

of a political kind that could hamper the faithful collection of such songs: e.g., the elders fear that such material would then be used to help the cause of "russification" (Russifizierung) of the Buriat people and their cultural heritage.

Žamcarano then engages in a somewhat longer comparison of the songs of the two main groups of people he came into contact with, the Ekhirit-Bulgat and the Khoriburiat. He especially relates the characteristic forms and contents of the songs with the character and the situation of these groups.

Poppe has done us a great service by translating not only the four epics but also the still stimulating and thought-provoking introduction by their collector. I think we still can learn a lot from this introduction, not only methodologically, but also in terms of the ethnography of shamanism.

Peter Knecht

REFERENCES CITED:

- Rudnev, A., 1924. "A Buriat Epic," *Mémoires de la Société Finno-ougrienne* LII, pp. 238-249.
- Žamcarano, C. Ž., 1913-1918. *Proizvedenija narodnoj slovesnosti burjat. Ėpiceskija proizvedenija ěchrit-bulgatov (Obrazcy narodnoj slovesnosti mongol'skich plemen. Teksty. Tom I)*, S.-Peterburg.

BERNBAUM, EDWIN. *The Way to Shambhala, A Search for the Mythical Kingdom beyond the Himalayas*. New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc./Anchor Press. Paper, 336 pp. Illustrations, photos, index, and bibliography. US \$6.95.

While Edwin Bernbaum was with the Peace Corps teaching in Nepal, he asked an abbot whether the mythical Kingdom of Shambhala really exists. The answer he got and the reports on hidden valleys where spiritually advanced people actually saw the ideal kingdom, prompted Bernbaum to embark on the search for the origin of this myth.

The belief in the existence of Shambhala as a mystical kingdom north of the Himalayas has been upheld by the people of Tibet and Mongolia for centuries. It is said that when all spiritual values in the world outside will be lost in war and destruction, a great king will emerge from this sanctuary to defeat the forces of evil and establish a golden age. Indologists are immediately reminded of the legends around the god Vishnu whose tenth and last incarnation, Kalki, will bring a turn of events when the world has reached the highest degree of depravity. Buddhists will think of the future Buddha Maitreya who will restore Buddhist teachings and mark the beginning of a new era. When we, furthermore, think of the waiting for the Messiah in Judaic/Christian traditions, we recognize the archetypes behind these legends: the ideal kingdom (paradise) and the hero or savior who will defeat evil and restore peace and harmony.

Bernbaum is switching the levels of understanding throughout the book. This is reflected already in his chapter headings—Behind the Ranges, the Existence of Shambhala, the Hidden Valleys, the Underlying Myth, the Wheel of Time (Teaching of the *kalācakra sūtra*), the Inner Kingdom, the Guidebooks, the Inner Journey and the Inner Prophecy. On one hand, he explores actual hidden valleys and interprets

optical impressions. He studies guidebooks and collects reports. On the other hand, he recognizes that the way to Shambhala is the journey within and a symbolic process where the stages and transitions in the individual spiritual development are the roadmarkers.

In looking for comparisons, Bernbaum finds in the T'ang poem, "A Song of Peach-Blossom River," the ideal society as set forth in the Tao Te Ching. The poem gives a description of the way to this society where reality and myth mix. Bernbaum also mentions the *uttarakuri* of the Mahābhārata and the Scythian myth of a northern paradise. He speaks of Gilgamesh's journey to Utnapishtim, his teacher. When we, however, read of the quest for the Holy Grail or the journey through Purgatory to Paradise in Dante's "Divine Comedy," together with the revelations of St. John, Plato's "Republic," Thomas Mann's "Magic Mountain," and the Mormons finding the promised land in Utah, the parallels begin to wear thin. A poet is allowed to interpret his impressions with a language of his own and according to his own emotional and spiritual development. A scholar investigates and interprets sources of information. The two cannot mix because they move on different levels of understanding.

It is extremely difficult to write a multi-level book where the reader has to switch gears a couple of times. Bernbaum has to be commended that he attempted the impossible. The book reflects a serious search for clues to hidden valleys, mystical kingdoms, prophecies of an ideal society—an immense task. Bernbaum unearthed new sources and has some stimulating suggestions how to interpret the myths. The strongest parts of the book are where he distinguished between myth and reality and attempts to establish the level on which he builds his theories. The book gains color through Bernbaum's personal experiences which are recorded as stations of his search. Read with discretion, the book is certainly a contribution to the study of mythical kingdoms, simply because it demonstrates that we have to search on more than one level before we can attempt a synthesis of our findings. A further credit to this book are its illustrations and Bernbaum's own photos.

Ruth-Inge Heinze

University of California, Berkeley

HÖFER, ANDRAS. *The Caste Hierarchy and the State in Nepal, A Study of the Muluki Ain of 1854, in Khumbu Himal*, Ergebnisse des Forschungsunternehmens Nepal Himalaya, herausgegeben von der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Vergleichende Hochgebirgsforschung, München, Band 13/2. Innsbruck, Austria: Universitätsverlag Wagner, 1979. Paper, 25–240 pp. Index, bibliography. DM 69.—/öS 496.—

This anthropological study investigates concepts of caste which are upheld by Nepalese and which are reflected in their legal code Muluki Ain of 1854. The author analyses (a) the cognitive mapping of caste hierarchy, (b) the implications of the ascribed status, (c) the interdependence of the status dimensions, (d) the substantiation of the hierarchy by the legislator, and (e) the question how the categories of the orthodox—Hinduistic model were applied to a society culturally as heterogeneous as the Nepalese social systems in the mid-19th century.

The Muluki Ain of 1854 was promulgated only eight years after Jang Bahādur

seized power in Nepal. The secular rule of Rana Prime Ministers continued from 1846 to 1951. The Muluki Ain in question is a codification of traditional social conditions. Other editions have been published since then. They were finally replaced by King Mahendra's new Muluki Ain in 1964 in which the king, though not explicitly abolishes caste hierarchy, but does not approve of it any longer.

The first twenty chapters of the Muluki Ain of 1854 deal with land tenure, they are followed by several chapters on inheritance law and adoption. The subsequent chapters contain information about castes.

Höfer approaches his topic from several angles. In the first four chapters of his study, he discusses the ethnic diversity in Nepal and the difficulties arising from the prescriptions of a Hinduistic caste hierarchy. He explains the ethnotheoretical concepts underlying caste hierarchies, the notions of pure and impure, edible and inedible, commensality, rules for eating, acceptance of water, physical proximity, and avoidance measures. Chapter V is devoted to sexual relations, hypergamy, divorce. Chapter VI discusses temporary-personal impurity, i.e., at times of childbirth, mourning, etc. The substantiation of caste hierarchy is demonstrated in Chapter VII. Chapter VIII analyses the dimensions of the hierarchy. Here Höfer attacks the stereotype that untouchables are viewed as one "homogeneous block." Weber has already emphasized that the inferior castes observe the "strictest caste exclusivity," (1972), and Mandelbaum, quoting Gandhi, said that the "Untouchables have their own Untouchables." (1970: 298 ff.). It is, therefore, crucial for untouchables not to contract additional amounts of impurity.

In Chapter IX we learn about the *varṇa* model and the division of labor as prescribed in the Muluki Ain of 1854. Höfer is very careful in distinguishing between the different meanings of the terms used in this legal code. For example, in the Muluki Ain of 1854, the word *jāt* has four different meanings, (1) *jāt* denotes taxonomically distinct groups with differing status positions within the hierarchy. That means *jāt* is not necessarily corresponding to a commensal unit and even less to an endogamous unit, although both frequently coincide; (2) *jāt* can mean a caste-internal status group which is not commensal with other status groups of the same caste; (3) *jāt* denotes also an ethnically (culturally and linguistically) distinct group which can embrace several castes; (4) furthermore, *jāt* is used in the sense of legal status in general (p. 113).

Chapter X investigates the caste and social estate of slaves and ascetics. During the 19th century, in the wake of wars with the British and with Tibet, there was a demand for cheap manpower. Slaves were mainly recruited from the "enslavable alcohol-drinker" caste groups. In 1808 a document prohibited the Bhotyā, for example, to sell their own daughters. In 1861 the enslavable Limbu (Kīrāti) were emancipated in recognition of their services in the war against Tibet. Höfer sheds further light on the issue of full slaves and debt-slaves. The law allowed them to marry among themselves, to possess, inherit and bequeath property and cash. "They are in a position to set up for themselves and even to pay taxes" (p. 125). Höfer also points to the fact that ascetics are not caste-neutral.

Other chapters discuss ethnic group and caste (XI); natives and foreigners in the hierarchy (XII); tolerance and hierarchy (XIII); sanctioning of customs (XIV); change of caste and the question of mobility (XV); purification, penance and penalty (XVI); public authority and caste hierarchy (XVII); Muluki Ain of 1854 and the role of the state in the legal tradition of India (XVIII). Here we are alerted to the fact that the traditional Indian legal concept does not recognize the king as legislator and even less as a reformer of public morality. The king's duties are limited to pub-

lishing and enforcing the law. The king is expected to respect not only the dharma and the brahmins, but also the autonomy of customary law. In Chapter XIX, Höfer consequently discusses the castes in the post-1951 legislation.

Höfer stresses in his conclusion that regional and supra-regional caste hierarchies constitute "the primary organizing principle" largely determined by the purity-conditioned status. When caste continues to play a role in marriage, inheritance, occupation, one sphere of social life appears to be caste-free, namely trade and commerce.

The new legislation in Nepal does no longer recognize caste hierarchies. These hierarchies are, however, not explicitly abolished either which compounds the issue because "positive discrimination" is denied and the law can "only cope to a limited extent with the heritage of the preceding legislation as a 'stratification lag.'"

In Appendix I we learn about the position of the *tāmāṅ* within the caste hierarchy with examples drawn from the rules about the use of the hookah, water and *bhāt*, intercaste marriages and the status of offsprings. Appendix II lists the rules around the killing of a cow.

The bibliography contains sources in Nepali and Western languages and the indices give indigenous terms as well as ethnic and caste names used in Nepal.

This publication is a valuable contribution to the field of caste studies. Höfer has meticulously collected data on a specific caste society at a specific time. He has alerted us to the complexities of the topic and he has given us sufficient material for comparative studies in the fields of history and sociology.

REFERENCES CITED:

- Mandelbaum, D. G., 1970. *Society in India*, Vol. I. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Weber, Max, 1972 (reprint). *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie II. Hinduismus und Buddhismus*. Tübingen: Mohr.

Ruth-Inge Heinze
University of California, Berkeley

FUENTES, VILMA MAY A. and EDITO T. DE LA CRUZ, comp. and trans. *A Treasure of Mandaya and Mansaka Folk Literature*. Quezon City, Philippines: New Day Publishers, 1980. Distributed by The Cellar Book Shop, 18090 Wyoming, Detroit MI 48221. Paper, 119 pp. US \$8.25.

The present volume is the first publication of Mandaya and Mansaka folk literature coming from the Davao provinces on the island of Mindanao, Philippines. It is a collection of non-Muslim folk literature, compiled by Edito de la Cruz in fulfillment of a requirement of the Ateneo de Davao University Graduate School and Vilma May Fuentes who was appointed Cultural Data Field Researcher of the Humanities Division and Research Office of the Ateneo de Davao University. The material has been recorded personally either in writing or by using a taperecorder. Transcribed in the original language by the collectors, the manuscripts were then edited and translated into Visayan with the help of members of the respective community who had a fair command of both dialects. Based on the Visayan versions, the authors finally translated their data into modern English, leaving a few Mandaya and Mansaka words for flavor.

The name *Mandaya* means "inhabitants of the uplands," a term collectively applied to tribal groups living on the slopes of the eastern cordillera of the provinces of Davao, Surigao del Sur, and Agusan. The 1970 census revealed that there are 12,458 Mansaka/Dibabawon. They constitute 2.81% of the total population of Davao del Norte and 3.69% of the total population of Davao Oriental. A former assistant curator of Malayan ethnology, Fay Cooper Cole, called the Mandaya who had left their mountain dwellings to migrate to the coast and who are now living at the north and east of Davao Gulf—*Mansaka*, "inhabitants of the mountain clearings"; the tribal members who live near the Tagum and Hijo Rivers—*Pagsupan*; those who live in the heavily forested mountains skirting the coast—*Mangwangan* or *Mangrangan*, "dwellers of the forests"; those who live near the headwaters of the Agusan River—*Managosan*; those who inhabit the small district south and west of Compostela—*Dibabawon*. Fr. Emmanuel Nabayra who works closely with these communities and who has done research on his own, says that the ancestral home of the *Mandaya* is the whole of Davao Oriental and the present municipalities of Compostela and New Bataan in Davao del Norte, while the *Mansaka* have concentrated along the Batoko River, the Manat Valley, the Maragusan Valley, the Hijo River the coasts of Kingkin, Maco, Kwambog, Hija, Tagum, Libuganon, Tuganay, Ising and Panabo. Some of these settlements have retained their native names, although most of them have been completely taken over by Christian Filipino settlers from Luzon, Visayas, and Northern Mindanao.

The standard house of the Mandaya and the Mansaka is a four-walled, one-room dwelling raised about three to four feet above the ground on poles. The roof is either made of cogon thatch or wooden strips. In previous days, at times of tribal raids and wars, the Mandaya and the Mansaka used to build their houses on treetops.

The typical attire of the Mandaya and the Mansaka are a blouse (*dagum*) with an open front extending to the waist and with narrow three-fourth sleeves worn by both sexes, a tight-fitting pair of short or long pants (*panahi*) for men and a varicolored striped or checkered skirt (*ampit*) for women. Few use the hand-woven fabric made of stamped young abaca fibers (*dagmay*) for their clothing.

The Mandaya and Mansaka have a two-stringed instrument (*kudlong*), a drum (*gimball* or *kimbaw*) made of deerskin, a *kobeng* or *kubing* resembling the jew's harp and made of bamboo as well as different kinds of bamboo flutes.

They live on a subsistence economy. Struggling with nature, they hunt with dogs, spears, bows and arrows, and they fish and farm.

The father is the undisputed head of his family and the kinship system stresses communal activities. Social life is determined by customary law.

The universe, like a bamboo pole with three nodes, is seen as having three stories. The uppermost is the *langit* where the *Magbabaya* (supreme being) and lesser deities dwell. The middle one is the *lupa* where man lives and there is the underworld, *bilibolan*. Man can go to the *langit* only through the intercession of some heavenly spirits. One of the most powerful but harmful spirits, the *busaw*, is also supposed to reside in the *langit*. Evil deeds, wrong decisions, and misfortunes are often attributed to the *busaw*. For example, when a man dies, the *busaw* is said to have stolen his *kallwa* (soul). The Mandaya world is further populated with all kinds of spirits who live in caves, rivers, waterfalls, trees and there are gods of hunting, fishing, and farming. These beliefs require rituals and there are rites of passage, e.g., at birth, marriage, and death, as well as ceremonies to be performed at the time of illness.

Mr. Antonio Magana who conducted research among Mansaka communities in the Maragusan Valley distinguishes nine forms of oral literature—*babarawon*, a prose form dealing with the origin of man, the cause of the deluge, the separation of the

sun and the moon; *babatukon* or *human-human*, a folktale in prose usually dealing with happy incidents; *bayok*, a chanted repartee, usually praising a visitor, a story of love and adventure; *binabailan*, a chant or incantation recited in rituals connected with the planting and harvesting of rice; *diawot*, an epic of great length, consisting of seven-syllable verses intended to be sung or chanted; *hulubaton*, the prose equivalent of the diawot; *pasumbingay*, a series of metaphorical expressions when joking about embarrassing topics; *saliada*, a ballad using refrain and repetition; and *tutukanon*, a riddle.

Mr. de la Cruz collected and classified his material as follows: *bayok*, a chanted story of love and adventure; *dadawoton*, a folk song; *dawot*, an epic in verse; *oman-oman*, a folktale in prose; *oyog-oyog*, a lullaby; *pyagllaongan*, a proverb; *tutukanon*, a riddle; and religious chants. He analysed his findings in his thesis, "Mandaya Oral Traditions and Their Educational Implications."

Mandaya and Mansaka riddles, mostly unrhymed but in a pair of rhythmic verses, are rich in imagery. Drawing from a familiar environment, they challenge the power of association. Allusions to the world of the spirits are, however, avoided not to offend the supernatural beings.

Proverbs stress industry and perseverance for survival, virtues are praised as well as courage, and obedience to elders is recommended. The environment provides significant signs and omens.

With the advent of transistor radios, native minstrels are vanishing and lyrics as well as melodies are imported. Mandaya and Mansaka folksongs have in general parental love, tenderness, and the virtues of childhood as their themes.

The folktales are of entertaining and moralizing value. They record battles and triumphs, frustrations and fulfilment.

The book also gives a taste of indigenous rituals and epic poems. One of the epics contains the Swan Maiden motif.

Although the texts in this book are two languages removed from the dialect in which they have been originally composed, they open for us the door to the world of the Mandaya and Mansaka and constitute a valuable contribution to the literature on so far unknown Asian cultures. When the general reader cannot be expected to be familiar with the native languages in question, the curiosity of the expert is satisfied where riddles, proverbs and songs are published both in the original and the English version and when we find in the appendices a fragment of the Mandaya epic, "Gambong," the Mansaka folktale "Kimod and the Swan Maiden," together with a synopsis of the Mansaka epic "Manggob" in the original language.

Ruth-Inge Heinze
University of California, Berkeley