpa/Brokpa (Agricultural and Pastoral)
	Brokpa of Bhutan Border (Pastoral)
Kalaktang Monpa: Ungpa (Agricultural)	

Produced from interviews conducted locally

1. The language of the Tawang Monpa [rta wang/dbang mon pa] differs from that of the Dirang [rdi rang] and Kalaktang Monpa [kha legs steng mon pa]; the former language is known as Monkee or Dakpa [mon skad or dags pa] and the latter is known as Tshangla [tshangs la]
2. The language of the Dakpanangpa [dags pa nang pa] is slightly different from that of the narrowly defined Tawang Monpa, and the two have different pronunciations
3. The language and traditional attire of the Magthing Luksum [dmang thing lug gsum] are identical to those of the Jora Dzong [sbyor ra *rdzong*] Tibetans in Tibet
4. The language of the Pangchenpa [spang chen pa] is different from that of the narrowly defined Tawang Monpa and Dakpanangpa
5. The language of the narrowly defined Dirang and Kalaktang Monpas is almost identical to the language used in eastern Bhutan, which is known as Tshangla or, more commonly, Sharchokpa [shar phyogs pa]
6. The language of the Lishpa [rlis pa] and Chugpa [phyug pa] is different from that of the neighboring Dirang Monpa
7. The language of the Boot Monpa [bud mon pa] is identical to that of the Sherdukpens [sher gtug spen] in the Rupa and Shergaon valleys
8. The language and traditional attire of the Senge Dzongpa [seng ge rdzong pa], Nyukmadungpa [smyug ma gdung pa], and Lebrang [leb brang] close to the border with Bhutan are identical to those of the people of Merak [me rag] and Sakteng [sag steng] in Bhutan

The Tawang Monpa differ linguistically from the Dirang and Kalaktang Monpa (Table 1.2, Glossary). For example, "millet" is *kowp* or *khra* [*khre*] in the Tawang Monpa language, whereas its equivalent in the Dirang Monpa language is *khongpu* (*kong bu*). In the Tawang language, "maize" is *oshum* [*a shom*] or *boma* [*bo ma*], though the Dirang Monpa refer to it as *pinthang*. In the Tawang language, "rice," "paddy," and "cooked rice" are called *dep* or *depu* [*deb*], *nu* [*yu*] or *nun*, and *toh* [*lto*] or *topcha* [*lto chas*], respectively; in the Dirang language, they are *khu* [*khu*], *ra* [*ra*] or *raha* [*ra ha*], and *tochang* [*lto chang*] or *toshang* [*lto shang*], respectively; in Tibetan, they are *bras*, *bras sog*, and *bras btsos pa*, respectively. "Buckwheat" is *drawo* [*bra bo*] in the Tawang language and *gruntsun* [*bra'o zan*] in the Dirang language. "Noodles" are called *thukpa* ['*thug pa*] in both languages. While "cheese" is *chura* [*phyu ra*] in both languages, "butter" is *mar* [*mar*] in the Tawang language but *mo* [*moam*] in the Dirang language. "Butter" is also *mar* [*mar*] in Tibetan. The

Table 1.2 Terms in English and their phonetic transcriptions in the languages of the Tawang [rta wang/ dbang], Dirang [rdi rang], and Kalaktang [kha legs steng] Monpa as well as their Tibetan transliterations

Term	Tawang	Dirang & Kalaktang	Tibetan
alcohol	chang	yu	chang/yu
buckwheat	drawa	gruntsun	bra bo/bra'o zan
butter	mar	mo/ moam	mar
cheese	chura	chura	phyu ra
cow	ba	wa	ba/ba phyugs
cooked rice	toh/topcha	tochang/toshang	lto/lto chas/lto chang/'bras btsos pa
chicken	khat	goga/gogadama	bya/bya mo
family	mathtsan	pheisonga	ma tshang/nang mi/mi tshang
horse	ta	kuruta	rta/chibs rta
maize	oshum/boma	pinthang/pinang	a shom
millet	kowp/khra	khongpu	khre/kong bu/mon chag
monkee	modskat	modskat	mon skad
noodle	thukpa	thukpa	thug pa
paddy	nu/nun	ra/raha	yu/'bras sog
rice	dep/depu	khu	'bras/deb
village	yui	dung	yul/dung/gdung

Tawang Monpa language is closer than the Dirang Monpa language to Tibetan because of the geographic proximity of Tawang to Tibet.

The Tawang Monpa people—in the broad sense of the term—can be divided into five subgroups: the Tawang Monpa in the limited sense; the Pangchenpa [spang chen pa]; the Dakpanangpa [dags pa nang pa]; the Tshosumpa [tsho gsum pa]; and the Mago-Thingbupa [dmag sgo thing bu pa]. The Pangchenpa inhabit the area around Zemithang [bye ma'i thang]; the Dakpanangpa live in the region of Dakpanang; the Tshosumpa inhabit the area of Tshosum[3]; and the Mago-Thingbupa live in the regions of Mago [dmag sgo], Thingbu [thing bu], and Lukguthang [lug dgu thang]. The Dakpanangpa speak the Tawang language with an accent that is slightly different from that of the other Tawang Monpa groups. The Mago-Thingbupa are pastoral people and share their language and native costumes with Tibetans in Jora Dzong [sbyor ra rdzong] in Tibet. The language of the Pangchenpa is different from that of the Tawang Monpa and the Dakpanangpa, but it is identical to that of the Lebo Tshoshi [legs po tsho bzhi] people of Tibet.

The Dirang Monpa in the broad sense of the term can be divided into three subgroups: the Dirang Monpa in the more limited sense; the Lish-Chug [sli phyug] Monpa (the Lishpa and Chugpa); and the Boot [bud] Monpa. The language of the narrowly defined Dirang Monpa is almost identical to that used in Eastern Bhutan. This particular language is called Tshangla [*tshangs la*] and is widely spoken in the

[3] It is also known as La'og yulsum [la'og yul *gsum*], which refers to a current Tawang sub-divisional area. See Table 3.1 for the names of the Monyul region's 32 tsho(s).

Dirang and Kalakteng regions of West Kameng and five districts in Eastern Bhutan (Andvik 2010).

The Dungkharpa [gdung mkhar pa] and Sharchokpa [shar phyogs pa] groups of the Dirang Monpa people emigrated from Eastern Bhutan. The Lish-Chug Monpa are believed to have originated from the Assam area; however, this remains to be verified. According to one theory, the Lishpa emigrated from Balemu, Nekteng [nags steng], and Bhairabkund [Kariapara *duar*] to avoid a tax imposed during the Darrang kingdom in Udalguri, Assam. The Lishpa are also believed to be descendants of immigrants from Tibet. Their language is very different from that of the surrounding Dirang Monpa. "Cooked rice" in the Dirang Monpa language is *tochang* [*lto chang*] or *toshang*, as noted above, whereas its equivalent in the Lishpa language is *hoi* and in Chugpa *mama*. "Horse," "cow," and "chicken" are *kuruta*, *wa*, and *goga*, respectively, in Dirang Monpa, but they are *sita* [*si tek* or *chibs rta*], *shui* or *soi*, and *wakhi*, respectively, in Lishpa and *sita*, *shui* or *soi*, and *hokhi*, respectively, in Chugpa (Glossary). The language of the Lishpa is similar to that of the Chugpa, though there are minor differences between them. "Where are you going?" is "Awba?" in Lishpa and "Hakuawba?" in Chugpa. According to local tradition, the Chugpa also originated in the west, and they initially settled in Sangti [sangs rdi] before gradually moving to their present location (Dhar 1995).

The Boot Monpa are inhabitants of the villages of Jirigaon [byi ri sgang], Salari [sa la ri], Khoitum/Khoitam [khul gtam], Rahung [ra hung], and Khoina [khu'i sna]; they share their language with that of the Sherdukpen [gsher stug spen] people of the Rupa and Shergaon regions. The customs and ceremonial practices of the Boot Monpa also resemble those of the Sherdukpen. However, the Boot Monpa are considered part of the Monpa since they have largely been assimilated over a long period of interaction (Dondrup 2004).

Senge Dzongpa [seng ge rdzong pa], Nyukmadungpa [smyug ma gdung pa], and pastoral people in Lubrang [lug grangs], close to the border with Bhutan, share a language and native costumes with the people of Merak [me rag] and Sakteng [sag steng] in Bhutan. Some words used in Senge Dzong and Nyukmadung are similar to those employed by the Tawang Monpa; other words are similar to those used by the Dirang Monpa. For example, "village" is *yui* [*yul*] in the Tawang Monpa's language as well as in Senge Dzong and Nyukmadung, but it is *dung* [*dung*] in the Dirang Monpa language. Similarly, "cow" and "horse" are *ba* [*ba*] and *ta* [*rta*], respectively, in the Tawang language, whereas *wa* [*ba*] and *kuruta* are the corresponding words in the Dirang language. By contrast, "maize" is *phinthang* [*phinang*] in Senge Dzong and Nyukmadung as well as in the Dirang language; its equivalent in the Tawang language is *oshum* or *boma*. Similarly, "millet" is *khongpu* [*kongpu*] in the Dirang language but *kowp* or *khra* in the Tawang language. There are also situations where each of the three is different from the other two. "Chicken," "rice," and "family" are *khat*, *dep*, and *mathtsan* [*ma tshang*], respectively, in the Tawang language, *jahu* [*bya*], *bre* [*'bras*], and *zatshan* [*za tshang*], respectively, in Senge Dzong, and *goga* or *gogadama*, *khu*, and *pheisonga*, respectively, in the Dirang language (Wangchu 2002; Dondrup 1993; Dasgupta 2007; Dutta 1999).

The Dirang Monpa and Kalaktang Monpa refer to themselves as Tshangla (Andvik 2010). They are called Sharchokpa, meaning "People of the East," by the Tawang Monpa. The Monpa in the Dirang area and those in the Kalaktang area are also called Drangnangpa [sbrang nang pa] and Rongnangpa [rong nang pa], respectively (Norbu 2008). The Dirang Monpa and Kalaktang Monpa refer to the Tawang Monpa as Brami [*brag mi*]. *Brami* means "people of the mountains"; *brag* means "rock" or "mountain" and *mi* means "people." *Drakmi* is the phonetic spelling in Tibetan.

Although the Tawang and Dirang areas are geographically adjacent to each other, they are divided by wall-like mountain ranges. The only traffic route connecting them is the Sela Pass. The mountain ranges affect the languages and cultures of the Dirang Monpa and Tawang Monpa. The Dirang Monpa are distributed to the south of the mountain ranges, and the Tawang Monpa to the north. That division is also the borderline between the Tawang and West Kameng districts (Fig. 1.6). In addition to the Tshangla-speaking Monpa, other ethnic groups such as Aka (Hrusso), Bugun, Miji (Sajolang), Sherdukpen, and Drokpa speakers can be found in West Kameng.

With the exception of the Boot Monpa, who are animists and shamanists, the Monpa practice Tibetan Buddhism or Bon. The Sherdukpen also follow Buddhism, whereas the Bugun and Miji practice semi-Buddhism as well as their traditional faith. The Aka (Hrusso) adhere to their own traditional religion.

As detailed above, a number of ethnic groups form a cultural and linguistic mosaic in the Monpa area, and the lingua franca is currently Hindi. Assamese was formerly used as a common language. The Tibetan script is employed by monks to read Tibetan Buddhist sutras. However, most people are unable to read such characters. A comparatively large number of people in the Tawang area are Tibetan speakers: some have relatives in Tibet and can understand Tibetan well.

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Chapter 2
Arrival of a Tibetan Prince in Monyul and Establishment of a Clan

The fortress Dirkhi Dzong [bde bskyid *rdzong*] dates back to around the fourteenth century and it was located on a ridge. Thus it was exposed to all kinds of attack. Subsequently a new fortress Thembang Dzong [them bang *rdzong*] was built at a higher altitude during the seventeenth century

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Abstract A Tibetan prince in exile arrived in the Monyul region, the land of the Monpa, in the ninth century. He had been ousted by his brothers, became the king of Monyul, and constructed several fortresses there. His subordinates and soldiers also settled in the Monyul region. The master–subordinate relationship established at that time is still active today. Descendants of the king and his family constitute the senior clans in Monyul and those of the subordinates and soldiers make up the junior clans. This chapter also examines the origin of the clans in the Monyul region. The Dirang Monpa and the Sherdukpen in this area have clan systems and the systems play an important role for local communities and land ownership. The focus of this chapter is on the historical processes by which the king's fortresses (Dzong [*rdzong*]) were built. It also focuses on the historical formation of the clans in the area of the Dirang Monpa.

Keywords Clan • Tibet • Royal family line • King's fortress • Tax collection

2.1 Arrival of a Tibetan Prince and Origin of the Clans

The Tibetan Empire flourished when Songtsan Gampo [srong btsan sgam po] (AD 629–49) of the Yarlung [yar lung] dynasty was on the throne. He is traditionally regarded as the 33rd king after the very first Tibetan king, Nyatri Tsanpo [gnya' khri btsan po] (third century BC). The Yarlung dynasty originally began as a royal family that dominated the central south area of Tibet. The actual existences of the first to the 32nd kings have been greatly debated because written records are available only from the seventh century. However, Tibetan historical sources record the successive descendants of the kings. It is reasonable to consider the first to 32nd kings to be fictitious characters created by Tibetan historians. Those historians regard Songtsan Gampo as the 33rd king; however, it is more realistic to assume that Songtsan Gampo was only about the 14th king (Yamaguchi 2004). Tibetan historians state that there were 26 kings from the eighth king, Drigum Tsanpo ['gri gum btsan po], to the 33rd king, Songtsan Gampo. However, according to the Chinese T'angshu, there were only six kings during that period (Yamaguchi 2004). Thereafter, the 38th king (according to the traditional list), Trisong Detsan [khri srong lde'u btsan] (755–97), established and vigorously promoted Buddhism as the state religion. Conventional Bon practitioners saw the rise of the foreign religion as a danger and banned it while the king was still young (Yamaguchi 2004).

Norbu (2008) states the follows. During the reign of the 41st king, Tri Ralpachen [khri ral pa can] (806–38) or (806–41 in Yamaguchi 2004), the king's brother Lang Darma [glang dar ma, 'u dum btsan po] (803–41) or (809–42 in Yamaguchi 2004) and several ministers with an anti-Buddhist agenda planned the king's assassination (Fig. 2.1). However, Lang Darma realized that he would be unable to take over the throne even after the king's death because of the king's other brother, Lhase Tsangma [lha sras gtsang ma]. Lang Darma abandoned the plan to assassinate the king and prepared instead a new plan to have Lhase Tsangma expelled. During the reign of

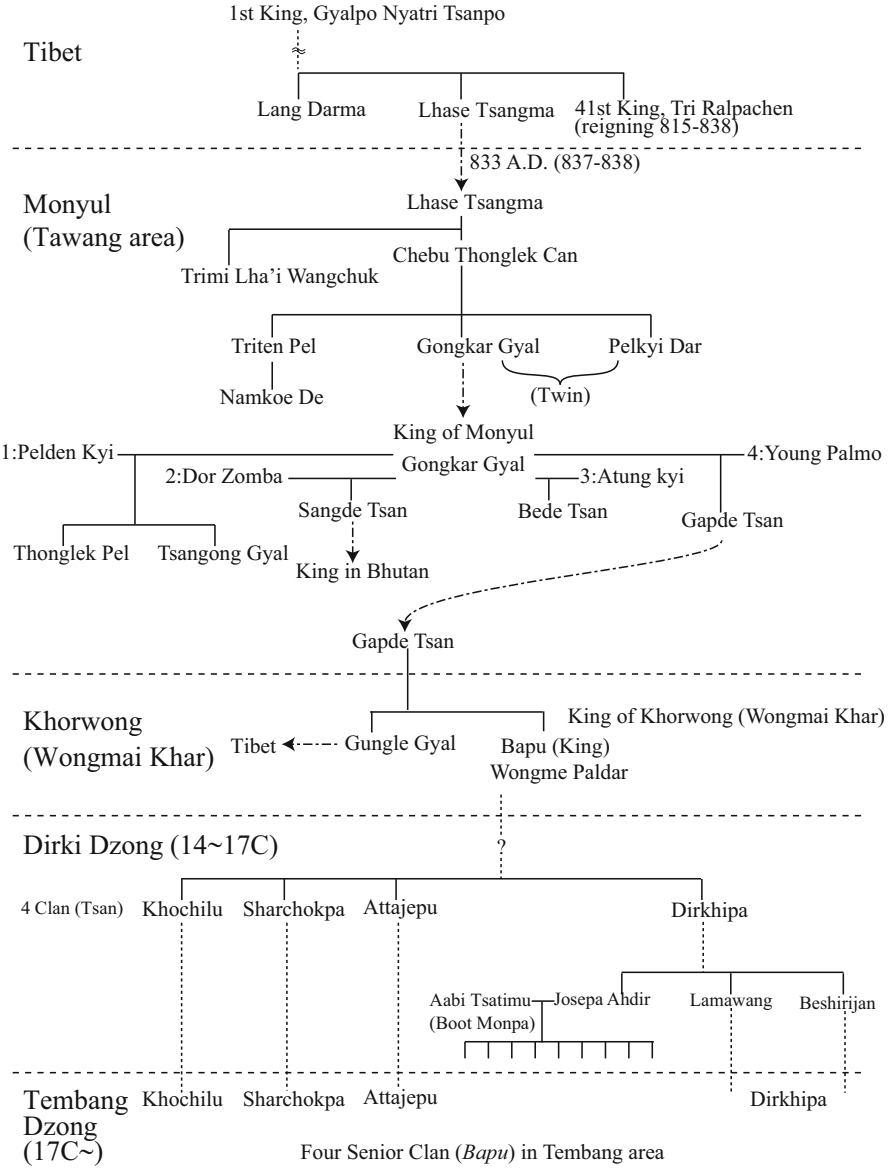

Fig. 2.1 Genealogy of clan formations in the Thembang (them bang) area of the Dirang (rdi rang) region. Monyul [mon yul] and Khorwong ['khor 'ong] sections are from both *Rgyal rigs 'byung khung gsal ba'i me long* (*Rgyal rigs* for short), which was compiled by Wag Indra [ngag dbang], and oral sources. Its date of publication is considered to be either 1668 according to John Ardussi (2009) or 1728 according to Micheal Aris (1986). The Dirkhi Dzong [bde skyid *rdzong*] and Thembang Dzong [them bang *rdzong*] sections were based on local interviews carried out as part of this study

Tri Ralpachen, peace was achieved between the Tibetan Empire and the Chinese Tang dynasty. A peace pact was formally concluded in 821–22, and stone monuments inscribed with the pact were set up in Lhasa and Changan. Yamaguchi (2004) states that the pact was in 833 and the reign period of Tri Ralpachen was 815–41, not the widely believed 815–38.

Thereupon, Lang Darma offered royal diviners and prophets enormous bribes to deceive the king. They prophesied that Lhase Tsangma would indulge in extravagance and bring adversity to the royal family and, eventually, to the whole country. The diviners advised the king to send Lhase Tsangma into exile. The king believed their prophecies and ordered Lhase Tsangma to go to the Monpa area, which was then known as Mon, and remain there. The king instructed Lhase Tsangma to investigate the living conditions of the local inhabitants during his time in Monyul. Thus, the exiled Lhase Tsangma and his subordinates arrived in the Monpa area in 837–38.

Lang Darma worked in conjunction with the great ministers Bah Gyetore [dbas rgyal to re] and Chokro Lekdra [cog ro legs sgra] to assassinate Tri Ralpachen so that he himself would become the next king. As a king, Lang Darma is said to have persecuted Buddhists. According to traditional accounts, Lang Darma was killed by the monk Lhalung Palkyi Dorjee [lha lung dpal kyi rdo rje]. After Lang Darma's death, the country was divided into two camps. Lang Darma's sons, Yumten [yum brtan] and Oedsung ['od zung] supported by each camp, both claimed the throne, and the country became separated into northern and southern regions, which were hostile to each other. The Tibetan Empire thus became split into smaller countries (Ishihama 2004).

The above summary of this period of Tibetan history is well documented in the literatures. However, it has been very difficult to obtain information regarding subsequent periods. Fortunately, one document relating to that era was eventually located after tracking clues gathered from many sources. That represented a great breakthrough. That document is thought to have been originally written by Wag Indra and was translated as *Ngawang* [ngag dbang] in Tibetan (Aris 1986). The title of the document is *Rgyal rigs'byung khungs gsal ba'i sgron me* (hereafter, *Rgyal rigs*; Fig. 2.2). Ardussi (2009) put its date of publication at 1668, though Aris (1979, 1986) believes it to have been 1728. An account identical to that referred to by Norbu (2008) is contained within this old document *Rgyal rigs*. However, there is a notable difference between *Rgyal rigs* and Norbu (2008) regarding the date that Lhase Tsangma arrived in Monyul (either 833 or 837–38).

The account in the *Rgyal rigs* document is summarized below.

Lhase Tsangma had two sons—Trimi Lha'i Wangchuk [khri mi lha'i dbang phyug] and Chebu Thonglek Tsan [gces bu mthong legs btsan]. The latter had three sons of his own: Triten Pel [khri brten dpal]; Gongkar Gyal [gong dkar rgyal]; and Pelkyi Dar [dpal kyi dar] (Fig. 2.1). Gongkar Gyal and Pelkyi Dar were twins. Triten Pel had a son named Namkoe De [gnam bskos sde]. One of the twins, Gongkar Gyal, became the king of Monyul (presently the Monpa area), and he had four wives: Pelden Kyi [dpal 'dren skyid]; Dor Zomba [rdor 'dzom pa]; Atung Kyi [a thung skyid]; and Yang Palmo [g.yang dpal mo]. Pelden Kyi had two sons: Thonglek Pel [mthong legs dpal] and Tsangong Gyal [Btsan gong rgyal]. Dor Zomba, Atung Kyi,

Fig. 2.2 Compiled by Wag Indra, the document *Rgyal rigs'byung khungs gsal ba'i sgron me* (*Rgyal rigs* for short) is translated as *Ngag dbang* in Tibetan. Ardussi (2009) believes that it was written in 1668, though Aris (1986) puts this date at 1728

and Yang Palmo all had a son each with the king, and their names were, respectively, Sangde Tsan [gsang sde btsan], Bede Tsan [sbas sde btsan], and Gapde Tsan ['gab sde btsan]. Sangde Tsan became king of a region in Bhutan. Gapde Tsan was taken to the place known as the Khorwong ['khor dbang] valley under Thembang [them bang] to be enthroned, even though poverty was prevalent in that area. Khorwong was also known as Wongmai Khar [dbang ma'i mkhar]. Gapde Tsan had two sons named Gungle Gyal [dgung las rgyal] and Wongme Palder [dbang ma'i dpal dar]. These two sons went back to Tibet owing to the poverty in Khorwong. However, subsequently, the second son, Wongme Palder, returned to Khorwong with two guards. Upon his return, the *tsorgen* [*gtso rgan*] (village mayor or *Goanbura* in Assamese) named Agyal [a rgyal] told him, "You are a descendant of the king, you should govern this area" (*Rgyal rigs*: 27a–28b).

There is an oral tradition in the village of Thembang that is related to the above account detailed in *Rgyal rigs*. The following is a summary of interviews (Mizuno, February 2010) with people in the village.

> A king was once expelled by his Boot Monpa subordinates because he married a woman from a junior clan. The Boot Monpa subordinates then needed a new king. They went around villages with the leg of a yak [g.yag], a goat, and a sheep to find a person who could choose the leg of the yak. It proved difficult to locate someone who was able to make the

Fig. 2.3 Lake Mugye-Tchang [mu ge'chag] is a lake close to Sela Pass, known locally as Lake Paradise or Lake Sela, is the source of many legends

right choice, but they eventually found such a person. The Boot Monpa subordinates wanted that person to become their king, but they did not tell him this immediately. Instead, they took him hunting and finally told him their intention at the site of Lake Mugye-chang [mu ge 'chag]. It is a legendary lake near Sela Pass and referred to locally as Lake Paradise or Lake Sela (Fig. 2.3). A teardrop then rolled from each of the selected person's eyes and formed two lakes, which merged to become one large lake. The party continued traveling. After passing Tawang, the subordinates started telling their new king, "This land is yours" and "This land also belongs to you." They decided on place names based on what had happened on the hunt. For example, a place where the new king felt cold was named Changla (cold), and another place where someone held an iron case containing the king's clothes was named Tungri (iron case).

Thus, this individual became their new king, and he is said to have been Gapde Tsan, as mentioned in *Rgyal rigs*. His son, Wongme Palder, was frequently referred to by the elders during the interviews in the village of Thembang. It is reasonable to assume that Wongme Palder is a key person in the history of the village. Several generations after Wongme Palder, the unknown king of Monyul had four sons; from the eldest to the youngest, their names were Khochilu [kho phyi lu], Sharchokpa [shar phyogs pa], Attajepu [a ta rje bu], and Dirkhipa [bde skyid pa]. They became the founders of the four clans in the Thembang area (Table 2.1). A clan is called *tsan* [btsan] in the Dirang Monpa language. Wongme Palder was more powerful than the king of the Darrang kingdom in Assam, and he collected taxes from residents of that

Table 2.1 Clans of the Thembang [them bang] and Dirang [rdi rang] areas

Old time	Present time	Clan			
Ruling family	Ruler clan (Senior clan) (Bapu)	Khochilu	Sharchokpa	Attajepu	Dirkhipa
Servant	Subject clan (Junior clan) (Gilla)	Lhofsonga Merakpa	Sharmu	None	×Chumsonga Nimsonga
Subject	Boot Monpa				

Old time	Present time	Clan				
Ruling family	Ruler clan (Senior clan) (Khangtangphu)[a]	Bagipa	Dungkharpa	Serthipa	Jamsempa	Phai chulupa
Servant	Subject clan (Junior clan) (Gilla)	Grangpa	Kompa	Merakpa	Barkhapa	Tsumklapa

Produced from locally conducted interviews

[a]Khangtangphu = Big bone

1. Bapu [sba bu] is the Hindi equivalent of "father"
2. The Merakpa [me rag pa] are people whose ancestors emigrated from Bhutan
3. The Chumsonga [chum song ga] disappeared, and the Nimsonga [ni ma song ga] were introduced by Ata Devo Dorjee [a tha bde bo rdo rje]
4. The term Khangtangphu [rkang thang phugs] means "thick bone"
5. The Dungkharpa [gdung mkhar pa] partially originate from the Sharchokpa [shar phyogs pa], who migrated from the Thembang area to the Dirang area

kingdom. The king of the Darrang region told Wongme Palder, "You are the true *Bapu* [sba bu]" ("father" in Hindi), and from that time the descendants of Wongme Palder were all known as Bapu. Members of the four royal clans are also considered Bapu and are ranked as senior clans.

The royal family had servants, and subordinates (soldiers) consisting of the Boot Monpa. The descendants of the servants formed junior clans called *gilla* [gyi la]. The gilla of Khochilu formed the clans called Lhosonga [lho song ga] and Merakpa [me rag pa]. The Merakpa clan consists of people who originally came from Bhutan, while their relatives still live in Bhutan. The gilla of Sharchokpa formed the Sharmu [shar mo] clan. A clan called Chumsonga [chum song ga] formerly existed and was known as the gilla of Dirkhipa, though it has not survived. Instead, another clan called the Nimsonga [nyi song ga] is now the gilla of Dirkhipa. Attajepu does not have a gilla.

2.2 Construction of Dirkhi Dzong Fortress

Several generations after Wongme Palder, the king of Monyul constructed the fortress Dirkhi Dzong [bde skyid *rdzong*] on a ridge at an elevation higher than Khorwong (Wongme Khar) (Figs. 2.4, 2.5, 2.6 and 2.7). The following is a summary of interviews (Mizuno, May 2010) carried out in the village.

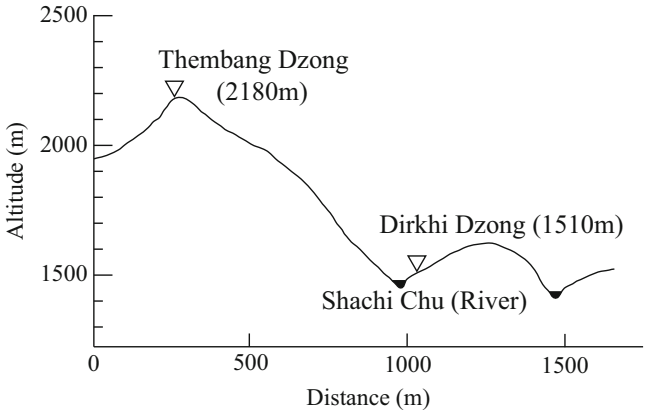

Fig. 2.4 Topographical cross-section showing the positions of Dirkhi Dzong [bde skyid *rdzong*] and Thembang Dzong [them bang *rdzong*] (Produced from a topographical map)

Three brothers of the Dirkhipa clan lived in Dirkhi Dzong. They were Josepa Ahdir [jo sras pa a 'dir], Lamawang [bla ma dbang], and Besirijan [be si ri byan] (Fig. 2.1). Josepa Ahdir had a wife, Aabi Tsatimu [abi tsa ti mu], from the junior clan called the Rahungpa [ra hung pa], a group of Boot Monpa and inhabitants of Rahung village. Josepa Ahdir had nine sons, who regularly harassed and robbed the Dirkhipa and their subordinates. Lamawang and Besirijan paid the Khoinapa [khos sna pa] people, a group of Boot Monpa inhabitants of the village of Khoina, and the brothers of the wife of Josepa Ahdir to kill all nine sons at the Khorwong River, located just below the fortress. They then stoned Josepa Ahdir to death near the fortress. Some people claim that the reason for this killing was that the two brothers, Lamawang and Besirijan, wanted to remove the bloodline of the Boot Monpa to secure their own royal bloodline. After the killing of Josepa Ahdir, the Dirkhipa clan consisted exclusively of the descendants of the two brothers. The body of Josepa Ahdir was buried where he was killed. Since then, passersby have thrown pebbles at that point, and so it is now marked by a small mound (Fig. 2.8).

When Dirkhi Dzong was attacked by the Miji tribe, the Khochilu clan fled to Yayung of the Nafra area, the Sharchokpa clan to Munda (the area under Bomdila), and the Attajepu clan to Redhipongman [re rdi spong ma] in Bhutan. Only the Dirkhipa clan remained at the fortress to fight back. The Dirkhipa moved into the forest between Thembang and Cherong to offset their numerical inferiority and managed to kill the chief of the Miji tribe. The Miji force was then forced to retreat. The Dirkhipa returned to the fortress and continued to occupy the site. The fortress was referred to as Dirkhi Dzong from then on. The Dirkhipa told their brother clans to return, and the Sharchokpa came back, followed by the Khochilu, and later the Attajepu. The royal clans decided to build a new fortress at a site with a higher elevation than Dirkhi Dzong, which became known as Thembang Dzong [them bang *rdzong*]. For construction of both Dirkhi Dzong and Thembang Dzong, Boot Monpa worked as laborers. Before the war attacked by the Miji, the people of Munda, where the Sharchokpa clan was living in exile, had been paying a tax of 2,000 bows and arrows and 20 bags of dried chicken to the Bapu, the royal clan. The Dirkhipa abolished that taxation, which had been used to maintain Dirkhi Dzong, in recognition of the Munda people having provided refuge for the Sharchokpa during the war.

Identifying the site of Dirkhi Dzong in the Thembang area has proved difficult. The state government of Arunachal Pradesh decided to undertake an investigation to

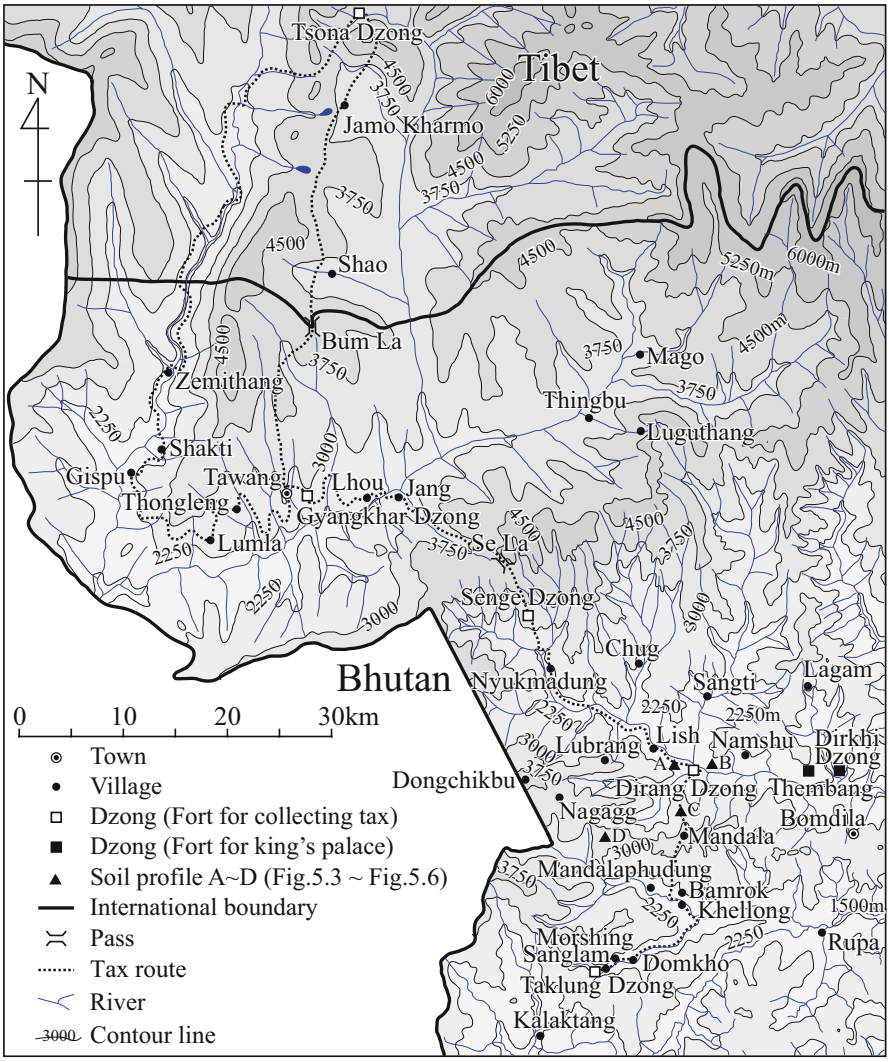

Fig. 2.5 Locations of *dzong* [*rdzong*] and tax transportation routes. The routes were drawn using information acquired locally through interviews and based on topographical maps. Tawang Monastery is in Tawang. The *dzong* at Senge Dzong [seng ge *rdzong*] was a rest house for *dzong-pon* [*rdzong* dpon]

locate Dirkhi Dzong in 2004. The government's investigation team wanted the Thembang villagers to guide them to the site. However, the villagers were reluctant to do so since they believed that Dirkhi Dzong was the home of their ancestral spirits, and they were afraid of being cursed through having disturbed the site. Despite this, the state government made it mandatory for every household to offer one person who would act as a guide. According to the participants, the only outcome of the

Fig. 2.6 The construction date of Dirkhi Dzong [bde skyid *rdzong*] is estimated to be around 1400. The term *dzong* [*rdzong*] means "fortress"

Fig. 2.7 Remains of Dirkhi Dzong [bde skyid *rdzong*]: the holes in the wall are thought to be ventilation openings for the kitchens or crenels from which to shoot arrows

Fig. 2.8 Site where Josepa Ahdir [jo sras pa a 'dir] is buried: a small mound has grown as a result of passers-by dropping pebbles upon it

first expedition to locate the site was taking photographs of Dirkhi Dzong. No serious investigation was subsequently undertaken.

We requested one of the participants of the 2004 investigation to act as a guide for us, and we managed to locate Dirkhi Dzong in 2010. It was the first time for a foreigner to do so. After departing from Thembang Dzong and trekking across hills and valleys toward Dirkhi Dzong, we came upon an open patch of land in the vicinity of a stream. That was the site of Khorwong (Wongme Khar), which Wongme Palder had occupied as the new king (Fig. 2.9). Beyond the open patch and above a steep slope covered with briers and brambles, Dirkhi Dzong was located on a small ridge. The fortress ruins were also covered with briers and brambles, and we could not make a proper investigation of the site.

According to the local tradition, Dirkhi Dzong consisted of 24 dwellings in its final years as a settlement. It is impossible to determine the chronology of Dirkhi Dzong based on records and traditional sources. All incidents are reported as being matters of "the past." The fortress was made of stone, however wooden frames which are common in other fortresses *dzong* were not present. Whether they were absent from the outset or removed at a later date is unclear. When the guide, our student, and we examined the site, our student found a piece of charcoal weighing approximately 1 g in a gap in a stone wall of the structure. Radiocarbon dating (Beta Analytic Radiocarbon Dating Laboratory, USA) indicated that the charcoal dated from approximately AD 1400, more concretely the result indicated a figure of

Fig. 2.9 The site of Khorwong ['khor 'ong] or Wongme Khar [wang ma'i mkhar] is where Gapde Tsan ['gab sde btsan] from the Tawang area ruled as the new king, probably in the early medieval period. The people crossing the bridge are Boot Monpa on a hunting expedition: they are basically agricultural people, though they are also engaged in hunting

550 ± 40 years prior to 1950 (Table 2.2). The date of the construction of Dirkhi Dzong has not been revealed before. This result confirms that the fortress was already being used in the period between 1400 and 1500. In interviews conducted in Thembang, some interviewees said that Wongme Palder had built Dirkhi Dzong, others said that his son was the builder. If the fortress dates from approximately 1400, the family tree shown in Fig. 2.1 suggests that it must have been built several generations after Wongme Palder.

2.3 Move to the New Thembang Dzong Fortress

Dirkhi Dzong was vulnerable to foreign enemies, such as the Miji and Sherdukpen (Fig. 1.6). It was also at a great distance from water resources and located in an area with limited agricultural potential. A new settlement at higher elevation was needed, and the new fortress of Thembang Dzong was subsequently built (Figs. 2.4, 2.5 and 2.10).

Thembang Dzong is enclosed by stone walls, and has a gate at its western and eastern sides. Dwellings were located within the stone walls (Fig. 2.11). According to

Table 2.2 Estimated dates of *dzong* [*rdzong*] obtained by means of radiocarbon dating of materials

Date of Dirkhi Dzong					
beta ID	Sample name	Material	^{14}C date		Measuring method
279546	Dirkhi1	Charcoal	550	±40	Radiocarbon dating (AMS)

Date of Thembang Dzong					
beta ID	Sample name	Material	^{14}C date		Measuring method
276486	Tembang1	Wood	260[a]	±50	Radiocarbon dating
279547	Tembang2	Wood	160[b]	±60	Radiocarbon dating
279548	Tembang3	Wood	280[a]	±40	Radiocarbon dating
279984	Tembang4	Wood	240[a]	±40	Radiocarbon dating
284119	Tembang5	Wood	190[b]	±40	Radiocarbon dating

All: Weighted average 232+/−20; Calendar era (2sigma)* 1645–1671AD, 1780–1796AD
[a]Weighted average 260+/−25; Calendar era (2sigma)* 1535–1545AD, 1634–1665AD
[b]Weighted average 181+/−33; Calendar era (2sigma)* 1654–1698AD, 1723–1817AD, 1843–1871AD

Date of Taklung Dzong					
beta ID	Sample name	Material	^{14}C date		Measuring method
279549	Taklung1	Wood	250[c]	±40	Radiocarbon dating
284120	Taklung2	Wood	130[d]	±40	Radiocarbon dating
284121	Taklung3	Wood	160[d]	±40	Radiocarbon dating
284122	Taklung4	Wood	190[d]	±50	Radiocarbon dating
284123	Taklung5	Wood	250[c]	±50	Radiocarbon dating
284124	Taklung6	Wood	250[c]	±50	Radiocarbon dating
284125	Taklung7	Wood	120[d]	±40	Radiocarbon dating

All: Weighted average 186+/−16; Calendar era (2sigma)* 1662–1682AD, 1738–1805AD
[c]Weighted average 250+/−26; Calendar era (2sigma)* 1637–1669AD, 1783–1792AD
[d]Weighted average 146+/−21; Calendar era (2sigma)* 1672–1704AD, 1717–1778AD, 1797–1883AD

*Dates after 1900 have been eliminated
^{14}C dates indicate the number of years prior to 1950

the information plate set up by the state government at the gate to the fortress, construction of Thembang Dzong dates from the eighteenth century. Radiocarbon dating of samples from the fortress has suggested several different possible dates for its construction. Five samples of wood were taken from part of the structure that is believed to be the oldest building in Thembang Dzong and is now just a ruin (Fig. 2.12). The results of the radiocarbon dating indicated two different periods: the older period was the sixteenth or seventeenth century, and the newer period was the seventeenth or eighteenth century (Table 2.2). The wooden parts of this oldest section of the structure were burnt and blackened. Records indicate that Thembang Dzong was engulfed by fire on three occasions in its history. The third fire occurred in 1959. Residents of Thembang Dzong village states that many buildings were

Fig. 2.10 The fortress of Thembang Dzong [them bang *rdzong*] is enclosed by stone walls and has a gate on its western and eastern sides

Fig. 2.11 The construction date of Thembang Dzong [them bang *rdzong*] is estimated as the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries. There are residential spaces within, and people still live there

Fig. 2.12 This dwelling is believed to be the oldest in Thembang Dzong [them bang *rdzong*], and only its surrounding walls remain

actually constructed in the period following the second fire, probably in the nineteenth century. It is, then, reasonable to assume that earlier date, the sixteenth or seventeenth century from the radiometric results was after the first fire, and the later date was after the second fire.

The *Rgyal rigs* text (1668 or 1728) includes records of taxation by Bapu after the time of Wongme Palder (Table 2.3). In the area that was formerly known as Magthing Luksum [dmag sgo thing bu lug dgu thang gsum] but is presently the Thingbu Circle area of the Tawang district, silver coins, known as *baitang* [*bey Tram*], were collected as a type of tax called *pungur* [spung 'gyur], cheese and butter were collected as *jhalane* [ja las gnas] tax, and yaks [g.yag] were collected as *tshapa* [tshwa pa] tax. Sheep and cows were collected as tax from an area called Drangnang Tshodruk [sbrang nang tsho drug]. Drangnang Tshodruk is the area between Sela Pass and Boot Monpa villages; it roughly corresponds to the present-day Dirang and Thembang Circle areas of West Kameng. Six cows and 12 sheep were collected as tax from the village of Chug, 8 cows and 30 sheep from the village of Lish, 6 cows and 10 sheep from Nyukmadung and Senge Dzong, 7 cows from Sangti, and 15 cows and 30 sheep from Dirang and Yewang [yid dbang]. The taxation on Dirang and Yewang was later abolished, probably in the nineteenth century as compensation for the Bapu's murder of villagers. Japanese pepper (*Zanthoxylum piperitum*), known locally as *khagei* [kha 'gas] (Fig. 2.13), and sacred scarves called *chongleywha* [chong las ba] were collected from an area that used to be called Phundung Thongtse

Table 2.3 Types of tax collected by the *bapu* [sba bu] from their territory

	Old area name	Collecting tax
1	Magthing Luksum (dmag sgo thing bu lug dgu thang) (Present Tawang area: Mago, Thingbu and Lugthuang)	Pungur: Baitang (Silver coin), Jhalane (Chese and Butter), Tshapa (Yak)
2	Drangnang Tshodruk (brang nang tsho drung) (Present Sela to Boot Monpa village Khoina)	Sheep, Cow Chug: cow 6, sheep 12, Lish: cow 8, sheep 30 Senge Dzong & Nyukmadung: cow 6, sheep 10, Sangti: cow 7 Dirang & Yaweng: cow 15, sheep 30*
3	Phudung Thongtse (phugdung mthong rtse) (Present Mandala Phudung)	Khagei, Chongleywha (Holy scarf)
4	Lego Geydar (las sgo rgyas dar) (Present Darrang District of Assam and Kalaktang area)	Rice, Cloth, Raw silk, Cotton threads etc.

Produced from information in *Rgyal rigs*
*Some villagers in the Dirang [rdi rang] area were killed by the bapu, and tax collection was discontinued in the Dirang and Yewang [yid dbang] areas by way of compensation

Fig. 2.13 Berries of Japanese pepper (*Zanthoxylum piperitum*), locally called *khagei* [kha'gas]: these are used to pay a form of tax called *khray* [khral]

[phu gdung mthong brtse]. Phundung Thongtse is the area around present-day Mandalaphudung [man da la phu gdung]. Japanese pepper has long been an important condiment in the Monpa area. Its pulverized berries are used as a spice, and even today it costs as much as 400 rupees (1 rupee = 0.02 US$) per kilogram in local markets. Rice, clothing, silk, cotton yarn, and other items were collected from an area that was formerly known as Lego Gyadar [las sgo rgya dar]; this corresponds to Kariapara *duar*, which is now called Bhairabkunda in the Udalguri district, Assam. The tax called *posa* is still collected from the Kariapara *duar* of the Udalguri area. The Assam state government sends about 280 rupees to the Bapu clans, the four senior clans, in late January every year (see Chap. 4, Sect. 4.4 for an additional discussion of *posa*).

In the Thembang area, the Bapu of Thembang used to collect land rent in the form of cheese and butter from pastoral areas, such as Chandar [phyan dar], once a year. This old system remains. Chandar pays rent to the village of Thembang once every 2 years and to the village of Namshu [nam shu] every year. This particular type of land rent is called *tsarin* [*rtswa rin*], where tsa [*rtswa*] signifies "grass" and *rin* "amount" and "due." This land rent is paid by pastoral people to farmers for the use of grazing land (see Chap. 7, Sect. 7.7).

The village of Thembang currently consists of 67 households located within the fortress and 35 households outside. According to interviews (Mizuno, February 2010) conducted during fieldwork, the villagers practice the following tradition.

> A king of the Sherdukpen once governed the Boot Monpa. The two tribes shared the same language. When the king and his forces attacked Thembang Dzong, a 7-year-old boy in the fortress fired an arrow, which hit the king and killed him. The Boot Monpa cut the king's head from his body. The body was given back to the Sherdukpen, and the head was buried under the eastern gate of Thembang Dzong (Fig. 2.10). People spat on the ground under the gate when passing through.

A note related to this story can be found in Nagaraju and Tripathy (2006).

> The fortification of Thembang Dzong was possible only through the manual labor provided by the villagers of Khoina, Boot (now known as Jirigaon), Khoitam, and Rahung as well as by the gilla. Their services were also used for seed sowing (*ngyangben* [myang bon]), tree plantation (*ungashing cheewn* ['ung ga shing mkhan]), carrying goods (*rongbanghen* [rong bang mkhan]), constructing houses (*phaijanken* [khyim rgyag mkhan]) and fortification walls (*jangri* [byang ri]).
>
> Those villagers also had to provide military help for the Bapu. For example, when the soldiers of the Rupa village were retreating after their attack to the Thembang Dzong, the villagers of Khoitam beheaded the military commander of Rupa village. They sent the commander's head to their king (Bapu) and the body to the Sherdukpen Rajas (king),Thongs of Rupa. As a result of this incident, the people of the Rupa area call the villagers of Khoitam the *Songa-sha-boianken* [song ba sha bor mkhan], "dividers of human flesh."

The fort of Thembang (recorded Thebengia Bhutias in British records) proved advantageous for the kings there. The Tibetan rifle, which the Bapu possessed but others lacked, was another advantage. These two factors, combined with high agricultural production and a fairly large tax base extending up to modern-day Assam, contributed significantly to the establishment of Bapu authority and also to their successful resistance to the expansion of the Tibetan monastic order in their area in the eighteenth to early twentieth centuries (Nagaraju and Tripathy 2006).

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Chapter 3
Taxation by the Tibetan Authorities and the Formation of Fortresses

Gorsam Chorten [gor zam mchod rten], Zemithang: this Buddhist stupa is thought to have been built by Lama Pradhar [bla ma spre'u thar] in the eighteenth century; however, the thirteenth, sixteenth, and nineteenth centuries have also been suggested

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Abstract The Tibetan government set up fortresses, locally called *dzong* [*rdzong*], at several locations in Monyul as administrative offices for the purpose of collecting taxes. The *dzong* also functioned as administrative centers for local communities. In addition, the Tibetan government constructed Tawang Monastery, which exerted an influence on many aspects of the lives of the local inhabitants. Taxes collected from local residents were used by the monastery, and a portion of the taxes was transported to Lhasa. In the early eighteenth century, two administrators *dzongpon*, one at Dirang and another at Taklung, were appointed for collection of tax as contribution towards the monastery etc. Since 1944, especially in 1946 just before the independence, British-ruled India tried to abolish taxation by *dzongpon* in the Dirang and Kalaktang areas. However, since the taxation contributed to Tawang Monastery or to locally resettled former officials, the local people themselves continued this practice until 1951. This chapter examines the types of items that were collected as taxes and how the taxes were conveyed to Tawang Monastery and Lhasa. The main focus of this chapter is on the history of the interrelationships among the local people in the Monpa area, Tawang Monastery, and the Tibetan government.

Keywords Tax • Fortress • Tibetan government • Lhasa • Tawang Monastery

3.1 Taxation and Construction of *Dzong* in the Monpa Area

Backed by the military resources of both the Tibetans and Mongols, Ngawang Lobsang Gyatso [ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho], the great fifth Dalai Lama (1617–1682), achieved political supremacy over Tibet in 1642. The Dalai Lamas had traditionally been religious leaders, but the fifth Dalai Lama established a theocracy in his country. At that time, Monyul was under the control of the Tibetan administration in Lhasa. This situation was reinforced by the imposition of a tax called *khrey* [*khral*]. Fortresses called *dzong* [*rdzong*] were constructed in various locations in Monyul, serving as centers for administration and tax collection (Figs. 2.5 and 3.1). They included Dirang Dzong, Taklung [stag lung] Dzong, and Gyangkhar [rgyang mkhar] Dzong. Dirang Dzong, Taklung Dzong, and Gyangkhar Dzong were built by the Tibetan administration to collect tax from the Dirang Monpa, Kalaktang Monpa, and Tawang Monpa, respectively. The tax was conveyed to Tawang Monastery and then to Lhasa via Tsona [mtsho sna] Dzong (Figs. 2.5 and 3.1).

A commissioner was sent from Tibet or Tawang Monastery to a *dzong* to collect the tax. These officials were called *dzongpon* [*rdzong dpon*] in Tibet, Bhutan, and the Monpa area. The name is pronounced *dzongpen* in local languages; the suffix *dpon* signifies "officer" or "leader" in Tibetan as well as in the Monpa languages. In the early eighteenth century, two *dzongpon*, one at Dirang and another at Taklung, were appointed for collection of tax as contribution towards the monastery etc. The *dzongpon* were selected among the senior monks of Tawang Monastery.[1] The

[1] Directorate of Research, Government of Arunachal Pradesh (without date). The booklet states that it was in 1831 that two *dzongpon*, one at Dirang and another at Taklung were appointed.

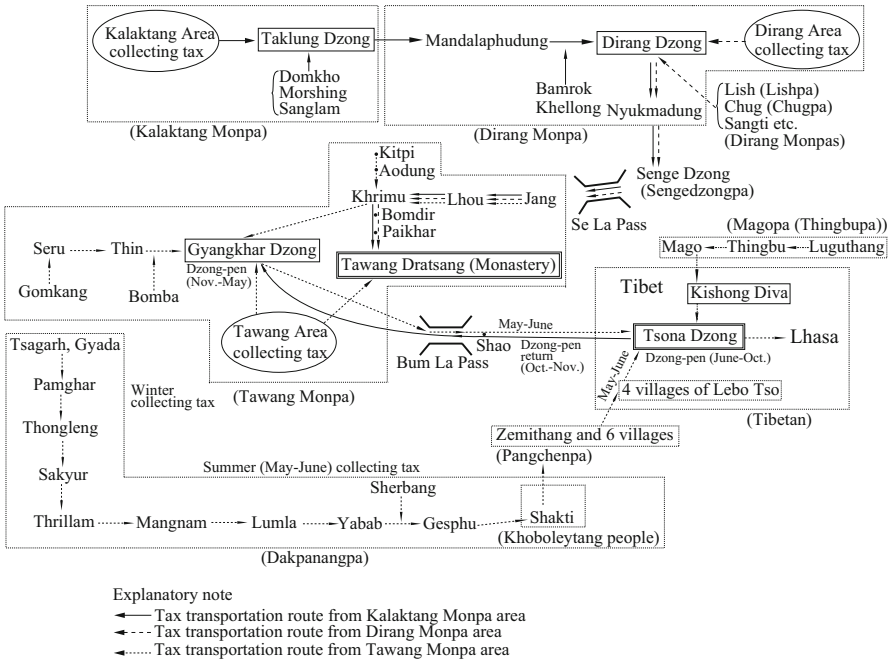

Fig. 3.1 Tax transportation routes before 1951 from Monpa [mon pa] regions to Lhasa, where the Tibetan administration was located (Produced based on information acquired through locally conducted interviews. Taxes from the Kalaktang [kha legs steng] and Dirang [rdi rang] areas were collected by *dzongpon* [*rdzong* dpon] of Taklung Dzong [stag lung *rdzong*] and Dirang Dzong [rdi rang *rdzong*], respectively, and transported to Tawang Monastery. Taxes were collected from the Tawang area by Tawang Monastery as well as by Gyangkhar Dzong [rgyang mkhar *rdzong*]. Taxes received at Gyangkhar Dzong were transported to Tsona Dzong [mtsho sna *rdzong*] over Bumla ['bum la] Pass in May or June by the *dzongpon*. Assistants of the *dzongpon* collected taxes from the Dakpanang [dags pa nang] and Pangchen [spang chen] areas and transported those taxes to Tsona Dzong in May or June. Tax collection in the Dirang and Kalaktang areas halted for a period in 1946, and it was completely terminated after Gyangkhar Dzong and Tawang Monastery were controlled by the government of India in 1951. The Tawang area still provides religious tribute to Tawang Monastery)

dzongpon of Gyangkhar Dzong was jointly appointed by the Tsona *dzongpon* and officials of Tawang Monastery. According to several British sources, both Tsona Dzong and Gyangkhar Dzong were used by the Tsona *dzongpon* as summer and winter residences (Chakravarty 1953), respectively, but this is not supported by Tibetan sources (Ye shes 'phrin las 1983). The *dzongpon* of Tsona Dzong commissioned Tawang Monastery to collect tax from the areas of the Dirang and Kalaktang. One or two *dzongpon*, who held 3-year terms, were sent to each area by the monastery. In each village, the *tsorgen* ([gtso rgyan]: village mayor) collected the tax and stored it in his dwelling. A *dzongpon* traveled around the villages and transported the tax from one *tsorgen*'s place to the next using villagers as helpers. In 1938 and 1946, before Indian independence, the British colonial administration objected to the tax-collection system operated by the *dzongpon* since it obliged villages to offer their services for free. However, the system was not abolished then.

According to *Three Years in Tibet* by Ekai Kawaguchi (1909), the Tibetan administration in Lhasa in about 1900 consisted of 165 monks and the same number of secular individuals serving as senior officials. According to Yamaguchi (1987), those numbers were 175 monks and 175 secular individuals. More details were reported by Kawaguchi (1909). The Tibetan monks were under the direction of four senior secretaries and the secular staff under four ministers. The cabinet consisted of four ministers, three chancellors, two military ministers, one steward of palace, one minister of religion, one attorney general, and four senior secretaries in holy orders. A pair of senior officials—one sacred and one secular—were sent to the *dzong* or the provinces under the order of the Tibetan government. Taxes could be paid in the form of goods or silver coins. Most of the tax collected was used to support monks. According to Kawaguchi (1909), there were then 24,000–25,000 monks in Lhasa, and other monks were distributed across the regions.

Kawaguchi (2012 [1909]: 145) discussed the *dzong* in Chapter 117, "Financial Administration of Tibet", as follows:

> In each province there are two places where the collection of taxes is made for the Government, one of which is the temple, and the other the Local Government office; for the people are divided into two classes: (1) those who are governed by the temple and (2) those who are governed by the Local Government. They pay their taxes to the Central Government through their respective Governors. In each local district, there is what is called a Zong. This was originally a castle built for warlike purposes, but in times of peace it serves as a Government office, where all the functions of Government are carried out, so taxes are also collected there. The Zong is almost always found standing on the top of a hillock of about three hundred feet and a Zongpon (chief of the castle), generally a layman lives in it. He is the chief Governor of the district and collects taxes and sends the things or money he has gathered to the Central Government. The Zongpon is not paid by the Central Government directly, but subtracts the equivalent of his pay from the taxes he has collected.

The account in the early twentieth century by Yamaguchi (1987) is as follows:

> There were a total of 52 fortress-like *dzong* in the provinces, with one or two resident officials called *dzongdoe* (*rdzong sdod*) at each of them. Depending on the area, the resident official was referred to as the chief *goba* (*sgo pa*) or tax officer, *tshukpa* (*tshugs pa*). The resident officials of the 24 most important areas, such as Tsona, enjoyed treatment almost equal to that of senior officials in Lhasa.

There was a *dzongpon* residence within a *dzong* in the Monpa area. The walls contained several crenels allowing guns to be fired from within. Apprentices called *gethruk* (*dge'phrug*), who worked under the *dzongpon*, were in charge of actual tax collection. A fully ordained monk called a *gelong* (*dge slong*) was the highest official working under the *dzongpon*. One of the *dzongpon* appointed in Dirang and Taklung Dzong had to be a *gelong* monk. Gyangkhar Dzong, Dirang Dzong, and Taklung Dzong had jails, and they were used to imprison people who refused to pay tax as well as other criminals.

There were four types of *dzong* in the Monpa area:

Daryab [mda' g.yab]: a *dzong* that functioned as a checkpoint; *mda' g.yab* means "border" or "balcony" in Tibetan.

Ta [lta]: a *dzong* that functioned as an observation post; *lta* means "to watch" in Tibetan.

Fig. 3.2 Chaksam [lcags zam] (*lcags* means "iron" and *zam* means "bridge") was built by Thangtong Gyalpo [thang stong rgyal po] (1361–1485) in the Tawang area

Chu [chu]: a *dzong* that functioned as a tower on the side of a bridge; *chu* means "river" in Tibetan.
Seng [g.yab]: a *dzong* that located on a cliff; *seng g.yab* means cliff in Tibetan.

Dirang Dzong is a *ta dzong*, whereas Gyangkhar Dzong and Taklung Dzong are categorized as *daryab dzong*. An example of a *chu dzong* is Chaksam [lcags zam], where *lcags* means "iron" and *zam* means "bridge." This was built by Thangtong Gyalpo [thang stong rgyal po] (1385–1464 or 1361–1485: a great Buddhist adept) in the Tawang area (Amundsen 2001) (Fig. 3.2). He is said to have built as many as 108 bridges in Bhutan, Tibet, and the Monpa area. Some of these remain as ruins in Bhutan and Monyul, and a reconstructed version of another of his bridges is still in use. The existence of iron bridges is mentioned in Kawaguchi's *Three Years in Tibet* (1909), which suggests that there used to be a number of iron bridges in that country.

3.2 Formation of Taklung Dzong Fortress

Taklung Gompa [*dgon pa*] is one of the oldest fortresses (*dzong*) *gompa* in the Monpa area (Figs. 3.3 and 3.4). It is located upon a small hill at an elevation of 2,186 m. Taklung Gompa is known to have been constructed by a monk named

Fig. 3.3 Taklung Dzong [stag lung *rdzong*] was built by a monk named Tenpe Dronme [bstan pa'i sgron me] in the Kalaktang [kha legs steng] region in the sixteenth century: it is one of the oldest fortresses cum *gompa* [dgon pa] in the Monpa area

Fig. 3.4 A wall of Taklung Dzong [stag lung *rdzong*]: this *dzong* consisted of three floors, but it was destroyed by an earthquake. It was later partially restored

Tenpe Dronme (bstan pa'i sgron me) in the Kalaktang region during the sixteenth century. Tenpe Dronme was a disciple of the second Dalai Lama, Gedun Gyasto [dge 'dun rgya mtsho] (1475–1543; Tenpa 2013). Taklung Dzong [stag lung *rdzong*] was originally constructed as a Buddhist monastery and was later used as a fortress for administrative and tax-collection operations. It was originally a three-story building, with each floor having three rooms (Fig. 3.5). One of the rooms on the ground floor (first floor) was used for storage, and the two remaining rooms were prison cells. The three rooms on the next floor were used as a prayer room, a kitchen, and a private room for the *dzongpon* (Fig. 3.5). The top floor was a *gompa*, which is the term used in the Monpa area to refer to a Tibetan temple.

The etymology of "Taklung" is as follows. Three monks including Tenpe Dronme were looking for a site to construct a *gompa*. They came across a tiger upon a large rock. Two of the monks wanted to kill the animal, but Tenpe Dronme stopped them. The site was thereafter named Taklung as a result of this incident since *stag* means "tiger" and *lung* signifies "rock" or "prophecy." A large rock may still be seen in front of Taklung Dzong. It is said that Tenpe Dronme built the *gompa* to defend the nearby village from a demon called *sinpo* [*srin po*] in the Monpa language.

Cereal grains and specialty goods were collected as tax. Examples of specialty goods include *Rubia manjith*, known locally as *laningru* [la nin 'bru] or *leinauri* [le'i na'u ri] (Fig. 3.6), *arba* of plant to use for color fixative, and a type of paper called *boi shuku* [*bod shog gu*] (Fig. 3.7) made from *Daphne papyracea* that is known locally as *shokshoku shing* [*shog shog bu shing*]. *Laningru* was used to produce a red dye for coloring the clothing worn by monks (Fig. 4.28). *Laningru* is decocted, and it is employed to dye clothes. *Arba* is decocted in the boiled water, and clothes are then soaked there for color fixing. The Monpa believe that *arba* prevents dyed clothes from fading. The native dresses of Monpa women are also dyed with a red stain (Figs. 3.8 and 4.24), though this is called lac and is produced from insects (*Laccifer lacca*). This colorant is not used for clothes worn by monks since they believe it to be produced from the blood of insects so it is inappropriate for them.

As noted above, taxes collected in the region were transferred to Tawang Monastery and the *dzongpon* were appointed from the monastery on 3-year terms. When a *dzongpon* traveled to transport taxes, the *koenyer lama* [*dkon gnyer bla ma*], the caretaker of the *gompa*, instructed *gethruk* (apprentice monks) to assist. It is reasonable to assume that the taxes collected at Taklung Dzong, notably cereal grains, were used primarily for expenditures related to the *Dungyur* [*gdung 'gyur*] and *Torgya* [*gtor rgyag*] festivals held at Tawang Monastery. The former is held every 3rd year and the latter every year. Any surplus money was taken by the *dzongpon*.

The taxation system of the *dzongpon* was completely eliminated in 1951. As Indian influences became more prevalent in the area after the Indian independence from Britain in 1947, the taxation system ended, and the local *dzongpon* returned to Tibet or to Tawang Monastery.

Taklung Dzong was destroyed and became a ruin as the result of a large earthquake in 1950. Around that time, the location of Taklung Dzong, on the border between the Assam region of British India and the Monpa area of Tibet, was of

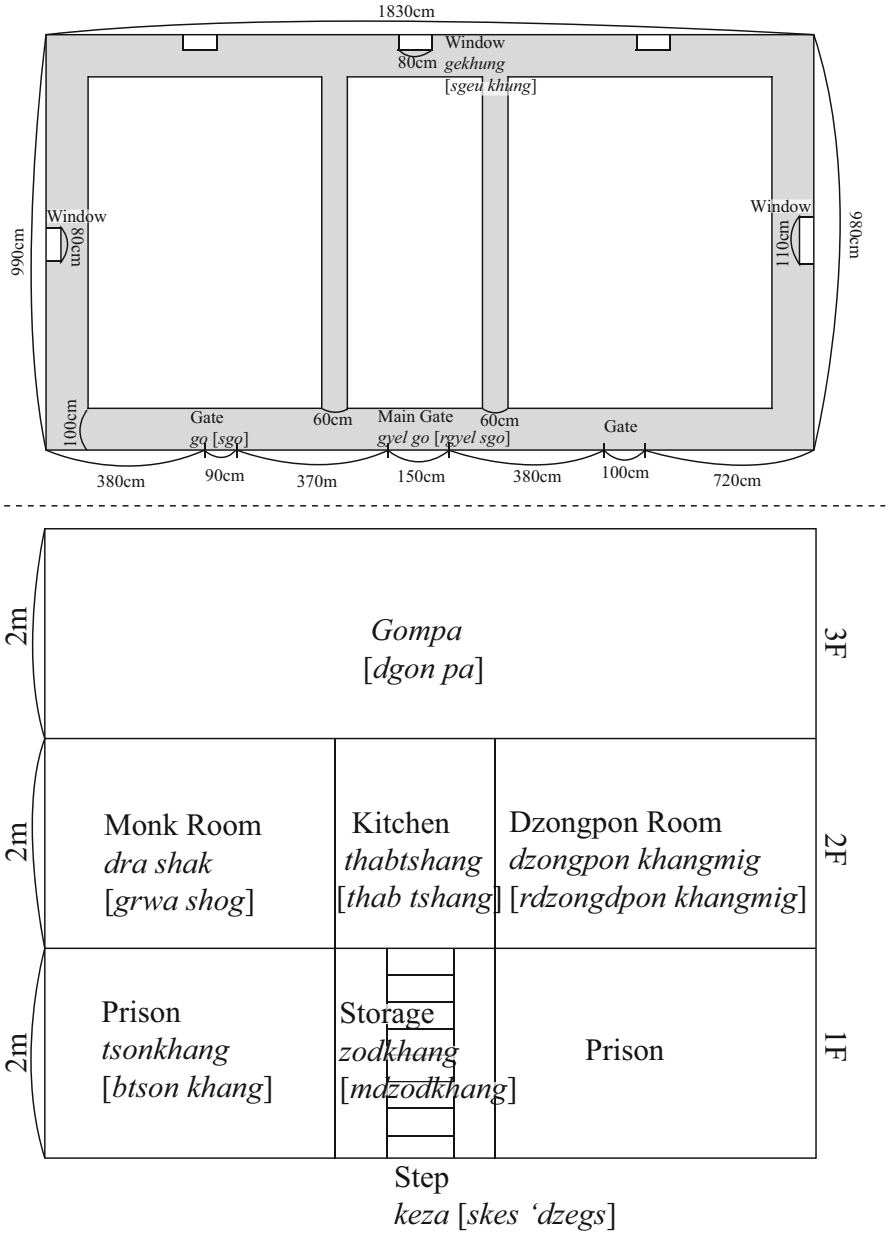

Fig. 3.5 Plan and cross-section of Taklung Dzong [stag lung *rdzong*] (Produced from results of a survey undertaken on-site)

Fig. 3.6 *Rubia manjith* is locally known as *laningru* or *leinauri* [la ning'bru or le'i nau ri]; it is *btsod* in Tibetan. The roots contain a colorant that is extracted and used to dye the red robes of monks

Fig. 3.7 The paper called *boi shuku* [bod shog] is produced from *Daphne papyracea* trees, which are locally called *shokshoku shing* [shog shog bu shing]

Fig. 3.8 The Monpa style jacket is locally called *toedung* [stod 'thung]. It is dyed red by means of a colorant called lac, produced from insects (*Laccifer lacca*)

significance. An old road mainly used by Bhutanese or Monpa traders was located close by, and assistants of the *dzongpon* collected tariffs at the entrance of the *dzong* (Fig. 3.9). Tawang, Dirang, and Sanglam [gsang lam], and Taklung *dzong* as well as the *gompa* in Rupa were all located on this trading route. That connected Udalguri in Assam and Tsona in Tibet. The route was regularly used by traders and others for commerce and pilgrimages (Narain Jha 2006). The amount of tariff levied for passing through Taklung Dzong was determined by the price and quantity of goods.

To provide the traditional Monpa dress, Bhutan traders visited the Tangla area (home of the Rava people) and Udalguri (home of the Bodo people in Assam) to acquire the silk known as *aliane*. They then returned to Bhutan and dyed the silk with a colorant made from *lac*, described above, before bringing the dyed silk back to Assam. Rava and Bodo people would then weave the final product, with the resultant fabric being sold in Monpa villages. When transporting the fabric from Assam to the Monpa area, the traders had to pay the road tariff at Taklung Dzong. From the silk fabric brought to their villages, the Monpa people produced the following materials: *shingka* or *shinka*, a one-piece dress for women; *toedung* [stod 'thung], a jacket worn over the *shingka*; and *ahlung*, white plain silk fabric. *Ahlung* was used to produce *dorna* [dor na], the trousers worn by Monpa men, and the shirts worn by both women and men. According to Wakita (2009), fabrics for the Monpa's *shingka* and *toedung* were produced mainly in eastern Bhutan and Assam. Import of the

Fig. 3.9 This old road close to Taklung Dzong [stag lung *rdzong*] was used by Bhutan or Monpa traders. Assistants of the *dzongpon* [*rdzong dpon*] collected tariffs at the entrance to the *dzong*. The entrance is visible in the photograph

lac-dyed fabric for such clothes began in the 1930s at the latest. Before these imports started, the locals wore woolen *shingka* made of a commonly-available yarn and other clothes made of white cotton and silk.

A *dzongpon* normally demanded his own private residence outside a village. It was said that he would often hit villagers with a whip, known locally as a *taicha* [*rta lcag*], if the dwelling was not sufficiently comfortable. It was also said that he ordered villagers to feed his horse, and if the bell around the horse's neck stopped ringing he would also hit them. It would appear that *dzongpon* were feared by the villagers. Similar information was also provided in other areas, such as Senge Dzong.

A monk appointed as a caretaker of a *gompa*, the *koenyer lama*, was sent from Tawang Monastery and resided in Taklung Dzong from 1947 to 1964 (Fig. 3.10). Around the same period, another *koenyer lama* was also sent from the monastery to Namshu Gompa in the Dirang area. The monks of Tawang Monastery were asked to work as caretakers at the 18 *gompa* (now only 12) under its supervision. A Tawang Monastery monk typically served as *koenyer lama* at three different *gompa* for 3 years each (i.e. 9 years altogether) before finally returning to his home institution. A monk sent to a village by the monastery was supposed to play a crucial religious and social role (Dorjee 2006). However, in the case of Taklung Gompa, the influence of Tawang Monastery disappeared following the death of Sang Tashi [sangs

Fig. 3.10 Taklung Gompa [stag lung rdzong *dgon pa*]

rgyas bkra shis], the very last *koenyer lama* appointed by the institution. Since then, the villagers have chosen a local person as their *koenyer lama*. The current *koenyer lama* is selected by the 21 villages of the area to be the caretaker of the *gompa*. The current *koenyer lama* is the fifth to be appointed in this way (at the time of writing in 2011). The most probable reason for terminating the residence system in the Dirang and Kalaktang areas was their physical remoteness. In some cases, appointed lamas married and settled down locally at their posts.

Currently, the locally appointed *koenyer lama* visits several of the 21 villages in one circuit while carrying the holy icon of Dorjee Chang [rdo rje 'chang]. This is said to be the figure that received Tenpe Dronme when he descended from the sky. The *koenyer lama* stays overnight at each village—except for the village of Boha, where he stays three nights for a ceremony that lasts 3 days. His usual accommodation in each village is the *tsorgen*'s dwelling, and the villagers gather there.

The *koenyer lama* places the icon on each villager's head. He provides holy necklaces called *sungma* [srung ma], which expel evil and enable the villagers to travel safely and enjoy good fortune and a long life, as well as incense sticks called *pos* [*spos*] and religious offerings called *torma* [gtor ma], made of barley and corn powder. Villagers bring gifts called *phok* [phogs] to the *tsorgen*'s dwelling. Each household contributes 7 *brey* [bre] of corn, 12 *brey* of rice, or other materials, including money as well as seasonal agricultural products such as oranges, sugar cane, and Japanese pepper (*Zanthoxyli fructus*). A *brey* is a cylindrical measuring cup that

holds more than 600 g of cereal grain (see Sect. 7.4 for additional details regarding measurement). These items become a source of income for the *koenyer lama*.

When the *koenyer lama* travels to the next village, a few villagers escort him and transport the *phok*. The *tsorgen* informs the next village of the travel schedule of the *koenyer lama* beforehand to enable them to make preparations.

The *koenyer lama* is often a *tsespa lama* [*rtsis pa bla ma*] (see Sect. 4.1). Three days after the birth of a child, the *tsespa lama* is invited and asked to write down the child's name, birthday, and Chinese zodiac sign on a sheet of *boi shuku* (Fig. 3.7) paper. He uses an astrological book called a *kartsi* [*dkar rtsis*] to determine the child's name. During this event, a feast is held by the relatives and neighbors. Traditionally, the youngest son is supposed to take care of aged parents in the Kalaktang Monpa communities (Barua and Ahmad 1995).

3.3 Formation of Dirang Dzong Fortress

The present Dirang Dzong [rdi rang *rdzong*] fortress is considered to have been constructed in 1831 when *dzongpon* administrations were strengthened in Monyul. This *dzong* is a four-story building with crenels and contains a dwelling for the *dzongpon* at its center. There is a jail adjacent to the building (Fig. 3.11). The dwellings of villagers surround the *dzongpon*'s fortress and all are enclosed by walls (Fig. 3.12). When the plan to construct the *dzong* in Dirang village was conceived, the Buddhist villagers were so pious that they opposed the secular governance of Tawang Monastery (Sarkar 1978). A violent clash occurred when 12 leaders of the village families resisted the construction. The village leaders were killed, and a long *mani* [*MaNi*] wall was built as a monument to commemorate them (Fig. 3.13). *Mani* walls were built by the families of deceased individuals as a cenotaph and used as places of rest for travelers.

Tawang Monastery sent the *dzongpon* to Dirang Dzong with a 3-year term, and he collected tax from the large Dirang area. The tax collected was transported to the village of Nyukmadung by the villagers of Lish, Chug, and Sangti. Nyukmadung villagers then conveyed the tax to Senge Dzong. Finally, the collected tax arrived at Tawang Monastery (Figs. 2.5, 3.1 and 4.21). Tax collected in the Taklung Dzong was also sent to the monastery via Dirang Dzong.

The *khray* or *thre* [*khral*] tax used to be levied on 2–3 acres (8,000–12,000 m^2) of land in the Dirang area. A *khray* is a measure, and it is equivalent to 20 *brey* measuring cups. The cylindrical *brey* measuring cups are 8 cm in depth and 14 cm in diameter: 20 *brey* of cereal grain weighs approximately 12 kg (Fig. 7.12). Owner of small land could pay *khray* by fire woods or grass for horse etc. A local interview (Mizuno, August 2010) revealed that an owner of 12 acres (48,000 m^2) of cultivated land had to pay 80 *brey* of cereal grains as tax. The *dzongpon* was in charge of collecting taxes until 1951 (i.e. more than 3 years after Indian independence from Britain in 1947). The cereal grain collected as tax by Dirang Dzong was allocated primarily to the Monlam Chenmo [*smon lam chen mo*] festival held in Tawang

Fig. 3.11 Dirang Dzong [rdi rang *rdzong*], the present fortress is believed to have been constructed in 1831 and it was restored in the early 2000s. The photograph shows the central four-story building with crenels. It is used as the dwelling of the *dzongpon* [*rdzong* dpon]. The structure visible on the left-hand side of the photograph was used as a jail

Fig. 3.12 Dirang Dzong [rdi rang *rdzong*] composed of dwellings of villagers surround that of the *dzongpon* [*rdzong dpon*], which is enclosed by walls. The photograph shows the gate in the wall

Fig. 3.13 A violent clash occurred when 12 leaders of families from the village resisted the construction of Dirang Dzong [rdi rang *rdzong*]. They were all killed, and a long *mani* [MaNi] wall was built as a monument to commemorate them

Monastery during the 1st month of the Tibetan lunar calendar (around February and March), but these funds were also used in Tibet and the Monpa area (Sarkar 1975a, b, 1978, 1980, 1981). Anything remaining from the collected tax was presumably taken by the *dzongpon* of Dirang Dzong. *Three Years in Tibet* (Kawaguchi 1909) described the Festival of Monlam as the largest festival and prayer service in Tibet. It is held from the 3rd to 25th days of the 1st month of the Tibetan lunar calendar. Kawaguchi (1909) also noted that 25,000 to 26,000 monks traveled from local temples to Lhasa. It is reasonable to assume that the Festival of Monlam held in Tawang Monastery was also on a very large scale with large expenditure.

3.4 Formation of Gyangkhar Dzong Fortress

Villagers in the Tawang area paid tax not just to Gyangkhar Dzong [rgyang mkhar *rdzong*] but also to Tawang Monastery. Whereas cereal grains were paid as tax to the monastery, various kinds of local specialties were collected and paid to Gyangkhar Dzong (Fig. 3.14). These included paper called *boi shuku* from the village of Mukto [mog tog], inks of vegetable origin from the Dakpanang people, and dried vegetable and wooden containers from the people of Zemithang and Tsangporong

Fig. 3.14 Only the foundations of Gyangkhar Dzong [rgyang mkhar *rdzong*] remain today: as its main structure was dismantled, the stone was used to construct Nehru Gompa [*dgon pa*]

[gtsang po rong]. Tax collected at Gyangkhar Dzong was initially transported to Tsona Dzong via Bumla Pass by a party led by the *dzongpon* in May or June. The journey took 4 days and included Bumla Pass on the first night, Sha'og [sha'og] on the second night, Jamo Kharmo [bya mo dkar mo] on the third night, and finally Tsona Dzong on the 4th day (Fig. 2.5). At Tsona Dzong, the party was replaced by Tibetans, who took 10 days to reach Lhasa. Details of this Tibetan part of the travel route were apparently as follows: Tengshot [steng zhol] on the first night; Nyei Shatra [nyal sha khra] on the second night; Nyei Rithang [nyal ri thang] on the third night; Gyero [rgyal ro] on the fourth night; Karkhang Darding [kar khang dar lding] on the fifth night; Tuumbthru Drema Lhagang [ldum thru sgrol ma lha khang] on the sixth night; Tsethang [btse thang] on the seventh night; Samyas or Samyas Gyalgo [bsam yas rgyal sgo] on the eighth night; Dechin [bde chen] on the ninth night; and finally Lhasa on the 10th day. Although the journey between Samyas and Lhasa was within 1 day's traveling distance, an extra day was usually spent at Dechin because it was a scenic pilgrimage site. When Bumla Pass was blocked owing to snow, an alternative route was used via Dakpanang and Pangchen in the Zemithang area (Figs. 2.5 and 3.1).

Shar Nima Tshosum [shar nyi ma tsho gsum] or Laog yulsum [la 'og yul gsum] is the ancient name of the present Tawang Subdivision. Shar Nima Tshotsum was based on the administrative unit known as the *tsho* during the period when the

dzongpon was responsible for collecting taxes. The *dzongpon* gave tax-related instructions to the *tsorgen*, the mayor of every village, such as Shar tsho [Shar tsho], Lhou tsho [Lha'u tsho], and Seru tsho [Bse ru tsho], in Monyul. Those *tsorgen* then passed on instructions to individuals known as *gomi* [sgo mi] and *thumi* [mthu mi] or *chopon* [bcu dpon] in the Dirang area. The *gomi* and *thumi* collected tax directly from the villagers during the winter cereal grain-harvesting season (between November and May) and stored the tax at the *tsorgen*'s dwelling. The appointments of *gomi* and *thumi* were chosen in turn from among the villagers each year. Although the task they had to complete was identical, the *gomi* apparently had greater responsibility than the *thumi*.

During the period of the *dzongpon*-operated taxation system, the villages constituted large administrative units called *tsho* or *ding* [tsho or lding]. Each *tsho* or *ding* was under one or two *tsorgen*. As Table 3.1 indicates, each large area that operated as one administrative unit contained a small number of villages: the Pangchenpa area, denoted as Pangchen Dingdruk [spang chen lding drug], consisted of six clusters of villages; the Dakpanang area, denoted as Dakpa Tshogey [dags pa tsho brgyad], consisted of eight clusters of villages; and the Tawang Monpa area, denoted as Shar Nima Tshosum, consisted of three clusters of villages. During that *dzongpon-operated* period, the other administrative units were as follows: the Mago Thingbu and Lukguthang areas, denoted as Magthing Luksum; the Senge Dzong and Dirang areas, denoted as Dangnang Tshoduk [sbrang nang tsho *drug*]; and the Kalaktang Monpa area, denoted as Rongnang Toemey [rong nang *stod smed*] or Rongnang Tshoshi [rong nang tsho *bzhi*]. The names of those administrative units were compiled during the interviews (Mizuno, February & May 2011) in the preparation of this book. They were later confirmed using Tibetan textual sources (Table 3.1). It should be noted that some of the villages in each of the large administrative units contained a number of settlements that today function independently as villages.

The contemporary Tawang and West Kameng districts, which cover all the historical administrative units mentioned above, apparently had 254 *tsorgen* in the *dzongpon*-operated taxation period. It is reasonable to assume that *tsorgen* at that time had greater authority in their administrative units than their present-day equivalents do. *Tsorgen* counted, recorded, and managed the tax collected and temporarily stored it in their homes. *Dzongpon* transported the tax collected from one settlement to another and finally stored it at Gyangkhar Dzong in May or June. To undertake this tax transport operation, the *tsorgen* selected a settlement in turn and authorized its occupants to convey the tax (Fig. 3.1). It was transported from Gyangkhar Dzong to the village of Shao via Bumla Pass, and then Shao villagers took charge of the onward route to Tsona Dzong. In this system, the settlement in charge of transporting the collected tax was called *ula* ['u lag]. Villagers used horses from their villages to carry the burden.

Taxes were collected under the aegis of the *tsorgen* of each of the eight villages (*tsho*) during winter (between November and May) in the Dakpanang area, which was then known as Dakpa Tshogey and spanned the area from the village of Gyada [rgya mda'] to that of Shakthi [shag sti]. The tax was collected and stored at the home of the *tsorgen* of Lumla [rlung la], which was considered the hub village,

Table 3.1 Administrative units used by *dzongpon* [*rdzong dpon*] to collect tax for Tsona Dzong [mtsho sna *rdzong*] and Tawang Monastery

Dzong (Fortress)	Tsho/ding	Sub-Tsho/ding	Villages in the Tsho/ding	Present status/ remarks
Tawang Gonpa Gyangkhar Dzong	3 Eastern Tsho of Nyima (Shar Nyima Tshosum)	(1) Shar Tsho	Kitpi, Sharnub, Audung, Khurdung, etc.	Tawang District
		(2) Seru Tsho	Seru, Trimu, Namet, etc.	
		(3) Lhou Tsho	Jang, Mukto, Gangkhar, etc.	
	8 Western Tsho of Dakpa (Dakpa Tshogey)	(1) Sakpret Tsho	Sakpret, etc.	
		(2) Mukho shaksum Tsho	Muktur, Shurbi, Khokem, Shakti, etc.	
		(3) Ungla Tsho	Lumla, Khozo, Pharmey, Ongla, Dugumba, etc.	
		(4) Sanglung Tsho	Narmaleng, Marmey, Namtsering, Sanghar, etc.	
		(5) Khabong Tsho	Kharung, Bomja, Bongleng, etc.	
		(6) Trilam Tsho	Thrilam, Mangnam, Sakyur, Burkung, etc.	
		(7) Thongleng Tsho	Thongleng, Kungba, etc.	
		(8) Pamakhar Tsho	Pamakhar, etc.	
	6 Ding of Pangchen (Pangchen Dingduk)	(1) Panchen Shoktsan Barding/ Nekording		
		(2) Panchen Shoktsan Toeding		
		(3) Pangchen Shoktsan Meeding		
		(4) Klubum/ Lhunpo Ding		
		(5) Muchoe Ding		
		(6) Latshe Kharmen Ding		
	1 Tsho of Shau Hro Jangdak		3–4 Villages	
	4 Tsho of Lekpo (Lekpo Tshozhi)	(1) Sinmo Tsho		Tibet Autonomous Region
		(2) Gomri Tsho		
		(3) Kyipa Tsho		
		(4) Shanglang Tsho		

Senge Dzong Dirang Dzong	6 Tsho of Drangnang (Drangnang Tshoduk)	(1) Senge Dzong/Nyukmadung Tsho	2–4 villages	West Kameng District
		(2) Chug Tsho	2–4 villages	
		(3) Lish Tsho	2–4 villages	
		(4) Sangti Tsho	6–8 villages	
		(5) Dirang Tsho	12–16 villages	
		(6) Namshu/Thembang Tsho	8–12 villages	
Taklung Dzong	4 Tsho of Rongnang (Rongnang Toemey)	(1) Toe Tsho	Murshing, Sanglam, Domkha, Phudung, etc.	
		(2) Mee Tsho	Bokhar, Shampong, Tsingki, etc.	
		(3) Shertuk Tsho	Sher (Shergoan), Tukpen (Rupa), etc.	
		(4) Rakhul Tsho	Rakhung, Khuldam, etc.	

Produced from locally conducted interviews, written sources of the 5th Dalai Lama's Edict of 1680, Thupten Choephel (1988: 24–43), and Yeshi Thinle (1983: 132–163)

ongla tsho ['ong la tsho] (Fig. 3.1, Table 3.1). The tax was transported to Tsona Dzong via the Pangchenpa area, which was then known as Pangchen Dingdruk, and also via Lebo Tshoshi [Legs po tsho *bzhi*] in Tibet. It was transported by means of the *ula* system under the supervision of aides of the *dzongpon*, who, according to British sources, was simultaneously in charge of both Tsona Dzong and Gyangkhar Dzong. Since agriculture and stockbreeding were practiced in the Pangchenpa area, the tax collected consisted of cheese and butter. The *dzongpon* with the tax collected from the Tawang Monpa area (Shar Nima Tshosum) and his aides with the tax collected from both the Dakpanang and Pangchenpa areas, stayed together at Tsona Dzong from June to October. They made the short trip to transport the collected tax to Lhasa during that time. They then returned to Gyangkhar Dzong via Bumla Pass in October or November and stayed there from November to May (Fig. 3.1).

People belonging to the Dakpanangpa but with a slightly different language and living in the area between present-day Shakti and the border with the Pangchenpa area are called Khobleytang ['khob legs steng] (Fig. 3.1). Since this area is close to the border between the Dakpanangpa and Pangchenpa areas, the two local languages appear to have amalgamated.

The village mayor was referred as *gyepo* [rgan po], rather than *tsorgen* in Magthing Luksum, where pastoral people had established the Mago, Thingbu, and Lukguthang settlements. The *gyepo* instructed *gomi* or *thumi* to collect tax. The tax of cheese and butter was initially collected and stored at Tsona Dzong's subsidiary administrative office, Kishong Deba [skyid shongs sde pa], and then transported to Tsona Dzong (Fig. 3.1).

Tax collected in the area from Jang [byang] to Sela and Gomkang [sgom khang] was also transported via Zemithang if Bumla Pass was blocked by snow in May and June (Figs. 2.5 and 3.1). Villages in the Tawang area used to pay tax not just to Gyangkhar Dzong (i.e. to Lhasa via Tsona Dzong) but also to Tawang Monastery, although tax to Gyangkhar Dzong was terminated in 1951.

We conducted an interview (Mizuno, February 2011) with an 81-year-old part-time monk, a *minakpa lama* [mi nag pa bla ma] or simply a lama (in the Tawang area), living in the village of Aodung [a'u gdung] (2,192 m above sea level). He claimed to have been to Tsona at the age of 20 as an itinerant merchant. At that time, he transported dried vegetables, sweet potatoes, and chilies from his village and sold or exchanged them in Tsona, and he brought back silver coins, clothes, dried yak meat, cheese, butter, and rock salt and sold or exchanged them in his village. Many Monpa and Tibetan merchants visited Tsona around that time since large summer fairs were held once a month in May, June, and July. When the interviewee traveled (around 1950), he stayed in an army bunker the first night after departing from his village and in the tent of a pastoral worker who lived close to Shyo [zhol] the second night (Fig. 2.5). The final part of the trip was to Tsona Dzong by way of Kyakyenla [skyag gyen la] Pass.

Gyangkhar Dzong was a two-story fortress, and its *dzongpon* was resident there. In about 1960, approximately 50 years before the interview, the interviewee, several people from Aodung village, and others from the surrounding villages transported stone materials from Gyangkhar Dzong to Tawang and built Nehru Gompa. Wealthy

Fig. 3.15 Pema Gombu [Padma mgon po], the *tsorgen* [gtso rgan] (village mayor) of Lhou [lha'u]; He died five months after Mizuno's May 2011 interview

villagers used horses while other villagers carried the materials themselves. They managed to transport all the materials in 11 days by completing two round-trips from Gyangkhar Dzong to the destination. Today, only the foundation of Gyangkhar Dzong remains (Fig. 3.14).

Another interview with a monk of Tawang Monastery revealed that Major Ralengnao (Bob) Khathing, an administrative assistant officer of the independent Indian government, played a crucial role in the removal of *dzongpon* from the Tawang area to Tibet in 1951 and the subsequent abolishment of tax collection (Tenpa 2014). The same monk also stated that Pema Gombu [padma mgon po], the *tsorgen* of the village of Lhou, had been the leader of the *tsorgen* of the villages in the Tawang area in the meeting organized by Major Khathing.

We visited the Lhou (pronounced "hoh") village in February 2011 and requested an interview with the *tsorgen*, but this was not possible because of his poor health. Following a wish for his recovery, we made a second visit in May 2011. Initially the reply was negative, but he finally permitted us a short interview. Pema Gombu, 84 years old at the time of the interview, was born in 1927 and had been the *tsorgen* for more than 50 years (Fig. 3.15). We held a preparatory meeting with Pema Gombu's son, Urgan Tsering [u rgyan tshe ring], and had an interview with Pema Gombu himself in the presence of the son on the following day. The following is a summary of his account in the interview (Mizuno, May 2011).

Since 1944, especially at the beginning of Indian independence in 1946, British-ruled India tried to abolish taxation by *dzongpon* in the Dirang and Kalaktang areas, requesting that the *dzongpon* either remain in the *dzong* or return to Tawang. However, since the taxation contributed to Tawang Monastery or to locally resettled former officials, the local people themselves continued this practice until 1951. Because both the *dzongpon* of Dirang Dzong and Taklung Dzong were appointed from the office of Tawang Monastery, they were mostly natives of Monyul. Therefore, the *dzongpon* remained at the *dzong* as caretakers, moved to the *gompa* of the *dzong*, or returned to their respective villages in the Tawang district or to Tawang Monastery. However, the dominance of the *dzongpon* and the Tibetan administrator *kungo la-nyer* [*sku ngo bla gnyer*] at Tawang Monastery continued in the Tawang area until 1951. Well before Indian independence and the creation of the McMahon Line in 1914, Tibet had ceded the Monpa area to Britain in return for a "supply of British weapons" and their services as mediators in the China–Tibet border talks in the Kham/Amdo region. However, owing to concerns that Tibet might be occupied by China, it was British India's boundary policy to create a buffer state with natural boundaries between Tibet and British India.

Therefore, Major Khathing traveled from Dirang to the village of Jang in the Tawang region in 1951 and assembled the *tsorgen* (Shar tsho, Lhou tsho, and Seru tsho) of the Shar Nima Tshosum region, which was then the Tawang Monpa area. These villages covered wide areas and contained settlements that were the equivalent of contemporary villages. Those settlements sent *gomi* and *thumi* (assistants to the *tsorgen*) to the assembly. Major Khathing instructed Pema Gombu, *tsorgen* of the Lhou tsho, and others to see the *dzongpon* at Gyangkhar Dzong and encourage him to accept the Indian delegation's visit. Pema Gombu and others had a meeting with Ngyerpa Konchok La [*gnyer pa* dkon mchog lags], the assistant officer of the *dzongpon* of Gyangkhar Dzong, and informed him of the intention of the Indian delegation. After that meeting, Pema Gombu returned to the village of Jang and reported what had happened to Major Khathing. On February 6, 1951, 2 days after Pema Gombu's return to Jang, the delegation moved to Lebrang Tsangbu [bla brang gtsang bu].

On February 9, Major Khathing and the Tibetan officials began discussing territorial issues. The Tibetan official, Lanyer Thubten Choephel [bla gnyer Thub bstan chos'phel] (1988), and representatives from Tawang Monastery informed the Indian delegation that they had sent a messenger to Lhasa to inform the Tibetan government about the current state of affairs. On February 14, the *dzongpon* and his assistants visited Major Khathing in Tawang. They demanded that the delinquent taxes be paid and that the services of 20 people per day be provided free of charge; however, these proposals were rejected. Pema Gombu stated, "India is our nation, and Tawang is a part of India. We shall respect Indian laws." Shortly afterward, the Indian administrative assistant officer took over governance of the Tawang region; the *dzongpon* and his people accepted the change and gradually left the area. After that incident, the tax burden on the inhabitants of the Tawang area was reduced to that of Tawang Monastery. As well as Pema Gombu, *Tsorgen* of the village of Gyangkhar and of the village of Surbi [zhur bi] played important roles throughout this process.

Regarding the proportion of tax collected by the *dzongpon* that was delivered to the Tibetan government, Kawaguchi (1909) states that the *dzongpon* embezzled his income from the collected taxes. According to the interview with Pema Gombu, about a quarter of the total tax collected eventually reached the Tibetan government. His account was based on the following personal observations. Pema Gombu was angry with the *dzongpon* because his father had been killed by officials of Gyangkhar Dzong. All the *tsorgen* at that time were highly respected, and Pema Gombu's father was especially powerful and also popular among the villagers. His power and popularity frightened the *dzongpon*. Upon the return from his trip to Bhutan, the *dzongpon* treated him with alcohol, let him fall in asleep, and killed him. Pema Gombu then spent 16 days traveling on foot to Lhasa and reported the circumstances sur-

rounding his father's death to the authorities there. It took 2½ years as well as frequent visits to Lhasa before the court made its decision. Pema Gombu won the case and received 600 silver coins from Lhasa and a pledge rendering his family immune to harassments by Tsona officials.

When shuttling between his village and Lhasa, Pema Gombu noticed a discrepancy. The tax collected in the Monpa area was transported to the Tibetan government in Lhasa; however, the amount arriving there was only a quarter of the original amount collected—even by the largest estimate. At that time, the taxes transported to Lhasa were used by the Sera [se ra], Drepung ['bras spung], and Ganden [dga' ldan] monasteries as well as by the Tibetan government. It is reasonable to assume that the other three-quarters of the original tax collected was appropriated primarily by the *dzongpon* and subsequently by senior officials and ministers of the government. Cereal grains, paper, and inks and dye compounds collected as tax were most probably sold and exchanged for silver coins.

Kawaguchi (1909) describes frequent cases of bribery. At that time, bribery was essential to becoming a high priest or senior official in Tibet. Naturally, those who managed to receive such high positions were limited to members of wealthy families. Families producing monarchic officials, such as *dzongpon*, were also predetermined and mostly aristocratic. However, some commoners were able to become high-ranking officials in both monastic and aristocratic positions. The latter were achieved mostly through marriages. The following passages are taken from Kawaguchi (2012 [1909]: 108–110):

> By this time the process of consultation had to undergo considerable modifications owing to the fact that the high Lamas who were to be reborn not infrequently omitted enlightening others about the places of their reappearance on the earth. These places had to be discovered, for the Tibetans firmly held, as they do even today, that high Lamas who die are sure to re-incarnated somewhere after the lapse of forty-nine days from the day of death. Hence the necessity to determine the place of such re-incarnation, and this task devolved onto the oracle-invokers of one of the four particular temples mentioned previously.
>
> The process as it is at present is essentially identical to that prevailing in former times, and is exceedingly strange. The mediums or invokers who perform this holy business behave themselves in such an extravagant way that the uninitiated would consider them to be stark mad…
>
> …At any rate the practice of invoking divine oracles extensively came into vogue from the time of the fifth Grand [Dalai] Lama, and is used for all matters great or small, from vexed international problems to trifling questions that admit of solution…
>
> …The Nechung who are under the direct patronage of the Hierarchy are generally very wealthy. This, taken in conjunction with another fact, that the re-incarnations of higher Lamas are generally sons of wealthy aristocrats, or merchants, and that it is only very rarely that they are discovered among the lowly, must be considered as suggesting the working of some collusion. I have even heard that some unscrupulous people corrupt the oracle-priests for the benefit of their unborn children, so as to have their boys accepted as Lamas incarnate when born. From a worldly point of view the expense incurred on this account not infrequently proves a good 'investment', if I may use the profane expression, for the boys who are the objects of the oracles have a good chance of being installed in the temples where their spiritual antecedents presided, which are sure to be large properties. This property goes, it need hardly be added, to the boys, after they have been duly installed. Whatever may have been the practical effect of incarnation in former times, it is, as matters stand at present, an incarnation of all vices and corruptions, instead of the souls of departed Lamas.

Fig. 3.16 Senge Dzong [seng ge *rdzong*] was used to accommodate the *dzongpon* [*rdzong dpon*]

> I once remarked to certain Tibetans that the present mode of incarnation was a glaring humbug and that it was nothing less than an embodiment of bribery. The Nechung [gnas chung] mentioned above refers to the state oracle serving the Dalai Lama and the Government. High ranking governmental officials of Tibet often consulted with the Nechung Oracle about political and religious matters, and received divine revelations.

Apart from the taxes, *khray* collected by Gyangkhar Dzong and Tawang Monastery, each household of the Tawang region also had to pay a tax of one scarf, called a *khada* [*kha btags*], as well as one silver coin called a *betang* [*dngul Trang*], to Drepung Monastery (Narain Jha 2006). In addition, a massive amount of paper for the printing of religious texts and production of prayer flags as well as incense sticks for rogation at a house or bethel, *choisam* [*mchod gshom*], of a monastery were necessary. Because of this demand, cottage industries were established to manufacture paper and incense sticks (Narain Jha 2006).

3.5 Formation of Senge Dzong Fortress

Senge Dzong [seng ge *rdzong*] is located between Dirang Dzong and Gyangkhar Dzong (Fig. 3.16). This *dzong* was constructed and used as an accommodation facility for the *dzongpon*. The settlement, which consisted of only 10 households around 1950,

was located approximately 3,000 m above sea level on the way to Sela Pass. Today, the settlement includes approximately 140 households. However, it was too small for the *dzongpon* and his assistants, and so Senge Dzong was built. The *dzong* was not used for tax collection. Instead of paying taxes, people living around the *dzong* offered and took care of lodging facilities, fuel wood, food, and feedstuff for horses.

Nyukmadung villagers transported the collected taxes to Senge Dzong, where they stayed and ate at the houses of local villagers in accordance with the tradition of *neatsang* [gnas tshang] ("host") (see Sect. 7.4). The term *neatsang* is both a Monpa and Tibetan word, and it indicates mutually supportive and hereditary ties among families. For example, each agricultural family undertakes barter exchanges with a specific pastoral family through such ties.

The *dzongpon* and his party stayed in this *dzong* on journeys to and from Taklung Dzong and Dirang Dzong. Villagers of Senge Dzong transported the collected taxes to the next stop, Jang.

As noted earlier in Sect. 3.2, the *dzongpon* always ordered the villagers to feed his horse. According to our interview (Mizuno, February 2011) with the first *tsorgen* of the village of Senge Dzong (who was born in 1943, was 69 years old at the time of the interview, and about 4 or 5 years old at the time of the events in question), British officials and soldiers with Nepalese physiognomy arrived at Senge Dzong, where they pitched a camp. He claimed that their purpose in the area was to check the border between India and Tibet. Immediately after this visit, the tax collection and its transport were terminated in the Dirang and Kalaktang areas. Tax collection by the *dzongpon* from the Monpa area for Tawang Monastery and the Tibetan government ceased completely in 1951. It is reasonable to assume that the change was a result of Arunachal Pradesh becoming part of India when India became independent from Britain in 1947.

The villagers of the Tawang region still pay tribute to Tawang Monastery, but villagers in the Dirang and Kalaktang regions do not. The Tawang villagers do this partly to maintain age-old traditions but also to strive after virtue for their present and future lives. Some villagers in the Dirang or Kalaktang pay tribute at their respective local monasteries.

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Chapter 4
Tibetan Buddhism, Bon, and Animism

Nuns pounding grain in Singsur Buddhist nunnery [sing zur a ne *dgon pa*], Tawang: they live with teachers, who are also nuns, in a dormitory known as a *shak* [shag] and study at a local village school.

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Abstract People in the Monpa area have followed the Bon religion for many centuries. The Nyingma [rnying ma] sect of Tibetan Buddhism has existed in that area since the eighth century; the Gelug [dge lugs] sect arose in the fifteenth century. Tawang Monastery has long been the central institution of Tibetan Buddhism in the Monpa area. Elements of Tibetan Buddhism and Bon were combined to create a synthesized faith, which has exerted a strong impact on the cultures and societies of that region. In Bon religion, spirits and deities of the mountains have been worshipped as mountain gods for ages. Mountain gods are particular to each area and local people pray and give ritual offerings to their mountain gods in ceremonies. In the Monpa area, Tantric (Esoteric) Buddhism has also been a major influence. The focus of this chapter is on the current relationship between the inhabitants in the Monpa area and their faith. This chapter also examines the daily lives of people engaged in various religious practices.

Keywords Tibetan Buddhism • Monastery • Ritual • Tantric Buddhism • Fortune-telling

4.1 Monpa Area and Tibetan Buddhism

Tibetan Buddhism consists of four major sects: Nyingma, Kagyu [bka' rgyud], Sakya [sa skya], and Gelug. There are also two minor sects—Jonang [jo nang] and Bodong [bo dong]. The latter is particularly associated with Lumla in Tawang.

The Nyingma sect of Tibetan Buddhism, the Red Hat sect, is the successor of the religious tradition from the Tibetan Empire, and its devotees place their faith in Tantric Buddhism based on the earliest translations of Buddhist scriptures. The Nyingma sect follows Mahayana Buddhism, and this sect appeals to the local people's inclination toward miraculous factors. Through this dual composition, the school has achieved mass appeal.

The Gelug sect, which is also known as the Yellow Hat sect, underwent reformation in renouncing the excessive reliance on tantras observed in other sects and rejecting the decadence of the Unexcelled Yoga Tantra, the highest form of Tantric Buddhism. The central practice of the Gelug sect is ascetic training based on strict commandments after entering the priesthood. Gushi Khan of Mongol had conquered most parts of Tibet by 1642 and then supported the fifth Dalai Lama, who became the supreme political and religious authority of both Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism. The Tibetan central government was established with the Dalai Lama as its head, and the Gelug sect became the largest school in Tibetan Buddhism.

The spread of Tibetan Buddhism in the Monpa area is believed to have begun in the seventh century. However, it is likely that monastic institutions did not become established until the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries (Tenpa and Tempa 2013). The textual sources refer to Jang Kyine [byang bskyid gnas] Gompa, which is believed to have been built by the third Karmapa or followers of the Karmapa (Rgyal sras

Fig. 4.1 In a *gompa* [*dgon pa*] in the Monpa area, this statue of Je Tsongkhapa Lobsang Drakpa [rje tsong kha pa blo bzang grags pa] (1357–1419), founder of the Gelug [dge lugs] sect, wears a yellow hat, which indicates that the Gelug sect is on the observer's left (see the photograph on the *left*); this statue of Longchen Rabjampa Drime Ozer [klong chen rab 'byams pa dri med 'od zer] (1308–1364), one of the greatest scholars of the Nyingma sect, wears a red hat, which indicates that the Nyingma [rnying ma] sect is on the observer's right (see the photograph on the *right*). Statues of the two sects are often found together in a *gompa*. The layout of the statues here is that of the Gelug sect. The positions of the two statues are reversed in a *gompa* of the Nyingma sect

sprul sku 2009). A priest named Ugen Sangpo [u rgyan bzang po], the brother of the famous Nyingma master Pema Lingpa [padma gling pa] (1450–1521), traveled from Bhutan to Tawang and built three Nyingma monasteries: Urgyenling [u rgyan gling], Sangeling [sangs rgyas gling], and Tsorgeling [tshogs rgyas gling]. Because the area was close to Bhutan, the main stream of Tibetan Buddhism in the Monpa area became the Nyingma sect. However, the Gelug sect also arrived in the area in the sixteenth century when the second Dalai Lama requested Tenpe Dronme and Lobsang Khetsun [blo bzang mkhas btsun] to establish monasteries in the Monpa area in order to promote the Gelug tradition (Tenpa 2013). Those two individuals built the monasteries of Argyadung [ar yag gdung], Lhangateng [sla nga steng], Sanglamphe [gsang lam phel], and Tadung [rta gdung]. Taklung [stag lung] Gompa at Sanglam in the Kalaktang area was established by the Gelug priest Tenpe Dronme. Eventually, conflicts developed among the Tibetan Buddhist sects. A military force supporting the Gelug sect was sent from Tibet, and the Kagyu and Nyingma factions were largely eliminated. Tawang Monastery—Tawang Ganden Namgyal Lhatse [rta dbang dga' ldan rnam rgyal lha rtse]—was constructed after political consolidation was achieved in 1681. The Gelug sect can be considered the mainstream sect in the Monpa area today, but the Nyingma sect maintains a certain level of popularity, especially in the Dirang area.

It may be assumed that the Gelug and Nyingma traditions merged in the Monpa area. Many *gompa* in the Dirang area belong to the Gelug sect, but they often enshrine Buddha statues with a yellow hat indicating the Gelug sect and a red hat signifying the Nyingma sect (Fig. 4.1). Monks of the two sects often jointly participate in religious ceremonies, such as during the recitation of the Kangyur [bka' 'gyur], Tibetan translation of the Buddha's teaching in 108 volumes. On such occasions, the Gelug

Fig. 4.2 Khinmey [khyi nyal mes] Monastery, or Sangngak Choekhorling [gsang bsngags chos 'khor gling], of the Nyingma sect in Tawang

monks sit to the right and the Nyingma monks to the left in Gelug temples. In Nyingma temples, this order is reversed. Buddha statues are also configured in a similar manner (Fig. 4.1). Whereas monks of the Gelug sect follow strict disciplines and are not allowed to marry, those of the Nyingma and Kagyu sects, who practice or follow tantric traditions, may do so. However, according to Vinaya, the Buddhist monastic regulation, the monks from the latter two sects are not allowed to marry or have female consorts if they have taken full monastic vows. Those monks who have taken a full monastic vow are known as *gelong* [*dge slong*]. Contrasting with celibate monks such as *gelong*, monks who are married or intending to marry wear white shirts or grow their hair.

Sangngak Choekhorling [gsang bsngags chos 'khor gling] Monastery, also known as Khinmey [khyi nyan mes], belongs to the Nyingma sect and is located in Tawang (Fig. 4.2). At the time of the fieldwork in 2010, 95 monks were undertaking religious training at the monastery. The monastery receives cheese and butter as donations from pastoral people living in the surrounding area. The Thegtsepa [theg brtse pa] *rinpoche* of this monastery, visits the lake called "holy lake" once a year, and a nearby village holds a ceremony to welcome him. On this occasion, farmers donate cereal grains, such as corn and finger millet, and pastoralists donate cheese and butter.

Fig. 4.3 Part of the mandala mural in Khinmey Monastery: it depicts male deities (*heruka*) embracing female consorts (*dakini*)

Paintings of male deities embracing female consorts appear on all the walls of the main hall of Sangngak Choekhorling Monastery (Fig. 4.3). The Nyingma sect is the most traditional of the schools, and actual tantric training is undertaken in this sect; however, tantric training is practiced only symbolically through visualizing meditations upon initiation in the Gelug, Kagyu, and Sakya sects.

Tantric Buddhism is a form of late Esoteric Buddhism. Its highly mystic and symbolic doctrines were passed down over time through hereditary succession from a master to his apprentice. For both Hinduism and Buddhism, Tantrism involves the manifestation of ultimate truth in the fusion of male and female principles at the level of definitive existence. Tantrism is the ultimate completion and is defined as the state of blissfulness—*mahaasukha* (Kawasaki 1993). In Tantric Buddhism, ultimate existence is the state where the masculine form, *upaya*, representing compassion and skillful means, fuses with the feminine form, *prajna*, signifying unchanging and uncharacteristic emptiness. That is said to be enlightenment (Kawasaki 1993). A common feature in the Buddhist art of Tibet and Nepal is a *yab-yum* [yab yum], a mandala in which the main male deity, Khandroma [mkha"gro ma], embraces his female consort, Dakini, or lesser deities embrace their female counterparts (Figs. 4.3 and 4.4). In such iconographies, the body parts of each character are fused into one another to indicate the sexual union, the state of *yuganaddha* (Fig. 4.4). It should be noted that the *Tibetan Book of the Dead* warns repeatedly that sensual appetites have

Fig. 4.4 *Yab-yum* [yab yum] in Khardung Tashi Cholling Gompa [mkhar gdung bkra shis chos gling *dgon pa*] of the Tawang area. Ultimate existence is the state where the masculine form, *upaya*, representing compassion and skillful means, fuses itself into the feminine form, *prajna*, signifying unchanging and uncharacteristic emptiness. This figure is believed to represent Vajrayana Buddhist deities- Heruka Cakrasamvara and his consort Vajravarahi

to be excluded when such *yab-yum* are viewed: upon reaching the emptiness that lies beneath all beings and beyond lust, ultimate bliss is attained and enlightenment is achieved (Kawasaki 1993). Even today, the *Tibetan Book of the Dead* is a sutra that is chanted by a monk priest when a person dies in Tibet. On the mandala of the Unexcelled Yoga Tantra, common combinations of *yab-yum* as father-mother are Cakrasamvara and his consort Vajravarahi (Fig. 4.4), Hevajra and Nairatmya, and also Kalachakra and Vishvamata, the Mahayan Buddhist deities.

Wang [dbang], which means "empowerment" in Tibetan, was originally a ritual in which a qualified master poured water onto an apprentice's head for sanctification. It was a form of initiation in Esoteric Buddhism, but later became a different kind of ritual that consisted of a number of processes. Tibetan Buddhism has four phases of *wang*, the initiations for empowerment: vase empowerment; secret empowerment; knowledge-wisdom empowerment; and suchness empowerment. Other than vase empowerment, the other three types of empowerment initiation are kept secret. In Tibetan Esoteric Buddhism, an apprentice who has received only the first vase initiation may learn only as far as the initial process. The remaining three initiations are indispensable to begin learning the ultimate processes.

The Nyingma sect is divided into the Rabjung [rab 'byung] and Ngakpa [bsngags pa] schools. The Rabjung school was formed by the agreement of the *Khenlop Choesum* [*mkhan slob chos gsum*], which comprised Guru Padma Sambhawa (Guru Rinpoche), *Khenchen* [mkhan chen] Bodhisatva Shantirakshita, and the King of Tibet, Trisong Deutsen [khri srong lde'u btsan] in the eighth century. At Khinmey Monastery, only the *rinpoche* belongs to the Ngakpa school; all other monks belong to the Rabjung school. Ngakpa monks are allowed to have a partner and can marry, but monks of the Rabjung school must remain celibate and may not marry. Most recent young monks of the Nyingma sect have joined the Rabjung school, because Ngakpa monks have to perform ascetic training in mountain caves for 3–4 years. If Nyingma monks can control their own various desires, particularly sexual ones, they can join the Ngakpa school. At Palyul Changchub Dargeling [dpal yul byang chub dar rgyas gling] Nyingma Monastery, (Leung Gompa) in Dirang, all monks belongs to the Rabjung school. At Sangngak Choekhor Dargyeling [gsang bsngags chos 'khor dar rgyas gling] Monastery (Chillipam Gompa at Rupa), while the former *rinpoche* belonged to the Ngakpa school, his son, the present *Rinpoche*, belonged to the Rabjung school at the fieldwork in 2013. Of the 150 monks at that monastery, five belong to the Ngakpa school and the rest to the Rabjung school. If the five monks of the Ngakpa school marry, they must leave the monastery. To become a monk of the Rabjung school, the monks must promise to reject marriage and take monastic vows, known as *domba* [sdom pa]. That includes *getshul* [dge tshul] as the first stage and *gelong*. Monks belonging to the Rabjung school wear a red robe, *tsan* [gzan], whereas Ngakpa monks don a distinctive white robe.

The six monasteries of the Nyingma sect in Tibet are as follows: Dorjee Dak [rdo rje brag]; Mindroling [smin grol gling]; Shechen [ze chen]; Dzokchen [rdzogs chen]; Kathok [ka' thog]; and Palyul [dpal yul]. All of these monasteries were destroyed during the invasion by Chinese military in the 1950s; the Shechen *rinpoche* and monks escaped to Nepal, whereas the *rinpoche* and monks from other monasteries went to India. There is a replica of Palyul Monastery, called Palyul Namdroling [dpal yul rnam grol gling] Monastery, in Mysore, South India. Its branch monastery is called Palyul Changchub Dargeling Nyingma Monastery and was founded in Dirang. The head abbot of Palyul Namdroling Monastery also governs Palyul Monastery in Dirang. The head of the Palyul Monastery in Dirang is a *khenpo* [*mkhan po*], the abbot. The *khenpo* of the branch monastery is appointed from among the *khenpo* learned in Palyul Namdroling Monastery in Mysore. The main responsibility of the *khenpo* is to assist the studies of about 40 *gethruk* [dge 'phrug]—student monks at the monastery—for 8 years. Student monks may undertake further study at Palyul Namdroling Monastery for at least 9 years. After 17 years of study, a student can obtain the degree of *lopon* [slob dpon]. *Lopon* monks have to assist the *khenpo* or work as teachers to newly admitted monk students. After a further 5 years of study, the learned *lopon* can become a *khenpo. Khenpo* represents the highest academic degree offered in the monastic institutions of Nyingma, Sakya, and Kagyu. Such highest degree in Gelug and Bon schools, is called *geshe* [*dge shes*]. It is considered equivalent to a PhD awarded at modern universities. *Khenpo* translates as "abbot," whereas *geshe* means "virtuous friend"

or "scholar." Both statuses are highly regarded, and monks with these credentials are considered learned and accomplished in Tibetan Buddhist traditions.

The initiation processes in Tantric Buddhism may seem eccentric to the non-educated Buddhist practitioners. However, in Tibetan Buddhism, this initiation is undertaken on the basis of a strong mutual trust between masters and disciples. This can be inferred from an interview with Geshe Rabten (*dge shes* rab brtan) undertaken by one of his apprentices, Alan Wallace. The interview was conducted to determine how Rabten had attained *geshe* status. Rabten describes his experiences and observations at a senior class in Madhyamika philosophy. The following is extracted from an interview cited by Wallace (1980: 94–95):

> Disciple: Who instructed you during these classes?
> Geshé: A master named Geshé Thutob. He lived in the same upstairs room as my former teacher; I made guru devotions to him when I visited him, often staying until eleven o'clock at night. Since the place to urinate was far away, he kept a pot in his room. Every morning I went up and insisted on taking out this pot to empty it. While doing so, I would place it on my head and offer a prayer. Then I would pour a little in my hand, drink it, and throw the rest away. This is not a Tibetan or a monkish custom. I was moved to do so by my deep faith in my guru, although there is not necessarily any relationship between drinking urine and receiving his blessing. There is one only if one has heartfelt faith in the guru.
> Disciple: Such a practice would probably sound very strange to most Westerners.
> Geshé: Yes, but this is of no great importance. Some will understand the reason behind it, and to others it will remain a mystery. Religious faith is known throughout the world; it simply has different ways of manifesting itself. Out of pure devotion, some disciples nurse their lama when he is sick, and by doing so gain great insights. There are a few instances of disciples washing their gurus when they were too ill to leave their bed to defecate; as they carried out the excrement, they experienced great clairvoyance, gaining awareness of the consciousness of other beings including even tiny insects. Such immediate, rather than gradual, insights are due to the disciple's great faith in his guru combined with the guru's blessing. To understand the profundity of this devotion, you need long experience in the Buddhadharma and a deep understanding of the stages of the path to enlightenment, as well as tantra.

The relationship between a master and his apprentice is far more important in Tibetan Buddhism than in Exoteric Buddhism. The reason that Tibetan Buddhism is sometimes called Lamaism is that the high priests, lamas, are respected as the living Buddha (Kelsang and Masaki 2000a, b).

In Tibetan Buddhism, the term *gompa* [dgon pa] in every part of the Monpa area refers either to a temple or a monastery. The term *gompa* denotes a range of temples from an austere temple where no lama is in residence to a large institution like Tawang Monastery, where a number of lamas are permanently based, which operates a school to develop future generations of monks. The latter larger institution is often called a *dratsang* [grwa tshang]. A *dratsang* is equivalent to a college. Certain monasteries, such as Sera, Drepung, and Namdoling, have two or three *dratsang*.

Fig. 4.5 The *Kangyur* [bka' 'gyur]—the 98 or 108 volumes of the translated words of the Buddha

One ritual involves chanting and reading the Kangyur [bka' 'gyur], the translated words of the Buddha (Figs. 4.5, and 4.7). Though the Kangyur is commonly accepted as consisting of 108 volumes, some editions comprise more or fewer volumes. Its simplified version is the *Bum* ['bum], which consists of 12–16 volumes. The variation in the number of volumes is due to the size of the written characters or the particular edition. A shorter version of the *Bum*, known as *Nithri* [nyi khri], consists of three volumes. The *Geytong* [brgyad stong] is a further simplified version and comprises only one volume: it consists of 630 folios or pages, which can be recited by three monks in a day (Fig. 4.7). Other variations include the *Dhomang* [mdo mang] and *Tsungdhue* [zung 'dus]. The *Dhomang* has more than 700 folios or pages, which five monks can complete chanting in a day. The *Tsungdhue* consists of more than 100 parts, each part made up of 1–50 folios or pages, and only parts relevant to an occasion are chanted.

During our fieldwork, we observed copies of the *Geytong*, *Dhomang*, and *Tsungdhue* at the home of a part-time monk. Of these, only the *Geytong* was printed on *boi shuku* [bod shog] (Figs. 3.7 and 4.6); the others were printed on modern paper. There were also smaller versions of the *Bum*: the *Bhoncheung* ['bum chung], with 29 folios (pages), and the *Sherab Nyingpo* [shes rab snying po], with just five pages. A 9-year-old nun who could not attend school because of a head injury was reading the *Bhoncheung* when we visited Singsur Buddhist nunnery as part of our field observation.

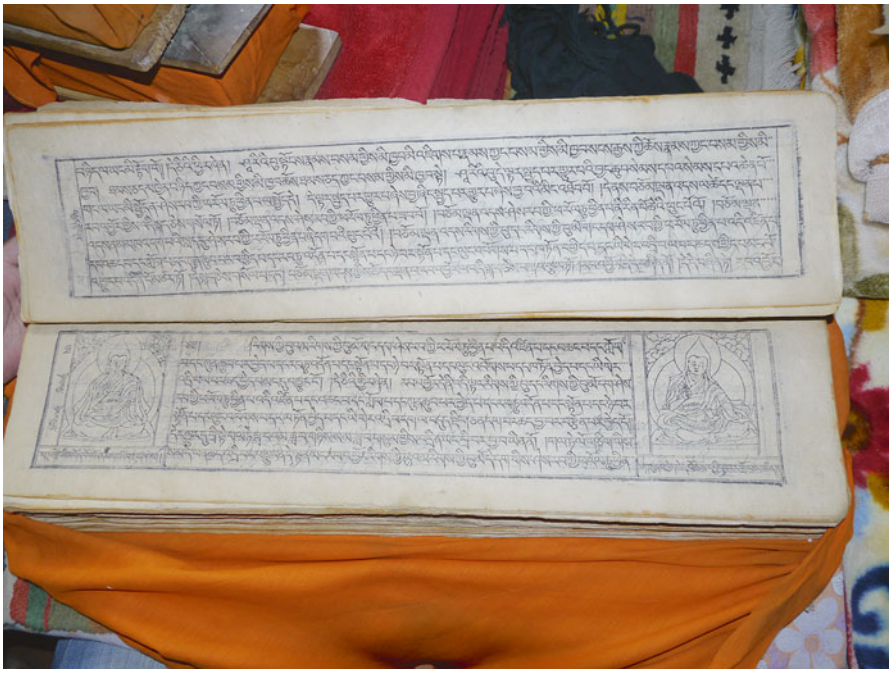

Fig. 4.6 *Geytong* [brgyad stong] is a sutra of Tibetan Buddhism that consists of just one 630-page volume. It is a digest of the *Kangyur* [bka' 'gyur]

Minakpa lama are part-time monks who ordinarily work as farmers in their villages but act as monks on particular occasions. They are also referred to as *Ngakpa lama*, but are simply called lama in the Tawang area. Some *gompa* are also supported by visiting full-time lamas from nearby monasteries. Meals for monks are offered by villages, and villagers provide an on-duty cook for them. Only central villages have a *gompa*, and the rituals vary depending on the *gompa*. The term "lama" originally meant a mentor priest in Tibet, but all full-time monks, including apprentices, are called lamas in the Monpa area, especially in the Dirang and Kalaktang areas, to distinguish them from part-time *Minakpa* or *Ngakpa lama*.

Approximately 20 (mostly part-time and a few full-time) monks recite sutras for Kangyur chant ritual in concert for 40 days from October to November every year at Khastung [mkhas stung] Gompa in the village of Dirang (Figs. 4.7 and 4.8). The villagers gather at the *gompa* and receive the blessing of the monks on the final day. The monks touch the heads of the villagers using written sutras. The monks also put *srungma* [*srung ma*] around a person's neck. The *srungma* is a knotted and blessed thin rope held by the head lama during the ceremony (see Sect. 7.4). It is thought that this *gompa* was founded by Tenpe Dronme at the end of the sixteenth century.

The *koenyer lama* of this *gompa* is chosen from among *Minakpa lama* to serve as its caretaker for a period of 3 years. He looks after visitors during such events as the Kangyur chant ritual throughout the year. To support this ritual, 160 rupees as

	Season	Number of participating monks	R: Reciting of the sutras in concert B: Break L: Lunch S: Supper
Dirang [Dirang District] (Khastung Gompa)	Oct.-Nov. (40 days)	20 [1]	R B R L R S Time 7 9 9:30 11 12 16
Namshu [Dirang District] (Namshu Gompa)	Apr.-May. (16-20 days)	36 [2]	R B R L R B R S 8 9 9:30 12 13 15 15:30 17
Lish [Dirang District] (Tsamba Cholling [Lish Gompa])	Oct. (10 days)	28 [3]	R R R R L R R R S 8 B B B 12 13 B B 16
Khordung [Tawang District] (Khordung Tashi Cholling Gompa)	Oct.-Nov. (28 days)	15-16 [4]	R B R L R S 6 10 10:30 12 13 16
Sharue [Tawang District]	Aug. (15-16 days)	36 [5]	R L R S 6:30 12 13 16:30

Ritual of *Kangyur*

The ritual in which the Kangyur, the ninety-eight volumes of Translation of the Word of the Buddha, is chanted by monks and performed at the central Gompa, Tibetan Buddhist temple, in each region. In the case of the Khastung Gompa in the Dirang village, mostly part-time and a few full-time monks recite sutras in concert for forty days from October to November. On the final day, the villagers gather at the Gompa, and receive the blessing from the monks: The monks caress the villagers' heads gently with sutras or put Rhungma, a necklace that is supposed to expel evils and is made of strings, around the villagers' necks.

1) Mostly Minakpa Lamas, part-time monks, around the Gompa with some Lamas, full-time monks. One hundred volumes of sutras are recited.
2) Entirely Minakpa Lamas. One hundred and nine volumes are recited.
3) Mostly Minakpa Lamas around the Gompa with some Lamas. Eight to nine volumes are recited every year.
4) Mostly Minakpa Lamas around the Gompa with some Lamas from the Tawang Monastery. One hundred volumes are recited.
5) Seventeen Lamas from the Jangdhaparie Monastery and 19 Minakpa Lamas around the Gompa. One hundred volumes are recited.

Fig. 4.7 Ritual of Kangyur [bka"gyur]

Fig. 4.8 Khastung Gompa [mkhas stung *dgon pa*] in Dirang [rdi rang] village

Fig. 4.9 Namshu Gompa [nam zhu *dgon pa*] in the village of Namshu [num shu]

well as corn or sheep are collected from each household in the villages of Dirang. The collected donations serves as wages for the monks, and butter, cheese, and other food items are collected from local pastoralists and served to the monks as meals. Another ritual in which the *Bum* ['bum], the shortened version of the Kangyur, is chanted is held twice a year for 2 days in May or June and November. In Namshu Gompa of the village of Namshu, approximately 35 part-time monks recite the sutras in concert for 16–20 days from April to May (Figs. 4.9 and 4.10). Villagers cook and serve the monks meals at the Kangyur chant ritual. It is believed that this Gompa was also founded by Tenpe Drome.

In Tsanba Choeling [btsan pa chos gling] Gompa, also known as Lish Gompa, in the village of Lish, approximately 28 monks (mostly *Minakpa lama* with a few lamas) recite eight to nine volumes of the sutras in concert for 10 days in October. A ritual during which the 12 volumes of the *Bum* are recited is also performed twice a year. For the Kangyur chant, 10 *brey* of corn is collected from every household. Two cooks are hired, and rice, cheese, and butter are consumed. It is believed that Lish Gompa was also established by Tenpe Dronme.

At Khardung Tashi Cholling [mkhar gdung bkra shis chos gling] Gompa in the Tawang region, 15 or 16 monks perform the Kangyur chant ritual for 28 days from October to November. Some of them are full-time monks from Tawang Monastery whereas others are part-time monks from the village. For the ritual, 500 rupees as well as cheese and butter are collected from every household. The *koenyer lama* of Khardung *Gompa* is appointed by succession.

Fig. 4.10 Ritual of the *Kangyur* [bka' 'gyur] chant in Namshu Gompa [nam shu *dgon pa*]

The ritual of the Kangyur chant is not only performed in *gompa*s. When we conducted the field observation in August 2010, 36 visiting monks chanted the Kangyur at the community center of the village of Seru in the Tawang region over a period of 15–16 days. We observed 21 part-time monks and 15 full-time monks reciting the approximately 100 volumes of the sutras in two separate rooms. The 15 lamas were from Jangdokpalri [zangs mdog dpal ri] Monastery in the village of Jang (Fig. 4.37). Some elderly part-time monks took part, but the majority were novice monks. The full-time monks were almost entirely apprentice monks sent from the monastery (Fig. 4.11). We observed a similar composition of monks performing the same ritual at other *gompa*s.

There are also privately owned *gompa*. Rimphokpa [rin 'phug pa] Gompa in the Dirang Dzong area is one such *gompa*. A recital of the 12 volumes of *Bum* in the private *gompa* can be performed on request in exchange for food or money.

The largest and most central *dratsang* in this area is Tawang Monastery. However, Palyul Changchub Dargeling Nyingma Monastery in the Dirang region is also becoming an important center for local people as well as nearby villagers (Fig. 4.12). A school for apprentice monks is operated in conjunction with this monastery.

Tibetan Buddhism was able to replace Bon largely because Buddhist monks understood the thinking of Bon believers to a considerable extent. It is also worth noting that Buddhist monks became more skilled in non-Buddhist practices, such as the worship of local spirits, receiving oracles, and fortune-telling, than did Bon believers (Snellgrove and Richardson 1980).

Fig. 4.11 Ritual of the *Kangyur* [bka' 'gyur] chant at the community center of Seru [bse ru] village: 21 part-time monks and 15 full-time monks recited the approximately 100 volumes of the sutras in two separate rooms. The photograph shows lamas from Jangdokpalri [zangs mdog dpal ri] Monastery in Jang [byang] village. Many of them are apprentice monks

The part-time monks living in some villages are called *tsespa lama* [rtsis pa bla ma]. Here, *rtsis* means "to calculate" or "to estimate," and *pa* signifies "one who calculates": "astrologer" is a common translation. These part-time monks in the Monpa area are consulted by the villagers on such matters as marriage, birth, and sickness, and they also conduct death rituals. On such occasions, these monks carry out animist and shamanist practices, and *tsespa lama* play a leading role in those practices. When a villager dies, the family invites the *tsespa lama* of the village to the home. He visits the house of the deceased, even if called during the night. The *tsespa lama* then gathers information about the deceased, such as the cause and exact time of death, the circumstances of the person's death, and their birthday and 12 signs of the Chinese zodiac (Fig. 4.13). Through full use of their horoscopes and books, *tsespa lama* determine matters related to reincarnation, such as where the deceased used to live in their previous incarnation and where he or she will be reborn; the *tsespa lama* explains to the family how they can revitalize the deceased. The monk also determines the details of the funeral. Funerals in the area usually involve water or ground burial, cremation, aerial sepulchers and so only. The *tsespa lama* informs the family of any specific form of funeral that they must not choose in a particular case. The family then selects and undertakes one of the remaining forms.

Fig. 4.12 A festival held at Palyul Changchub Dargeling Nyingma [dpal yul byang chub dar rgyas gling rnying ma'i *dgon pa*] Monastery

The *tsespa lama* advises the specific time and direction for sending the deceased out of the house. He also indicates one or two zodiac animals that must not touch the deceased and prohibits people having those zodiac signs to convey or touch the deceased.

A *tsespa lama* determines the background to a consultation by first using a horoscope called a *tsethang* [rtsis thang] (Fig. 4.14), and he then examines the astrological book called the *Kartsi* [dkar rtsis] (Fig. 4.15) to obtain relevant information. Finally, the *tsespa lama* consults the latest almanac, called the *lotho* [lo tho], to clarify the life history of the deceased from birth to death. In the case of a marriage, the *tsespa lama* asks for the couple's zodiac signs and performs a reading. A manuscript called a *baktsi* [bag rtsis] is used specifically for marriages (Fig. 4.16). Another manuscript called a *naktsi* [nag rtsis] is employed in the case of death. The process of fortune-telling starts from the horoscope and involves a number of examinations of manuscripts in proper order. One small mistake in any part of the process may result in a serious error, and so the *tsespa lama* performs the reading with great care. In the case of a villager's death, the process involving only the *lotho* and the *naktsi* takes about an hour. If more manuscripts are involved, it may last up to 9 days. The process for providing advice about marriage takes just 2–3 h if only the *lotho* and *baktsi* are used. However, it could take 30 h if more manuscripts are necessary.

Fig. 4.13 *Tsespa* [rtsis pa] *lama* gather information on the deceased such as the cause and exact time of death, the circumstances of their life, their birthday, and zodiac sign. By making full use of their horoscopes and books, *tsespa lama* tells matters related to reincarnation, such as where the deceased lived in their previous incarnation and where he or she will be reborn, and explain to the family how they can revitalize the deceased

The following experience of the author (Mizuno), which occurred during a field observation of August 2011 in a village, may provide a better grasp of the use of an almanac and horoscope in the Monpa area.

> A *tsespa lama* asked me about my zodiac sign, and he determined my birth year after consulting the 2011 *lotho*. When I replied that I already knew my own birth year, the *tsespa lama* asked doubtfully, "How could a Japanese person know his birth year just from his zodiac sign?" Many inhabitants of that area know their zodiac signs but not their birth year or age. There is a great gap in the sense of time between people of Monpa society, who use the Tibetan calendar, and the majority of outsiders, such as myself, who use the solar calendar. A serious hindrance in field observations in the Monpa area always arose when I asked someone which month something occurred. For example, I asked, "In which months do you carry out seeding and harvesting of corn?" The villagers always began counting off months on their fingers, became confused, and a serious debate often arose. Mr. Rinchin, who kindly took care of me in the village of Dirang, heard my age and claimed to have the same age. However, his passport indicated that he was several years younger than me.

According to Yamaguchi (1987), the Tibetan calendar is neither a solar nor lunar calendar but a variation of a lunar calendar mixed with elements from a solar calendar. Instead of the matrix of 12 zodiacal signs and 10 brotherly celestial stems as traditionally used in China, the Tibetan calendar features 12 signs and male/female combinations. It is a calendar system based on a particular tantra introduced to Tibet.

Fig. 4.14 *Tsethang* [rtsis thang or lo tho] is the horoscope referred to by a *tsespa* or *tsipa lama* (*rtsis pa bla ma* in Tibetan) in consultations

Fig. 4.15 A *tsespa lama* first consults the horoscope called *tsethang* [rtsis thang] (Fig. 4.14) and then examines the astrological book called the *Kartsi* [dkar rtsis] to obtain relevant information

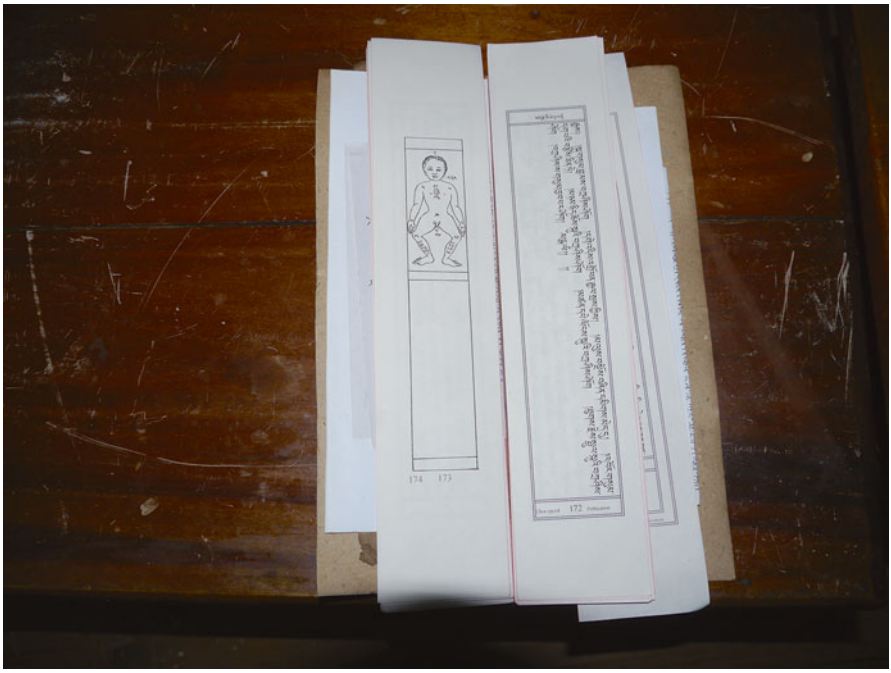

Fig. 4.16 This manuscript is used for births

It is locally believed that a *tsespa lama* is said to execute a calculation using 40,400 factors, and the process of learning the method is difficult. It is also said that fewer than 10 % of apprentices can successfully complete the learning process. A *tsespa lama* is not a hereditary job or title. A *tsespa lama* teaches a number of children who show interest in his work. Fees to *tsespa lama* are paid in cash, but most households pay 2 *brey* of cereal grains of barley or corn in the harvest seasons for his services.

Water burial is common and cremation is rare among the Monpa people. Carrying out a water burial involves cutting the body into 108 parts and throwing them into the river. Villagers believe that cremation pollutes the air and sky and that ground burial produces insects, but water burial feeds fish and contributes to nature and ecosystems. Most villagers in the area made similar comments in this regard, and it may be assumed that the views are widely held. However, in reality, cremation is an option but only for wealthy people owing to its expense. At a cremation, eight to nine monks recite sutras, which demands a large expenditure to cover the monks' fee and the cost of their meals. In contrast, only one monk is required for a water burial.

According to Norbu (2008), there are four ways to process a dead body. They are placement of the body in a mountain cave; water burial; ground burial, and cremation. With the first method, the body is placed in a wooden box, transported to a high mountain, and placed in a cave. This is used only for infants and the elderly. Ground burial is restricted to deaths from infectious diseases and confirmed felons (Norbu 2008); however, the Boot Monpa people practice ground burial (Barua 1995).

This is presumably related to the fact that they practice animism and shamanism. In Monpa societies in which Tibetan Buddhism is predominant, a ritual and feast are held on the 49th day of the period of mourning. Apart from the anniversary of death, that is the final ritual after a person's death. During the field observations, we observed the Kangyur chant ritual in the village of Namshu and photographed a villager setting out meals for the monks. We brought back prints of the photographs on my next visit to the village and was informed that the villager had died: the ritual of the 49th day of the mourning period was being held for him that very day.

Kawaguchi (1909) describes Tibetan funeral rites. According to him, the best burial method in Tibet was considered to be leaving a corpse exposed to vultures—sky burial. The second-best method was cremation, followed by water burial. Ground burial was considered the worst method. Kawaguchi states that Tibetans detested this method, and it was practiced only for those who have died from smallpox to prevent the disease being transmitted to birds and fish. Cremation was practiced only for the wealthy people because firewood was scarce and yak dung was inappropriate for use as a funeral pyre. Water burial was practiced at several places along large rivers. The corpse is cut up into smaller parts, such as the head, arms, and legs, to avoid it becoming lodged on banks and cliffs and to enable fish to easily consume the remains. Kawaguchi (1909) explained that Indian philosophy states that a human body consists of soil, water, fire, and wind, and there are therefore four separate ways to return it to the four elements, namely ground burial, water burial, cremation, and sky burial.

In the Monpa area, the locations available for water burial, usually called *dutai* [dur du] or *dukhroe* [dur khrod], are fixed. In several parts of the area, water burial is also called *dursha* [dur sa] and *rikili* (Fig. 4.17). At the beginning of a water burial, a monk recites a sutra to receive the consent of the river's sprits and to expel evil. Then, two young men drink alcohol and remove their clothes. They cut off the head and lay it in a safe, appropriate place. Then, they cut the body in half. Each of the two men handles either the upper or lower body beyond this point. They each cut up their part and one by one throw small pieces of the body into the river while counting. In the final phase, they cut the head in half and further cut up the halves to produce 108 pieces in total. After completing these phases, the men go into the river to wash away the blood and then return home. They are not allowed to enter their homes before washing their entire body with clean water at the entrance. The family of the deceased gives an amount of money to the two men. They drink at the beginning of the task of cutting up the corpse because it is considered unbearable without being moderately inebriated.

Every village has more than one part-time monk, who is called a *minakpa lama* or *ngakpa lama*. A *minakpa lama* normally works as a farmer and can marry but assumes the role of monk when necessary. The term *ngakpa* is considered originated from the *Ngakpa* school of the Nyingma sect. The *Ngakpa* school allow its monks to marry. *Ngakpa lama* originally signified a monk who could marry or a tantric practitioner of Tibetan Buddhism. However, those terms are used by villagers only to distinguish part-time from full-time monks. *Minakpa lama* and *ngakpa lama* are called "Lama" in a face to face conservation. The term *minakpa lama* is mainly used in the Kalaktang area, and *ngakpa lama* in the Dirang area. All full-time and part-time monks are called lama in the Tawang area; however, those belonging to monasteries

Fig. 4.17 *Dutai* or *dukhroe* [dur du or dur khrod], a site used to cut the body of a deceased person into 108 pieces as part of a water burial: every area has a riverside site for this purpose

are sometimes distinguished from others and referred to as *drapa* [grwa pa]—"monk." High priests such as *rinpoche* are called *kusho* or *kusho-la* [sku shogs *lags*], where the *la* [*lags*] syllable indicates respect. Every household in a village invites a nearby part-time monk to their home a few times a month and requests him to recite a Buddhist scripture—*choesak* [chos bsag]—and to pray. Households invite part-time monks for a specific purpose and hence a particular ritual is conducted by the monk. *Drolchoe mandal zhepa* [sgrol chos mandal zhes pa] is a ritual to pray for the recovery of a sick person, longevity, wealth, and prosperity, and it can also be used for exorcism. In the field observation stage of this study, we had an opportunity to witness this ritual (Fig. 4.18). The two brothers requested a monk to pray for their father, who was going to have a surgical operation in 4 days' time. On another occasion, we observed the ritual being practiced in another household. The monk was praying to a goddess named *Jetsun Dolma* [rje btsun sgrol ma]—Taradevi in Sanskrit.

Rituals like these typically take a whole day. At around 7 a.m., about four part-time monks start making *torma* [gtor ma] (religious offering made of dough) (see Sect. 3.2) (Fig. 4.19), set up incense sticks, melt butter for fuel lamps, and then align the lamps. The preparation is completed by 10 a.m. The monks eat breakfast prepared by the client family. A breakfast menu that we observed while undertaking fieldwork consisted of *gruntsum bokpai* [bra'o zan gro phye] (see Sect. 7.4) (Fig. 7.10), cucumber, tomato, and cheese. The actual reciting of sutras began at around 10:30 after breakfast. The reciting with a lunch break lasted until sunset. After the ritual, the monks were served supper.

Fig. 4.18 *Drolchoe Mandal Zipa* [sgrol chos mandala zhes pa] is a ritual to pray for the recovery of a sick person, longevity, wealth, or prosperity, or it may be used in an exorcism

Fig. 4.19 *Minakpa lama* [mi nag pa bla ma], a part-time monk, produces a *torma* [gtor ma]

Part-time monks, especially *tsespa lama*, offer traditional medical care to villagers. For example, they use an instrument called a *tsardham* [tsha dam] (Fig. 7.20) to heal sickness. Characters are engraved on its surface, and it resembles a personal seal. A monk places the engraved characters onto the affected part of a patient's body to ease pain and cure illness. This technique has been in use for a long time. Another instrument commonly used is a funnel-shaped device (Fig. 7.21). One of its ends is placed on the affected body part to suck out the cause of sickness. Nagahashi (1999) reported that witchcraft was employed in Ladakh and other parts of northern and northwestern India to suck out disease via a metal pipe at the time of his study. Nagahashi (1999) observed that common requests made of a shaman included cures for headache, neuralgia, chest pain, and stomachache; the suction of old blood either by means of a metal pipe or the shaman's mouth was often performed.

There is a strong relationship between the Monpa people and their religions, Tibetan Buddhism and Bon. An instrument called a *phurpa* [*phur pa*] like dagger, which is used to expel evil spirits, is a very familiar object in their households, and many people wear a small version of the instrument as a pendant. As another religious tool, wooden models of a virile member are often suspended from house roofs to provide protection from evil spirits and the evil eye (Fig. 4.20). Such a wooden model is called *meley* [*me ley*] in Tawang Monpa and *laktang* or *liktang* [*rlig thang*] in Dirang Monpa; however, the word must not be used in front of women.

Fig. 4.20 Wooden models of a virile member are often suspended from the roof of a house as protection from evil spirits and the evil eye

4.2 Relationships Between Tawang Monastery and Villagers

Tawang Monastery is the central institution of Tibetan Buddhism in the Monpa area. It is located on the hilltop overlooking the town of Tawang (Fig. 4.21).

Tawang Monastery owes its origin to the ruling group of the Gelug sect. During the sectarian power struggles among the various Tibetan Buddhist sects in the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries, the Gelugpa was opposed to the Karmapa, which is a subgroup of the Kagyupa, and also the Nyingmapa. Supporters of the Bhutanese Drukpa ['brug pa], a subgroup of the Kagyupa, were also hostile to supporters of the Gelugpa during that period. The Tibetan and Monpa people referred to the Bhutanese as Drukpa. The Drukpa supporters intended to subjugate Tawang as a whole to their traditions. While engaged in confrontations with the Drukpa, Merak [me rag] Lama Lodoe Gyatso [blo gros rgya mtsho] was struggling to found a temple for the Gelug sect. Conflict between them took place after the 1660s and lasted till 1680. Finally, with support from the fifth Dalai Lama, Ngawang Lobsang Gyatso (1617–1682), Merak Lama established a temple in Sanglamphel sometime after 1670 and built Tawang Monastery with the help of Tsona magistrate, Tsona Dzonpon [mtsho sna *rdzong dpon*] in 1681 (Aris 1980, 1988).

Fig. 4.21 Tawang Monastery is located on the hilltop overlooking the town of Tawang. It has the form of a fortress and used to be a base for collecting a tax called *khray* [khral] from the entire Monpa region (Monyul). The tax is still collected from Tawang Monpa locals

The etymology of "Tawang" signifies its genesis as the location of the monastery. In the Tibetan language, *rta* means "horse" and *wang* or *dbang* signifies "to choose" or "to bless." Both *wang* and *dbang* appear in some Tibetan texts between the seventeenth and early eighteenth century. The name refers only to the monastic complex or the particular mountain on which it is located. A number of the seventeenth and early eighteenth century texts mention La'og yulsum [la'og yul *gsum*] or Shar Nima Tshosum [shar nyi ma tsho gsum] as a subdivision of present-day Tawang. Only after the later eighteenth century texts, the term of Tawang [rta wang/dbang] is commonly used to refer to the modern Tawang district.

According to local oral traditions, Merak Lama in the late seventeenth century was contemplating where to build his monastery and often visited a cave to practice meditation. After mediating one day, he found that his horse had disappeared from outside of the cave. He was surprised since this had not happened before, and he followed the hoof tracks. They took him to the hill where the castle of Gyalpo Kala Wangpo [rgyal po ka la dbang po] was formerly situated. Therefore Merak Lama decided to build his monastery on the hilltop to which his horse had led him.

The Tawang people gradually began cooperating with Merak Lama. They accepted his proselytizing efforts and assisted with them. The influence of the Tibetan Buddhist Gelug sect began to spread, and penetrated areas of the Monpa and Sherdukpen as well as those of the Miji and Bugun (Fig. 4.22). The latter three areas had been particularly influenced by the Nyingma sect and Bon religion.

Fig. 4.22 People listen to a high monk preach the "teaching"- *sungchoe* [gsung chos] outside an auditorium called a *dhukhang* ['du khang] in Tawang Monastery

Although more than 300 years have passed since its construction, Tawang Monastery remains the central focus of Buddhism and people's religious lives in the Tawang and West Kameng districts, and it is central to the lives of other ethnic groups in Arunachal Pradesh. The monastery is located 3,050 m above sea level, where routes from Tibet, Bhutan, and East Kameng intersect. The monastic areas and monks' residential complexes are surrounded by walls with a total length of 610 m.

The tax system that supported Tawang Monastery was as follows. Every household in the Tawang area was obliged to pay a tax known locally as *khray* [khral]. The amount of *khray* that an average household had to pay was 20 *brey* [bre] of cereal grains, such as corn, finger millet, rice, buckwheat, and barley. As noted in Sect. 3.3, about 20 *brey* of cereal grain is equivalent to 12 kg in the International System of Units. However, this was only a rough standard, and the amount depended on the land productivity. A parcel of land ranging from 1 to 5 acres (4,000–20,000 m^2) was referred to as 1 *khreikang* [khral khang], and it was the area on which the obligation to pay 20 *brey* in taxes was based. A household that owned a large or highly productive land parcel was obliged to pay 2 *khray* (i.e. 40 *brey*). Fuel wood, rather than cereal grains, was also acceptable as tax. In the Tawang area, the tax collected in winter was called *ton thre* [ston khral] and consisted mainly of barley; tax collected in summer was called *yar thre* [d.yar khral] and was largely finger millet. According to Dhar (2005), it was considered that every *khreikang* was able to pay 20 *brey* of wheat during *dawa ngapa* [zla ba lnga pa], the 5th month in the Tibetan lunar calendar (from around June to July); the same amount of millet or barley was sufficient during *dawa gupa* [zla ba dgu pa], the 9th month in the Tibetan lunar calendar (about October to November). Biswal (2006) indicates that the amount of the first tax was 10 *brey* and the second 20 *brey*. We were able to confirm in the field observations of the present study that the tax payment was made only once a year. This indicates that there may have been some regional variations in the amount of *khray* due. Biswal (2006) believes that the *khray* system started in the days of Merak Lama. However, although this taxation system must be very old, it is difficult to date: it may have preceded the time of Merak Lama. Tibetan sources indicate that a number of lamas as well as secular or peripheral rulers also depended on taxation prior to the period of Merak Lama (Tenpa and Tempa 2013).

Dorjee Khandu [rdo rje mkha' 'gro], who was chief minister of Arunachal Pradesh between 2006 and 2011, was originally from the village of Gyangkhar near Gyangkhar Dzong (Fig. 2.5), and he well understood living conditions in that area. Khandu decided to reduce the tribute to Tawang Monastery to 25 % of the traditional amount, and compensated for the difference using the treasury of the state government. After this decision, the tribute that each household had to pay was decreased to 5 *brey* regardless of the size of the land cultivated by the household. For the owners of small pieces of land, the tribute to the monastery could be as low as 2–3 *brey*. This was in effect a governmental bailout plan for the villagers of that area. Even if brothers got married and their family's land parcel was split between them, a collective tribute of 5 *brey* paid by the brothers was accepted as fulfillment of their obligation.

Khandu went missing in a helicopter accident on April 30, 2011. We were conducting the field observation at that time and had to halt all planned interviews since many people, led by *tsorgen*, went into the mountains to search for him. It was

estimated that 15,000 people joined the search on May 3. The helicopter was discovered, and his death was confirmed on May 4. When we were traveling on Sela Pass from Tawang to Dirang, we saw many mourners heading toward Tawang. Khandu was loved and respected by the locals. After the incident, Jarbon Gamlin, who had been the minister of tourism, became the next chief minister. Pema Khandu [padma mkha' 'gro], Dorjee Khandu's son, who had inherited his father's electoral base of support, became minister of tourism.

A form of land-lease system called *boima* [bogs ma] is common in the Tawang area. With this system, a farmer cultivates a plot of land owned by Tawang Monastery, and the harvested rice is divided between the monastery and the farmer. Norbu (2008) uses the term *buiwa* [phyul ba] rather than *boima* for this and indicates that the monastery receives a quarter of the harvest. Biswal (2006) also states that the monastery's share is one-quarter. The background to this system is the frequency of farmers' migration from Tawang to Dirang and Kalaktang and also to Bhutan owing to the severe taxes imposed by *dzongpon* sent from Tibet. The monastery acquired many parcels of land as it took over a number of ownerless properties, and some pieces of land were donated by villagers. This practice continues today.

In the village of Soma (so ma) near Tawang (Fig. 4.23), the *boima* system is extensively used. When we conducted interviews (Mizuno, May 2011) in Soma as

Fig. 4.23 Agricultural field of Soma village, where the *boima* [bogs ma] system is practiced: this is a locally common form of land lease in which a farmer uses a piece of land owned by Tawang Monastery. Harvested rice is divided between the farmer and the monastery

part of this study, we found that farmers and the monastery each take half of the harvest after setting aside seed rice for planting. The cost of labor for harvesting is also covered jointly by the farmers and the monastery on a 50–50 basis. In the harvesting season, around October, six to ten monks arrive in Soma from Tawang Monastery and stay at the village's community hall for a week. This is the week that starts just before and ends just after the harvest, and the monks' duty is to confirm the harvest yield. During that week, the villagers offer food, fuel wood, and sleeping mats to the monks and prepare their meals. After staying for 1 week, the monks transport the monastery's share back to Tawang Monastery. The farmers of this village pay barley as their *khray* tribute and rice for the *boima* system.

Other villages where the *boima* system operates to a notable extent in the Tawang area include Tengteng [steng steng], Saikharteng [sras mkhar steng], and Bekhar [sbas mkhar]. Interviews we conducted in the village of Aodung near Tawang (Fig. 3.1) revealed that two households supported that system. This implies that a number of households in other villages may also take advantage of the land-lease system.

During the *torgya* [*gtor rgyag*] (held once a year in January or February) and larger *dungyur* [*dung 'gyur*] (held every 3rd year) festivals, young women who do not normally wear traditional dress don traditional costumes, which consist of Monpa clothes. They gather at Tawang Monastery to celebrate the festival (Fig. 4.24).

Fig. 4.24 Young Monpa women in traditional costumes walk alongside a *mani* wall on their way to Tawang Monastery. They wear such clothing only for traditional ceremonies

4.3 Life and Education in a Tibetan Monastery

Until the later twentieth century, it has been common, or even mandatory, for all households in the Monpa area with more than three sons to send their second son to a Buddhist monastery (Dorjee 2006). However, only a few families still adhere to this tradition. For example, during our field observations in the village of Dirang Dzong, one household that supported this tradition sent the second son to a monastery in southern India and the third son to a monastery in Nepal. The second son visited the parental home in February 2011 and the third son in May of the same year. It had been 8–9 years since their previous visits home. Each stayed for about 2 weeks. We took a photograph of the second son during his homecoming and were able to show it to the third son in May. The latter had known his elder brother only as a small child, and it was the first time for him to see his brother as a grown-up youth. Another family in the village of Gunthung [dgun 'thung] near Thembang Dzong showed us a photograph of their second son who was living as a monk in a monastery in Taiwan. The first sons of both families were living in their family villages. Monks from distant monasteries occasionally visit the villages and invite boys of the appropriate age to join their institutions. The young monks mentioned here went to their respective monasteries with their childhood friends and grew up together.

Full-time monks, lamas, and apprentice monks live together in Tibetan Buddhist monasteries. Large monasteries usually have their own schools. These monasteries also have a residential hall for pupils, and a residential unit consisting of three to six rooms is called a *shak* [shag] or *drashak* [grwa shag] (Fig. 4.25). As part of our field observations, we visited a *shak* that accommodated one lama and six apprentices (Fig. 4.26). There was a kitchen on the ground floor and a room for two apprentices behind it. The central room upstairs had a fire pit and was used by two apprentices. The next room was divided in two by a curtain. One of the spaces contained a small sacellume, and the other was used by an apprentice. Two rooms were located on the other side of the floor. One was used by the lama and contained a television set and a radio-cassette recorder. The lama's office was attached to this private room, and also contained a personal computer. The bathroom and toilet were located outside the main building. At the time of our visit, two of the apprentices were away on a study tour to Banaras.

Altogether, Tawang Buddhist Monastery of the Gelug sect had 530 monks and apprentice monks housed in 75 residential units at the time of our field observation (Mizuno, August 2011). One teacher monk, *gegan* or *gergan* [dge rgan], and a number of apprentice monks, *genyen* [dge bsnyen] or *gethruk* [dge phrug], lived together in each *shak*. The age of the teacher monks ranged from 27 to 86 years, and that for the apprentice monks from 6 to 22 years. The number of *genyen* living in a *shak* was most commonly six to eight, but it could be as low as one and as high as 26 (Fig. 4.25). The age of boys enrolling at the school is 5–12 years. Apprentice monks, *genyen*, learn to read and write from a book called a *kakha* (alphabet book), read Buddhist textbooks, and perform devotional exercises. They also study English, Hindi, Buddhist philosophy, mathematics, social studies, and some other subjects. After completing the initial phase, a *genyen* is promoted to a *getshul* [dge tshul]. When a

Fig. 4.25 Residential hall of Tawang Monastery: a residential unit consisting of three to six rooms is known as a *shak* [shag] or *drashak* [grwa shag]. The monastery has 75 *shak*. In each *shak*, one teacher monk, *gegan* or *gergan* [dge rgan], and a number of apprentice monks, *genyen* [dge bsnyen] or *gethruk* [dge phrug], live together

getshul turns 21 and has sufficient knowledge of Buddhist scriptures, he is promoted to a *gelong* [*dge slong*], a fully ordained monk, or *bhikshu* in Sanskrit. A *gelong* is a lama who is qualified to conduct various religious rituals (Dhar 2005; Biswal 2006).

At the time of our field observations, there were no monks aged 23–26 at Tawang Monastery since *gelong* of that age had been sent to external institutions and monasteries for further study and training. Before the border with Tibet was closed, *gelong* were sent to different monasteries, particularly Drepung Monastery in Tibet, for more advanced training (Dhar 2005). They are now mostly sent to other monasteries within India, Nepal, or Bhutan.

Small kitchens were attached to each *shak*, but a communal kitchen was established in 2008. Each member of the monastery had received 13 *brey* of cereal grain each month until 2008. After the communal kitchen was set up, cereal grain became uniformly managed at the monastery's storehouse. This change resulted in an excess of cereal grain, and in August 2011 every monk and apprentice received surplus 13 *brey* of grain (Fig. 4.27).

A typical day in the monastery begins and ends as follows. Monks and apprentices get up at 4 a.m. and carry out devotional exercises in the auditorium called *dhukhang* ['du khang] (Fig. 4.28). This exercise is practiced according to a fixed schedule. It consists of two reciting of sutras (morning and early evening) for the first 50 days and then one worship every morning for the following 50 days.

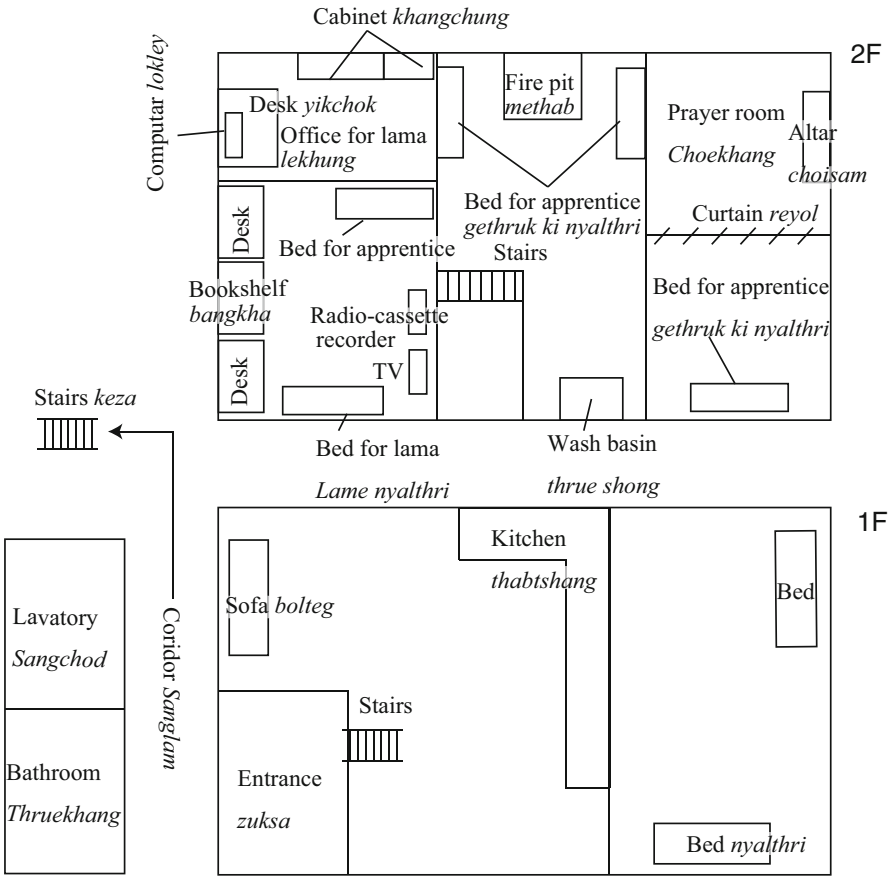

Fig. 4.26 Plan of a dormitory house, *shak* [*shag*], in Tawang Monastery of the Gelug [dge lugs] sect (Produced from field observations)

School in the monastery starts at 8 a.m. Pupils of the third to the most senior (10th) grade practice the catechism in each grade group in the plaza in front of the school (Fig. 4.29). In this procedure, the standing pupils ask a question in Tibetan and clap their hands; the seated pupils then answer. The handclap is said to aid in clarifying the mind. According to Kawaguchi (2012 [1909]: 305), the practice of the catechism begins with the following procedure:

> The catechized sits in a certain posture while the questioner stands up with a rosary in his left hand and walks towards him. He stretches out his hands with the palm of the left hand downwards and that of the right hand upwards and claps them together, uttering the words, *Chi! chi tawa choe chan* [*ji lta ba chos can*]. Here "Chi" means the heart of the Bodhisattva Manjushuri and its utterance is supposed to make the questioner one with Him, whose real body is knowledge. The rest of the utterance literally means "in that nature of the truth." The sense of the whole is: "We shall begin the discussion following the nature of Truth as it is manifested in the Universe." Then the discussion begins in earnest according to the rules of the logic of Nyaya (rule].

Fig. 4.27 Every monk and apprentice receives 13 *brey* [bre] of cereal grains as an extra ration at storage house of Tawang Monastery. The photograph shows apprentice monks transporting the extra rations to their *shak* [shag]

Fig. 4.28 A devotional exercise is being performed in the *dhukhang* ['du khang] auditorium in Tawang Monastery. Musical instruments are used in this regular morning exercise

Fig. 4.29 Pupils of the third to the most senior (10th) grade practice the catechism according to each grade group in the plaza in front of the school of Tawang Monasery. In this debate practice, standing pupils ask a question in Tibetan, clap their hands, and then the sitting pupils answer

What Kawaguchi observed in Tibet 100 years ago remains largely unchanged in Tawang today. The morning assembly is held at 8:45 a.m. (Fig. 4.30), and classes start at 9 a.m. Tuition is undertaken by seven teacher monks and four teachers who are not monks. The former teach Tibetan Buddhism, English, and Hindi, and the latter teach mathematics, science, geography, and social studies (Fig. 4.31).

Sometimes, 10 rupees is given to the juvenile apprentices as pocket money. They line up at the monastery gate, *kakaling* [ka ka gling], to receive it. They take great delight in buying candy with their pocket money at either of the two stores near the gate (Fig. 4.32).

The classes recommence at 1 p.m. after lunch and end at 2:30. If a worship service is scheduled, it is performed from 2:30 to 3:30. All the apprentices return to their *shak*, read sutras, recite them from memory, and finish their homework. Supper, which is eaten at their own *shak*, is provided to them in the communal kitchen in the early evening (Fig. 4.33). They retire to bed before 10 p.m.

Nunneries are frugal than monasteries. There are three nunneries in Tawang. The only nunnery supported by Tawang Monastery is Gyangong Ani Gompa [rgyang gong a ne *dgon pa*], where approximately 50 nuns live. The main income for the other two nunneries—Drama Dungchung Ani Gompa [brag dmar gdong chung a ne *dgon pa*] with 40 nuns and Singsur Ani Gompa [sing zur a ne *dgon pa*]—consists of donations from their local patrons, particularly nearby villagers.

Fig. 4.30 Morning assembly held at the school belonging to Tawang Monastery

Fig. 4.31 Class at the school belonging to Tawang Monastery

Fig. 4.32 Sometimes, juvenile apprentices of Tawang Monasery receive 10 rupees as pocket money. It is a great delight for them to buy candy at either of the two stores close to the gate—*kakaling* [ka ka gling]—of the monastery with this money

Fig. 4.33 Supper is provided to apprentice monks in the communal kitchen of Tawang Monastery in the early evening

Fig. 4.34 *Shak* [shag] and nuns of Singsur Ani Gompa [sing sur a ni *dgon pa*] of the Gelug [dge lugs] sect

Until 1985 at Singsur Ani Gompa of the Gelug sect, the resident nuns had requested donations from local villages once a year. At the time of our field observations in 2011, the nunnery had a small vegetable garden, which produced chilies, radishes, and potatoes for the nunnery's own use. At that time, 47 nuns and apprentice nuns lived in 35 *shak* (Fig. 4.34). They included the following: 15 nuns who had completed their ascetic training and were older than 70 years; 10 teacher nuns who were 40–60 years; 8 nuns who had finished their education and were older than 15 years; and 14 apprentice nuns who were in their early teenage. Since this nunnery does not have its own school, 8 of the 14 apprentice nuns attended a nearby junior high school, and the remaining 6 went to an elementary school. The nuns and former apprentice nuns who have completed their education move to a different *shak* so that they can live with new apprentice nuns and take care of them. The floor plan of a *shak* housing one teacher nun and two apprentice nuns at that nunnery appears in Fig. 4.35. The living conditions at Singsur Ani Gompa are more basic than those at Tawang Monastery and another monastery mentioned below. There are, for example, no appliances such as a television set, radio-cassette recorder, or personal computer in this *shak*. A fire pit and kitchen are located in one of the rooms of the *shak*, as shown in Fig. 4.35, and there is a bed on either side of the fire pit. One of the two beds is for a teacher nun, and the two apprentice nuns together use the other bed (Fig. 4.36).

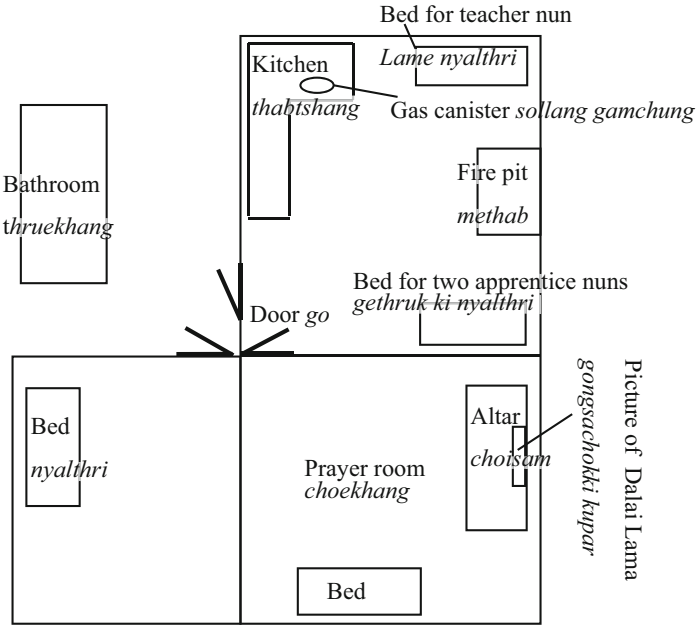

Fig. 4.35 Plan of a dormitory house, *shak* [*shag*], in Singsur Nunnery [sing zur a ne *dgon pa*] of the Gelug [dge lugs] sect (Produced from field observations)

Fig. 4.36 Interior of a *shak* [*shag*] in Singsur Ani *Gompa* [sing sur a ni *dgon pa*] of the Gelug [dge lugs] sect

The next room is a prayer room, where a bed and various items are placed haphazardly. Another bed is situated in the remaining room, which is treated almost like a storage room. Though the teachers at Tawang Monastery speak English, those at Singsur Ani Gompa do not, and they are also not fluent in Hindi.

Their daily routine is as follows. The nuns and apprentice nuns get up at 3 a.m. and read sutras. After washing at 4 a.m., they drink tea and eat breakfast. The nuns assign homework to the apprentices and visit their local patrons' houses to recite sutras. If the nuns have no other work to do, they perform domestic duties and teach the young apprentices. The apprentice nuns go to their elementary or junior high school, finish their homework after school, and receive supervision from the teacher nuns. The nuns and apprentice nuns take supper between 7 and 8 p.m., then read sutras and retire to bed at around 9 p.m.

The formal name of Jangdokpalri (zangs mdog dpal ri) Gompa of the Kagyu sect, which is located on the hill of the village of Jang [byang] (Fig. 2.5) in Tawang District, is Mon Palpung Jangchub Choekhorling (mon dpal spungs byang chub chos 'khor gling). The following descriptions were derived from field observations that we carried out in 2011. Approximately 60 monks and apprentice monks were then resident at the monastery (Fig. 4.37). The school within the monastery had six teachers, of whom two were monks. Thirty monks aged 15–30 years have finished their educational courses. There were also 30 apprentice monks aged 7–14 years.

Fig. 4.37 These apprentice monks, called *genyen* [dge bsnyen] or *geythuk* [dge phrug], belong to Jangdokpalri [zangs mdog dpal ri] Monastery of the Kagyu [bka' brgyud] sect in Jang village

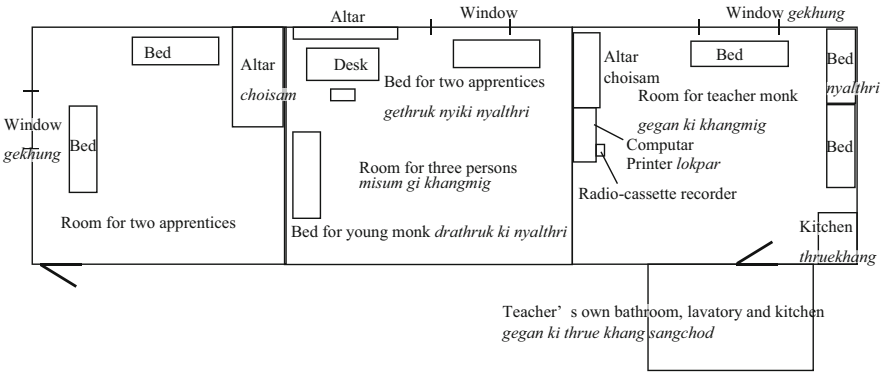

Fig. 4.38 Plan of a dormitory house, *shak* [*shag*], in Jangdokpalri [zang mdog dpal ri] Monastery of the Kagyu [bka' rgyud] sect (Produced from field observations)

The educational classes consisted of Tibetan Buddhism, English, mathematics, Hindi, science, geography, social studies, and art. In the art classes, the apprentice monks practiced sketching exercises. They all lived in 45 *shak*. Though Tawang Monastery and Singsur Ani Gompa have numerous independent *shak* for the monks and apprentice monks, at Mon Palpung Jangchub Choekhorling the one large two-story building is divided into 45 *shak*. All of the apprentice monks share the same toilet in the building. The teacher monks and apprentices live separately. Every teacher monk has his own room, whereas two to three apprentices share one room. A teacher's room has its own bathroom, toilet, and kitchen, and is equipped with a computer, printer, and radio-cassette recorder (Fig. 4.38).

The standard daily schedule at Mon Palpung Jangchub Choekhorling is as follows. The monks get up at 4:30 a.m., start reading sutras at 5 a.m., have breakfast at 7 a.m., and begin transcribing *sutras* at 7:30. There is a tea break at 9 a.m., and the morning meeting starts at 9:30. Morning classes at the school are held from 10 a.m. to noon. They have a lunch break at noon, and afternoon classes begin at 1. A tea break is held at 3–4 p.m.; then afternoon classes commence and continue until 6 in winter and 6:30 in summer. In these late-afternoon classes, elder apprentices practice dictation while a teacher monk talks and younger apprentices read sutras. After the classes, supper is served in the communal kitchen. Before going to bed, the monks study alone from 7 to 8:30 p.m. in winter and 9 p.m. in summer.

4.4 Bon and Animism: Shamanism and Local Societies

Bon is an ethnic religion with a long history in Tibet. It has developed its own highly sophisticated system of principles in relation to various indigenous aspects of the region. The Bon religion and the Nyingma sect of Tibetan Buddhism have influenced

each other, which has contributed to the development of both religions. They share an inclination to collect material related to old legends and ceremonies as well as the method of meditation known as *dzogchen* [*rdzogs chen*]. Buddhism and Bon have never been mutually exclusive in their relations to each other. On the contrary, Buddhism assimilates any native beliefs that attract local people (Karmay 1988).

Bon has also absorbed the theories and practices of Buddhism to a great extent. Since the introduction of Buddhism from the seventh century, Bon has expanded its doctrines and practices over hundreds of years (Snellgrove and Richardson 1980). The history of Bon can be divided into three phases. The first phase was the period before the introduction of Buddhism. During that phase, Bon was a religion that involved the expulsion of evil spirits and worship of good spirits. The second phase, which lasted until the first half of the eighth century, was a period in which Bon rituals were consolidated with a central focus on ceremonies for the dead. The influence of Buddhism was still minimal during that phase. The third phase has lasted from the late eighth century to the present. After initial conflicts, Bon metamorphosed into a religion in which enlightenment as a mental facility could be pursued under the influence of Buddhism. Elements of shamanism also became part of the transformation process of Bon after the eleventh century (Tachikawa 2009).

Although the Monpa people began adopting Tibetan Buddhism in the twelfth century, they have retained faith in their traditional religion of Bon (Dhar 2005). In Bon rituals, the procedures and offerings are conducted by a shaman, whom the locals hold in awe (Dhar 2005).

The manner in which Bon remains an active religion in the Monpa area is illustrated in the following example. The village of Thembang consists of dwellings within and around Thembang Dzong. A Bon festival (*bompu* [*bon phul*] in the Dirang Monpa language) called *lhasushi* [*lha zhu gzi*] is to make offerings to the gods of the mountains, and is held once every 6 years in the village of Thembang. In 2011, it took place on February 20–23. On the 2nd day, a procession of people wearing traditional costumes left the western gate of Thembang Dzong (Fig. 4.39), and a ceremony and feast were held in the plaza (Fig. 4.40). The seating assignment had been arranged in advance for each of the four senior clans—*bapu*. People of junior clans—*gilla*—were seated behind the *bapu*, whom they serve. On the 3rd day, a procession of *bapu* people with white flags symbolizing their status left the eastern gate of the fortress. Each clan then conducted a ceremony and held a feast in the plaza (Fig. 4.41). Serving food was a task for the *gilla*, and the *bapu* were not supposed to participate in this. On the 4th day, a procession of *bapu* people with white flags left the eastern gate followed by *gilla* people bearing colorful flags to symbolize their status (Fig. 4.42). A ceremony and feast were then held in the plaza: this was the *lhasushi* for the *bapu*; the *lhasushi* for the *gilla* was performed on another day. The people of Attajepu clan (Table 2.1) did not participate in the *lhalushi* in 2011. This was because they would have had to prepare and serve their own feast since they had no *gilla*, and that would have been too humiliating for them.

Fig. 4.39 The 2nd day of the Bon festival of *lhasushi* [lha zhu gzhi] at Thembang Dzong [them bang *rdzong*]: people wearing the traditional Monpa costume parade from the western gate of Thembang Dzong

In the *lhasushi* ritual, offerings were made to the gods of five mountains (indicated below). We obtained the following story of the origins of the ritual from interviews (Mizuno, August 2011) with villagers conducted as part of this study:

> Two gods called *chachani* [cha cha gnyis] who were brothers came down to the land of Thembang. No human being was living in the area at that time. There were no other gods present either. The elder god asked his younger brother whether he was intending to become a human. The younger brother replied, "You should, my elder brother." After this conversation, however, the elder brother became a new god named Jowhodi [*jo bo di*], and the younger brother became the king of mankind. Many years passed and two brothers, who were descendants of the first king, became kings in turn. They killed their uncle, who said to them with his dying breath, "Since you have killed me, people will kill you." Years later, the two kings collected tax from that area, which is today known as Assam. There were language problems between the kings and people of Assam, and the result was that the kings were killed by the locals. The throne was unoccupied for a long time as the Boot Monpa subordinates searched for a new king.

This story leads to the oral tradition of the village of Thembang, mentioned in Sect. 2.12, although the reason for the empty throne is not the same. In the Thembang oral tradition, the Boot Monpa subordinates eventually find their new king. The god Jowhodi mentioned above is one of the five gods to whom offerings are made in the *lhasushi*. The other gods are as follows: Phulachung [phu lha chung] who oversees the senior clans, *bapu*; Tang [thang] who rules disasters, such as fire and flood and

Fig. 4.40 The 2nd day of a Bon festival in the Thembang [them bang] area: this festival is called *lhasushi* [*lha zhu gzhi*], and it features offerings made to gods of the mountains. On this day, the procession of people wearing traditional costumes started from the western gate of Thembang Dzong [them bang *rdzong*], and a ceremony and feast were held in the plaza. Members of four senior clans—called *bapu* [sba bu]—sat in front of the altar on which the offerings were placed. Members of the junior clans—called *gilla* [gyi la]—sat behind the *bapu*. The photograph shows the people of the Dirkhipa clan of *bapu* and those of the Nimsonga clan of *gilla* as well as a few Assamese

is also known as Salasily [sa lha sri gling]; Dumrihi [sdum ri hi]; and Amajomu [a ma jo mo] who oversees the junior clans. The mountains of Jowhodi, Phulachung, and Dumrihi are visible from Thembang, but those of Tang and Amajomu are not. The mountain of Amajomu is said to be in southeastern Tibet. The mountain of Dumrihi is located behind the Thembang Dzong and the old ruin of a *gompa* on its slopes is undergoing renovation (Fig. 4.41).

In the *lhasushi*, lamas recite sutras and pray to all the gods of the mountains. Shamans pray only to Tang and Salasily. A different kind of domestic animal is offered to each of the gods. A sheep is offered to Jowhodi; a *mithun*, or a *maincha* [ba men] (see Sect. 6.2), is offered to Phulachung; a red cow and a calf are offered to Tang; and a goat is offered to Amajomu. The animals are offered to the gods alive and are released after the ritual.

During our field observations, a shaman of the Boot Monpa conducted a ritual to invite the god of the local mountain and made an offering of a domestic animal, like goat (Fig. 4.43). The shaman who played the leading role in this ritual was called a

Fig. 4.41 The 3rd day of *lhasushi* [*lha zhu gzhi*]: the procession of *bapu* [sba bu] people with white flags symbolizing their status left the eastern gate of the fortress. Each clan then conducted a ceremony and held a feast in the plaza. The mountain in the background is Dumrihi

phrami [phywa mi]. He had an assistant called a *tsangmi* (tshang mi). They were surrounded by male dancers called *bropa* [bro pa] and female dancers called *bromo* [bro mo] (Fig. 4.44). Shamans cannot cut their hair, and they wear a distinctive cap with two extruding horns to hold their long hair. The shaman recited the history of the village using special language and his aide, the *tsangmi*, provided an interpretation for the villagers. After that session, the shaman visited every household. He picked up a piece of burning charcoal from the fireplace of each house, put it into his own basket, and then poured water onto the fire in the hearth. Each household recompensed him with butter and cheese. This part of the ritual is related to the special prayers by shamans for the god Tang who controls disasters such as fires.

The *bapu* have faith in Bon, Tibetan Buddhism, animism, and shamanism. The Boot Monpa have a long tradition of belief in animism and shamanism. The shaman in the *lhasushi* described above was invited from a Boot Monpa village. When a shaman dies, the *bapu* choose a successor by divination. The *bapu* give the shaman a sheep as remuneration for the first as well as the second occasion in which the shaman provides a service, and a yak for the third time and thereafter.

A festival that involves rituals similar to those of *lhasushi* is also practiced in the Dirang Dzong area. It is locally called *chisesoese* [*'chi srid gso srid*], and offerings are made to the gods of the mountains. The *chisesoese* is held for 2 days in August

Fig. 4.42 The 4th day of *lhasushi* [*lha zhu gzhi*]: the procession of *bapu* [sba bu] people with white flags symbolizing their status left the eastern gate of the fortress first, and the procession of *gilla* [gyi la] followed. Ceremonies and feasts were held in the plaza after the processions

and 1 day at the end of December. Events related to *chisesoese* are organized and performed by eight villages in the Dirang Dzong and Yewang areas on a joint basis. Eight *tsorgen* from each village take part as well as 12 *gomi* and 6 *chopon* (see Sect. 3.4) as inter-village staff for communal events and projects. Every year, villagers take turns acting as assistants. They visit households to collect donations for the festival. As was the case with the old taxation systems described in Sect. 3.4, the *tsorgen* instruct the *gomi* and *chopon* in the performance of specific tasks. The *tsorgen* play prominent roles not just in festivals and rituals but also in the construction and maintenance of bridges and roads as well as the management of schools.

For the *chisesoese*, each of the five senior clans commissions one shaman and the junior clans collectively ask for three shamans. These eight shamans are inhabitants of local villages. Being a shaman is a hereditary occupation, and the youngest son of a shaman normally takes over the position.

The shamans invite the gods of three mountains. They pray and make offerings to the gods from 5 to 9 p.m. Traditionally, one girl and one cow are offered to the god of a mountain named Attadungphu [a mtha' gdung phu]. Similarly, one girl and one cow are offered to the god of another mountain named Atabangle [a mtha' bang sles], and one sheep is offered to the goddess of another mountain named Jomula [jo mo la]. The offered girls must be unmarried and no older than 12 years in the ritual

Fig. 4.43 A shaman of the Boot Monpa [bud mon pa], *phrami* [*phywa mi*], wears a distinctive cap with two extruding horns as he conducts a ritual to invite the god of the mountain and make an offering of a domestic animal. The shaman is helped by an assistant called a *tsangmi* [*tshang mi*]. They are surrounded by male dancers called *bropa* [bro pa] and female dancers called *bromo* [bro mo]

offerings. They are released after the ritual. The local people claim that water pouring from a crack on a large rock near the top of Atabangle mountain hits another rock below and that this makes consecutive sounds like a drum roll. They believe that the sounds are representations of natural energy arising from the god. They also believe that there is a waterfall within Attadungphu mountain, which creates a thunderous roar.

The disparity between senior and junior clans can be observed to a certain extent during *chisesoese*. Traditionally, members of senior clans sit on chairs, and those of junior clans are seated on the floor. At one time, marriage between members of the two types of clans was not possible. Such customs are diminishing today (see Sect. 7.4); however, they still exist. Members of junior clans still offer labor to those of senior clans. Although it has decreased substantially, a remnant of the past pecking order becomes particularly evident during religious occasions.

Hosina [lho srid nag] is another Bon festival, and it involves offerings made to evil spirits for a few days in April or May every year at Thembang Dzong. In 2011, it was held from May 1 to 3, and we observed that (Figs. 4.45 and 4.46). The background to this festival is complex. One of the elements is the old taxation system. Another element is the dualistic custom of New Year celebrations in Thembang

Fig. 4.44 Male dancers called *bropa* [bro pa] and female dancers called *bromo* [bro mo] take part in the festival of *lhasushi* [lha zhu gzhi]. The white flags are the symbol of *bapu* [sba bu] senior clans, and the colorful flags represent *gilla* [gyi la] junior clans

village. Thembang celebrates not just the usual New Year, which is called *dawa dangpoi losar* [zla ba dang po'i lo gsar], but also the village's own New Year, which is known as *chunyeipe losar* [bcu nyis pa'i logsar]. The events are held, respectively, in the 1st and 12th month of the year according to the standard Tibetan lunar calendar. These two celebrations are related to *Hosina* as follows. The inhabitants of Thembang are *bapu* people, descendants of the kings who once ruled the area. The father or eldest son of each household of the village used to visit the Mazbat and Udalguri areas in Assam to collect tax before *dawa dangpoi losar*. This type of taxation was known as *posa*, and it is currently paid by the district administrative offices.

Posa has long been connected with *hosina*. Assam used to be governed by the kingdom of Ahom, whose residents are said to have migrated from northern Burma through the Patkai Mountains; they settled in and governed Assam from 1228 to 1826. During the rule of the Ahom dynasty, the relationship between the mountainous tribes of Arunachal Pradesh and the Assamese, who were under the rule of the Ahom kingdom, was not cordial. It has been recorded that the Ahom king, Pratap Singha (1603–1641) (Tenpa 2015), granted *posa* taxation privileges to various tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. This allowed certain tribes to collect taxes from a number of villages around the foothill regions of Assam on the condition that the tribes did not raid and disturb the Assam lowlands (Choudhury 1996).

Fig. 4.45 The Bon festival of *Hosina* [*lho srid nag*] in which offerings are made to evil spirits: it is said that boys from the village of Lish [rlis] were formerly sacrificed in this festival

The expectation of the Ahom kingdom was that the *posa* system would enable the mountainous tribes to settle peacefully and permanently. The privilege of *posa* was also offered to the Aka tribe and then to the kings of the Monpa and Sherdukpen (tribes known as Sathrajas in English sources). Accordingly, the mountainous tribes traveled to the lowlands to collect taxes from villages in the boundary zones. As determined by the mountainous tribes, the taxes consisted of such commodities as bunches of cotton yarn, fabric, clothes, handkerchiefs, and salt as well as domestic animals. However, the amount that the mountainous tribes were able to collect was fixed. The Sathrajas collected taxes from the Kuriapara *duar*[1] and Char *duar* in the districts of Udalguri and Sonitpur in Assam. In the nineteenth century, the British administration modified the system slightly. The British took control of northern Assam from the Ahom King Purandar Singha (1832–1838) in 1838, and they maintained the *posa* system. The payment method was changed from goods to cash. Because money had no value to the mountainous tribes, they initially rejected this

[1] A *duar* is a gateway or passage between Bhutan and India in the foothills of the eastern Himalayas. In Tibetan, it is called *lego* [las sgo]. There were approximately 20 *duar* located between Monyul and Bhutan in the north and Cooch Bihar, West Bengal, and Assam in the south. They are known as the Bengali *duar* and Assamese *duar*. Of these *duar*, Kuraipara *duar* and Char *duar* were among the Assamese *duar*; these *duar* have not served communication purposes since the mid-twentieth century.

Fig. 4.46 The Bon festival called *hosina* [lho srid nag] is held every year at Thembang Dzong. It was originally a festival to neutralize evil spirits sent from Assam. According to local tradition, a boy from the village of Lish used to be sacrificed in connection with *hosina*. In this sacrifice, three men wearing the traditional Miji animist costume and four men dressed as soldiers danced around a boy tied down to the ground in the small plaza in front of the community hall and killed him with their swords. Nowadays, a human figure is used to represent this. In this photograph, the human figure has already been removed and a *torma* [gtor ma] (a religious offerings made of dough) placed there instead

plan. However, they gradually accepted it, and the system was modernized in this way. Thus, the cleverly designed and maintained *posa* system introduced by Pratap Singha to deal with the northern mountainous tribes and passed on to the British was practiced until the 1940s (Choudhury 1996). The triangular relationship within this feudal system, which included the Ahom kingdom in Assam, the kings of Arunachal Pradesh, and hard-working peasants, was inherited by the British (Thakur 2006). It was also established by the Satrajas of Monpa in Tawang and the Sherdukpen in West Kameng, respectively, in 1844 and 1853 (Tenpa 2015).

The annual report for 1914–1915 prepared by Captain Nevill, Assam Government Agent, indicates that the following amounts of cash were paid to the Sathrajas through the *posa* system: 5,000 rupees to Tawang Monpa; 2,526 rupees to Rupa and Shergaon; 145 rupees to Tembang; 536 rupees to Aka Kovat Sun (Kopachors); 164 rupees to Akas Kutsun (Hazarikhowas); 3,631 rupees (1,020 rupees in Thakur 2006) to Daflas; and 1,124 rupees to Miri-Abors. Of the 5,000 rupees paid to Tawang Monpa, 500 rupees was taken by Tawang Monastery, and the remainder was forwarded to Lhasa. The amounts to Daflas and Miri were reduced to 2,440 and 935

rupees, respectively, between 1914 and 1923 (Reid 1997 [1942]). Thakur (2006) indicates that the amount paid to Daflas and Miri was 1,020 rupees during this period. *Posa* was also paid to the Bhutanese since they had extraterritorial rights over certain *duar* in Bengal and Assam until British-ruled India regulated those *duar* in 1865. Tenpa (2015) provides more details on this subject.

The local New Year festival, *chunyeipe losar*, was established to enable the masters of houses in Thembang to celebrate the New Year with their families. They returned to their village after the standard New Year, *dawa dangpoi losar*; the festival is believed to be associated with evil spirits that originated with the malice of the Assam people, who had suffered under the burden of paying *posa*. The *hosina* festival was originally established to neutralize these evil spirits by making offerings.

Traditionally with the *hosina*, a human body from which the internal organs had been removed was necessary as an offering to the evil spirits. An instruction paper—*sangchen gudrai rimo* [*gsang chen dgu dgra'i ri mo*]—specifying the requirements for the rituals in *hosina* depicts ornaments made from a human skull as well as the arm, breast, and hip bones (Fig. 4.47). The skins of elephants and tigers were also included among the offerings. A human body without organs is depicted in the

Fig. 4.47 Instruction paper specifying the requirements for the *Hosina* ritual [*lho srid nag*]—*Sangchen Gudrai Rimo* [*gsang chen dgu dgra'i ri mo*]—displays ornaments made of a human skull as well as bones of the arm, breast, and hip. Skins of elephants and tigers are also depicted as being included in the ritual. A human body without internal organs is depicted in the bottom-right corner of the *Sangchen Gudrai Rimo*

bottom-right corner of the *sangchen gudrai rimo*. It is said that in historical times, a human subject was killed and his body was used for the ritual. According to local tradition, a boy from the village of Lish was once sacrificed in Thembang for this purpose. However, we were unable to confirm this during our field observations. The procedures of the sacrifice revealed from an interview (Mizuno, May 2011) were described to us as follows:

> Three men wearing traditional Miji animist costumes start running, and two men in soldier costumes carrying large swords chase after them. At the small plaza in front of the community hall named *Mangbrang* [*mang grangs*], the three Miji animists disappear and two more men in soldier costumes join in. The four soldiers then dance around a boy tied down to the ground and finally kill him with their swords (Fig. 4.46).

According to the traditional account, a boy used to be sent for the ritual every year from Lish as a tax. At some point, the human sacrifice was replaced with a sheep from which the internal organs were removed. The sheep was normally killed and processed the day before the ritual, and *torma* were placed on its skin inside the community hall. In the small plaza in front of the hall, the blood of the sheep was injected into a human-shaped dough (*bokpai* [gro phye]) figure. In 2006, Tsona Gonpatse Rinpoche [mtsho sna dgon pa rtse rin po che], a respected Buddhist leader, prohibited the killing of a sheep for this yearly ritual, and a human-like figure made of *bokpai* has been used instead. We observed the following taking place. Red paint, symbolizing blood, and a raw egg were inserted into the head and chest of a human-shaped *bokpai*. First, the groin was cut with a knife, and the *bokpai* was then slashed from its head. The ritual was performed in the small plaza in front of the community hall, where a flagstaff called a *phanshing* [*'phan shing*] stood. At one time, delinquents were tied to the pole and whipped by two villagers 108 times.

On the day of *hosina*, part-time monks visit every household in Thembang and scatter corn and buckwheat to expel evil spirits. Their emptied *brey* container is thrown outside the house at the end of these visits. There is a local belief that if after being thrown, the *brey* stands with its base on the ground, that is a good omen; if it stands with its base uppermost, it is an ill omen.

The Boot Monpa people live in an area adjacent to that of the Dirang Monpa, and the Boot Monpa believe in shamanism and animism. Barua (1995: 221) outlines the nature of their belief as follows:

> The people believe in a number of spirits, the most important of which is *Jo-odi* [*jo o'di*], the hill spirit. They propitiate it once a year by sacrificing sheep and yaks. The sacred specialist is known as *Chaajee romu* [*phyag mdzad rol mo*], and he performs various rituals. He is also regarded as the witch doctor, and is engaged in curing diseases and protecting villagers from evil spirits. The liver of a fowl is examined to predict the future. A perfect liver is considered a good omen, white spots in it indicate otherwise. Cocks or hens are skinned and examined for prognostication.
>
> The Boot Monpas observe a number of festivals and ceremonies with socio-religious significance. The *Seksaphu* [*sreg sa phud*] festival is held sometime in January–February, in which the priest offers fish to the hill spirit and other spirits on behalf of the villagers. The *Chudung aphu* [*chu gdung sa phud*] festival is held in the months of October–November, and is associated with the harvesting of the crop. Yaks are sacrificed in the name of the hill spirit for the sake of a good harvest. The ceremony of *Samafen Phu* [*sa ma'phen phud*] is performed in the months of March–April to propitiate the various spirits for the germination of seeds.

Thus, the Tibetan Buddhism, Bon, animism and shamanism are inter-woven and fused, which represents a dynamic and intricate tapestry of religious faith, society, and culture in the Monyul (Monpa area).

Column 1

Development of Arunachal Pradesh and Effects of the Chinese Military Action in 1962

Arunachal Pradesh acquired an identity of its own for the first time as part of the North-East Frontier Tract organized by the British administration in 1914. It was renamed the North-East Frontier Agency (NEFA) by the government of India in 1946. It became the Union Territory of Arunachal Pradesh in 1972. It was ruled directly under the Ministry of Home Affairs of the central government. The central government restructured the political status of the region, and it became the 24th fully fledged state in the Union of India in 1987. However, the area was considered largely valueless and left derelict until 1990s. Historically, in 1914, during the negotiations to manage the conflict between Tibet and China, Sir Henry McMahon of the British administration persuaded Tibet to accept the border between Tibet and the Assam region of India, which was included in the Simla Accord (a treaty concerning the status of Tibet negotiated by representatives of the China, Tibet and the British India in Simla in 1913 and 1914). The McMahon Line (a line agreed to by Britain and Tibet as part of the Simla Accord, a treaty signed in 1914, and the effective boundary between China and India) then came into existence. It was drawn on the northern side of the Himalayan ridgeline in an area where the Tibetan population was distributed, but China did not recognize this boundary (Mehra 1971, 1972, 1974; Lamb 1966). The boundary dispute between China and India became a long-standing issue between the two countries. In 1962, the Chinese military launched a sudden attack in the border conflicts between China and India, and India suffered a crushing defeat. The Indian government then expanded paved roads to remote parts of Arunachal Pradesh and garrisoned military units to further enhance its effective control of the area.

Most major roads in this region are under control of the military, but they are open to inhabitants for daily use (Fig. 4.48). When constructing such roads in residential areas, the military relocated inhabitants to new settlements and paid them substantial indemnities via the state government. In nonresidential areas, the military simply grabbed up the necessary land. Stone material for road construction was bought up from clans and villages by the military. The military maintains and controls the roads and blocks them when strategically necessary. For the construction of less important state roads, the Arunachal Pradesh state government did not purchase the necessary land from clans and villages but hired locals to undertake the labor. Though existing settlements were relocated to permit the building of military roads, the state roads were designed and carefully constructed so that no relocation was required.

Fig. 4.48 For strategic reasons, most major roads in the state of Arunachal Pradesh are maintained by the Border Roads Organisation (BRO) of the central government of India

Major roads and strategically important roads in the Monpa area are built and maintained by the Border Roads Organisation (BRO), which is responsible for road development in India's border areas. The BRO cooperates with the General Reserve Engineer Force (GREF) and the Indian Army's corps of engineers. The Public Work Department (PWD) of the central government of India and the state government of Arunachal Pradesh are responsible for the construction of roads within towns or a district. Besides the above organizations like BRO, GREF and PWD, Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana (PMGSY) is also involved in the constructions and maintenances of the road. PMGSY is a public project that is being undertaken by the Ministry of Rural Development of the Indian central government to connect villages in Arunachal Pradesh. The BRO is actively constructing roads in the Monpa area because this is a very important border region for India. The purpose of these roads is to promptly transport self-propelled artillery and tanks to every part of the national border in response to a possible Chinese military action.

A highway is currently being constructed from Tawang to Pasighat in Arunachal Pradesh, and it is necessary for both socioeconomic and strategic reasons. Whereas current roads pass through a wildlife sanctuary in Arunachal Pradesh, the new roads avoid such areas.

Women by the roadside crushing rocks with hammers to make pebbles are a common sight in Arunachal Pradesh (Fig. 4.49). The pebbles are used as construction

Fig. 4.49 Women crush rocks with a hammer to make pebbles by the roadside. The pebbles are used as construction material for roads and bridges

material for roads and bridges. A 50-kg bag of pebbles can be sold for about 30–200 rupees. Since the Indian government actively undertakes development in this state, the pebbles are in high demand, and the production of pebbles is a popular source of employment for local women. It is also notable that many migrating Nepalese workers have arrived in the state for road construction work.

Column 2

Land Ownership and Living Expenses

Most of the land in the Monpa region belongs to clans, especially in the Dirang area, or it is owned by the villages in the Tawang and Kalaktang areas. The urban areas in Itanagar, the state capital, and Bomdila, the district capital, are owned by the state, and residents are required to pay rent to the government. By contrast, urban areas in the Dirang and Tawang areas are owned privately.

Local people pay the government for electricity and water. For example, in the village of Lhou (Fig. 2.5) in the Tawang area, the electricity bill for an ordinary household is fixed at 150 rupees per month. A few households share a faucet

connecting them to the public water supply system and collectively pay 50 rupees per month for the service. Households that use local water but not the public system do not have to pay a water bill. In towns, the electricity bill is determined by meters, which indicate actual consumption. The normal range of a monthly electricity bill is 190–400 rupees. In the village of Sanglem (Fig. 2.5) in the Kalaktang area, electricity is charged according to the number of sockets. This suits the way in which electricity is used in this remote village where electricity appliances are not abundant. The electricity bill is set to two levels: above poverty line (APL) and below poverty line (BPL; see Sect. 7.4). The monthly bill for one light bulb socket at the APL level is 80 rupees, whereas at the BPL level it is 45 rupees.

In a town, a license has to be paid to operate a business, and it must be renewed every year; however, the charge is small. Tax is mainly collected in the form of a consumption tax. The rate of consumption tax varies depending on the purchased goods. It is kept low for vital goods and daily commodities.

Wages paid to workers involved in development projects and salaries for military personnel are higher than in other states of India. Military personnel based in Arunachal Pradesh are paid by the state government in Assam, but they also receive a salary supplement from the central Indian government.

The state government of Arunachal Pradesh only owns some parcels of urban land. In the Dirang area, land belongs to the clans with a few privately owned exceptions. This means that the state government needs to acquire the rights to use land from the clans when constructing schools or public facilities.

Any matter related to a clan is determined by the clan's committee. Its conference members consist of *tsanpa* (btsan pa): *btsan* means a "clan," and *pa* is "person." The membership of *tsanpa* ranges from elders to educated young people. In the case of the Sharchokpa clan, the number of members is about 150, of whom 70–80 are *tsanpa*. No decision is made unless all the members present agree and put their signature to the decision. Once the document relating to the decision has been signed, no complaint can be made. This is the standard decision-making process of clans in the state.

The Indian central government proposed the building a hydroelectric power plant in the Dirang area in the 2007–2008. During our September 2010 field observations, we observed how some of the negotiations went through between the concerned parties. The government negotiated with clans in the two villages. We had the chance to witness the ongoing talks between *tsanpa* from the four local clans and officials in a governmental office. It came to light that the funding for the plan has been provided by the World Bank, a semi-private agency has been placed in charge of its management, and private companies were to have actual construction work. The power station was to be built in the Boot Monpa area, and the construction of a tunnel between the villages of Thembang and Namshu was planned to transport water for power generation. However, due to stiff opposition from the Chinese government, the World Bank has declined to fund and now it is expected that Indian government itself will meet the plan in the region.

The borders of pieces of land are normally streams and valleys. Such borders are called *tsampa* or *satsam* [mtshams pa or sa mtshams] in the Dirang area. When

natural features are not available, a stone pillar—*tsampa lung* [mtshams pa lung] or *satsam doring* [sa mtshams rdo ring] in Tibetan—is erected and used as a landmark. Borders between the plots of land owned by clans are normally marked by these stone pillars in the Monpa area.

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Chapter 5
Forests in Monyul: Distribution and Management

A forest of *Quercas griffithii*, which is locally known as *soeba shing* [*gso pa shing*]—"forest for picking up fallen leaves"—in the Dirang [rdi rang] region. Here, farmers collect fallen leaves

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Abstract Forests are important resources for the local people in mountainous Arunachal Pradesh. Inhabitants of the Dirang area in West Kameng categorize forests into three types: *soeba shing* [gso pa shing], those used for collecting fallen leaves; *borong* [bo rong], those used for gathering fuel wood; and *moon* [mun], those used for gathering timber and hunting. *Shing* means "tree". Fallen oak leaves are collected from *soeba shing* around the villages and spread over agricultural fields as fertilizer for barley and buckwheat, which are produced as subsidiary crops of maize, or as a mulch to inhibit weeds or prevent soil erosion during the rainy season. Each type of forest is managed according to its uses. However, this forest culture has undergone changes since the 1980s. Illegal logging has become common, and the price of timber has continued to rise. Local residents in these areas have only recently begun to practice forest conservation. The focus of this chapter is on the distribution of forests, their uses, and their management by the local inhabitants and the related changes that have occurred in the Monpa area.

Keywords Forest distribution • Fallen leaves • Oak trees • Timber use • Forest conservation

5.1 Distribution of Forests and Their Management

Large parts of the forested area in Arunachal Pradesh belong to clans, villages, and individuals. National parks comprise 4.79 % (2,468.24 km^2) of the forested area, and 13.70 % (7,059.75 km^2) of the forested area is located within wildlife sanctuaries. Protected and reserved forests constitute, respectively, 2.57 % (1,323.92 km^2) and 18.86 % (9,722.69 km^2) of the total forested area. The remaining forested area—60.08 % (309,653.39 km^2)—is privately or communally owned by clans, villages, and individuals. Within West Kameng and Tawang districts, the situation is more extreme: none of the forested areas is located within a national park, and only 7 % (317 km^2) is found within wildlife sanctuaries; none of the forests are protected, and reserved forest accounts for only 15 % (708 km^2) of the forested area. The area that is privately or communally owned by clans and individuals comprises 78 % (3,357 km^2) of the entire forested area (Dutta 2011). The protected forests are governmental plantations, and logging is possible in reserved forests if appropriate licenses can be obtained. Such licenses are not issued for national parks or wildlife sanctuaries.

A transition in forest type occurs at an altitude of approximately 2,400 m in the Dirang area in West Kameng. Below this line, evergreen broadleaf trees (e.g. *Quercus lanata*, *Quercus lamellosa*, and *Schima wallichii*) and deciduous broadleaf trees (e.g. *Quercus griffithii*, *Alnus nepalensis*, and *Juglans regia* var. *kamaonia*) are dominant. Above the line, these deciduous broadleaf trees are scarce. Instead, evergreen broadleaf trees, such as *Lithocarpus pachyphylla*, *Illicium griffithii*, and *Michelia oblonga*, as well as evergreen needleleaf trees, including *Juniperus indica*, prevail. In even higher zones above 2,800 m, evergreen needleleaf trees, such as *Abies spectabilis* and *Tsuga dumosa*, are more obviously dominant. The forest limit

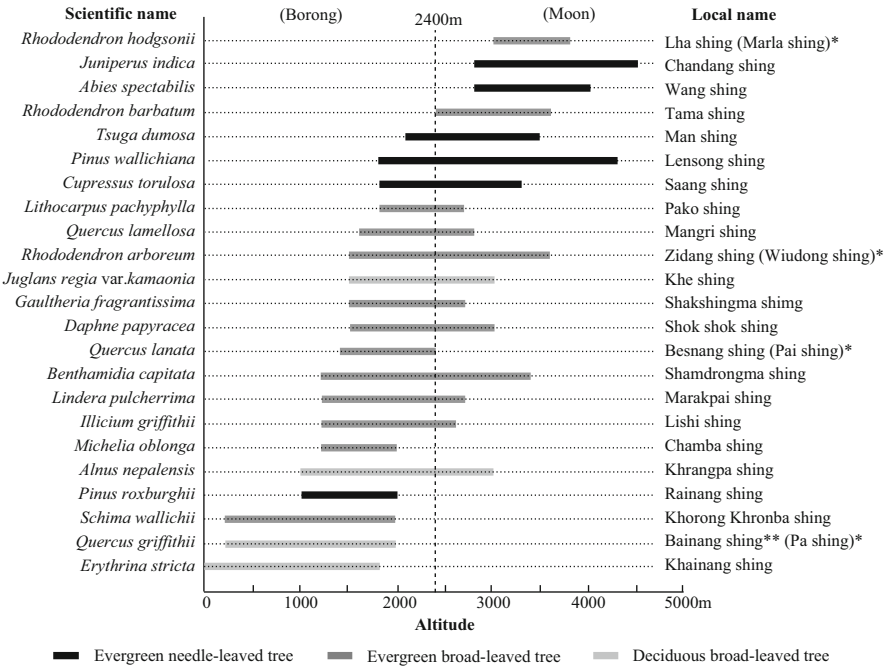

Fig. 5.1 Altitudinal distributions of tree species in the Dirang [rdi rang] and Tawang [rta wang/dbang] areas. Produced from field observations. The local names were obtained from interviews conducted in the area, and the scientific names are from Polunin and Stainton (1984) and other sources. *The local names in the Dirang area are identical to those in the Tawang area with four exceptions; their names in the Tawang area are indicated in parentheses. ***Bainang shing* [be nags shing] or *pa shing* [pa shing] is a generic name for several species of deciduous broadleaf trees belonging to the genus *Quercus*

is marked by *Abies spectabilis* fir trees, referred to locally as *wang shing* [wang shing]. These trees can be found in Sela Pass at an altitude of 3,900 m on the Tawang side (north side) and 4,050 m on the Dirang side (south side). Above this limit, the vegetation consists of grassland containing alpine plants.

We obtained the local names of trees through interviews with villagers as part of this study. The most noteworthy finding was that only four tree names differed between the Dirang and Tawang areas (Fig. 5.1). Given the marked linguistic differences between the two areas, this commonality in tree names is remarkable. It is to be noted that a tree is called *shing* in the Dirang Monpa language, while *sheng* in the Tawang Monpa language, and the written spelling is *shing* in Tibetan.

The altitude-dependent distribution of forests appears to influence the local people's access to and use of the forests (Fig. 5.2). The use of *soeba shing* [gso pa shing] in Dirang, the local name for forests used for collecting fallen leaves, is a good example of this relationship (Fig. 5.3). In the Monpa area, oak trees such as *Quercus griffithii* are known as *bainang shing*. Fallen oak leaves are collected from *soeba shing* around the villages and spread over agricultural fields as fertilizer for barley and buckwheat, which are produced as subsidiary crops of maize, or as a

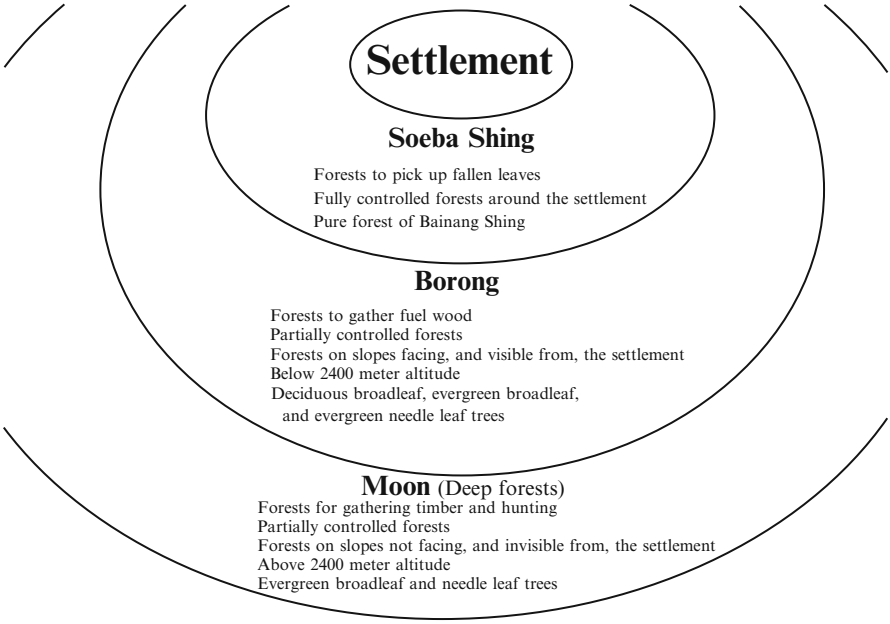

Fig. 5.2 Classification of three forests in the Dirang [rdi rang] area. Produced from field observations and locally conducted interviews

Fig. 5.3 A forested area called *soeba shing* [gso pa shing], used to collect fallen oak leaves, is often located close to a village's agricultural fields. The *soeba shing* is surrounded by *borong* [bo rong shing], which is a forest from which fuel wood can be gathered

Fig. 5.4 Villagers spread fallen oak leaves over agricultural fields of Thembang [them bang] village

mulch to inhibit weeds or prevent soil erosion during the rainy season (Fig. 5.4). This area receives high levels of precipitation, and the maize plants may topple over through soil erosion if the ground is not covered with a mulch of fallen leaves. A layer of fallen leaves, 3–5 cm thick, is strewn on the ground when the height of the maize reaches 30 cm, which is normally about 2 months after seeding (Fig. 5.5). Cow owners often mix fallen leaves with cow manure: fallen leaves, cow manure, and water are mixed together and kneaded by stomping. The mixture is left for 7–20 days before being spread on the ground as fertilizer.

Soeba shing are managed to produce pure forests of oak trees by weeding out the needleleaf trees, specifically *Pinus wallichiana*, locally referred to as *lensong shing* [len song shing]. As a result, land cover and land use in the Dirang area display particular patterns. Whereas forests around maize fields are dominated by oak trees, those around rice paddies are populated by *Pinus wallichiana.* This is because rice does not require fallen leaves as ground cover (Mizuno 2010).

Fallen oak leaves are gathered every year between January and February. For 2 weeks during this period, from 7 a.m. to 4 p.m., family members—often assisted by hired labor—gradually roll the fallen leaves downhill from the *soeba shing* (Fig. 5.6). A special rake-like tool made of pine—a *brak shing* [brag shing]—is used in this operation. Young male family members often use simple long sticks and apply force to move clumps of fallen leaves to the foot of a hill.

Fig. 5.5 Fallen oak leaves are spread over agricultural fields as fertilizer for barley and buckwheat, to inhibit weed growth and prevent soil erosion in the rainy season

Fig. 5.6 Fallen oak leaves are gathered between January and February every year. Family members gradually roll fallen leaves downhill from a *soeba shing* [gso pa shing] for 2 weeks during this period

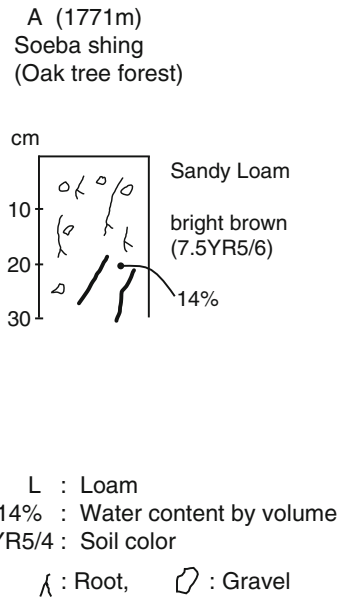

Fig. 5.7 Soil profile under a *soeba shing* [gso pa shing] forest, consisting of oak trees at an altitude of 1,771 m (location A in Fig. 2.5). Produced from local field observations

Fallen leaves are gathered only from an individual's own land. Fallen leaves from a *soeba shing* owned by another person may be acquired in exchange for cash or a distilled spirit called *arak*. The ground of a *soeba shing* is inevitably infertile since the litter on the ground is removed, and humus is absent. Thus, the surface of the soil is light not black in color (Fig. 5.7).

Most noteworthy in the management of *soeba shing* is that nobody, not even the owner, is allowed to cut down live oak trees. Only dead trees, fallen trees, and branches can be used. In the event of unlawful logging, an offender is reported to the village leader, the *tsorgen*, and made to pay the fine of a cow. Most agricultural households own a section of *soeba shing*.

Soeba shing are surrounded by another type of forested area called *borong* [bo rong], which is further encircled by another forest type called *moon* [mun] (Fig. 5.2). *Borong* is the local name for forests whose lumber is used for fuel wood. Such forests are usually located on slopes close to and facing villages. The altitude of the *borong* is normally below around 2,400 m. This type of forest consists of deciduous broadleaf trees, evergreen broadleaf trees, and evergreen needleleaf trees. Its soil is covered with some litters and has more humus than the soil of *soeba shing* (Fig. 5.8).

Moon is the local name for dense forests (Fig. 5.9). These forests are located on slopes that do not face villages. *Moon* are found at altitudes above 2,400 m and are at some distance from settlements. Such forests are used for gathering timber for construction and for hunting (Fig. 5.2). There is less anthropogenic impact on *moon* forests than on the other two forest types. *Moon* are largely primary forests; their ground surface is covered with litter, and the surface soil has a black color because of the well-developed humus. The soil of *moon* forests is argillaceous and the moisture content is higher than in *soeba shing* or *borong* (Figs. 5.10 and 5.11).

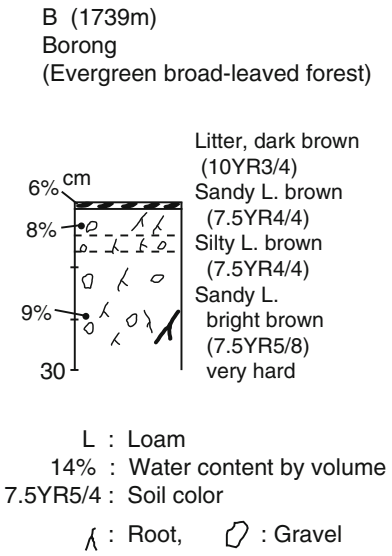

Fig. 5.8 Soil profile under a *borong* [bo rong shing] forest, consisting of evergreen broadleaf trees at an altitude of 1,739 m (location B in Fig. 2.5). Produced from local field observations

Fig. 5.9 A dense forest locally called *moon*. These forests are located at high altitudes and consist mostly of evergreen needleleaf trees

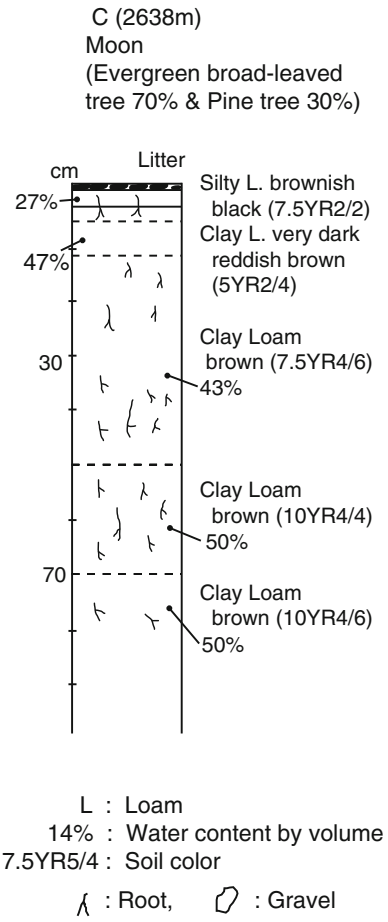

Fig. 5.10 Soil profile under a *moon* [mun shing] forest, consisting of evergreen broadleaf trees and pines at an altitude of 2,678 m (location C in Fig. 2.5). Produced from local field observations

The uses of *borong* and *moon* are, not surprisingly, related to who owns them. Some *borong* forests are communally owned by clans, whereas others are privately owned by individuals. *Moon* forests belong entirely to clans as a common property. In privately owned *borong* forests, their owners have the right to undertake logging operations and gather fuel wood. Individual, regardless of their clan, can use privately owned forests with obtaining the appropriate permission from their owners. Similarly, clan members have the right to acquire necessary resources from *borong* or *moon* forests that are owned by their clan. Permission is necessary from the clan head if a large quantity of timber is to be collected. Even members of other clans can acquire fuel wood if appropriate permission is received. If permission is granted, distilled spirits and a white scarf are presented to the forest owner as a sign of respect. If trees are cut down in a *borong* or *moon* forest without permission, the head of the clan that owns the forest can impose a fine of 5,000–15,000 rupees on the violator. The money received as a penalty is kept in a communal fund and used for the benefit of all members of the clan. For example, it may be used to cover the expense of rituals or as a solatium for the death of a clan member.

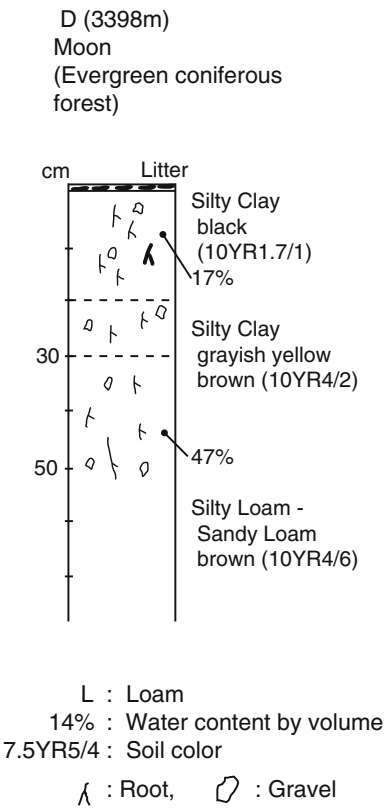

Fig. 5.11 Soil profile under a *moon* [*mun*] forest, consisting of evergreen broadleaf and needleleaf trees at an altitude of 3,398 m (location D in Fig. 2.5). Produced from local field observations

The *moon* was formerly considered deep, dark forests that were too daunting for someone to enter alone. However, the number of people using the resources available in *moon* forests has increased as a result of population growth, the expansion of road networks, and the prevalence of automobiles. Because of these changes, *moon* are now in a transition from primary forests consisting mainly of shade-tolerant trees to *borong* of secondary forests dominated by blue pines, *Pinus wallichiana*. As a result, *moon* are shrinking and *borong* are expanding; hence, *moon* forests become more distant from villages every year. Although *borong* are used to collect fuel wood, pines are not suitable for this purpose because they emit smoke when burned. Consequently, *lensong shing*, blue pines, remain untouched and are becoming abundant in many *borong* forests.

5.2 Use of Timber and Forest Changes

There is a clear relationship between the use of timber by the local inhabitants and changes in the forests of Arunachal Pradesh. The greater the utility of a particular type of timber, the more quickly it is exploited. A good example is *chamba shing* [sam pa

Fig. 5.12 Very hard timber can be obtained from the tree called *chamba shing* [sam pa shing] (*Michelia oblonga*). It is used to make furniture. Its price is currently soaring, and illegal logging of the tree is common

shing] (*Michelia oblonga*) (Fig. 5.12). Its wood is hard and suitable for carving, and it has gained popularity as a material for furniture making and building. The market price of one cubic foot of *chamba shing* (dimensions: 12 ft×12 in×1 in [365.8 cm×30.5 cm×2.5 cm]) was as high as 200 rupees in 2009, and rose to 500 rupees in 2010 (Table 5.1). The soaring price led to its extensive exploitation. Although *chamba shing* was formerly common in *moon* forests, it is now difficult to find this tree.

A number of trees other than *chamba shing* are used as construction materials. The following species are known locally to be suitable for such purposes: *man shing* [man shing] (*Tsuga dumosa*); *khe shing* [ke shing] (*Juglans regia* var. *kamaonia*); *wang shing* (*Abies spectabilis*); *khorong khoronba shing* [kho rong kho ron pa shing] (*Schima wallichii*); *kharangpa shing* [kha rang pa] (*Alnus nepalensis*); and *besnang shing* [*be snang shing*] (*Quercus lanata*). *Lensong shing* (*Pinus wallichiana*) from secondary forests is an oily and hence water-resistant tree species that is regularly used for the outer walls of buildings. Logging of these trees is increasing—at the same pace as the exploitation of *chamba shing*. Currently, there is significant demand for hard timber, including *chamba shing* and *khe shing*, both of which are used in furniture making.

As Table 5.1 indicates, the price of all timber used in construction is soaring. Many *chamba shing* trees have been cut down for commercial purposes and sold to such nearby cities as Tezpur and Guwahati as well as distant ones, such as Delhi and Mumbai, in addition to the states of Haryana, Punjab, and Gujarat.

In 1987, the Indian central government and state government tightened the commercial logging regulations for *chamba shing*, *lensong shing*, *wang shing*, and *man*

Table 5.1 Changes in the local price of one cubic foot (1 CFT*) of timber (rupees)

	Chamba shing	Lensong shing	Man shing	Wang shing	Khe shing
1987	100	60	60	60	No price
2009	200	200	200	200	300
2010	500	250	250	250	300
2011	500	300	300	300	400

Produced from locally conducted interviews
*1CFT is 12 ft. by 12 in. by 1 in. (365.8 cm × 30.5 cm × 2.5 cm)

shing. Licenses became necessary for the commercial exploitation of these timbers. However, licenses were not required to log these trees for private purposes. This constituted a legal loophole, and massive logging resulted along with the bribing of governmental officials. About 30 % of forests in the state are believed to have disappeared within 9 years of the change in logging regulations. The Supreme Court of India subsequently ordered a ban on the issuing of licenses and prohibited commercial logging entirely. That decision effected a halt in large-scale logging. However, illegal logging for commercial purposes on a small to medium scale continues today.

Though the government does not permit commercial or private logging, the actual owners of forests (i.e. mostly clans) allow logging for private purposes. This currently functions as a loophole for a certain level of commercial logging. Although clans prohibit the logging of *chamba shing*, other commercially valuable trees are cut down with clan approval. Logged timbers are covered and placed on trucks to be transported from the forests.

Gathering fuel wood is an important daily use of forests for villagers. As noted above, this task is performed mostly in *borong* forests. Trees used for this purpose are *besnang shing* (*Quercus lanata*), *bainang shing* [be nag shing] (*Quercus griffithii* and others), and *mangri shing* [man dri shing] (*Quercus lamellosa*). Charcoal made from *besnang shing* and *bainang shing* lasts longer than that made from other types of wood and is considered to have high utility. When used as fuel wood, *mangri shing* produces intense heat, which is considered an advantage. An increase in the consumption of fuel wood has encouraged the local people to look for wood not only in *borong* but also in *moon* forests. Large numbers of *pako shing* [spang kho shing] (*Lithocarpus pachyphylla*) have been cut and removed from *moon* forests. Above an altitude of 3,000 m, *tama shing* [stag ma shing] (*Rhododendron barbatum* and *Rhododendron campanulatum*) trees are indispensable as fuel wood for pastoralists. The characteristically large leaves of a similar tree, *lha shing* [stag ma shing or lar la shing] (*Rhododendron hodgsonii*), are used by pastoral people for wrapping butter and cheese (Figs. 5.13 and 6.11).

Several other useful resources are found in the forests. The berries of *lishi shing* [*li shi* or *li ka ra shing*] (*Illicium griffithii*) are collected between November and December; they are powdered and used as a spice (Fig. 5.14). The price of these berries is up to 25 rupees per kilogram when sold by villagers to local merchants. *Borong* forests at lower altitudes produce larger and hence more favorable *lishi shing* berries. The abundance of this tree in *moon* forests has proved to be very

Fig. 5.13 Leaves of *Rhododendron hodgsonii*, locally called *lha shing* [marla shing, stag ma shing, or lar la shing], are used by pastoralists to wrap butter and cheese

Fig. 5.14 When ground, the berries of *lishi shing* [li shi shing or li ka ra shing] (*Illicium griffithii*) are used as a type of spice, which is traded at high prices

valuable. *Shokshok shing* [*shog shog shing*] (*Daphne papyracea*) is an evergreen broadleaf tree and another useful resource since it is the raw material used to make the traditional paper of *boi shuku* [*bod shog*]. Strips of paper used for religious purposes—called *choephan* [*chos 'phan*] in the Dirang area and *shukphan* [*shog 'phan*] in the Tawang area—are mostly made from this tree (Fig. 3.7). *Khainag shing* [*khal nags shing*] (*Erythrina stricta*) is a deciduous broadleaf tree, and owing to its thorny character is often used in making fences around houses. This tree is easy to plant since a cutting grows when simply pushed into the ground. *Rainang shing* [*ras nags shing*] (*Pinus roxburghii*) is a type of pine, and its oil can be easily obtained by placing a container after making an incision on its trunk. The oil from this tree is sold to industrial firms. Leaves and branches of *saang shing* [bsangs shing] (*Cupressus torulosa*) and *chandang shing* [chang dwangs shing or shug pa shing] (*Juniperus indica*) are burned in stone fire pits—called *saang bum* (bsangs 'bum) in the Dirang area and *budpa* [bud pa] or *sangkhuk* [bsangs khug] in the Tawang area—to produce incense smoke for Tibetan Buddhist ceremonies (Fig. 5.15). Flowers of *zidang shing* [zi dwangs shing or stag ma shing] (*Rhododendron arboreum*) are used to make a drink of juice (Fig. 5.16).

Fig. 5.15 A stone-built fire pit called *saang bum* [bsangs 'bum] in the Dirang [rdi rang] area and *budpa* [bud pa] or *sangkhuk* [bsangs khug] in the Tawang area: the leaves and branches of *saang shing* [bsangs shing] (*Cupressus torulosa*) and *chandang shing* [chang dwangs shing or shug pa shing] (*Juniperus indica*) are burned in pits to produce incense smoke in Tibetan Buddhism ceremonies

Fig. 5.16 Flowers of *zidang shing* [zi dwangs shing or stag ma shing] (*Rhododendron arboreum*) are used to make juice to drink

5.3 Local Forest Conservation

The people of the village of Thembang were the first to realize the danger of excessive logging and overexploitation of medicinal herbs. Inhabitants of such towns as Dirang and its surrounding villages conducted logging to obtain fuel wood as well as for commercial purposes. Medicinal herbs were pulled up, including the roots: often the roots have pharmaceutical value. The situation was similar in Thembang. The problem was complex because the income from forest resources was indispensable to the local economy. To prevent environmental deterioration, it became necessary to develop alternative sources of income. After considering several potentially viable methods, the people of Thembang decided to collaborate with the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) to launch the Community Conserved Area (CCA) project. An office of the WWF was relocated from Itanagar (Fig. 1.1), the capital of the state to Dirang and began providing support for the project. The CCA project was launched in 2004, and active efforts began in 2007. It was funded by the Dorabji Tata Trust (http://www.dorabjitatatrust.org) via the WWF. In this project, three houses in Thembang were modified for use as guesthouses, with one room in each acting as a guestroom for tourists. The villages also began offering support and

training for local trekking activities for tourists. Through these projects, the villagers attempted to compensate for the economic loss that resulted from stopping the exploitation of forest resources.

The Thembang Bapu CCA, which covers 312 km^2, was followed by the Pangchen Lhunpo Muchat CCA, covering 98 km^2, and the Pangchen Shoktsen Lakhar CCA, covering 102 km^2, in the Pangchenpa area (Dutta 2011). A number of villagers are currently working with WWF staff in implementing these projects. The WWF also conducts technical training for local inhabitants to enable them to conduct field surveys.

The use of yak dung as fuel has also been promoted. Dried yak dung was formerly used as fuel in the Monpa area, but it became replaced by fuel wood from forests because it is very smoky when burned and more labor intensive to collect. The use of yak dung thus declined, except in high-altitude areas above the forest line. To revitalize its use as an energy source, a device to streamline its production process was introduced (Fig. 5.17). This device uses burned, carbonized yak dung and converts it into a rod-shaped piece of fuel. The cost of producing this device is 16,000 rupees per unit, but the WWF provides the units to the CCA projects free of charge.

Fig. 5.17 This device was invented to streamline the process of fuel production from yak dung. Yak dung is inserted into the device, and burning and carbonization result in a piece of rod-shaped fuel (This photograph was provided by Mr. Pijush Kumar Dutta of the World Wide Fund for Nature)

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Chapter 6
Yak Husbandry and Pastoral Communities

Land in the Dirang [rdi rang] region on which yaks and their hybrid varieties graze: the forests are cleared and converted to grazing land. Taxes known as *tsarin* [tswa rin] are paid to the agricultural clans that own the land

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Abstract Yak husbandry is a crucial part of Monpa community life. These domestic animals of the Tibetan plateau and Himalayan Region, including highlands of Arunachal Pradesh have complex mating patterns. Each of a number of types of yak [*g.yag*] is used for a specific purpose. The relationship between the type of yak and altitude is especially important. Grazing land is produced by forest reduction. The traditional method is the application of aconite root extract to tree trunks after ring-barking, and the main method used today is simply to bark trees. Pastoral people migrate seasonally, but they typically allow yak grazing in areas around their settlements during the winter. Pastoralists never practice agriculture even in or around their winter settlements. In pastoral communities, yaks are much more than mere domestic animals: they are fundamental to the livelihood of Monpa communities. The focus of this chapter is on Monpa pastoral communities, and consideration is given to their relationship with agricultural people.

Keywords Grazing land • Hybrid • Pastoralists • Land rent • Yak

6.1 Pastoralists and Yak Grazing Land

Fir and hemlock trees are frequently found at an altitude above 3,000 m, and alpine roses are common understory plants in high-altitude areas in the Eastern Himalayas. Grazing lands are located in these needleleaf forest zones. Human activity has led to the reduction of forest areas to allow the development of grazing land. One method used to reduce forested areas has been the application of aconite root extract to tree trunks after ring-barking. Such a method is becoming less common since there has been a decrease in the number of local inhabitants with a detailed knowledge of the local vegetation. The main method used today is simply to bark trees. As a result of such activities, patches of grazing land are scattered throughout the forests (Fig. 6.1). Seasonal shelters of pastoral people can be found in these areas.

Pastoralists live in settlements at low altitudes and allow their herds to graze during winter (from October to March) (Figs. 6.2 and 6.3). They do not carry out agriculture—even in winter. The villagers of Senge Dzong and Nyukmadung of West Kameng (Fig. 2.5) are rare exceptions in that they practice both grazing and agriculture. The villagers are pastoral people but own plots of land, where they reside permanently. Typically, women are responsible for farming and men take charge of grazing. In Senge Dzong, where there are 86 households, 40 practice grazing and 46 families do not own domestic animals but conduct regular farmwork. In many of the 40 pastoral households, the husband and his brothers manage the grazing, and the wife remains in the village to undertake work on the farm. There are variations in this role sharing, and the segregation of duties can be flexible. For example, the primary *tsorgen* of Senge Dzong practiced agriculture and his younger brother was in charge of grazing in 2011.

The following record of pastoral activities in 2011 illustrates the pastoral lifestyle to a certain extent. An advance party departed the village of Senge Dzong in

Fig. 6.1 Nagagg is used as a rangeland for yaks. Rangelands are created through the clearing of natural forests

mid-June to take their yaks [*g.yag*] to grazing areas. The other party with highland cows, called *galang* [*ba glang*], and hybrids between cows and yaks, called *dzo* [mdzo] (males) and *dzomu* [mdzo mo] (females), left the village around July 20. The first party with their yaks returned to the village at the end of October. The second party with the *dzo* and *dzomu* had already returned by the end of September. Compared with the hybrids, yaks are resistant to cold but vulnerable to heat, and therefore they stay in the highland area longer.

Each pastoral household of the village of Senge Dzong has its own single piece of land for grazing. The primary *tsorgen* of the village claimed to have practiced grazing for 15 years—from his mid-teens to the end of his thirties—in a highland area. The parcel of land used for grazing is called a *lukguthang* [lug dgu thang]: *lug* means "sheep," *dgu* "nine," and *thang* "place." A *lukguthang* is thus a small area that can sustain only nine sheep.

Two groups of crops are grown in Senge Dzong. One is barley and buckwheat, which are cultivated around the village; the other is finger millet and maize, which are grown at lower altitudes within the village. Another source of income has become important in recent years: an increasing number of villagers undertake road construction work, and many of them are women. They manage daily agricultural tasks in the early morning and late afternoon; they engage in road construction work for 7 h from 7 a.m. to 3 p.m. for 30 days a month. The typical monthly income for

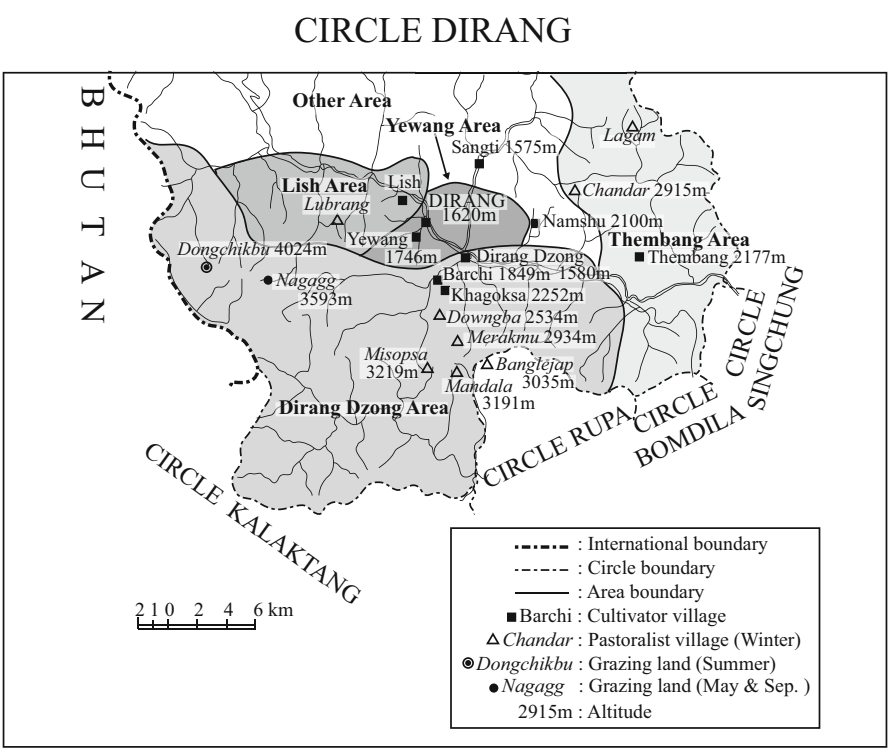

Fig. 6.2 Agricultural villages, pastoral villages, and rangelands in the Dirang [rdi rang] area. Produced from locally undertaken surveys and the *Census of India 2001 Administrative Atlas*

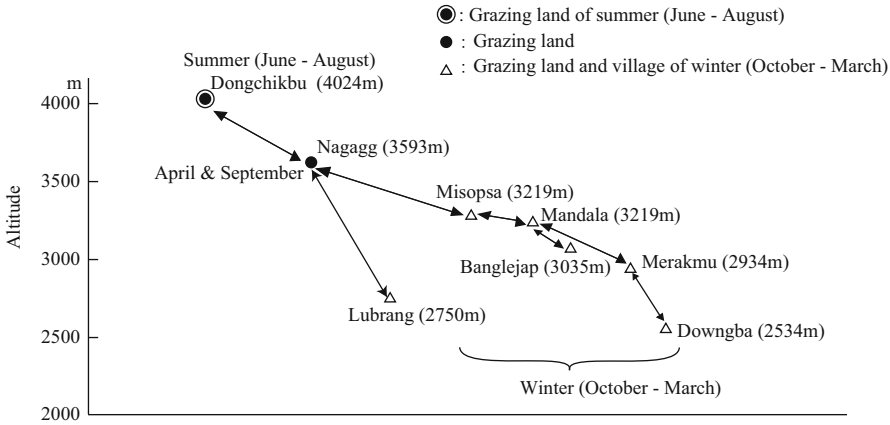

Fig. 6.3 Trajectories of the pastoral community of Dirang Dzong [rdi rang *rdzong*] in the Dirang area in relation to the locations of rangelands. Produced from interviews and locally undertaken surveys

a village woman for this type of construction work is 5,000 rupees. Since there are many steep slopes around the village, landslides are common; road construction laborers are therefore constantly in high demand.

Pastoralists in the Monyul (Monpa area) never form a clan. The village of Senge Dzong consisting of pastoralists is not an exception, and has no clan. In the village, pastoralists are known as *brokpa* or *drokpa* ['brog pa], and agricultural workers are known as *ungpa* [*lung pa*] or *yuel pa* [yul pa]. *Brokpa* and *ungpa* are considered ethnically different from the Dirang Monpa, and each has their own language (Table 1.1). *Brokpa* are said to be the descendants of migrants from Tibet, and their language, *brokkhe* ['brog skad], is much closer to the standard Tibetan language compared to the language of the agricultural people's *ungpa*. Senge Dzongpa, Nyukmadungpa, and pastoral people in Lubrang close to the border with Bhutan share a language and native costumes with the people of Merak and Saktang in Bhutan. The people of Mago, Thingbu, and Lukguthang in the northeast of the Tawang district and the people of Chandar [chan dar] and Lagan [la gan] in the Dirang area share a language and native costumes with the people of Tibet. The language is slightly different between these two groups.

The pastoralists of Mago, Thingbu, and Lukguthang own their own land. The number of people in a pastoral household in the Dirang Dzong area is between 3 and 11. Each household owns 20–300 domestic animals. Villages where the pastoralists stay during winter in the Dirang Dzong area include Downgba [dong ba] at an altitude of 2,534 m, Merakmu [me rag mu] at 1,934 m, Banglejap [spang la brgyab] at 3,035 m, Mandala [man da la] at 3,192 m, and Misopsa [mi sob sa] at 3,219 m (Fig. 6.2).

The movement of pastoral people over the course of a year is flexible. For example, a pastoral villager of the Downgba remains in the village in winter from December to April; he moves to Merakmu sometime between April and early May for a few days or weeks to let his livestock graze. The pastoralist then moves to an area between Mandala and Misopsa for a few days or few weeks, and he finally arrives at Dongchikbu [gdong gcig bu] near the national border with Bhutan (Fig. 6.3). The duration of stay at each location depends on the condition of the grass. The timing of travel changes accordingly. Dongchikbu is the grazing land for the summer. Pastoral people from the village of Downgba normally remain there for 3 months from June to August. They begin returning in early September and gradually arrive home in their winter village (Fig. 6.4).

The original home of the pastoralists in the areas of Dirang Dzong and Lish in the Dirang region was the village of Lubrang. Grazing land ran short at some point in the past as a result of increasing population pressure within that village; emigration to the villages of Downgba, Merakmu, Banglejap, Mandala, and Misopsa resulted. Lubrang is still the hub for pastoralists of the Dirang region, and it is therefore the distribution center for dairy products. Agricultural people visit this village to exchange their cereal grains for cheese and butter. The pastoralists of Lubrang leave their village in April, arrive in Nagagg [na ga zem bu] in May, stay at Dongchikbu, from June to September, and return to their home village by the end of October.

Fig. 6.4 As pastoral people travel, their *dzos* [mdzo] carry parcels and blankets called *lewu* [sle'u] or *lewa* [sle'u ba]. The blankets are made of yak [g.yag] wool and are water resistant

There is a diverse range of grasses on the high-altitude grazing lands used by the pastoralists in the Dirang region. They include genus of *Deyeuxia*, *Deschampsia*, *Poa*, *Hierochloe*, *Stipa*, *Agrostis*, *Calamagrostis*, *Helictotrichon*, and *Glyceria*. *Poaceae* and *Cyperaceae* grasses are very widely distributed (Chatterjee et al. 2003) and are used to feed livestock.

The village of Misopsa is located at an altitude of 3,219 m and consists of eight households of pastoral people. They return from their higher-altitude grazing lands and stay in the village until late March. They then move toward Nagagg in April.

At an altitude of 3,035 m, the village of Banglejap consists of six households. Children, their mothers, and senior people of three of those households remain in the village while all members of the other three households move to their grazing land for the summer. For example, during the fieldwork, we observed that in one of the three households, nine people left for the grazing land; one old woman, one mother, and her baby remained in the village during the summer (Fig. 6.5).

The state government has promoted a plan to encourage pastoralists to settle in the village of Merakmu to improve the children's educational standards. The government built 26 residential cottages as well as a school and clinic in Merakmu in

Fig. 6.5 In summer, only children, their mothers, and senior members of pastoral households remain in the village while all other members move to the grazing lands. The photograph shows a baby and his mother remaining in the village of Banglejap [spang la rgyab] at 3,035 m altitude. The mother was producing butter tea using a device known locally as a *jandong* [ja dong]

2007 (Fig. 6.6). Each cottage cost the government 20,000 rupees. However, the pastoral people did not choose to live there. The school is used by the children of migrant road construction workers from Nepal.

Dongba is located at an altitude of 2,543 m and is the lowest village inhabited by pastoralists in Dirang Dzong. It is in a bamboo forest zone, and clipped bamboo leaves are used as fodder during winter. Bamboo trees at high altitudes are called *shee* [bshed], and the local people believe that they bloom once in 50 years and then die. They are a useful resource and are used as material for roofs, fences, and baskets. At low altitudes, bamboo forests are called *rashu* [ra shu]. They do not die but are less useful than *shee*. A fruticose lichen, *Usnea pectinata*, which is locally called *bunpu* or *bunpa* ['bun 'bu], is used as a feedstuff for yaks. It is also used as a scrubbing brush for cleaning. When the pastoralists stay in shelters above an altitude of 3,000 m, *tama shing* [stag ma shing] (*Rhododendron barbatum* and *Rhododendron campanulatum*) trees are used as firewood. The surface of these trees is shiny and smooth. Its permeability is low, and it is suitable as a fuel wood in the rainy mountain regions.

Fig. 6.6 The government of Arunachal Pradesh promoted a plan to encourage pastoral people to settle in the village of Merakmu to improve their children's education. The government built 26 residential cottages as well as a school and clinic in 2007

Tree leaves are also used as fodder for yaks in winter settlements. Deciduous broadleaf trees, such as *Quercus wallichiana*, *Acer campbellii*, *Salix humboldtiana*, *Buddleja asiatica*, *Symplocos racemosa*, *Castanopsis* sp., *Berberis* sp., and *Ligustrum myrsinites*, are often used for this purpose (Chatterjee et al. 2003, 2006).

Pastoral communities in the Thembang area are notably different from those in Dirang Dzong. The presence of *tsorgen* is one of the main differences. Every village in the Thembang area has at least one village mayor, called a *tsorgen*, whereas villages in Dirang Dzong do not. Some villages in the Thembang area have several *tsorgen*.

At an altitude of 2,915 m, the village of Chandar in the Thembang area accommodates 16 households, which amount to over 60 people in winter. About 20 villagers, mainly seniors and children, remain in the village while about 40 people leave to manage the grazing in summer. They depart from the village sometime between June and July, and they return in late September. The houses in Chandar are larger than those in Dirang Dzong and have access to electricity.

Polyandry is traditionally practiced in the village of Lubrang. Normally, two men are married to one wife in this village. One of the husbands maintains the house, and the other manages the grazing of yaks. This is a customary practice in Tibet, and the husbands of the same wife are often brothers (Yamaguchi 1987).

6.2 Nature of Yaks

The yak is a common domestic animal in Tibetan culture and typically thrives in highland areas. A female yak is called a *bri* (*dri*) ['bri] (Fig. 6.7). Male and female highland cows are called, respectively, *galang* [ba glang] and *galangma* [ba glang ma]. A hybrid of a male yak and female cow is called a *galangma*, whereas a hybrid of a *galang* and *bri* is called a *dzo* [mdzo] if it is a male and a *dzomo* [mdzo mo] if it is a female (Fig. 6.8). Both *dzo* and *dzomo* resemble yaks and *bri*. Yaks and hybrids are distinguishable by the fur on their bellies, which is longer on yak and *bri* of female yak than on *dzo* and *dzomo*. These domestic animals are very important for the pastoral people of the highlands of Arunachal Pradesh.

There are complex mating patterns among the domestic animals of Arunachal Pradesh. Whereas *dzomo* are fertile, *dzo* are infertile. A hybrid between a *galang* and a *dzomo* is called a *khotu* [khu tu] (Table 6.1). A *khotu* produces only half the amount of milk that a *dzomo* does, and it is also of lesser quality. All newborn male *khotu* as well as most females are killed. The reason for killing most *khotu* is to minimize consumption of their mother's milk. A few female *khotu* are saved because the third hybrid between a male *galang* and female *khotu*—*gogyalang* [go rgya glang]—is considered to produce good-quality milk. The first and second hybrids

Fig. 6.7 A male yak [*g.yag*] appears on the right and a female yak—*bri* [*'bri*]—stands in the foreground

Fig. 6.8 *Dzo* [mdzo], a hybrid of a male yak and highland cow: *dzo* can carry greater burdens to lower altitudes than yaks and *galang* [ba glang]. The cargo they carry is often covered by a yak blanket, known as a *lewu* [sle'u] or *lewa* [sle'u ba]

Table 6.1 Types and mating of domestic animals of the pastoral communities

Male	Female
Yak	Bri
Dzo	Dzomo
Galang*	Galangma*
Jatsa	Jatsamin

Produced from locally conducted interviews
*Galang [ba glang] and galangma [ba glang ma] are types of highland cattle
1. Galang × Bri = Dzo & Dzomo (Brimdzo & Brimdzomo)
2. Yak × Galangma = Dzo & Dzomo (Bamdzo & Bamdzomo)
3. Galang × Dzomo = Khotu
4. Galang × Khotu = 1. Shingalang, 2. Tagalang, 3. Gogalang
5. Yak × Dzomo = Tuia
6. Yak × Tuia = Garyak & Garburi
7. Yak × Garburi = Yak & Bri
8. Cow × Galang or Bull × Galangma = Wagalang & Wagalangma
9. Mithun × Cow = Jatsa & Jatsamien

Fig. 6.9 Pastoral people produce butter and cheese from the milk of *bri* [*'bri*] and *dzomo* (mdzo mo)

between a male *galang* and female *khotu*—*singalang* [sing ba glang] and *tagalang* [rta ba glang], respectively—are believed to yield only low-quality milk. *Gogyalang* also produce good *galang*. Male *khotu* are infertile and are therefore killed at birth for leather and meat. Though the interval between breeding for a female yak, a *bri*, is 18–24 months, that of a *dzomo* is 15–18 months (Ramesha et al. 2009). To increase the number of *dzo* and *dzomo*, it is necessary to have a *galang* for breeding, and they are therefore highly valued in pastoral communities.

The amount of milk that an average *dzomo* produces is greater than that of a *bri*. Whereas a *bri* typically produces 3 liters of milk a day, a *dzomo* can produce 7 liters. More milk can be obtained from a *dzomo* because the *bri* feed their babies while a *dzomo* does not.

Milk from *bri*, *dzomo*, and *gogalang* are mixed in the same container. By stirring the milk with an appropriate tool (Fig. 6.9), the upper cream turns to butter and the remainder becomes cheese (Fig. 6.10). The butter and cheese are wrapped with leaves of *Rhododendron hodgsonii*, known locally as *lha shing* [stag ma shing or lar la shing] (Fig. 5.13), for storage and transportation (Fig. 6.11).

A *dzo* or *dzomo* as a hybrid between a *bri* and a *galang* is called a *brimdzo* ['bri mdzo] or *brimdzomo* ['bri mdzo mo] from more detail classification. A *dzo* or *dzomo* as a hybrid between a yak and a *galangma* is called a *bamdzo* [ba mdzo] or a *bamdzomo* [ba mdzo mo] in the same way. A hybrid between a yak and a *khotu* is called a *shingdzo* [shing mdzo] or a *shingdzomo* [shing mdzo mo]. *Bridzomo* yield the best milk and *shingdzomo* the worst (Table 6.1). A hybrid between a yak and a

Fig. 6.10 Butter produced by pastoralists

Fig. 6.11 Butter and cheese are wrapped with leaves of *Rhododendron hodgsonii*, locally called *lha shing* [stag ma shing or lar la shing], for storage or transportation

dzomo is called a *tuia* [thu'i]. Since its utility is low, all male and most female *tuia* are killed. A hybrid between a yak and a *tuia* can be either a *garyak* [dgar g.yag] or a *garburi* [dgar bu ri] of female garyak, which have physiology and ecology very similar to those of yak and bri. A hybrid between a yak and a *garburi* is almost identical to a yak or a *bri*.

A hybrid between a cow and a *galang* or a *galangma* is called a *wagalang* [wa ba glang] or a *wagalangma* [wa ba glang ma], respectively. The latter produces good milk.

Pastoralists favor *dzo* and *dzomo* and actively undertake breeding to acquire them. There are clear reasons for this preference. *Dzo* and *dzomo* are larger and stronger than yaks and highland cows. They also produce more milk and meat. They can carry more than a yak and a *galang* and can also convey loads to lower altitudes (Fig. 6.8).

A yak eats long grasses using its tongue, just as a cow does, and can also eat short grasses and rhizomes by means of its incisors and lips, like a sheep (Ramesha et al. 2009). Further, it can consume hard leaves and the stems of sedges in swamps. In winter, yaks remove layers of snow by using their forefeet to reach the wilted vegetation underneath. They employ a variety of methods to consume a wide range of plants and hence they have high adaptivity to many pasture areas (Ramesha et al. 2009).

Dzo and *dzomo* cannot live in high-altitude areas, where yaks and *bri* can survive, but are better able to adapt to altitude than cows; hence, they are used in mid-altitudinal areas. Temperature and humidity hinder yaks and *bri*, restricting them from low areas, and they normally remain at altitudes of 3,000–4,500 m. Pastoralists keep yaks as well as *dzo* and *dzomo* at altitudes above 2,500 m.

A *mithun* [ba men] (*bos frontalis*) is a partially domesticated animal that normally lives in forests. When it produces offspring, they are brought to a dwelling in a pastoral community and sheltered for 1–2 months before being returned to the forest. The owner of the forest sometimes gives salt to *mithun*. Young *mithun* often visit the homes of pastoralists as they become familiar with them. Forest owners cut off part of the ear of an infant *mithun* as a mark of ownership. *Mithun* are important assets for producing of good milk, and in animist communities they are offered from a man to his future wife's parents at the time of marriage. They are also often required in rituals. For example, Monpa people purchase *mithun* from the Miji people, who are animists, and use them as an offering to the gods of the mountains in Bon rituals, such as *lhasushi* (see Sect. 4.4).

As determined during the fieldwork of 2011, the price of a *mithun* was 15,000 rupees for a 1½-year-old animal and 50,000 rupees for a 6-year-old. A male hybrid between a *mithun* and a cow is called a *jatsa* [rgya rtsa], and a female hybrid is called a *jatsamin* [rgya rtsa men]. *Jatsamin* are regarded as producers of high-quality fatty milk, and the price of one could be up to 20,000 rupees for a 2-year-old. They are the most expensive domestic animals traded in the area. Other examples of prices we observed were as follows. A yak or a *bri* could cost 30,000 rupees for a 6-year-old and 7,000–10,000 rupees for a 1½ to 2-year-old. A *dzo* or a *dzomo* could cost 18,000–20,000 rupees for a 4-year-old animal. The meat of *dzo* and *dzomo* has become popular only within the last 20–30 years.

6.3 Use of Yaks and Their Social–Cultural Importance

Both yaks (and *bri* and *dzo*) and *dzomo* are similar in appearance. *Bapu*—senior clans in the Thembang area—and senior clans in the Dirang Dzong area traditionally consume only meat from yak, *bri*, sheep, deer, or fish. They never eat beef, pork, chevon, chicken, or the meat of *dzo* and *dzomo* (Table 2.1). *Gilla* (junior clans of the Thembang area), junior clans of the Dirang Dzong area, and Boot Monpa people consume most kinds of meat that are available. Overall, taboos on dietary habits are decreasing, especially among younger generations, with the exception of pork. That has always been absent from the local diet. When *bapu* require the meat of yaks, the *gilla* undertake the actual slaughtering. The *bapu* clans then receive the meat and offer any remaining organs to the *gilla* clans. The blood produced when beheading a yak is used to make sausages.

A yak can yield 70–190 kg of meat (Ramesha et al. 2009). The price of yak meat in the Dirang area was 70–80 rupees per kilogram in 2007. It increased to 120 rupees in 2010 and 150 rupees in 2011. A yak is often slaughtered on the road, and local inhabitants and travelers buy the meat (Fig. 6.12). Pastoralists sell butter and cheese by the roadside or take it to town to sell. The roadside prices of a kilogram of butter and cheese were 130 rupees and 80 rupees, respectively, in 2007; they were 180 rupees and 130–140 rupees, respectively, in towns. The roadside prices increased to 300 and 250 rupees, respectively, in 2010; unsurprisingly, the prices in

Fig. 6.12 A yak is often slaughtered on the roadside, and local inhabitants and travelers buy the meat

towns became even higher at 350 and 300 rupees, respectively. The roadside price of 1 kg of both butter and cheese was 300 rupees in 2011.

The shearing of yaks is undertaken once a year—normally between April and June, when they molt. Yak wool is naturally water resistant. It is used to produce ropes, hats, and blankets called *lewu* [sle'u] or *lewa* [sle'u ba]. *Lewu* are often used as a cover for harvested grain as well as for wrapping cheese and butter on *dzo* during transportation (Fig. 6.8). *Lewu* serve multiple purposes. They are sometimes stretched over the space between rocks to form a simple tent or temporary shelter. A more regular tent consisting of wooden poles and yak wool is called a *bura* [bu ra]. The tails of yaks are known as *tsampi* [mtshams pi] by the Dirang Monpa people and are used as dusters. They are called *ngama* [rnga ma] or *jukma* [mjug ma] in Tibetan. Since the tails of most yaks are black, exceptional white tails fetch higher prices. Hats made of yak hair are called *tsipe zhamu* [rtsid pa'i zhwa mo] in the Dirang area. They are often worn by elderly people as part of their traditional costume (Fig. 7.23).

Yaks are not just a source of milk, meat, and wool but are also considered a special form of livestock that are different from other domestic animals. This is evident in the *yakcham* [g.yag 'cham], the special yak dance that is performed at *losar* [lo gsar], the festival of the Tibetan New Year. In that dance, a life-size imitation of a yak made of yak fur or black clothing is maneuvered in a series of movements and dances by two people within the costume (Fig. 6.13). It is clear that yaks are still an integral part of community life in Monpa area.

Fig. 6.13 A life-size figure of a yak, made of yak's fur and black clothing, for the *yakcham* [g.yag 'cham] dance at *losar* [lo gsar], the Tibetan New Year: it is performed by two people within the yak figure

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Chapter 7
Distribution of Farmland and Agricultural Communities

Agricultural people harvesting finger millet in the Tawang region: finger millet is used to produce a local alcoholic beverage as well as local food called *bokpai* [gro phye]. The latter is made by kneading cereal powder with hot water

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Abstract Agriculture in the Monpa area can be classified into three zones in terms of altitude. The appropriate form of agriculture is practiced in each zone, and this results in their characteristic agricultural products. Fallen leaves from oak trees are traditionally applied to most cultivated land as fertilizer in the Monpa area. Most parts of the rangeland in this area belong to agricultural people practicing cultivation, and they receive land rent from pastoralists. A long relationship has existed between these two types of people. A clan system is dominant in the agricultural communities of the Dirang Monpa in the Dirang area. The structure of the dwellings and lifestyle of the agricultural people in the Dirang area differ from those in the Tawang area. Rapid developments are taking place in the Monpa area. These have led to the disappearance of many traditional aspects of life and the introduction of modern lifestyles in its agricultural communities. The main focus of this chapter is on these changes to the agricultural communities in the Monpa area.

Keywords Clan • Fallen leaves • Maize • Lifestyle • Loan system

7.1 Three Agricultural Zones in the Dirang Area

In the Monpa area, the introduction of the use of the plow for agriculture is believed to have taken place in the seventeenth century (Narain Jha 2006). It occurred at about the same time as Tawang Monastery was built. The plow used in the Monpa area is considered to have had a wooden edge and to have been better than those used in Brahmaputra valley, Assam (Narain Jha 2006).

Determined by altitude, there are three recognizable agricultural zones in the Dirang area. They are *yaer uang* [yer lung], which is below an altitude of approximately 1,790 m; *tsanbu uang* [gtsang po'i lung], which is between 1,790 and 2,000 m; and *ya uang* [yar lung], which is between 2,000 and 2,300 m. Since cereal cultivation is not feasible between 2,300 and 2,500 m, such cash crops as apples, walnuts, oranges, and kiwifruit are produced. Areas above 2,500 m are used as rangeland (Fig. 7.1). Since the air temperature of farmland at higher altitudes is lower than at lower elevations, a crop takes longer to grow in highland areas; therefore, the seasons of seeding and harvesting differ among the zones. This section presents observations at representative villages of each zone.

7.1.1 Agriculture in Yaer Uang

As noted above, *yaer uang* is below an altitude of approximately 1,790 m. Maize, finger millet, paddy field rice, and barley are produced in the village of Yewang near Dirang (Fig. 6.2), where the altitude is 1,750 m (Fig. 7.1). For maize, seeding is between June and August, and harvesting takes place in November. Soybeans and pinto beans are seeded at the same time as maize, and they are harvested 1 or 2 days after harvesting the maize. Cultivating beans is a practice that improves nitrogen fixation in the soil.

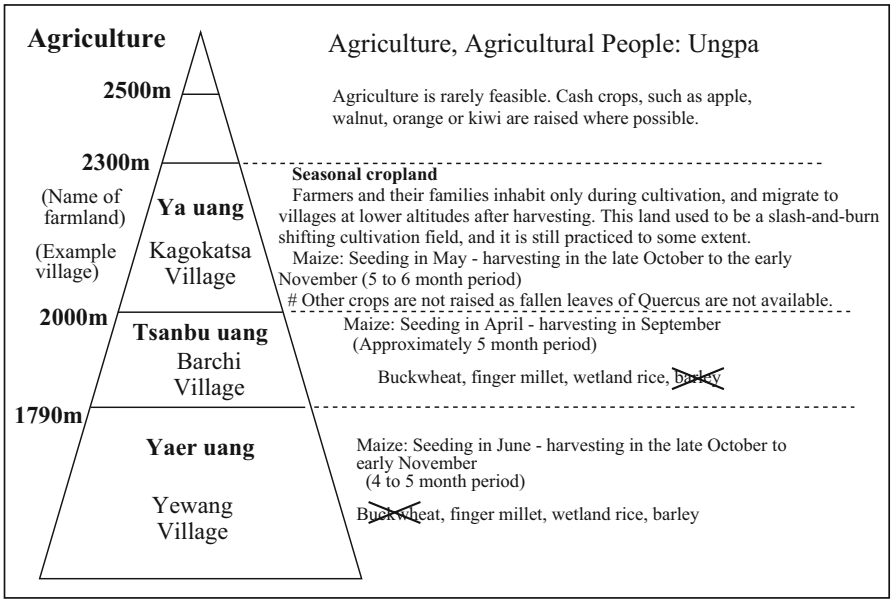

Fig. 7.1 Altitudinal distributions of types of agriculture in the Dirang [rdi rang] area. Produced from field observations and locally conducted interviews

As noted in Sect. 5.1, fallen leaves from oak trees are spread upon agricultural fields. This helps to restrain weeds, acts as a fertilizer for soil, and reduces soil erosion (Figs. 5.3 and 5.4). In the 1990s, the state government of Arunachal Pradesh once promoted the introduction of chemical fertilizer, which resulted in an increase in maize production but also in an exuberance of weeds. Chemical fertilizers are rarely used in the Monpa area today. The stems of maize are left in the field for 15 days after harvesting and are then burnt. The resultant ash is plowed into the soil when seeding soybeans. Owners of cows let their animals remain in agricultural fields after harvesting to use the dung as fertilizer. The cows are free-ranging during the day and are yoked up at night. They are taken out of the agricultural fields and kept in the mountains before the harvesting season.

There are 65 households in Yewang. The village is associated with the three small villages of Rakthi [rag khri], Rungkhung [rung khung], and Nahgrijapa [nags ri brgyab pa], which are located close by. Altogether, the area has 2,000–2,500 inhabitants. The community consists of a number of clans: the Serthipa [ser Ti pa]; Phaichulupa [pha'i phyi lugs pa]; Changphupa [chang 'phur pa]; Grangthungpa [grangs 'thung pa]; Damlapa [dam la pa]; Jamtsenpa [byams sems pa]; and Rakthipa [rag khri pa]. These clans use a loan system to lend money to other villagers. Each of the Serthipa, Phaichulupa, and Jamtsenpa clans has its own loan system. The Changphupa and Rakthipa clans have a joint loan system, and the Grangthungpa and Damlapa clans operate a similar system of cooperation.

7.1.2 *Agriculture in* Tsanbu Uang

Tsanbu uang is at an altitude of approximately 1,790–2,000 m. Maize, buckwheat, finger millet, and dry rice are produced in the village of Barchi near Dirang (Fig. 6.2) in the *tsanbu uang* zone. The subsidiary crop of maize is soybeans in the *yaer uang* zone, though it is buckwheat in *tsanbu uang*. In Barchi, the seeding of maize and soybeans is practiced from April to May and the seeding of buckwheat in August; the harvesting of maize takes place a few days later, and the harvesting of buckwheat occurs from November to December.

Barchi has a population of approximately 2,000 inhabitants in 105 households. Despite the population pressure, agricultural fields in and around the village cannot be expanded further. Many households are forced to farm in the higher *ya uang* zone. For example, four households in Barchi have dwellings on a piece of agricultural land in the *ya uang* zone. Half the family members live in the *ya uang* dwelling, and the others live in their original house in Barchi. The village community consists of four clans: Dungkharpa [gdung mkhar pa]; Serthipa; Bagiapa [ba brgyad pa]; and Jamtsenpa. A waterwheel-driven mill, which is locally called a *chukor* [chu'khor], appears in Fig. 7.2.

Fig. 7.2 A waterwheel-driven mill, locally called a *chukor* [chu 'khor]

7.1.3 Agriculture in Ya Uang

Ya uang is at an altitude of approximately 2,000–2,300 m. The agricultural fields of *ya uang* (Fig. 7.1) are seasonal. Farmers are resident only during the cultivation period and return to their villages at lower elevation after harvesting. Slash-and-burn and shifting cultivation used to be common in this zone, and are still practiced in some fields. Oaks are largely absent at this altitude, and therefore oak leaves are not readily available for agricultural use. Owing to the lack of appropriate fertilizer, maize is mainly suitable for producing with additional crops of buckwheat in *ya uang* (Fig. 7.3).

At an altitude of 2,250 m, Kagokatsa [bkag sgo kha tsa] is a typical village of the *ya uang* zone. Its inhabitants move from their original village in the *tsanbu uang* zone to this village in April or May and return to their original village in November. Seeding of maize takes place in May, and it is harvested in October. Seeding of buckwheat occurs at the beginning of September, and it is harvested in November. As noted above, oaks are scarce in this zone. Thus, using the few nearby oak trees, farmers are able to spread oak leaves on very few fields to produce buckwheat. The farmers clearly recognize the necessity of nutrients for buckwheat production. The period from seeding to harvesting is only 3 months. Dried stems of maize are used as fertilizer for buckwheat in addition to the scarce oak leaves. Weeding is undertaken in fields where maize is produced only when plowing; however, in buckwheat fields, weeding occurs at the time of seeding as well as one month afterward so that the weeds do not grow taller than the crop.

Fig. 7.3 Barley is the second seasonal crop after maize. Fallen oak leaves and the dried stems of corn are used as fertilizer for buckwheat

The dominant type of buckwheat is called *gruntsun* [bra'o zan](*Fagopyrum esculentum*), and it has a gray color. Rare ripe bitter buckwheat (Tartary buckwheat: *Fagopyrum tataricum*), which is locally called *brashum* [bra'o shom], is also produced in some areas. A local staple food called *bokpai* [gro phye] (Fig. 7.10), which is made especially from *brashum*, is considered good for pains like gout as well as for pregnant women and postpartum mothers. When cultivating *ya uang*, rent is paid to the clan that owns the piece of land. The standard rate of the rent is approximately 20 rupees per *dome* ['dom]. A *dome* is a land unit used locally in the Monpa area: it is the area that can be plowed by two cows in 1 day. Kawaguchi (2012 [1909]) mentions a similar rental system in Tibet. Thus, it may be that the *dome* land unit used in the Monpa area is or was similar to that employed in Tibet.

7.2 Rice Cultivation

Rice cultivation is practiced in lowland areas of the Dirang region. Villages in which rice cropping is undertaken include Lish, Chug, and Yewang near Dirang. Rice cultivation is generally also practiced in the Boot Monpa area. Rice transplanting is undertaken in June or July, and harvesting occurs in October or November (Fig. 7.4).

Fig. 7.4 Rice transplanting in Sangti [sangs rdi] village. Households work cooperatively in a system called *branpa* [bran pa]

Fig. 7.5 Terraced rice fields in the village of Nangro [nang ro]. Water management is achieved by adjusting the flow of descending water channels

Rice seedlings are grown in seed plots in fields used for pumpkins and beans from March or April.

Rice paddies are terraced in the village of Nangrijap in the Dirang area at an altitude of 1,674 m. The edge of each level of the terraced rice fields is banked, allowing water entering via channels to accumulate (Fig. 7.5). When abundantly available, water is provided to all levels. If availability is limited, water is provided to one level a day.

Cooperation among households is a characteristic of rice cultivation. Such mutual support is called *branpa* [bran pa], and it is the driving force behind labor-intensive work, such as rice transplanting.

Slightly sticky red rice is produced locally. However, the quantity of rice produced is limited. It is served only on special occasions, such as festivals and receptions. Local people normally eat low-gluten Punjabi rice. The locally produced red rice cannot be purchased using money but has to be obtained through barter exchange. This red rice is called *mondeb* [mon dep or mon 'bras], derived from *mon*, the region, and *deb*, which means "rice" in almost all villages in the Monyul region. This type of rice is also known as *khutsalu* [khu tsa lu], which originates from *khu* ("rice") and *tsa lu* ("red") in the Dirang area. In the Tawang area, this rice is called *mondeb* and *rachalu* [ra cha lu], which derives from *chalu* ("red") and *ra* ("rice"). In Tibet, this type of rice is generally known as *mondre* [mon 'bras]—"rice of Mon".

7.3 Cash Crops

Though the production of traditional crops, such as finger millet, maize, and buckwheat, is decreasing, the production of such cash crops as chilies, tomatoes, potatoes, and apples is clearly increasing in the Kalaktang region. The amount of cash crop production tends to be higher around towns. The production of such cash crops as tomatoes and cabbages accounts for nearly 80 % of agricultural production in the area of the Sherdukpen people, which is adjacent to the Kalaktang area. In the village of Rupa, agricultural production is almost entirely of cash crops, and it largely consists of tomatoes (Fig. 7.6). The planted areas of cash crops constitute around 20 % of the total agricultural land in the Dirang and Tawang areas. The cash crops produced in the Dirang area are potatoes, cabbages, tomatoes, apples, kiwifruit, and chilies. Namshu villagers produce and sell their chilies seasonally earlier than other villages. Whereas the standard market price of chilies is 30–60 rupees per kilogram, that of Namshu is 150–180 rupees per kilogram. Potatoes are mainly grown in the high-altitude Tawang area.

Fig. 7.6 Tomato field in the village of Rupa: such cash crops as tomatoes and cabbages are commonly grown in the area of the Sherdukpen [sher gtug spen] people

7.4 Agricultural Communities

Agricultural people are called *ungpa* [lung pa] and also *yuepa* [yul pa] or *zhingpa* [zhing pa]. The clan system is dominant in the agricultural communities of the Dirang Monpa in the Dirang area. Many decisions are made by clans rather than villages. The clans are called *khangrus* [khang rus] or *khang* by the Dirang Monpa, and *mirih* or *mirus* [mi rigs or mi rus] by the Tawang Monpa. Many people share a same name, and hence their clan names are indicated when their names are written down. Bonds within the clans are very tight. Marriages within the same clan are prohibited, and a wife joins her husband's clan after marriage. Their children also belong to the father's clan. Until around 1990, junior clan members were not permitted to enter the houses of senior clan members, and senior clan members did not eat or drink tea served in the houses of junior clan members. Marriage between senior and junior clan members was also uncommon before around 1990. In communities of the Tawang Monpa and the Kalaktang Monpa, the clan systems no longer function, and villages have become the decision-making units. It would appear that one of the reasons for the strong functioning of the clan system among Dirang Monpa communities is that their clans have royal origins (see Sect. 2.22).

The senior clans are associated with specific subordinate junior clans. The relationships in the Dirang Dzong and Thembang regions (Fig. 6.2) are summarized in Table 2.1. Five senior clans formerly governed the Dirang Dzong area. Each of the senior clans—*khangtangphu* [rkang thang phug], meaning "the large bone"—had a junior clan known as a *gilla*. The *gilla* served the senior clan members. Even today, where circumstances allow, the *gilla* still serve their corresponding *khangtangphu* on request. However, the extent of such obligations on the *gilla* in the Dirang Dzong area is less than in the Thembang area.

The mechanisms of the clan system in the Thembang area are evident in the land ownership structure. In that area, the senior clan people—called *bapu*—are descendants of royalty. The descendants of the servants—*gilla*—are junior clan members. The *gilla* use land parcels belonging to the senior clan members and offer their labor rather than rent to the senior clans. This relationship has survived for a very long time, and it is still in existence despite the increasing population. The requests of *bapu* become compelling duties for *gilla* in the Thembang area. By contrast, the Rachompa [ra bchom pa] people of the Boot Monpa do not own any land but live in an area of Dirkhipa owned by *bapu*. They do not offer any labor to the senior clans, but they do pay a land rent. Whereas the *gilla* were originally servants of *bapu*, the Boot Monpas were soldiers who served the royalty. With the exception of the Rachompa, the Boot Monpa people own land.

Aspects of the clan system are apparent in the Dirang area. The Dungkharpa clan in the Dirang Dzong area and the Jamtsenpa clan in the Yewang area support the local inhabitants; they operate, respectively, the Dungkharpa Welfare Association and the Jamtsenpa Welfare Association. These are non-governmental organizations that contribute to communal welfare, such as building dwellings for indigent households and informing the local administration of difficulties that villagers may be

experiencing. For an example, in 2010, inhabitants of the villages in the Dirang area were dissatisfied with a village leader—the *tsorgen*—and a letter of appeal signed by many villagers was brought to the two associations run by the senior clans. A more formal letter of appeal with the signatures of the chairpersons of the associations was then sent to the Arunachal Pradesh state government. About 3 months later, an official order was given to the village that it should replace the *tsorgen*. The same year, the village of Lubrang requested the state government via the associations to approve an increase in the number of its *tsorgen*. A young, new *tsorgen* was then appointed as an addition to the existing one. The functions of the associations are clearly based on the local clan system, and this system is an effective, active mechanism for expressing the needs of communities in the Dirang area.

Most of the rangelands used by the pastoral people—*brokpa*—belong to clans of agricultural people. Every December, the *brokpa* pay rent to the clans that own the land. Such a rent is locally called *tsarin*, derived from *rin* ("due") and *tswa* ("grass"). In the Dirang Dzong area, four of the eight local clans—the Serthipa, Jamtsenpa, Dungkharpa, and Bagipa—own land in grazing areas. The areas surrounding Nagagg belong to the Jamtsenpa clan; the areas peripheral to Mandala are owned by the Dungkharpa; the areas below Nagagg belong to the Bagipa; and the areas adjacent to the international border with Bhutan are owned by the Serthipa and the Dungkharpa. The pastoralists pay *tsarin* to all the owners of the rangelands on their travel routes.

An example of *tsarin* is as follows. The Dungkharpa clan receives 6 kg of cheese and the same amount of butter from each of 16 pastoral households every year; the clan also obtains at least one yak or 7,000 rupees every 3 years. The agricultural clans and pastoral people used to exchange a form of written informed consent called *tansha* [brtan sha]. This normally permitted a group of pastoral people to practice 1 year of grazing in the land of an agricultural clan in return for one yak. However, the custom often caused conflict since *tansha* were exchanged with too many groups of pastoralists, who then experienced inconvenience in the actual grazing land. As a result, the offering of a yak from discontent pastoral groups to agricultural clans reduced to only once every few years. Some wealthy pastoralists still offer a yak to agricultural clans just to maintain a good relationship.

The other agricultural clans in the Dirang Dzong area also receive a similar level of *tsarin* to that obtained by the Dungkharpa clan from pastoral households. The cheese and butter obtained as part of *tsarin* are cooked and prepared as food served to the monks at the Kangyur in *gompa*s (see Sect. 4.1). The yaks that are received are divided among the clan members.

The pastoral village of Lubrang is located on land owned by agricultural people living in the village of Lish (Fig. 6.2). Some Lish villagers go to Lubrang in October to collect the land rent. The 42 households in Lubrang as well as the 13 households in the annexed village at a lower elevation known as Rama Camp collectively pay 45 kg of butter and one sheep every year. Every household in Lubrang and Rama Camp has to pay part of the rent, which is determined by the number of livestock it owns.

Cash obtained as part of *tsarin* is administered by the loan system of each clan. As noted above, each of the Serthipa, Jamtsenpa, and Dungkharpa has its own loan system. With this system, money is lent to villagers upon request. The interest rate is 3 % per month for a clan member and 5 % per month for an individual from a different clan. Maximum allowable 70 % of the income derived from the interest is kept as a fund for future loans, and about 30 % is used to assist sick people and indigent households as well as for other necessary expenditures. Any residual income is shared among the clan members. The Jamtsenpa clan was the pioneer of this loan system, but the fund of the Serthipa has recently become the largest of the three.

Among the four local clans, the Sharchokpa own more than 70 % of the land in the Thembang area. Grazing land used by the pastoral people belongs mostly to the Sharchokpa, with a smaller area owned by the Khochilu clan (Table 2.1). The village of Namshu once attempted to encourage the *bapu* descendants of royalty to become residents, and it allowed some of the Khochilu to immigrate from Thembang. This explained the support for the Khochilu by the village of Namshu when the Sharchokpa and Khochilu quarreled over land ownership in the Thembang area. The way in which *tsarin* was paid subsequently changed in the area. All the *tsarin* from the village of Chandar was formerly received by the Sharchokpa, but it is now paid to the Sharchokpa in the village of Thembang for two consecutive years and to the Khochilu every 3rd year. Villagers of the Thembang visit Chandar to receive *tsarin* in August or September every year.

The Dirkhipa clan are the descendants of the fourth son of the unknown named king who was several generations after Wongme Palder (see Fig. 2.1), and they have only a small amount of land; its members have mostly become merchants, technicians, and politicians. Interestingly, the accumulation of the income from these occupations has enabled the Dirkhipa to develop a larger asset base than any of the other three royal clans. The wealth of the Dirkhipa has gradually grown while the other three clans were contesting land ownership. When speaking of the Dirkhipa, local people say that they have managed to "catch fish in troubled waters."

Every agricultural village has at least one, but sometimes several, chiefs called *tsorgen*. They are chosen from among the villagers. *Tsorgen* are well acquainted with matters regarding borders between villages and local history. The most important quality of a *tsorgen* is to be knowledgeable and informed. Their main role is to possess a vision for the development of their villages and to promote social work, such as the renovation of roads and bridges. They coordinate the demands and opinions of villagers and negotiate with the local government. A *tsorgen* has a life-long tenure and is supported by assistants called *gomi*. There is a maximum of ten *gomi* per village. Under the supervision of *tsorgen*, *gomi* are in charge of practical welfare and administrative duties in the villages.

Cheese, butter, and yak meat obtained from pastoral people are cooked in various ways by agricultural villagers. Cheese, butter, rice, and cooked rice are called *chura*, *moh*, *koo*, and *tochan*, respectively, in the Dirang area. Cooked rice is strongly flavored using cheese. Yak meat is sometimes simply fried and served as is, but it is more often stirred into the cheese-flavored rice. Buckwheat noodles, which are

Fig. 7.7 *Grutsun phutang* [bra'o zan phu thang]—buckwheat noodles—and a bowl of yak broth used as a dipping sauce for the noodles

called *grutsun phutang* [bra'o zan phu thang] in the Dirang area, are dipped in yak soup just before eating (Fig. 7.7). Yak meat is also an ingredient of the local version of dumplings called *momo* [mog mog]. Chili is an indispensable ingredient in dishes in the Monpa area. For pregnant women, it is boiled and dried in the sun to lessen its heat (Fig. 7.8). Chili is called *tsolu* [so lo] in the Dirang area and *solu* in the Tawang area. Its market price was 130 rupees per kilogram in 2010 when we undertook the fieldwork. Fermented soybeans, which are relatively common in South, Southeast, and East Asia, are also produced and eaten in the Monpa area (Fig. 7.9). The fermented dish is called *lebechora* [le be phyur ra] in the Dirang area, *lebezetpan* [le be zan pag] in the Thembang area, and *graib chura* [greb phyur ra] or *shable chuerue* [shab li phyur rul] in the Tawang area.

Agricultural people drink butter tea, straight tea, and milk tea. Pastoralists basically drink only a local butter tea called *shuja* [gsol ja]. Local milk tea is sweet owing to the addition of sugar, but butter tea is salty since butter and salt are mixed using an instrument called a *jandong* [*ja dong*] (Fig. 6.5). Butter tea is crucial in rituals, such as Kangyur, to relieve the sore throats of monks who recite sutras over a prolonged period. Tea leaves are called *jari* [ja ril] in the Dirang area. They used to be imported from Tibet, but local villagers now buy Indian tea leaves in markets. Though jars are generally called *therbu* ['ther bu], brass jars in kitchens are referred to as *chuthar* [chu thar]. The locals believe that *chuthar* resonate with one another under a full moon.

Fig. 7.8 Chilies are sometimes boiled and dried in the sun. This reduces the chilies' heat and is done for pregnant women

Fig. 7.9 Fermented soybeans made in the Monpa area

Fig. 7.10 *Grutsun bokpai* [bra'o zan gro phye] of buckwheat: a local staple food made by kneading cereal powder with hot water is called *bokpai* [gro phye] by the Dirang Monpa and *tsan* [zan] by the Tawang Monpa

A local staple food made by kneading cereal powder with hot water is called *bokpai* [gro phye] by the Dirang Monpa and *tsan* [zan] by the Tawang Monpa. It is frequently eaten, and there are variations in the particular ingredients (Fig. 7.10). They are *phinang bokpai* [phye nang gro phye], which is made of maize powder, *ramphong* [ram phong] or *kongpu bokpai* [kong pu gro phye], which is made of finger millet, and *grutsun bokpai* [bra'o zan gro phye], which is made of buckwheat. A local confection made from either barley flour or naked barley flour is called *tsampa* [rtsam pa] or *pai* [pag] and is eaten as a snack.

Alcoholic drinks are called *yu* [yu] in the Dirang area. A number of alcoholic beverages are consumed, including the fine-tasting fermented alcohl *thangyu* [thang yu], which is made from maize; *kongpuyu* [kong pu yu], which is made from finger millet; *bong kongpuyu* [bong kong pu yu], which is made from barley and finger millet; and *khuyu* [khu yu], which is made from rice. *Bong kongpuyu* has a strong flavor and is particularly popular. Alcoholic drinks may be referred to as *chang* [*chang*], but distilled spirits are called *arak* [a rag] (Fig. 7.11); fermented alcohol (no distilled spirit) is called *bang chang* (sbang chang) in the Monyul region and Tibet. Although *Bang chang* is mainly used for personal consumption, arak is often used for the gift to other persons or the commercial products.

Barley is also used to make *torma* [gtor ma], which is cone-shaped dough used as offering to deities in a religious ceremony. The *torma* is produced by kneading barley flour, hot water, and butter (Fig. 4.19). In Monpa area, Tibetan Buddhism has

Fig. 7.11 Distilled alcoholic drinks are made by a simple method. Cereal grains are boiled in a large container, and a smaller container is placed within it, as indicated in the *upper photograph*. Vaporized alcohol is then cooled down by another vessel containing water, and distilled spirit accumulates in the small container as seen in the *lower photograph*

been mixed with Bon (see Sect. 4.1). Thus, torma is used for the Buddhist deities and gods of nature. After the ceremony, the *torma* is normally divided into pieces and given to the villager as a blessed food.

Pastoral and agricultural people have developed an inter-community relationship that lasts over generations at the level of each household. This bond between households is called *neatsang* [gnas tshang]. As part of the *neatsang* relationship, every pastoral household visits a particular agricultural household in October or November just before the snow season. The pastoral people bring cheese and butter

to exchange for maize, rice, chilies, salt, and dried vegetables. The agricultural people of the villages of Thembang, Namshu, and Sangti in Thembang area have a *neatsang* relationship with the pastoral people of the villages of Mago and Lukguthang. The agricultural households of the Dirang Dzong area used to have a *neatsang* relationship with the pastoral households of the Merak and Sakteng of Bhutan. Some Sakteng later migrated to the Dirang Dzong area, and the *neatsang* relationship has been maintained between them and the agricultural households of that area.

There are two types of cylindrical measuring cups, locally called *brey*, used to measure cereals in such areas as Thembang. The two types are slightly different sizes. When lending cereal to someone, a smaller *brey*, 14 cm in diameter and 8 cm high, is used. The reimbursement is measured with a larger *brey*, 14.5 cm in diameter and 9 cm high (Fig. 7.12). The difference in size functions as the interest on the loan. When hiring labor for agricultural work, such as harvesting in the Dirang area, ten small *brey* of cereal is the standard daily wage. If the hired workers prefer cash, a daily wage of 150 rupees (as of 2011) is offered. The wage is fixed for all community members, and if raised the new wage applies to everyone.

India operates a rationing system and Arunachal Pradesh is no exception, although it is more privileged than other states. Local people are subject to two types of rationing depending on their income: above poverty line (APL) and below

Fig. 7.12 Two types of cylindrical measuring cups—locally called *brey* [bre]—are used for cereals in some areas, such as Thembang [them bang]. The two types have slightly different sizes. When lending cereal to someone, a smaller *brey* (14 cm diameter, 8 cm high) is used; when receiving reimbursement, a larger *brey* (14.5 cm diameter, 9 cm high) is used. The size difference functions as the interest

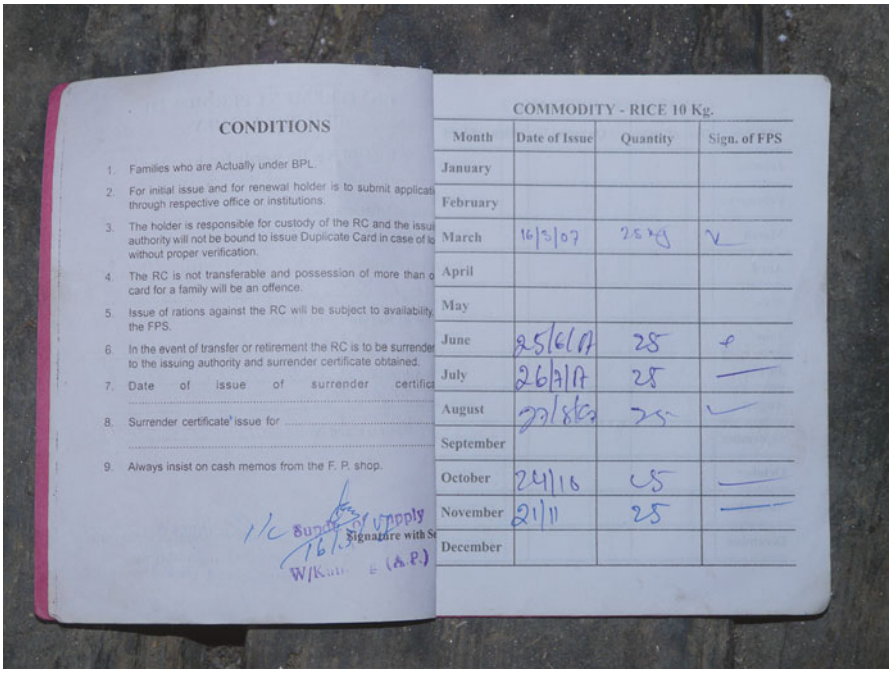

Fig. 7.13 India has a rationing system, and the state of Arunachal Pradesh is no exception. Two types of rationing apply to individuals depending on their income: above poverty line (APL) and below poverty line (BPL). A ration card indicates which of the two types applies to each household. The photograph shows a BPL card

poverty line (BPL). A ration card is issued indicating which of the two types applies to each household (Fig. 7.13). BPL is further divided into two subtypes. One BPL subtype enables a household to buy 1 kg of rice for 3 rupees; with the other subtype, the price is set at 6 rupees in 2011. In both cases, a household can buy 20–30 kg of rice a month. APL households can buy up to 50 kg of rice at a price of 8 rupees per kilogram. More can be bought by large households with an APL ration card. The market price without the ration card is 14 rupees per kilogram. The ration card also enables a household to purchase sugar and salt at reduced prices. Although available dates are limited, heating oil, cooking oil, and flour may be bought using the ration card at government-operated stores. Many people visit these stores when oil and flour become available to the ration cardholders (Fig. 7.14). The *tsorgen* in each village evaluates the type of card that a household receives, and he passes his recommendation on to the local government. At one time, many people illegally possessed more than one card; however, a recent tightening of regulations by the government has made such abuses of the system very difficult.

Wealthy agricultural households normally have several juveniles as servants. In the case of a *bapu* household in Thembang village, we observed that many

Fig. 7.14 A long line in front of a government-operated store, which is part of the national rationing system

juvenile servants were from the Assam region. Some households have juveniles from the Boot Monpa as servants. These juvenile servants typically do not attend school.

7.5 Dwellings and Lifestyle

The structure of the dwellings and lifestyle of the agricultural people in the Dirang area differ from those in the Tawang area. A dwelling in the Dirang area has a large room just inside the entrance, which is used as a bedroom or kitchen (Fig. 7.15). The dwellings in the Tawang area are duplexes, which have a balcony or an earth floor inside the entrance and a door to the actual rooms beyond (Fig. 7.16). Although the toilet is located outside the main building of the houses in the Dirang area, it is attached to the central dwelling unit in the Tawang area. In both areas, the entrances are deliberately kept small to keep out zombie-like specters locally called *rolangen* [ro lang mkhan]. Since *rolangen* are believed to be stiffened and cannot crouch, they are unable to enter a house through a small entrance. Steps are placed at the entrance to make the floor uneven and force *rolangen* to stumble (Fig. 7.16). Cereals are

Fig. 7.15 A dwelling in the Dirang Dzong (rdi rang *rdzong*) area: it has a large sitting room just inside the entrance

Fig. 7.16 A dwelling in the Tawang [rta wang/dbang] area with a balcony or earth floor inside the entrance. A door leads to the actual rooms. The entrances are deliberately made small and have steps to prevent the supposed entrance of zombie-like specters known locally as *rolangen* [ro lang mkhan]

Fig. 7.17 Cereals are stored above the kitchen. This arrangement ensures that smoke from the kitchen reaches the stored cereals and eliminates maize weevils

stored above the kitchen. This arrangement allows smoke from the kitchen to reach the stored cereals and eliminate maize weevils (Fig. 7.17). In the Dirang area, large houses normally have a prayer room called a *choisam* [mchod gshom] (Fig. 7.18). The kitchen is called *thabtsang* [thab tshang] in the Dirang area (Fig. 7.19). Kitchens contain pans, ladles, and other cooking tools, such as steamers to make *momo* dumplings.

Fallen oak leaves are used as toilet paper in the Tawang area. Used leaves are stored with the fecal waste under the toilet. When the waste container becomes full, its contents are removed and spread over agricultural fields as fertilizer. Alternatively, maize cores are used as toilet paper in the Dirang area.

Rapid developments are taking place in the Monpa area. These have led to the disappearance of many traditional aspects of life and the introduction of modern lifestyles. For example, traditional medicine—as practiced by monks and shamans who live in the villages (Figs 7.20 and 7.21)—is being replaced by modern medicine. *Amchi* [em chi or sman pa] are medical staff who have trained at the central institution for Tibetan medicine—Mentsee Khang [sman rtsis khang] in Dharamsala—and they diagnose illnesses through various methods and prescribe herbs or other medicinal products. There is a branch hospital of the Mentsee Khang in Tawang. Traditionally, the *tsirig dratsang* [rtsis'drwa tshang] of the College of Astrology (Chakpori Mentsee Khang) [lcags po ri sman rtsis khang] of the Institute of Tibetan Medicine and Astrology at Chakpori, also assists people who require advices in medical or health related issues. In Monyul, a local Monpa *amchi*

Fig. 7.18 Large houses normally have a prayer room

Fig. 7.19 A kitchen in a dwelling of the Tawang [rta wang/ dbang] area: kitchens usually contain pans, ladles, and other cooking tools, such as steamers for making *momo* [*mog mog*] dumplings

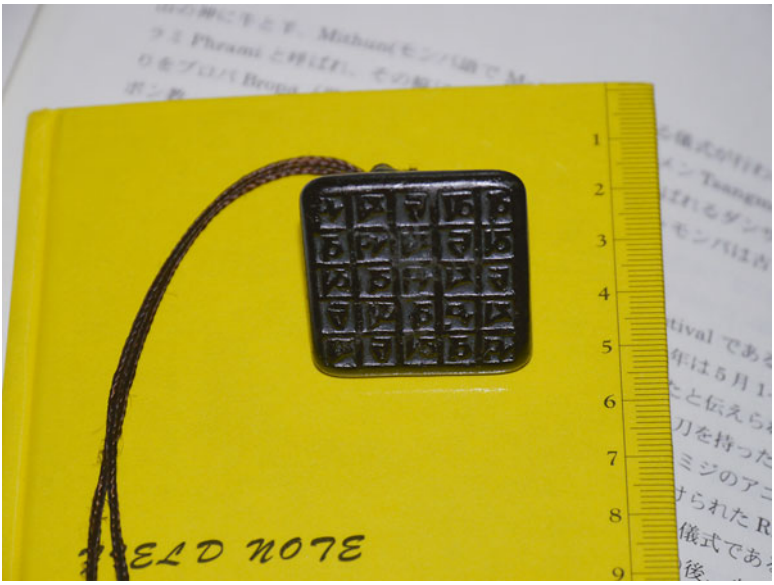

Fig. 7.20 The medical tool known as a *tsardham* [tsha dam]: the surface on which the characters are engraved is pressed against a diseased body part

Fig. 7.21 A medical tool: priests press this tool against a diseased body part to extract sick elements

Fig. 7.22 Weaving a *toedung* [stod 'thung], the traditional jacket for Monpa women

provides medical care to villagers. During a medical interview, the *amchi* asks every patient where his or her home village is located. This is because there are numerous ethnic groups other than the Monpa living in Tawang, and the *amchi* has to consider their respective physical environments, eating habits, and daily activities when evaluating their symptoms (Nagaoka 2011).

Traditional forms of clothing are also becoming less common (Fig. 4.24). Young people wear them only on special occasions, such as the local New Year or other festivals. As a consequence of this change in apparel, the traditional craftsmanship required to manufacture such native clothing (Figs. 7.22 and 7.23) is declining. Mobile phones, cars, and motorcycles are increasingly widespread, and the daily lives of locals are becoming more governed by the pressures of time. Monpa speak their own mother tongue, but the Tibetan language is used almost only by monks and the relatively few native speakers. Additionally, the Assamese language, which used to be commonly spoken, has been largely replaced by Hindi and English in schools (Fig. 7.24). Immigration has also increased. Assamese (Fig. 7.25) and Nepalese (Fig. 7.26) individuals come to Arunachal Pradesh as seasonal workers, and some have married Monpa people and settled locally. Developments in the Monpa area have fused tradition with modernity as well as indigeneity with foreignness, and this has resulted in local communities and societies undergoing a great metamorphosis.

Fig. 7.23 Elderly Monpa ladies wear *shingka* or *shinka* [shing kha], the traditional one-piece dress. The woman on the left is also wearing a *tsipe zhamu* [rtsid pa'i zhwa mo], a traditional hat made of yak wool

Fig. 7.24 A class at the primary school in the village of Thembang [them bang]

Fig. 7.25 Monpa and Assamese children in the village of Zemithang [bye ma'i thang]

Fig. 7.26 Nepalese children in the village of Merakmu [me rag mu]: the original inhabitants of this village are pastoralists, but many seasonal workers from Nepal currently live there

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Glossary of Monpa Languages

The phonetic transcriptions of the terms are listed alphabetically—for both the languages of Tawang (Dakpa) and Dirang and Kalaktang (Tshangla)

Term	Tawang	Dirang & Kalaktang	Tibetan
abhi tsatimu	-	-	abi tsati mu
agyal	-	-	a rgyal
ahuja	-	-	a hu ja
ahlung	-	-	a lung
alcohol	chang	yu	chang/ yu
amchi/ emchi	-	-	em chi/ sman pa
amojomu	-	-	a ma jo mo
aodung	-	-	a'u/o gdung
arak	-	-	arak
argyadung	-	-	ar yag gdung
ata devo dorjee	-	-	a tha bde bo rdo rje
attabangle		-	a mtha' bang les
attadungphu		-	a mtha' gdung phu
attajepu		-	a ta rje bu
atung kyi	-	-	a thung skyid
babu	-	-	sba bu
badzo	-	-	ba mdzo
badzomo	-	-	ba mdzo mo
bah gyetore	-	-	dbas rgyal to re
bainang shing	bainang sheng	-	be nags shing
baitang	-	-	bey Tram
baktsi	-	-	bag rtsis
bamen (mithun)	-	-	ba men
bang chang	-	-	sbang chang
banglejap	banglagyab	-	bang la brgyab

(continued)

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Term	Tawang	Dirang & Kalaktang	Tibetan
bede tsan	-	-	sbas sde btsan
bekhar	-	-	sbas mkhar
besirijan	-	-	be si ri byan
besnang shing	besnang sheng	-	be snang shing
betang	-	-	dngul Trang
bodong	-	-	bo dong
bokpai	-	-	gro phye
boi shuku	-	-	bod shog gu
boima	-	-	bogs ma
bomdila	-	-	'bum 'di la
bon	-	-	bon
bong kongpuyu		-	bong kong pu yu
bonpo	-	-	bon po
bonpu	-	-	bon phul
boot	-	-	bud
boot monpa	-	-	bud mon pa
bootpa	-	-	bud pa
borong	-	-	bo rong
borong shing	borong sheng	-	bo rong shing
brack shing	brack sheng	-	brag shing
brami	-	-	brag mi
branpa	-	-	bran pa/ skyid sdug
brashum	-	-	bra'o shom
brey	-	-	bre
bri	dri	-	'bri
bridzo	-	-	'bri mdzo
bridzomo	-	-	'bri mdzo mo
brokkhe	brokke	-	'brog skad
brokpa	-	-	'brog pa
bromo	-	-	bro mo
bropa	-	-	bro pa
buckwheat	drawa	gruntsun	bra bo/ bra'o zan
budpa	-	-	bud pa
buiwa	-	-	phul ba
bum	-	-	'bum
bum chung	-	-	'bum chung
bumla	-	-	'bum la
bunpa	-	-	'bun 'bu
bura	-	-	bu ra
butter	mar	mo/ moam	mar
chachani	-	-	cha cha gnyis
chakpori mentsee khang	-	-	lcags po ri sman rtsis khang

(continued)

Term	Tawang	Dirang & Kalaktang	Tibetan
chaksam	-	-	lcags zam
chamba shing	chamba sheng	-	sam pa shing
chandar	-	-	chan dar/ phyan dar
chang	-	chang/ yu	
changdang shing	changdang sheng	-	chang dwangs shing/ shug pa shing
cheese	chura	chura	phyu ra
'chisesoese	-	-	'chi srid gso srid
chumsonga	-	-	chum song ga
chura	-	-	phyu ra
cow	ba	wa shui/ soi (in Lishpa/ Chugpa)	ba/ ba phyugs
cooked rice	toh/ topcha chang/ 'bras btsos pa	tochang/ toshang hoi/ mama (in Lishpa & Chugpa)	lto/ lto chas/ lto chang/ 'bras btsos pa
changphupa	-	-	chang 'phur pa
chebu thonglek tsan	-	-	gces bum thong legs btsan
chicken	khat	goga/ gogadama wakhi/ hokhi (in Lishpa & Chugpa)	bya/ bya mo
choesak	-	-	chos bsag
choisam	-	-	mchod gshom
chokro lekra	-	-	cog ro legs sgra
chongleywha		-	chong las ba
chopon	-	-	bcu dpon
chu dzong	-	-	chu rdzong
chug	-	-	phyug
chugpa	-	-	phyug pa
chukor	-	-	chu 'khor
chunyeipe losar	-	-	bcu nyis pa'i lo gsar
chuthar	-	-	chu thar/ cho skyogs
dakpa	-	-	dags pa
dakpanang	-	-	dags pa nang
dakpanangpa	-	-	dags pa nang pa
dakpa tshogey	-	-	dags pa tsho brgyad
dalai lama	-	-	ta' La'i bla ma
damlapa	-	-	dam la pa
daryab dzong	-	-	mda' g.yab rdzong
dawa dangpoi losar	-	-	zla ba dang po'i lo gsar
dawa gupa	-	-	zla ba dgu pa

(continued)

Term	Tawang	Dirang & Kalaktang	Tibetan
dawa ngapa	-	-	zla ba lnga pa
deb (rice)	-		deb/ mon deb/ mon 'bras
dechin	-	-	bde chen
ding	-	-	lding
dhomang	-	-	mdo mang
dongba	-	-	dong ba
dongchikbu	-	-	gdong gcig bu
dorna	-	-	dor ma
dome	dom	-	'dom
dompa	-	-	sdom pa
dor zomba	-	-	rdor 'dzom pa
dorjee	-	-	rdo rje 'chang
dorjee dak	-	-	rdo rje brag
dorjee khandu	-	-	rdo rje mkhan 'gro
dorjee sonam	-	-	rdo rje bsod nams
dirang	-	-	rdi rang
dirang dzong	-	-	rdi rang rdzong
dirkhipa	-	-	bde skyid pa
dirkhi dzong	-	-	bde skyid rdzong
drapa	-	-	grwa pa
drama dungchung ani gompa	-	-	brag dmar gdong chung a ne dgon pa
drangnang	-	-	sbrang nang
drangnangpa	-	-	sbrang nang pa
drangnang tshodruk	-	-	sbrang nang tsho 'drug
drashak	-	-	grwa shag
dratsang	-	-	grwa tshang
drepung	-	-	'bras spung
drigum tsanpo	-	-	'gri gum btsan po
drokpa	-	-	'brog pa
drolchoe mandal zhepa	-	-	sgrol chos maN Dal zhes pa
drukpa	-	-	'brug pa
dukhang	-	-	'du khang
dumrihi	-	-	sdum ri hi(?)
dungkharpa	-	-	gdung mkhar pa
dungyur	-	-	gdung 'gyur
dursha		-	dur sa
dutai/ dukhroe	-	-	dur du/ dur khrod
dzo	-	-	mdzo
dzokchen	-	-	rdzogs chen

(continued)

Term	Tawang	Dirang & Kalaktang	Tibetan
dzomu	dzomo	-	mdzo mo
dzong	-	-	rdzong
dzongdoe		-	rdzong sdo
dzongpon	-	dzongpen	rdzong dpon
family	mathtsan	pheisonga	ma tshang/ nang mi/ mi tshang
galang	balang	-	ba glang
galangma	balangma	-	ba glang ma
ganden	-	-	dga' ldan
ganden namgyal lhatse	-	-	dga' ldan rnam rgyal lha rtse
gapde tsan	-	-	'gab sde btsan
garburi	-	-	dgar bu ri
garyak	-	-	dgar g.yag
gedun gyatso	-	-	dge 'dun rgya mtsho
gegen/ gergan	-	-	dge rgan
gelong	-	-	dge slong
gelug	-	-	dge lugs
genyen	-	-	dge bsnyen
geshi	-	-	dge shes
gethruk	-	-	dge 'phrug
getshul	-	-	dge tshul
geytong	-	-	brgyad stong
gilla	-	-	gyi la
gogyalang	-	-	go rgya glang
gomkang	-	-	sgom khang
gompa	-	-	dgon pa
gombu	-	-	mgon po
gongkar gyal	-	-	gong dkar rgyal
gopa		-	sgo pa
gorsam chorten	-	-	gor zam mchod rten
graib chura	-	-	greb phyur ra
grangthugpa	-	-	grangs 'thung pa
grutsun	-	-	bra'o zan
grutsun phutang	-	-	bra'o zan phu thang
gungle gyal	-	-	dgung las rgyal
gungthung	-	-	gung thung
gyada	-	-	rgya mda'
gyalpo kala wangpo	-	-	rgyal po ka la dbang po
gyangong ani gompa	-	-	rgyang gong a ne dgon pa
gyangkhar	-	-	gyang mkhar
gyangkhar dzong	-	-	rgyang mkhar rdzong

(continued)

Term	Tawang	Dirang & Kalaktang	Tibetan
gyepo	-	-	rgan po
gyero	-	-	rgyal ro
horse	ta	kuruta sita/ tek/ sita (in Lishpa & Chugpa)	rta/ chibs rta
hosina		-	lho srid nag
jam tsering	-	-	byams pa tshe ring
jamo kharmo	-	-	bya mo dkar mo
jamtsenpa	-	-	byams sems pa
jandong	-	-	ja dong
jang	-	-	byang
jang kyine	-	-	byang bskyid gnas
jangdokpalri gompa	-	-	zangs mdog dpal ri dgon pa
jangri	-	-	byang ri
jaril	-	-	ja ril
jatsa	-	-	rgya rtsa
jatsamin	-	-	rgya rtsa men
jetsun dolma	-	-	rje btsun sgrol ma
jhalane	-	-	ja las gnas
jirigaon	-	-	byi ri sgang
jomula	-	-	jo mo la
jonang	-	-	jo nang
jora dzong	-	-	sbyor ra rdzong
josepa ahdir	-	-	jo sras pa a 'dir
jowhodi	-	-	jo bo 'di
kakaling	-	-	ka ka gling
kalaktang	-	-	kha legs steng
kagokatsa	-	-	bkag sgo kha tsa
kagyu	-	-	bka' rgyug
kangyur	-	-	bka' 'gyur
karkhang darding	-	-	kar khang dar lding
kartsi	-	-	dkar rtsis
kathok	-	-	ka' thog
khada	-	-	kha btags
khagei		-	kha 'gas
khainag shing	khainag sheng	-	khal nags shing
khandroma	-	-	mkha' 'gro ma
khang		-	krang
khangrus		-	khang rus
khangthangphu		-	krang thang phug
kharangpa shing	kharangpa sheng	-	kha rang pa shing

(continued)

Term	Tawang	Dirang & Kalaktang	Tibetan
khardung tashi cholling	-	-	mkhar gdung bkra shis chos gling
khastung	-	-	mkhas stung
khastung gompa	-	-	mkhas stung dgon pa
khe shing	khe sheng	-	ke shing
khenchen	-	-	mkhan chen
khenlop choesum	-	-	mkhan slob chos gsum
khenpo	-	-	mkhan po
khenpo nyima tashi	-	-	mkhan po nyi ma bkra shis
khinmey	-	-	khyi nyan mes
khobleytang	-	-	'khob legs steng
khocilu	-	-	kho phyi lu
khoina	-	-	khu'i sna/ khos sna
khoinapa	-	-	khu'i sna pa/ khos sna pa
khoitum	-	-	khul gtam
khorongba shing	khorongba sheng	-	kho rong pa shing
khorwong	-	-	'khor dbang
khotu	-	-	khu tu
khreikhang	-	-	khral khang
khrey/ khray	-	-	khral
khu/ koo (rice)		-	khu
khu tsa lu (red color rice)		-	khu tsa lu
khuyu		-	khu yu
kishong depa	-	-	skyid shongs sde pa
koenyer lama	-	-	dkon gnyer bla ma
kyakyen la	-	-	skyag gyen la
konchok	-	-	dkon mchog
kongpu bokpai	-	-	kong pu gro phye
kongpuyu		-	kong pu yu
kungo lanyer	-	-	sku ngo bla gnyer
kusho-la	-	-	sku shogs lags
lagan	-	-	la gan
laktang	-	liktang	rlig thang
lama	-	-	bla ma
lama gombu	-	-	bla ma mgon po
lama pradhar	-	-	bla ma spre'u thar
lamawang	-	-	bla ma dbang
lang darma	-	-	glang dar ma
laningru/ leinauri	-	-	la nin 'bru/ le'i na'u ri/ btsod
la-nyer	-	-	bla gnyer
la'og yulsum	-	-	la 'og yul gsum

(continued)

Term	Tawang	Dirang & Kalaktang	Tibetan
lebechora	-	-	le be phyur ra
lebezetpan	-	-	le be zan pag
lebo tshoshi	-	-	legs po tsho bzhi
lego gyadar	-	-	las sgo rgya dar
lekig gombu	-	-	legs skyes mgon po
lensong shing	lensong sheng	-	len song shing
lewu	-	-	sle'u
lewa	-	-	sle'u wa
lhangaten	-	-	sla nga steng
lhalung palkyi dorjee	-	-	lha lung dpal kyi rdo rje
lhasa	-	-	lha sa
lhase tsangma	-	-	lha sras gtsang ma
lhashing	lhasheng	-	lar la shing/ stag ma shing/ mar la shing
lhasushi	-	-	lha zhu gzi
lhosonga	-	-	lho song ga
lhou	-	-	lha'u
lhou tsho	-	-	lha'u tsho
lish	-	-	rlis
lishi shing	lishi sheng	-	li shi shing/ li ka shing
lishpa	-	-	rlis pa
lish-chug	-	-	rlis phyug
lish-chugpa	-	-	rlis phyug pa
lobsang tenpa	-	-	blo bzang bstan pa
lobsang gyatso	-	-	blo bzang rgya mtsho
lodoe gyatso	-	-	blo gros rgya mtsho
lopon	-	-	slob dpon
losar	-	-	lo gsar
lotho	-	-	lo tho
lubrang	-	-	lu 'brang/ lug grangs
lukguthang	-	-	lug dgu thang
lumla	-	-	klung la
mago	-	-	dmag sgo/ smag sgo
mago-thingbupa	-	-	dmag sgo thing bu pa
magthing luksum	-	-	dmag sgo thing bu lug dgu thang gsum
maize	oshum/ boma	pinthang/ pinang	a shom
maincha	-	-	ba men
mangri shing	mangri sheng	-	man dri shing
manshing	man sheng	-	man shing
mandala	-	-	ma da la
mandala phudung	-	-	man da la phu gdung

(continued)

Term	Tawang	Dirang & Kalaktang	Tibetan
mangbrang	-	-	mang grangs
manpat	-	-	sman pag
mentsee khang	-	-	sman rtsis khang
meley	-	-	me ley
merak	-	-	me rag
merakpa	-	-	me rag pa
merakmu	-	-	me rag mu
millet	kowp/ khra	khongpu	khre/ kong bu/ mon chag
minakpa lama	-	-	mi nags pa bla ma
mindroling	-	-	smin grol gling
mirih	-		mi rigs
mirus	-		mi rus
misopsa	-	-	mi sob sa
mo/ moh (butter)		-	mo/ mar
mo mo	-	-	mog mog
mon	-	-	mon
mon dep (rice)	-	-	mon dep/ mon 'bras
mon dre (rice)	-		mon 'bras
monkee	monskat	monskat	mon skad
monlam chenmo	-	-	smon lam chen mo
monpa	-	-	mon pa
monyul	-	-	mon yul
moon	-	-	mun
moon shing	moon sheng	-	mun shing
mugye chang	-	-	mu ge 'chag
mukto	mokto	-	mog tog
naetsang	-	-	gnas tshang
nagagg	-	-	na ga zem bu
nahgrijapa	-	-	nags ri brgyab pa
naktsi	-	-	nag rtsis
namkoe de	-	-	gnam bskos sde
namshu	-	-	nam shu
namshu gompa	-	-	nam shu dgon pa
nangro	-	-	nang ro
nekteng	-	-	nags steng
netan	-	-	gnas brtan
ngawang	-	-	ngag dbang
ngyangben		-	myang bon
ngyerpa	-	-	gnyer pa
nimsonga	-	-	nyi song ga
nithri	-	-	nyi khri
noodle	thug pa	thug pa	thug pa
ngakpa	-	-	bsngags pa

(continued)

Term	Tawang	Dirang & Kalaktang	Tibetan
nub kameng (West Kameng)	-	-	nub ka meng
nyatri tsanpo	-	-	ngnya' khri btsan po
nyei rithang	-	-	nyal ri thang
nyei shatra	-	-	nyal sha khra
nyingma	-	-	rnying ma
nyingmapa	-	-	rnying ma pa
nyukmadung	-	-	smyug ma gdung
nyukmadungpa	-	-	smyug ma gdung pa
oedsung	-	-	'od zung
ongla tsho	-	-	'ong la tsho
pa shing	pa sheng	-	pa shing
paddy	nu/ nun	ra/raha	yu/ 'bras sog
pai	pa	-	pag
pako shing	pako sheng	-	spang kho shing
palyul	-	-	dpal yul
palyul changchub dargeling	-	-	dpal yul byang chub dar rgyas gling
palyul namdroling	-	-	dpal yul rnam grol gling
pangchen	-	-	spang chen
pangchenpa	-	-	spang chen pa
pangchen dingdruk	-	-	spang chen lding drug
passang tsering	-	-	pa sangs tshe ring
pelkyi dar	-	-	dpal kyi dar
pelden kyi	-	-	dpal 'dren skyid
pema lingpa	-	-	padma gling pa
pema gombu	-	-	padma mgon po
pema khandu	-	-	padma mkha' 'gro
phaichulupa	-	-	pha'i phyi lugs pa
phaijanken		-	khyim rgyag mkhan
phanshing	phansheng	-	'phan shing
phok	-	-	phogs
phinang bokpai	-	-	phye nang gro phye
phrami	-	-	phywa mi
phulachung	-	-	phu lha chung
phundung thongtse	-	-	phu gdung mthong brtse
phurpa	-	-	phur pa
phurpa tsering	-	-	phur pa tshe ring
pos	-	-	spos
pungur	-	-	spung 'gyur
rabjung	-	-	rab 'byung
rachompa	-	-	ra bchom pa

(continued)

Term	Tawang	Dirang & Kalaktang	Tibetan
rachulu(red color rice)	-		ra cha lu/ ra tsa lu
rahung	-	-	ra hung
rahungpa	-	-	ra hung pa
rakth	-	-	rag
rakthipa	-	-	rag khri pa
ramphong	-	-	ram phong
rashu	-	-	ra shu
rainang shing	rainang sheng	-	ras nags shing
redhipongman	-	-	re rdi spong ma
rice	dep/ depu	khu	'bras/ deb
rikili		-	ri ki li
rin 'phug pa	-	-	rin 'phug pa
rinchin tsering	-	-	rin chen tshe ring
rolangen	-	-	ro lang mkhan
rongbanghen		-	rong bang mkhan
rongnang	-	-	rong nang
rongnang toemey	-	-	rong nang stod smed
rongnangpa	-	-	rong nang pa
rungkhung	-	-	rung khung
saikharteng	-	-	sras mkhar steng
sakteng	-	-	sag steng
sakya	-	-	sa skya
salasily	-	-	sa lha sri gling
salari	-	-	sa la ri
samyas	-	-	bsam yas
samyas gyalgo	-	-	sam yas rgyal sgo
saangbum		-	bsangs 'bum
saangkhuk	-		bsangs khug
saang shing	saang sheng	-	bsangs shing
sang tashi	-	-	sangs rgyas brka shis
sangchen gudrai rimo	-	-	gsang chen dgu dgra'i ri mo
sangde tsan	-	-	gsang sde btsan
sangeling	-	-	sangs rgyas gling
sanglam	-	-	gsang lam
sanglamphel	-	-	gsang lam phel
sangngak	-	-	gsang bsngags
sangngak choekhorling	-	-	gsang bsngags chos 'khor gling
sangngak choekhor dargyeling	-	-	gsang bsngags chos 'khor dar rgyas gling
sangti	-	-	sangs rdi

(continued)

Term	Tawang	Dirang & Kalaktang	Tibetan
seng[yab]	-	-	seng g.yab rdzong
sengedzong	-	-	seng ge rdzong
sengedzongpa	-	-	seng ge rdzong pa
sela	-	-	ze la
sera	-	-	se ra
serthipa	-	-	ser Ti pa
seru	-	-	bse ru
seru tsho	-	-	bse ru tsho
shable chuerue	-	-	shab li phyur rul
shak	-	-	shag
shakthi	-	-	shag thil
shaok	-	-	sha 'og
shar nima tshotsum	-	-	shar nyi ma tsho gsum
sharchokpa	-	-	shar phyogs pa
sharmu	-	-	shar mo
shartsho	-	-	shar tsho
shechen	-	-	ze chen
shee	-	-	bshed
sherab nyingpo	-	-	shes rab snying po
sheng	-	shing	shing
sherdukpen	-	-	gsher stug spen
shokshoku shing	shokshoku sheng	-	shog shog bu shing
shing	sheng	-	shing
shingka/ shinka	-	-	shing ka
shingdzo	-	-	shing mdzo
shingdzomo	-	-	shing mdzo mo
shukphan	shogphan	-	shog 'phan
shuja	-	-	gsol ja
shyo	-	-	zhol
singalang	-	-	sing ba glang
singsur ane gompa	-	-	sing zur a ne dgon pa
sinpo	-	-	srin po
soeba shing	soeba sheng	-	gso pa shing
soma	-	-	so ma
songa sha boianken		-	song ba sha bor mkhan
songtsan gampo	-	-	srong btsan sgam po
sungchoe	-	-	gsung chos
sungma	-	-	srung ma
surbi	-	-	zhur bi

(continued)

Term	Tawang	Dirang & Kalaktang	Tibetan
ta dzong	-	-	lta dzong
tadung	-	-	rta gdung
tagalang	-	-	rta ba glang
taicha	-	-	lta lcag
taklung dzong	-	-	stag lung rdzong
taklung gompa	-	-	stag lung dgon pa
tama shing	tama sheng	-	stag ma shing/ lar la shing
tang	-	-	thang
tansha	-	-	brtan sha
tawang	-	-	rta dbang/ rta wang
tashi phuntsok	-	-	bkra shis phun tshogs
tengshot	-	-	steng zhol
tengteng	-	-	steng steng
tenpe dronme	-	-	bstan pa'i sgron me
thabtsang	-	-	thab tshang
thangtong gyalpo	-	-	thang stong rgyal po
thangyu		-	thang yu
thapkay	-	-	thabs mkhas
thegtsepa	-	-	theg brtse pa
thembang	-	-	them bang/ them spang
thembang dzong	-	-	them bang rdzong
therbu	-	-	'ther bu
thonglek pel	-	-	mthong legs dpal
thubten choephel	-	-	thub bstan chos 'phel
thumi	-	-	mthu mi
tochan/ tochang		-	lto/ lto chas
toedung	-	-	stod 'thung
ton thre	-	-	ston khral
torgya	-	-	gtor rgyag
torma	-	-	gtor ma
trimi lha'i wangchuk	-	-	khri mi lha'i dbang phyug
tri ralpachen	-	-	khri ral pa chen
trisong deutsan	-	-	khri srong lde'u btsan
triten pel	-	-	khri brten dpal
tsalu (red)		-	tsa lu
tsampa	-	-	rtsam pa
tsampa/ satsam		-	mtshams pa/ sa mtshams
tsampa lung		-	mtshams pa lung/ sa mtshams rdo ring
tsampi	-	-	mtshams pi (rnga ma/ mjug ma)
tsan	-	-	btsan
tsan	zan	-	gzan

(continued)

Term	Tawang	Dirang & Kalaktang	Tibetan
tsan	-	-	zan
tsangbu uang	-	-	gtsang po'i lung
tsangong gyal	-	-	btsan gong rgyal
tsangmi	-	-	tshang mi
tsangporong	-	-	gtsang po rong
tsanpa	-	-	btsan pa
tsanpa choeling	-	-	btsan pa chos gling
tsardham	-	-	tsha dam
tsarin	-	-	rtswa rin
tsespa/ tsispa lama	-	-	rtsis pa bla ma
tsering	-	-	tshe ring
tsethang	-	-	btse thang
tsethang	-	-	rtsis thang
tshapa	-	-	tshwa pa
tsewang norbu	-	-	tshe dbang nor bu
tshangla	-	-	tshang la
tshosum	-	-	tsho gsum
tshosumpa	-	-	tsho gsum pa
tshuk	-	-	tshugs
tshukhang	-	-	tshugs khang
tshukpa	-	-	tshugs pa
tsipe zhamu	-	-	rtsid pa'i zhwa mo
tsirig dratsang	-	-	rtsisrigs drwa tshang
tsogeling	-	-	tshogs rgyas gling
tsolo	-	-	so lo
tsona	-	-	mtsho sna
tsona dzong	-	-	mtso sna rdzong
tsona dzongpon	-	tsona dzongpen	mtsho sna rdzong dpon
tsona gompatse rinpoche	-	-	mtsho sna dgon pa rtse rin po che
tsorgen	-	-	gtso rgan
tsungdhue	-	-	zung 'dus
tumbthru drema lhagang	-	-	ldum thru sgrol ma lha khang
tuia	-	-	thu'i
ueru	-	-	dbu ru
ula	-	-	'u lag
ungpa	-	-	lung pa
ungashing cheewn		-	'ung ga shing mkhan
urgen sangpo	-	-	u rgyan bzang po
urgen tsering	-	-	u rgyan tshe ring
urgyenling	-	-	u rgyan gling
village	yui	dung	yul/ dung/ gdung

(continued)

Term	Tawang	Dirang & Kalaktang	Tibetan
wagalang	-	-	wa ba glang
wagalangma	-	-	wa ba glang ma
wang	-	-	dbang
wangshing	wang sheng	-	wang shing
wongmaikhar	-	-	dbang ma'i mkhar
wongme palder	-	-	dbang ma'i dpal dar
ya uang		ya uang	ya lung
yabyum	-	-	yab yum
yaer uang		yaer uang	yer lung
yak	-	-	g.yag
yakcham	-	-	g.yag 'cham
yang palmo	-	-	g.yang dpal mo
yar thre	-	-	d.yar khral
yarlung	-	-	yar lung
yeshi tsering	-	-	ye shis tshe ring
yeshi wangmu	-	-	ye shis dbang mo
yewang	-	-	yid dbang
yuepa/ yuelpa	-	-	yul pa
yueru	-	-	g.yu ru
yumten	-	-	yum brtan
zemithang	-	-	bye ma'i thang
zhingpa	-	-	zhing pa
zidang shing	zidang sheng	-	zi dwangs shing/ stag ma shing

A hyphen (-) indicates that the words are the same; a blank space signifies that the term does not exist in the other language. The equivalent Tibetan transliteration appears in the final column

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