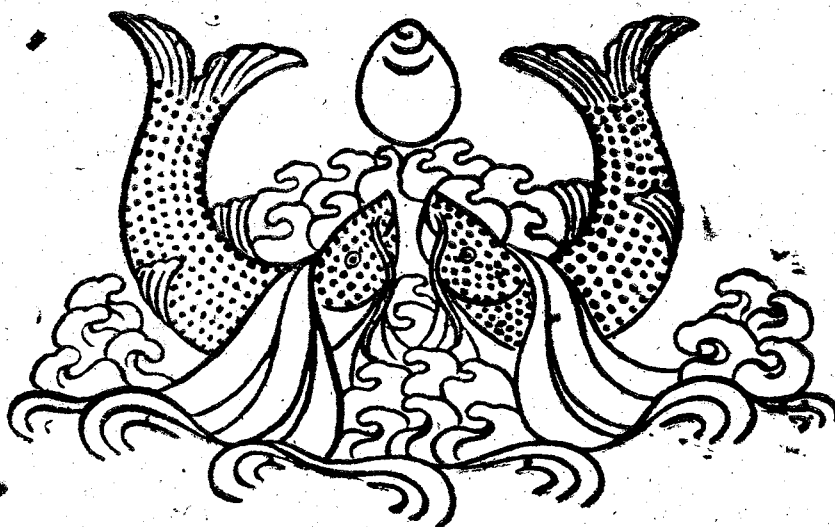


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THE HAGIOGRAPHY OF NĀGĀRJUNA

translated by

Kalsang Yeshe Nathan Katz

New York Colombo

INTRODUCTION

The text used for this translation of the *rnam. thar.*¹ of Ācārya Nāgārjuna (sLob. dpon. kLu. sgrub) was published by E. Kalsang at Varanasi,² in an edited edition of the 'Phags. yul. grub. chen. brgyad. cu. rtsa. bzhi' i. byin. rlabs. skor. lus./la. rgyus. rnam. par. thar. pa. rnams. bzhugs. so.. This hagiography is found on pages 51 to 57 of Kalsang's edition.

The author of the text, dGe.slong.³ sMon. grub. shes. rab., tells us that it was based on the discourses of his teacher, bLa. ma. chen. po. Mi. 'jigs. pa. sByin. pa. dpal.⁴ One is also referred to a longer version⁵ of these hagiographies, which may be found in the Tibetan cannon, *bsTan. 'gyur., rgyud., Vol. lu., fasc. la-34b.*

rNam. thar. texts play an important role in Tibetan Buddhism. Combining elements from both the folk and monastic religions, they somewhat resemble Catholic texts of the lives of the saints, and they are an inspiration for the *saṅgha*⁶ and laity alike. The characters portrayed in the texts are the *grub. thob.*, or *mahāsiddhas*, the saints of the Vajrayāna. Their role in the Diamond Vehicle is that of a symbol for human potentiality, and is thus similar to the roles of the *bodhisattva* in the Mahāyāna and the *arahant* in Theravāda and nikāya Buddhism.

* * *

¹ *rnam. thar.* Das (*A Tibetan-English Dictionary*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, repr. 1970 [Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1902], p. 757), etymologizes *rnam. thar.* as "complete escape, emancipation, and hence: memoir, life, biography". A good modern rendering would be 'hagiography'.

² E. Kalsang (ed.), *The Biography of the Eighty-Four Saints of Buddhist*, Varanasi: Buddhist Temple, 1972.

³ *dge. slong.* = *bhikshu* = ordained monk.

⁴ Kalsang, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

⁵ *ibid.*, p. 207: *rgyas. pa.*

⁶ *dge. 'dun.*

། །གྲུ་རྒྱ་གྲུ་རྒྱ་རྒྱ་སྒྲིབ་དཔོན་གྲུ་སྒྲིབ་གྲི་ལོ་རྒྱུ་མི། །ཡུལ་རྒྱ་གར་གར་ཕྱོགས་ཀུ་ཞེས་བྱ་པའི་
བྱི་བྲག་ཀ་ཉི་ར་བྱ་བ་ཡིན་ལ། རིགས་བྲམ་ཟེ། དངོས་བྲུབ་སྒྲིབ་མ་ལས་ཐོབ་པ་ཡིན་ལ། དེ་ཡང་་
ཀ་ཉི་ར་ན་གྲོང་བྱིར་བྱི་ཚོ་ཕྱིད་དང་གཉིས་ཡོད་པ། ཀུན་ལ་འཛེམས་པ་དང་འཕྲོག་པ་བྱས་པས། ་
བྲམ་ཟེ། ཀུན་འདུས་ནས་འདི་སའོ་སྒྲིབ་ཐོབ་པ་མི་འཚམས་བ་བྱས་པས་འདི་དང་འཕྲབ་པ་ལས་ཡུལ་་་་
གཞན་དུ་འབྲམས་འགྲོ་བ་དྲག་ཅིས་གྲོས་བྱས་པའི་གདམ་དེ་སྒྲིབ་དཔོན་གྲིས་གསན་ནས་བྲམ་ཟེ། ཀུན་ལ་
མི་བདང་ནས་བྱིད་རྣམས་ཡུལ་གཞན་དུ་མ་འགྲོ་ཞེས། །ཡུལ་གཞན་དུ་སྒྲིབ་བསྐྱེད་བར་འོང་བས་་་
བྱིད་ཅག་ཀུན་ཁོ་བོའི་རྗེས་འདི་རྣམས་བྱིར་ཅིག་གསུངས་ནས་ནོར་ཐམས་ཅད་སྦྱིན་པར་བདང་ནས། ་
སྒྲིབ་དཔོན་ཀ་ཉི་ར་ནས་བྲོས་དེ་བསེལ་བ་ཚལ་གྱི་མ་རོལ་རྒྱ་ལ་རྒྱར་རྒྱུན་ནས་རཔ་དུ་བྱུང་སྟེ་རིག་པའི་་
གནས་ལྡེ་ལ་སྤྱངས་པས་མཁས་པའི་མཐར་ཐུག་བར་གྱུར་དོ། དེ་ནས་བཤད་པ་ལ་སྒྲིབ་རྣམས་སྒྲིབ་པ་་་
མཛད་པས་སྒྲིབ་མ་འི་ཞལ་ག་ཟིགས་དེ། དཔལ་ན་ལ་རྒྱ་པའི་ཚོས་སྒྲོར་དགེ་འདུན་བརྒྱ་བཞུགས་པའི་་
འཚོ་བ་དང་གནས་སྤངས་དེ་ཡུལ་གཞན་དུ་བྱོན་ནས་གྲོང་བྱིར་ཅིག་དུ་བསོད་སྦྱོམས་མཛད། སྒྲར་་
རང་གི་གནས་སྤོག་ནས་བདག་གི་བསམ་པ་འདི་འདྲ་བས་སེམས་ཅན་གྱི་དོན་མི་འབྲུབ་པས་ཡོན་ཏན་
ཐོབ་པར་བྱས་ལ་འགྲོ་དོན་བྱ་སྦྱོམ་དུ་དགོངས་ནས་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཁབ་དུ་སྦྱིན་ནས། འབྲུང་པོ་ཁྱེམ་ཚོག་གི་
འབྲུང་མོ་བཅུ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བཞུས་པ་བྱས་བས་ཞག་དང་པོ་ལས་གཡོས། གཉིས་པ་ལ་ཚུ་བརྗོད། ་་་
གསུམ་པ་ལ་མི་འབར། བཞི་པ་ལ་རྒྱང་ལངས། ལྷ་པ་ལ་མཚོན་གྱི་རར། དུག་པ་ལ་དོ་རྗེའི་རར།
བདུན་པ་ལ་དངོས་སྤྱུ་འབྲུང་མོ་ཀུན་འདུས་ནས་བར་གཅོད་བྱས་པ་ལ། སྒྲིབ་དཔོན་གྱི་ཐུགས་དམ་ལ་
གཡོ་བ་མེད་པས་བར་གཅོད་མ་རྒྱགས་པ་དང་། གནོད་སྦྱིན་མོ་ཀུན་འོད་ས་ནས་བྱིད་ལ་ཅི་དགོས་དེད་
གྲིས་སྦྱིན་ཟེར་བ་ལ། གཞན་མི་དགོས་པའི་འཚོ་བ་སྦྱོར་ཅིག་གསུངས་པ་ལ། དེ་རྣམས་གྲིས་འབྲས་་
ཕུལ་བཞི་དང་ཚོད་མ་ལྟ་དྲག་དུ་སྦྱིར་བ་དེ་བཞིས་གྲིན་སྒྲིབ་དཔོན་གྲིས་ལོ་བཅུ་གཉིས་སྒྲིབ་པ་མཛད་་
པས་འབྲུང་མོ་བརྒྱ་ཅུ་བརྒྱད་དབང་དུ་འདུས་ནས་འགྲོ་དོན་བྱ་སྦྱོམ་པ་དང་། རི་རྩན་རྩ་བྱི་ལར་བྱོན་་
ནས་རི་དེ་གསེར་དུ་བསྐྱར་ལ་འགྲོ་དོན་བྱ་སྦྱོམ་ནས་རི་ལུགས་སྤྱུ་བྱས། ལུགས་ཟངས་སྤྱུ་བྱས་ཅན། །
འཕགས་པ་འཇམ་དཔལ་གྱི་ཞལ་ནས། འདི་ལ་སེམས་ཅན་ཀུན་ཚོད་པ་ཆེན་པོ་འབྲུང་བས་སྦྱོད་པ་་
གསོག་པར་འོང་གསུང་ནས་འགྲོ་བཅད་དེ་བོར་བས། ལྷན་རྩ་ལེལ་ད་ལྟ་ཡང་ཟངས་མདོག་སྤྱུག་པོར་
ཡོད། དེ་ནས་རྩོ་ཕྱོགས་དཔལ་གྱི་རི་བོར་བྱོན་པའི་ལམ་བར་དུ་གཅོང་པོའི་འབྲམ་དུ་སྦྱིན་པ་ན། །

བ་ལང་རྗེ་དུ་མདང་འཕྲད་ནས་ཚུད་ལམ་དྲིས་པ་ན། ལམ་ངན་པ་ཚུ་སྲིན་དང་། དམ་གྲོག་ཅན་གྱི་མི་
 བདེ་བའི་ལམ་བསྟན་པ་དང་། བ་རྗེ་གཞན་ཞིག་འདུག་པ་དེ་འོངས་ནས་ལམ་འདི་ལོགས་པ་མ་ཡིན། །
 འདི་ནས་གཤེགས་ཟེར་དེས་སློབ་དཔོན་ཁྲུང་ནས་ཕྱིན་པས། ཚུད་དཀྱིལ་དུ་སློབ་དཔོན་གྱིས་སྐྱེལ་པའི་
 ཚུ་སྲིན་ལ་སོགས་པའི་འཛིགས་པ་སྐྱོ་ཚོགས་བསྟན་པས། བ་རྗེ་ན་ཅི། བདག་མ་ཤིའི་བར་དུ་མ་.....
 འཛིགས་ཤིག་ཟེར་བས། སློབ་དཔོན་གྱིས་སྐྱེལ་པ་བདུ་པ་དེ་སྐྱམ་སར་ཕྱིན་པ་དང་། སློབ་དཔོན་གྱིས་
 ང་འཕགས་པ་སྐྱ་སྐྱབ་ཡིན་དེ་ཁྱོད་གྱིས་ངོ་ཤེས་སམ་གསུངས་པ་ལ། གདམ་ནི་ཕྱོགས་དེ་ངོ་མི་ཤེས་ལུས་
 སོ། སློབ་དཔོན་གྱིས་བ་ལང་རྗེ་དེ་ལ་ཁྱོད་གྱིས་ང་ཚུ་ལས་བསྐྱེལ་པའི་བཤེན་པ་ཅི་དགོས་པ་སྟེར་བ་ཡིན་
 གསུངས་བས། བ་ལང་རྗེ་ན་ཅི། བདག་ལ་ཀྱུལ་པོ་འོན་པའི་ཐབས་ཅིག་ལུ་ཟེར་ནས། སློབ་དཔོན་
 གྱིས་སྐྱོགས་དེ་ན་ཤིང་སྐྱ་ལའི་སྟོང་པོ་གཅིག་ཡོད་པ་ལ་ཚུ་གདོར་བས་ཤིང་དེ་མ་ཐག་སྐྱང་པོ་ཆེར་གྱུར་...
 རས་ཀྱུལ་པོའི་བཞེན་པ་བྱས། དམག་ཚོགས་དགོས་ལུ་བ་ལ་སྐྱང་པོ་ཆེ་མཁུན་པ་ན་དམག་འོད་བཡིན་
 གསུངས་པ་དེ་བཞེན་དུ་གྱུང་སྟེ། ཀྱུལ་པོའི་མིང་སྐྱ་ལ་རྩ་རྩ་ཞེས་བྱ་ལ། བཙུན་མོའི་མིང་སྐྱ་རྩ་ཞེས་བྱ་
 བར་གྱུར་དོ། གནས་གྲོང་ཁྱིམ་རྩ་དེ་ན་ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་ཡུལ་ཁྱུང་པར་འཕགས་པ་ཅིག་གྲུབ་སྟེ། ཀྱུལ་
 པོ་ལ་ཁྲུལ་འཇལ་བའི་གྲོང་ཁྱིམ་འབྲུམ་ཚོ་བརྒྱད་ཅུ་ཅ་བཞི་ལ་དབང་བྱེད་པའི་ཀྱུལ་པོར་བྱས་ནས། །
 སློབ་དཔོན་གྱིས་སྐྱོ་སྐྱོགས་དཔལ་གྱི་རི་ལ་བྱོན་ནས་སྐྱོམ་སྐྱབ་མཇེད་གྱི་ན་ཡུན་རིང་དུ་བཞུགས་པ་ལ། །
 ཀྱུལ་པོ་སྐྱ་ལ་རྩ་རྩ་སྐྱ་སྐྱ་མ་དུན་དེ་དཔལ་གྱི་རི་བོར་འོད་ས་ནས། སློབ་དཔོན་ལ་ཕྱག་དང་བསྐྱོར་བ་བྱས་
 དོ། ཀྱུལ་པོས་སློབ་དཔོན་ལ་ལུས་པ། ཀྱུལ་སྲིད་ནི་མཚོག་ཚུང་ལ་ཉེས་པ་ཆེ་བར་འདུག་པས་བདག་...
 ལ་མི་དགོས། བདག་སློབ་དཔོན་གྱི་སྐྱུན་སྲུང་སྟོང་པ་ལགས་ལུས་པས། སློབ་དཔོན་གྱིས་ཀྱུལ་སྲིད་མ་
 བསྐྱུར་བར་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་སྟོང་པ་ལ་སློབ་དཔོན་གྱིས་ལ་ཀྱུལ་སྲིད་སྟོང་ས། དུས་མཡིན་པར་འཆི་བའི་...
 འཛིགས་པ་མེད་པའི་བཙུན་ལེན་སྐྱེན་གྱིས་གསུངས་པས། ཀྱུལ་པོ་ན་ཅི། སློབ་དཔོན་དང་ལྟན་ཅིག་
 དུ་འདུག་པའི་སྐབས་ཡོད་ན་ཀྱུལ་སྲིད་དང་བཙུན་ལེན་དགོས། དེ་མ་ཡིན་ན་མི་དགོས་ཞེས་ཟེར་ནས་
 འགྲོར་མ་འདོད་བར་དེ་ཉིད་དུ་གནས་པར་གྱུར་པ་ན། དེ་ལ་སློབ་དཔོན་གྱིས་གདམས་པ་གནང་སྟེ། །
 རང་ཡུལ་དུ་བཙུན་ལེན་པ་སྐྱེལ་ས། ལོ་བརྒྱའི་བར་དུ་ཀྱུལ་སྲིད་བཟུང་སྟེ་གནས་སོ། དེའི་བར་འགྲོ་...
 བ་ནམས་འཕྱོར་པ་དང་ལྟན། རིའི་བྱ་དང་རི་དུགས་ཀྱུན་ཀྱང་བདེ་བར་འཚོ་བ་ལས་ལོ་བརྒྱན་སློབ་...
 དཔོན་གྱིས་སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་དར་ཞིང་རྒྱས་པར་མཇེད་པ་ལ། བདུན་དགའ་རབ་དབང་སྐྱུག་...

ལྷག་དོག་སྐྱེས་ནས་བར་ཆད་གྱི་ལྷ་ས་བྱ་མི་ཤིས་པ་སྐྱོ་ཚོགས་བྱུང་སྟེ། ཉི་ཟླའི་སྤང་བ་མེད་པ་མོག་མོག་
 དོར་གྱུར་པ་དང་། ཤིང་ཕོགས་ཐམས་ཅད་རང་བཞིན་གྱིས་འབྱུལ་བ་དང་། ཆར་ཚུ་དུས་སྐྱུ་མ་.....
 བབས་པས་སྲིག་ཆགས་རྣམས་མུ་གེས་གཟིར་བ་དང་། ནད་དང་མཚོན་གྱི་བསྐྱེད་པ་དར་བ་དང་། །
 ཅི་ཤིང་ནགས་ཚལ་ལ་སོགས་པ་ཀུན་སྐྱེས་པའི་ལྷ་ས་མི་ཤིས་པ་སྐྱོ་ཚོགས་བྱུང་བ་དང་། རྒྱལ་པོ་སྐྱེ་བ་ལྟ་
 རྣམས་འདི་སྐྱེ་བ་སྟེ། འདི་དག་ནི་གཞན་མ་ཡིན་དེ་ངའི་སྐྱེ་བ་ལ་གཞན་དཔའི་ལྷ་ས་ཡིན་སྐྱེ་བ་རང་གི་སྐྱེ་བ་.....
 ཅི་ལྟར་ཀུན་སྐྱེ་བ་བྱ་བ་ལ་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་བྱིན་དེ། འཁོར་ཉུང་ཟད་ཅིག་དང་བཅས་དེ་དཔལ་གྱི་རི་བོར་སྐྱོབ་.....
 དཔོན་གྱི་སྐྱེ་བ་སྐྱེ་བ་ལ་དང་། སྐྱེ་བས་བྱུང་དོན་ཅི་ལ་འོད་སྲིད་སྲིད་པ་ལ། རྒྱལ་པོ་ན་རི། བདག་དང་
 སེམས་ཅན་སྐྱེ་བ་ཟད་གྱུར་དམ། རྒྱལ་བའི་བསྐྱེད་པ་ཉམས་པར་གྱུར་དམ་ཅི། ནག་པོའི་སྲིགས་.....
 རྣམས་རྒྱལ་པར་གྱུར་པའམ། ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེན་པོ་སྐྱེ་བ་ལྟར་དཀར་ལ། ཆར་སྐྱེན་དང་འཕྲི་བདུད་.....
 ཀྱིས་བསྐྱེད་སྲིད་སྲིད་ཅི། རྗེ་རྣམས་ལྟར་སྐྱེ་བ་ལ། འདུས་བྱས་རང་བཞིན་བྱུང་ངམ་སྐྱེ་བ་ལྷ་ས་.....
 རྣམས། བྱུང་བས་བདག་ནི་འདི་ནི་མཚིས་པ་ལགས། ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེན་པོས་དགོངས་ལ་བྱིན་གྱིས་སྐྱོབ་ས།
 ཞེས་ཞུས་པས། སྐྱོབ་དཔོན་གྱིས་གསུངས་པ། སྐྱེས་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་འཆི་བ་ཡིན། འདུས་པ་ཐམས་.....
 ཅད་འབྲུལ། བསགས་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་འཛད། འདུས་བྱས་གྱི་མཐའ་ཐམས་ཅད་མི་རྟག་པ་ཡིན་ན་དེ་ལ་
 མི་དགའ་བ་ཅི་ཡོད། རྒྱུད་རང་བཅུད་ལེན་བྱིར་ལ་སོང་ཞིག་གསུངས་པས། དེ་ན་རི། སྐྱེ་བའི་ཅར་
 བཅུད་ལེན་ཟ་ཡིན་འདུག་ན་འདུག །སྐྱེ་བ་མི་བཞུགས་ན་བདག་ལ་བཅུད་ལེན་མི་དགོས་ཟེར་ནས་དེར་
 འདུག་གོ། །དེ་ནས་སྐྱོབ་དཔོན་འཕགས་པས་དོས་པོ་ཐམས་ཅད་སྐྱེན་པར་བཏང་བ་ལ། ལྷ་ཚོངས་.....
 པས་བམ་ཟེ་གཅིག་དུ་སྐྱེ་བ་ནས་དབྱུང་བསྐྱེད་སྲིད་སྲིད་པས། སྐྱོབ་དཔོན་གྱིས་ཀྱང་སྐྱེན་པར་ཞལ་གྱིས་བཞེས་.....
 པ་དང་། རྒྱལ་པོ་སྐྱེ་བ་ལྟ་རྣམས་སྐྱོབ་དཔོན་འགོངས་པའི་སྐྱེ་བ་བསྐྱེད་པ་ལ་བཟོད་ནས། སྐྱོབ་དཔོན་གྱི་.....
 ཞབས་ལ་སྐྱེ་བོས་གདུགས་དེ་གོངས་སོ། མི་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱང་བམ་ཟེ་དེ་ལ་ཁ་སྲིར་བར་བྱེད་དོ། དེའི་.....
 དུས་སྐྱོབ་དཔོན་གྱིས་དབྱུང་བྱིན་པས་གཞན་གང་གིས་ཀྱང་མཚོད་བ་ ན། ཅི་ཀུན་གཅིག་གིས་རང་གི་
 དབྱུང་བཅད་ནས་ཆངས་པ་ལ་བྱིན་ནོ། དེ་ནས་ཤིང་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱང་སྐྱེས་ས། མི་ཐམས་ཅད་གྱི་བསོད་.....
 རྣམས་ཀྱང་འགྲིབས་སོ། སྐྱེན་གྱི་གཞན་དུ་སྐྱེན་མོ་བཅུད་གྱིས་སྐྱོབ་དཔོན་གྱི་སྐྱེ་བ་བསྐྱེད་སྲིད་སྲིད་པས་དུ་སྐྱེ་བ་.....
 ཡང་ཡོད་དོ། སྐྱེ་བའི་གདུང་འཚོ་བ་དུ་སྐྱེ་བའི་བྱུང་བཅུད་བཞུགས་པའི་འོད་ལྷ་བ་མོ་འཕྲོ་བ་སྐྱེ་བ་ཟེར་ཅམ་དུ་སྐྱེ་བ་
 ཡང་ཡོད། སྐྱོབ་དཔོན་གྱི་སྐྱེ་བ་དེ་རྒྱལ་བ་བྱེད་སྲིད་པའི་བསྐྱེད་པ་ལ་སྐྱེ་བ་བཞེད་སྲིད་སྲིད་པས་འགྲོ་བའི་དོན་.....
 མཛད་གསུང་དོ། གུ་རུ་སྐྱེ་བ་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རྗེ་གསུངས། །

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

As for the account of Guru Nāgārjuna, or ācārya ¹ kLu. sgrub.: He was from Kahora, in the eastern part of India (Kattsi), and of brahmin caste. He attained perfection ² from Tārā.³

In Kahora there were twenty-five thousand cities. Because all the people were going to destroy and ravish all the brahmins, all the brahmins got together and said: "Because these people will harm all of us, it would be better to go and wander in some other country, rather than to stay and fight with them."

Nāgārjuna heard this discussion, and then sent this message to all the brahmins: "Don't go to another country! Suffering would only follow you there. so you take all of my things." And he gave all his property as alms.

Nāgārjuna fled from Kahora to the other side of bSil.ba.tsal.⁴ and went to Nālānda. There he became a monk. By studying the five branches of learning,⁵ he became unsurpassed as a scholar. He renounced *samsāra* by his studies. By doing a retreat, Tārā appeared to him.

Then he left his home and vocation among the hundred monks, who were staying at Nālānda for Dharma studies. Then he thought like this: "Since all of this does not benefit sentient beings, I will gain knowledge and thereby benefit sentient beings."

Then he went to Rajagriha.⁶ He recited the mantras of the twelve female demons of the supreme group of demons.⁷ On the first night the earth quaked. On the second night the waters flooded. On the third night the winds blew. On the fifth night there was a rain of weapons. On the sixth night there was a rain of *vajras*.⁸ On the seventh night he actually saw all the female demons. They were making obstacles. However

¹ ācārya = slob.dpon.

² "perfection" = *dngos. grub.* = *siddhi*. This technical term is problematic for translators. Sarat Chandra Das (*A Tibetan-English Dictionary*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, repr. 1970 [Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1902], p. 359) offers "the accomplishment of the real thing sought for," be it material or spiritual. He lists (pp. 359-360) eight types of *dngos. grub.*, In this context, the translators have selected its more general usage as "perfection," a step on the path of *mchog.gi.dngos. grub.* 'the supreme attainment' of Buddhahood.

³ Tārā = sGrol. ma.

⁴ bSil. ba. tsal = literally "cool garden place".

⁵ The five branches of learning (*rig. pa'i. gnas. lnga.*) are: (1) *gso. ba. rig. pa.*, medicine; (2) *sgra. rig. pa.*, language and poetics; (3) *gtan. tshig. rig. pa.*, logic; (4) *bzo. rig. pa.*, technologies; and (5) *chos. rig. pa.*, religion.

⁶ Rajagriha = rGyal. po' i. khams.

⁷ "the twelve female demons of the supreme group or demons" = '*byung.po. khyu. mchog. gi. 'byung. mo. bcu. gnyis.* Probably the twelve *bstan. ma.*, which A. K. Gordon (*The Iconography of Tibetan Lamaism*, New York: Paragon Book Reprint Corp., revised edition, 1967, p. 76) renders as "the twelve She devils .. under control of Ekajaṭā" [Ral. gcig. ma.], as "furies" (*idem.*), which Das (*op. cit.*, p. 560) calls "sprites," and which in India would be called *bhūtani* (*ibid.*, p. 925) or *churail*.

⁸ vajra = rdo. rje.

by doing meditation⁹ without distraction, the obstacles couldn't affect him. Then all the female demons came and asked, "What do you want? We will give it to you."

Nāgārjuna said, "I don't need anything. Merely prepare a livelihood for me." Thereafter they always gave him four measures of rice and the five vegetables, which he ate during twelve years in retreat. Then Nāgārjuna thought about putting all 108 female demons under his power, thereby benefitting sentient beings.

Nāgārjuna thought, "I should go to Mt. Ghandashila and do benefit for sentient beings by changing the mountain into gold." After that he changed the mountain into iron. Then he changed it into copper. Then the Noble Mañjuśrī¹⁰ said, "Sentient beings will have great arguments about this mountain, thereby accumulating sin." So Nāgārjuna stopped and left. Even today Mt. Ghandashila has the brown color of copper.

On the road to Mt. Lho.phogs.dpal.gi.ri., Nāgārjuna came to a big river. He met with many cowherders and asked about crossing the river. They showed him a bad road. It was uncomfortable with crocodiles and ravines. Another cowherder came. "This road is not good. Come away from here," he said. Then he picked Nāgārjuna up and carried him away.

In the middle of the water, Nāgārjuna conjured up miraculous crocodiles and various terrifying things. The cowherder said, "As long as I don't die, you have nothing to fear." Nāgārjuna dissipated the conjurations and went to dry ground. He said, "I am the Noble Nāgārjuna. Don't you recognize me?"

"I've heard about you, but I don't recognize you," the cowherder replied.

Nāgārjuna said, "You carried me across the water. Whatever you want I will give to you."

The cowherder asked for a way to become a king.

Then Nāgārjuna caused water to pour forth from a big sāla tree. By Nāgārjuna's powerful blessings,¹¹ the tree then became an elephant, which immediately became a kingly vehicle. The cowherder asked for troops of soldiers, and Nāgārjuna said, "When the elephant trumpets, soldiers will appear." And so it was.

The king was called Sāla Bhantha, and his queen was called Sinidhi. They took up dwelling in a city called Bhahitna in a splendid country. Eighty-four lakhs of

⁹ meditation = *thugs. nam.*

¹⁰ Noble Mañjuśrī = '*Phags.pa.'jam.dpal.*

¹¹ "By Nāgārjuna's powerful blessings" is a rather free translation of a most interesting Tibetan grammatical device. Rather than say that the elephant, troops of soldiers, and the splendid city "exist" (*yod. pa.*), the text says that they *grub. ste.* In footnote 1 we discussed this technical term for which there are no European-language equivalents, which comes from the Sanskrit *siddha/siddhi*, and which is often translated as 'accomplishment' (Das, *op.cit.*, p. 359). Since *grub. ste.* (*grub.* + the terminative particle *ste.*) is in the verb's position in this phrase, it is suggestive of the modality of existence for Nāgārjuna's conjurations. The text indicates this modality not only for the elephant, but for the kingly life of the cowherder.

King Sāla Bhantha thought, "All of these omens of harm refer only to my lama, not to anyone else." He gave his kingdom to his son, Shindnya Kurmāra and, with a few of his retinue, went to Nāgārjuna.

The lama asked, "Son, why have you come here?"

The king said:¹⁷

All of our fortunes have been consumed,
 All Buddha's teachings have decreased.
 The Black Ones¹⁸ have become victorious.
 Your great compassion, white like the sun,
 Is obscured, as by a rain cloud, by a devil.
 All of these terrible omens are signs of the death¹⁹
 Of the holy, vajra-like lama.
 Since all of this has happened, I came here.
 Think of your great compassion!
 Give us your blessings!

Nāgārjuna said:

All living things die,
 All compounded things separate.
 Whatever is accumulated, it ends.
 All phenomena are impermanent, it's true.
 Why then, do you grieve?
 Take your elixir and go.

The king said, "If I could take the elixir while staying with my lama, then I would. But if you die, then of what need is any elixir?" So the king stayed with Nāgārjuna.

Noble Nāgārjuna gave away all his wealth as alms. Seeing this, the god Brahma²⁰ incarnated²¹ as a brahmin and begged for Nāgārjuna's head. Nāgārjuna promised to give even his head.

King Sāla Bhantha could not endure to see Nāgārjuna die, so he touched the crown of his head to Nāgārjuna's food and he died.

All the people criticized the brahmin. At that time, nothing could be found which would cut Nāgārjuna's head, so Nāgārjuna took one blade of Kusha grass and cut off his head and gave it to the brahmin.

Then all the trees dried up. Even people's merit²² decreased. Even today, the eight female demons we mentioned before guard Nāgārjuna's body. Nāgārjuna's disciple, Nāgabodhi, stays and is even now shining almost as brightly as the moon.

It is said that at the time when Maitreya's²³ teachings come, Nāgārjuna's body will arise and benefit all sentient beings.

This account of Guru Nāgārjuna is complete.

¹⁷ The following speeches by Nāgārjuna and the king are in *śloka* (verse).

¹⁸ "Black Ones" = *nag. po.*, any person or demon who obstructs the spread of the Dharma.

¹⁹ "are signs of the death, . . . of the lama" = '*dus. byas. (saṃskṛta) rang. bshin. byung. dam.* This is an interesting Tibetan idiom. Literally it reads: "compounded phenomena happened." This is taken by Tibetans to indicate that that which comes to pass from all compounded phenomena, *viz.*, death, is immanent.

²⁰ Brahma = Lha. tshangs.

²¹ incarnated, manifested = *sprul.*

²² merit = *bsod. nams.*

²³ Maitreya = rGyal. ba. Byams. pa.

cities offered taxes, and the king ruled them. Nāgārjuna went to Lho.phogs. and stayed in a meditational retreat of long duration.

The king missed the lama. He came to dPal.gi.ri., then circumambulated and did prostrations to Nāgārjuna. The king said to Nāgārjuna, “There is very little meaning in my temporal rule. It’s all a big mistake and I no longer want it. I beg to stay with Nāgārjuna.”

Nāgārjuna said, “Do not quit your temporal rule. Let the *Precious Garland*¹² become your teacher to rule the kingdom. If you take this elixir¹³ which I will give you, then you needn’t fear an untimely death.”

The king said, “If there is enough time to stay with you, then I will accept both the kingdom and the elixir. But if there is no time to stay with you, then I don’t want any of it.” Since he didn’t want to go, he remained.

Nāgārjuna gave teachings¹⁴ to the king. The king then remained in his country for a hundred years and accomplished the techniques of the elixir.¹⁵ During that time, all sentient beings became wealthy. Even all the birds and wild animals lived comfortably. During those hundred years, Nāgārjuna spread the Buddha’s teachings far and wide.

All of this aroused the jealousy of dGa’. rab. dbang. phyog.¹⁶ Various unlucky omens happened. There was darkness without light from the sun or moon. All the fruits naturally dried up. The rains did not come on time, and all beings became dizzy with famine. An aeon of disease and fighting spread. All fruit trees and forests dried up. All these unlucky omens happened.

¹² *The Precious Garland* = Rin. po. che’i. phreng. pa. = *Rājaparīkathā-ratnamālā*. This work is a *prajñāparamitā* text and not just a homiletic work of advice to the king, as this story might indicate. In some sections it reads as a *Mādhyamaka* treatise, establishing *śūnyatā* (*stong. pa. nyid.*) by the refutation of all positions (*dr̥sti*), the *prasaṅga* methodology. In other sections it transcends ethical injunctions addressed to the king, establishing the *bodhisattva* path in the genre of the *prajñāparamitā*. It has been translated into English by Jeffrey Hopkins, Ven. Lati Rinpoche and Anne Klein (Nāgārjuna and the Seventh Dalai Lama, *The Precious Garland and The Song of the Four Mindfulnesses*, London: George Allen & Unwin, The Wisdom of Tibet Series, No. 2, 1975).

¹³ elixir = *bcud. len.* = *rāsa*. This technical term means something like vital essence. By extracting the vital essence from a plant, a rock, etc., one is said to be able to consume its vitality, thus prolonging life. (See Das, *op. cit.*, p. 394.)

¹⁴ teachings = *gdams*. This technical term refers to a series of stages on a given topic. For Tantric practices, the *gdams.pa.* would include: (1) *lung.*, the spiritual authorization to begin the practices; (2) *dbang.skur.*, the empowerment or initiation (*abhiśeka*); and (3) *sgom.sgrub.*, the completion or actualization of the teachings.

¹⁵ “the techniques of the elixir” = *bcud. len. pa.sgrubs*.

¹⁶ dGa’. rab. dbang. phyog. is a demon who becomes especially jealous when humans begin to progress in the Dharma practice. He is said to possess five arrows (*mda’. lnga.*) used to distract practitioners. They are: (1) *smyo. byed.kyi.mda’*, the arrow to make one crazy; (2) *sred.byed.kyi.mda’*, the arrow to burn one; (3) *kun. tu. rmons. byed. kyi mda’*, the arrow to make one ignorant; (4) *skem. byed. kyi. mda’*, the arrow to make one desirous; and (5) *chi. byed. kyi.mda’*, the arrow which kills.

1872

CASTE, SOCIAL MOBILITY AND SANSKRITIZATION: A STUDY OF
NEPAL'S OLD LEGAL CODE

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INTRODUCTION*

Ever since the concepts of Sanskritization were put forward by Srinivas in the context of social change in India¹ this omnipresent social phenomenon caught the attention of scholars, and observations from many parts of India have produced by now a mass of literature on the subject². Srinivas defines the Sanskritization process in these words: "(It) is the process by which a 'low' Hindu caste or tribal or other groups changes its customs, rituals and ideology, and way of life in the direction of a high and frequently, 'twiceborn' caste."³ This tendency for social promotion being a universal characteristic of the all caste-hierarchical societies has, quite appropriately, been found to exist by ethnologists and social scientists in the Nepalese society as well.⁴ It is the objective of the present paper to examine the broad features of this process in Nepal. In the main, the basis of our analysis has been the old Legal Code called the *Ain* in its original codification and *Muluki Ain* in the later years, called the Code from now on in this paper⁵ in which mechanisms for social mobility had been provided

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1 M. N. Srinivas uses this term for the first time in his book, *Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India*, Oxford Clarendon Press, 1952. See also, M. N. Srinivas, *Social Change in Modern India*, p. 149.

2 M. N. Srinivas, *Social Change in Modern India*, Reading list I. pp. 186-187.

3 M. N. Srinivas, *Social Change in Modern India*, p. 6.

4 John. T. Hitchcock, *The Magars of Banyan Hill*; Bernard Pignede, *Les Gurungs*; Rex Jones, 'Sanskritization in Eastern Nepal', pp. 63-65; Dor Bahadur Bista, *People of Nepal*; C. Von Furer-Haimendorf, 'Caste Concepts and Status Distinctions in Buddhist Communities of Western Nepal', pp. 140-160; Shigeru Iijima, 'Hinduization of a Himalayan Tribe in Nepal' pp. 43-52 and Leo. Rose, 'Secularization of a Hindu Polity: The case of Nepal' pp. 31-48.

5 This original Code incorporating the amendments and additions made up to the year 1866 A. D. was published by the Law Ministry of the Nepal Government in 1965. A. D. (See its full title description under Bibliography) The Code of 1853 A. D. was published with many editions in the subsequent years. See Regmi Research Series, May 1 (1976) compiled by Regmi Research (Private) Ltd, Kathmandu, for a complete account of the successive editions. All the old editions of this legal Code have been repealed by the current one promulgated in 1963 A. D. in which laws establishing caste discrimination have been ended. The time reference for the present study is roughly provided by

within the Hindu caste framework. A description of the Sanskritization process has also been presented from general observations of this phenomenon around present day Nepal or in the recent past.

The Code, the main basis of our present study, embodied the highest set of the country's laws on diverse social, economic, religious and administrative matters totaling one hundred and sixty three categories by means of which legal actions of Nepalese subjects were regulated by the state. The purpose of the Code was 'to ensure that uniform punishment is awarded to all subjects and creatures, high or low, according to (the nature of) their offense and (the status of) their caste'.⁶ This comprehensive Code was compiled in 1853 A. D., and was enacted shortly after. The date of the codification does not, however, imply that these laws had been in practice only since the middle of the last century. Such laws existed before the drafting of the Code also, but in a scattered form, and were subject to diverse interpretations by administrators of justice in the country. A standardization in law was thus felt necessary by the codifiers, and while Jung Bahadur's visit to England in 1850 had probably an enlightening effect on improving legal procedures as well as making the punishment comparatively lenient on many offenses,⁷ the Code on the whole, appears to have reverted to an even greater Hindu Orthodoxy.⁸

CHARACTERISTICS OF CASTE IN NEPAL

The predominant society of Nepal in the hills consists of Nepali speaking Hindus and the Newars, who are further divided into the Buddhist and Shivaite

the first drafting of the Code in 1853 A. D. to 1951 A. D. The revolution of 1951 opened the floodgates of change on Nepal for the first time ever. Still, in rural Nepal the traditional social beliefs are quite strong even now.

6 Mahesh C. Regmi, 'Preliminary Notes on the Nature of Rana Law', p. 110

7 Krishna Kant Adhikary, 'Criminal cases and their punishments before and during the period of Jang Bahadur', pp. 106-112.

8 Hindu Orthodoxy in Nepal has strengthened much more after the Shah dynasty of Nepal came to power, and by the time of drafting the Code, this process may have been completed a great deal. One example of this increased orthodoxy is obtained from the enforcement of the ban on killing cows and eating beef in King Girbana Bir Bikram's time in 1805 A. D. with a greater stricture. Appendix 2 of the Code contains a royal decree of the year 1836 A. D. in which a complete stop has been put to the widely practised custom among all castes of Nepal cohabiting with one's elder brother's wife. This has been called a heinous crime and punishable with severity for its breakers. Further, a greater sense of pollution seems to have been attached to the physical contact of the Hindus with the Europeans by the Shah rulers. Drinking of alcohol by non-drinking castes is a caste-offense according to the Code. But its severity increased if such an alcohol was European made. Even Matawali castes drinking such European alcohol are to be punished by the lowering of their ranking. See Code 87: 30,31 & 32, p. 375.

(Hindu) groups. Like Hindu societies elsewhere, Nepal is also a stratified society consisting of its hierarchically arranged caste-rankings. Caste has been recognised as a unique socio-cultural phenomenon of India by sociologists and anthropologists. Its definition has been variously given, but Berreman's concise summation of it, after having consulted a number of these definitions, seems to be most relevant to Nepal. According to it "castes are ranked endogamous divisions of society in which membership is hereditary and permanent.⁹ Permanency of caste membership is not, however, an indispensable property for those who are seeking to upgrade their mobility. Other definitions of caste have that caste needs more importantly to fulfill such other characteristics as a traditional occupation, commensality rules and ritual purity. We will see below how these different characteristics have played relatively important roles in the formulation of Nepalese caste concepts.

Nepalese caste rules normally prescribe isogamy for its members. Such a wedding is held lawful for the inheritance of property by the issue and for ensuring ritual purity of a caste-member. Caste-endogamy is thus held sacrosanct, because heredity is basic to the concept of caste-purity. For children born of isogamy through socially approved marriages, there is no problem of attaining full ritual status instantly. In the case of hypergamy, this is attainable but only with some struggle.

Isogamy is the only form of marriage allowed for Brahmans to retain their high caste status, although hypergamy is permissible for Brahmans. The issue of Brahmans from hypergamous marriages have a lower caste ranking. In cases where isogamy is not held absolutely essential for caste perpetuation to certain high caste like the Rajputs and the Chhetris, it is still common for them to have a first marriage done endogenously.¹⁰ Hypergamy involves many notions of gradations for the purpose of full ritual acceptance for caste members, which an isogamous marriage would never entail. Thus the principle of caste endogamy in Nepal remains asserted despite the wide prevalence of hypergamy there.

Commensality is another, and probably, an even more important caste-feature in Nepal. The Code is full of stipulations against the breach of commensal rules by caste-members, the violation of which can result in his excommunication and

⁹ Gerald D. Berreman, *Hindus of the Himalayas*, p. 198.

¹⁰ Haimendorf in his 'Unity and Diversity in the Chhetri Caste of Nepal' p. 54 remarks that hypergamy among Chhetris is concluded in late youth which shows its practice in a polygamous situation only. Caplan in his 'Inter-Caste marriage in a Nepalese Town' p. 52 records most hypergamous marriages made in a small bazaar of the far western hills of Nepal as being primary marriages. But his cases must be considered as exceptions. Caplan's men were people displaced from their own social and cultural milieu having come to live there from far-flung places as government officials, and so had not the same bride-selecting opportunity as would have otherwise existed for them in their own social surroundings.

caste lowering. If the defaulter has implicated other members of his family or his kinsmen or caste brethren in this act, this becomes an offense deserving an even more severe punishment. Copulation with lower caste women who only pollute water but do not defile a person by their touch, does not bring a fall in a person's caste status, if he has not accepted cooked rice from them. But violation of commensal rules, even if unaccompanied by a sexual offense, brings to a person an immediate censure. In the same category of commensality one should probably put rules of food taboo for 'twice-born castes', the breach of which would similarly result in a caste-degradation. Commensality can be an accurate means of judging a caste-homogeneity but at times its evidence becomes quite deceptive. Rosser has elaborately studied the dispute of the Vajracharyas and the Udas of the Buddhist Newar groups of Kathmandu over their caste-status arising just from commensality in the second quarter of the present century.¹¹ These two social groups of Newars have been intimately linked in a priest-client relationship. Commensality was admitted by both groups to have been freely taking place between them before the dispute arose. Based on this practice, the client groups i. e. the Udas staked their claim for equality of social status with the Vajracharyas in the court. But the latter clearly saw in it a move to question and undermine their highest social position among the Nepalese Buddhist community, which they had been exercising by virtue of their ritualistic role. They must have perceived at once the danger of admitting commensality with the Udas to preserving their high position since the Code's injunctions on it were quite clear. Therefore, they denied having ever practised commensality with the Udas and interpreted the twelve-year *Samyak* feast, in which they ate rice cooked by the Udas, comparing it with the non-observance of this rule in the shrine of Jagannath at Puri (India) by the Hindus. Court decisions in this case before 1951 were always made in favour of the Vajracharyas and refusal of commensality with the Udas seems to have weighted the court's decision in their favour.¹²

11 Colin Rosser, 'Social Mobility in the Newar Caste system', p. 105. in Haimendorf (ed). *Caste and Kin in Nepal, India and Ceylon*.

12 The Vajracharyas as priests and leaders of the Buddhist religion had come to hold a preeminent position in their own community parallel to the Brahmans among the Hindus. Commensality to the Newars, especially to the Buddhists, did not, however, seem to have as much importance as it did to the Nepali-speaking Hindus. Neither would the rulers have bothered, if the two quarreling parties had not decided to take the matter to the court, about the lax commensal rules prevailing among them. In fact the Vajracharyas are known to eat cooked rice prepared even by their Jyapu clients. But when the dispute involved too many people belonging to the two groups, the case seems to have got out of the hands of the community. Therefore, the litigants prepared the case in such a way that the court would be obliged to give its judgement invoking the commensal rule. The Vajracharyas of Kathmandu widely say that the Udas are middle order comm-

Ritual purity or pollution to which Srinivas attaches a high significance in caste concepts¹³ is not only an inter-caste but an intra-caste behaviour. A status difference in ritual standing is expressed between initiated and uninitiated members of the same caste. Women during their menstruation period become ritually impure and likewise, widows are at times debarred from attending certain functions. The other ingredient of caste structure, the traditional association of occupation to caste standing does seem to apply only to the lower castes in Nepal. The traditional occupations of the twice-born castes do not seem to be clearly determinable since the main occupation of majority of them was, and still is agriculture. Their main preoccupation lay in tending their fields and deriving income from it either as peasants or landholders. The occupations apportioned to the high castes in the *varna* model may be valid in a very general way in Nepal, as Brahmans still act as priests and some members of the Ksatriya caste are in control of politics and government. But there are two categories of Ksatriyas in Nepal, those claiming Rajput origin (the Thakuris) and the others ordinary *Chhetris*. In the villages the bulk of people belonging to these high-castes are peasants by occupation. The army was not the exclusive domain of the Ksatriyas, as all castes seem to have been enlisted in it. This profession has been filled with greater distinction by the Tibeto-Burman speaking ethnic groups classified in the old legal code as Matwali castes.

CASTE RANKING

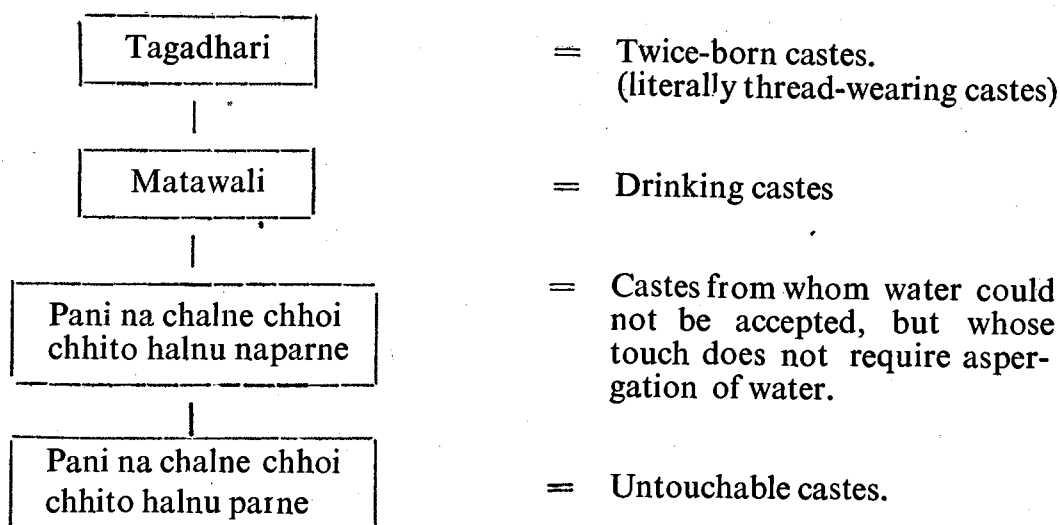
Let us proceed next to describe the caste hierarchy presented in the Code. The Code has tried to comprehend the pluralistic cultures of Nepal into a single scheme of the Hindu caste universe. The large number of non-Hindu social ethnic groups have been made its members and are given a ranking in it. The totality of this caste universe has been paraphrased in the Code as *Char Varna Chhatis Jat* (four *varnas* and thirty-six castes). This phrase shows the familiarity of the Nepalese with the *varna* model and its being the main basis of social division. But the multiplicity of castes had already replaced the validity of the *varna* model for all functional purposes. Likewise, number thirty-six would not seem to bear any correspondence to the actual number of castes existing in Nepal; it is probably indicative only of their multiplicity.

All recognised castes can be grouped in four or five main categories, which, if arranged in boxes, would be as follows:¹⁴

unity into which issues of the hypergamous marriages of the Vajracharyas are admitted. The caste dispute studied by Rosser seems to exemplify the increasing Hinduization (in the *Parbatiya* order) of the Newar high castes.

13 M. N. Srinivas, *Social Change in Modern India*, p. 3.

14 One of the populous social groups, which theoretically should belong outside the caste organization, but maintains as good a caste status as any other groups,



The above hierarchy of the principal social categories in the Code has been determined from the order in which they are found mentioned in connection with laws which lay down punishment for different castes (Code 113-120 and 146-153) for committing incest and copulation with lower or higher castes. The *Tagadharis* who occupy the apex position in the above diagrammatic presentation consisted of several caste groups and their sub-groups. Their linear hierarchical order is as follows:

1. Upadhyaya Brahmans
(Purbiya and Kumai)
2. Rajputs¹⁵
(Thakuri in common language)

is that of the *Dasanama* Sanyasis. Because they are supposed to have renounced the world, taken an ascetic vow for their whole life and severed all connections with their kinsmen. But in point of fact they are married men living with their wives and children and following the caste behaviour of the Chhetris in almost every respect. They have retained just one or two symbolic practices behoving a Hindu ascetic's life. See for a detailed discussion, Veronique Bouillier's, 'Funeral observances of a Group of Non-Ascetic Sanyasi in Central Nepal' pp. 36-45. The ascetics do not fall in any of the boxes we have given in the text. But considering the order in which they are always mentioned in the Code the Sanyasis are to be placed immediately below the Chhetri castes along with Kanphattas, Sevada, Bairagi, Nanak Udasi and Vaghar. (Code 151:1, p. 663).

¹⁵ Throughout the Code the Rajputs (i. e. the Thakuris) receive precedence over the Jaisis, the inferior class of Brahmans, in mentioning them. In view of the Jaisis' unfavoured circumstances of origin, the Rajputs may have considered themselves superior to them in order vaunting a pride over their high descent. For the origin of Thakuris in Nepal see, Prayag Raj Sharma's *Preliminary Report of the Art and Architecture of the Karnali Basin*, pp. 15-20. But in the laws regarding capital punishment and the cuckold's right to kill his wife's paramour, the Jaisi Brahmans are treated in the Brahman's category while the Rajputs get a different treatment.

3. Jaisi Brahmans¹⁶4. Chhetris¹⁷

Below the *Tagadharis* or the twice-born caste, the Code has accorded place to all Nepal's ethnic groups under the name of the *Matawalis*¹⁸. There are two groups of these *Matawalis* recognised, those belonging to the unenslaveable *na masine* class, who have been given an upper ranking, and those belonging to the enslaveable (*masine*) class, who get a lower ranking. In the former class were counted the more prominent groups such as the Magars, Gurungs, the Newars, the Rais and the Limbus. All of them represented the more advanced groups of agriculturists possessing distinct cultures and languages of their own as compared to the other more economically backward groups of Nepal. The slaveable category of the *Matawalis* have been enumerated as follows: Bhotya, Chepang, Majhi, Danuwar, Hayu, Darai, Kumal, Pahari (Code 86: 4, p. 367) and Meche (Code 89:49, p. 392). See also note 47 of this article.

Brahmans are never sentenced to capital punishment nor are they supposed to resort to killing their wife's seducer, if they are cuckolded. There is no such exception shown to the Rajputs, however. The Code also mentions about gradations existing among the Rajputs. (Code 23: 9, p. 116). The relative position of the twice-born castes to each other in Nepal seems to correspond exactly to that of Kumaon's. There are two gradations there of Brahmans and two gradations of the Rajputs. Their highest class of Brahmans, the immigrant Brahmans, appear to parallel with Nepal's Upadhyaya Brahmans, and the inferior Khasiya Brahmans, with the Jaisi Brahmans of Nepal. Similarly the immigrant Rajputs of Kumaon can be equated with Nepal's Thakuris and the Chhetris with Kumaon's Khasiya Rajputs. See, Ram P. Srivastava 'Tribe-caste Mobility in India and the case of Kumaon Bhotias' in C. Von Furer-Haimendorf (ed.) *Caste and Kin in Nepal, India and Ceylon*, pp. 161-212, relevant pages, 189-195.

- ¹⁶ Jaisi Brahmans are born from the re-marriage of Brahman Upadhyaya widows in their own caste. Jaisis present a graded society with differentiated ritual status prevailing among them resulting from their changeable circumstances of birth. The Code recognises three grades of Jaisis in the following order. Good (in descent) Jaisis are those born of Upadhyaya fathers and Upadhyaya virgins brought as wives without the performance of proper marriage rites or from widows. Jaisi daughters married by Upadhyaya Brahmans also beget good Jaisi. Middle order Jaisis are born of Upadhyaya husbands and Jaisi widows or grass widows. *Bhat* Jaisis are those born of Upadhyaya husbands and grass widows (*asaradi*) up to a change of three husbands. See Code 115: 2.3.4: p. 537.
- ¹⁷ *Khas* is the common name by which the Chhetris of Nepal were known until the recent times. It is regarded as an affront to address a Chhetri by this term now-a-days. The Code at one place significantly mentions: "From here on *Tagadhari Khas Jat* has been granted the *Ilkap* (this word is probably a corrupt form of the Persian *Khitab*, meaning title) of Chhetri *jat*. In committing this to writing in documents one should first write the name of the person, then his *thar* (clan), after that the *Ilkap* of Chhetri" Code 89:50, p. 393.

The Code placed all the Newars in the *Matawali*¹⁸ category, ignoring the complexity of their society, which is even more stratified and contains even more numerous caste groups. All the Newar high castes including the Buddhists and the *Saivas* have been given this monolithic definition which may be symptomatic of a rejection of Newar social values by the Nepali-speaking Hindus. An occasional exception is made to the Devabhaju Brahmans, priests of the high caste Hindu Newars, in treating them in the Brahman's category, but they are mentioned in an order well below the Chhetris (Code 150: p. 661). However, regarding the low and polluting castes, one sees the Newari caste stratification system fully adopted in the Code. The castes belonging to the third box in the above diagramatic presentation have come almost entirely from the Newari society with the exceptions of the Muslims, the Mlechchhas which probably refers to the Europeans and the Teli, a low caste of the Terai. Their ranking has been fixed in the Code 160:17, p. 681.¹⁹ Regarding the lowest category of castes described in the Code, their ranking has been determined on the basis of a notion of relative impurity which prevails among these low castes in relation to each other (Code 160: 1-17, pp. 678-81).²⁰

How did the Matawali groups of a single category stand in ranking in relation to each other? The makers of the Code did not regard any one of them to be superior to another. The scheme of division in their case should, therefore, be horizontal rather than vertical. There are cultural and linguistic distinctions separating these various groups of people from each other and the Code seemed to have adopted a policy of minimal interference and actually allowed the retention "for the most part of the

18 The Matawali castes are regarded as the equivalents of the Shudra Class. In this category are also ranged all the Newars. The rendering of the Nepalese castes to the *Varna* scheme of social division does give us three groups; that of the Brahmana, Ksatriya and the Shudra, but quite surprisingly, castes corresponding to Vaisya *Varna* are missing from it. However this may be, the inclusion of the Newars in the *Matawali* group had not upset the common understanding that, because of their commercial pursuits, they must be regarded as belonging to Vaisya *Varna*.

19 A. W. Macdonald 'The Hierarchy of the Lower Jat', p. 282. These castes are Musalman, Madhes Ka Teli, Kasai, Kusle, Dhobi, Kulu, Mlechchha, Chudara. The case of the Muslims in the caste system of Nepal has been analytically studied by Marc Gaborieau in his paper entitled, 'Muslims in the Hindu Kingdom of Nepal' pp. 84-105. He observes that this group, judging from the intercaste behaviour, had remained rather apart from the system rather than being a caste group in a linear scheme.

20 A. W. Macdonald, 'The Hierarchy of the Lower Jat', pp. 281-82. These castes in the order of their ranking are Sarki, Kami, Sunar, Chunara, Hurke, Damai, Gaine, Badibhad, Pode and Chyamakhalaka.

21 Mahesh C. Regmi, 'Preliminary Notes on the Nature of Rana Law and Administration', p. 110.

traditional customs and usages of different local or ethnic communities".²¹ The law-makers showed a great concern for reserving certain high Hindu value symbols throughout the kingdom. These have been expressed in the inviolability of the high position of the Upadhyaya Brahmans (this deference to them is reflected in the Code everywhere), sacredness of the cow which could not be killed (Code 66:pp. 296-298), incest (Code 113-120), levirate, copulation with the women of untouchable-caste (Code 156: pp. 670-73) and violation of commensal rules by caste members (Code 90, pp. 407-12). Every caste, high or low, was required to honour these values and not to violate them. In other respects the ethnic groups were given independence to pursue their traditional cultures quite unhindered.

The Code reflects the greatest concern of the rulers of Nepal for controlling the social behaviour of people of all strata of society through Hindu norms and values derived from ancient law books (called *nitismriti* in the Code). The severity of punishment for the breach of law began from the top, i. e. from the Brahmans. In a traditional society such as Nepal, caste provided the greatest security to its members. Loss of a person's caste status could completely unhinge him from playing a meaningful role in material or spiritual life. Sparing capital punishment to a Brahman was not so much out of compunction or his caste privilege as it was from a desire to save the punisher from the sin of killing a Brahman. His life was not taken, but he was deprived of his caste status and reduced to the status of a Shudra from which his position became irredeemable for ever. The severest of offenses consisted of eating rice together with inferior castes, committing state offenses (treason, murder, incest, etc), cohabiting with women of untouchable castes, or eating or drinking tabooed food. Similar violation of social rules by lower castes below the twice-born castes would bring comparatively lighter punishment if this affront was committed amongst their own ranks. However, if they had implicated high castes in their crime the severity of punishment increased. In this circumstance too, the high caste person, who was 'sinned against', lost his caste status because of his having a high ritual standing which admitted no impurity.

SOCIAL MOBILITY

The process of social mobility is one of wide occurrence reported from all parts of India under which social groups have sought to promote their rank in the hierarchy as soon as they have been helped by favourable circumstances.²² Such aspirations of the people have been noticed to exist in Nepal also and the Code itself allowed its practice in a limited form. Although its actual functioning was somewhat

²² By these circumstances is meant coming to possess wealth and political power. M. N. Srinivas, *Social Change in Modern India*, p. 28. The phenomenon of social mobility under the term of Sanskritization has been studied on an all-India scale by the same author in the above book.

rigid, its recognition by the Code should be held as being significant. This mechanism of social promotion is known as hypergamy (Sanskrit: *anuloma vivaha*), a still widely practised custom in Nepal.

In a significant respect, social mobility in Nepal appears to differ from that of India. Srinivas has said in respect to India that 'the unit of mobility was usually the group and not an individual or a family.'²³ All studied situations in Nepal have, however, furnished instances of mobility in individual cases only.²⁴ In a hypergamy, an inferior caste woman is ritualistically wedded or just taken as wife by a high-caste man. Such a marriage would not alter the wife's caste into which she was born or the caste of her natal family because of this successful matrimonial alliance. In fact the high caste husband of this woman is required to continue to observe his commensal segregation from her in order to retain his own caste status. But children from hypergamous marriages are privileged to enjoy a different social treatment and with the wishes of their father or his family members, they can be granted the sacred thread, if the father is of twice-born caste.

Chart explaining the caste-status achieved in normal marriage and hypergamy

| | | | | |
|---------|---|--|---|-------------------------------------|
| Br = Br | Br = Th Th = Th Th = Ch Th = Mt (S) Th = Mt (I) | Br = Ch Ch = Ch Ch = Mt (S) Ch = Mt (I) | Mt (S) = Mt (S) Mt (S) = Mt (I) | Mt (I) = Mt (I) |
| Brahman | Thakuri | Chhetri | Matawali of Unen- slaveable category | Matawali of Sla- veable category |

Abbreviations:

Br = Brahman Ch = Chhetri Th = Thakuri Mt (S) = Matawali (Superior)
Mt (I) = Matawali (Inferior)

²³ M. N. Srinivas, *Social Change in Modern India*. p. 7.

²⁴ Colin Rosser, 'Social Mobility in the Newar Caste System' pp. 68-139. He does not give any example of social mobility occurring through hypergamy among the Newars of the Kathmandu Valley. Either as a result of adopting the rules of the Code or from their own tradition, the Newars also believe in social mobility through hypergamy. The Vajracharyas of Kathmandu for example, believe that their children born of hypergamy are given Udas caste. In the same way high caste Hindu Newar's children from hypergamy must have a custom of being adjusted in a similar manner. Rosser's study has furnished instances of successful upward mobility made by individual Jyapus into the next higher caste of the Shresthas. His illustration of a group effort in this direction, exemplified by the dispute of the Udas with the Vajracharya castes of Kathmandu, ended in a sad failure for them.

Below, we describe a few facts concerning caste-mobility and status change arising as a result of hypergamy.

1. The untouchable castes lived quite outside the frontier of the high-low caste interrelationship of any form. This barrier could not be crossed at all.
2. The lowest social ranking among the clean castes was given to the *Bandha* (bondsmen) and the *Kamara* (slaves). In case a member of a twice-born caste seduced a bondswoman or woman slave, and children were born as a result of it, the father or his kinsmen may grant such a child sacred thread, or if the child was a daughter, give her away in marriage in the ritually performed marriage of the high castes. (Code 91: 2,4, pp. 413-14).
3. Similarly, children of twice-born castes begotten from Matawali wives of the unenslaveable or slaveable category could be treated in the same way as described in 2. (Code 91: 3, p. 413).
4. The social mobility of castes could occur only up to the Thakuri level at the upper end. Children of Brahmans from hypergamy could never attain their father's caste.
5. The strict commensal rules prescribed for castes had to be pursued even in hypergamy. Hypergamy was, therefore, likely to occur in a polygamous situation, where the first wife was usually endogenously married. (Code: 146-153).²⁵

One remarkable fact of hypergamy is that its practice seems to have swelled the ranks of the Chhetri caste most of all, so that they are the most numerous and widely settled group of people in Nepal today among the *Parbatiya* Hindus. The Chhetri clans show a diversity of names, but one set of these names are Brahmanical clan names. These names seem to have been inherited by the Chhetris from their Brahman fathers as a result of hypergamous marriages. These Chhetris are not considered inferior in

²⁵ Hypogamy (Sanskrit: *Pratiloma Vivaha*) too affects the social status of a person and results in a social mobility, although in a downward direction. Hypogamy is, however, a punishable act in the Code. The punishment for committing this offense for a male is imprisonment and fine or only fine depending on the highness of the caste into which the offense has been committed. The punishment for the female is the loss of her natal caste status. She is reduced to the caste of the man who has seduced her. Their children get the caste-status of their father. The woman's natal family also needs paying penitence tax to the government in order to obtain their caste purification from this impurity. Haimendorf's observation regarding hypogamy that this is commonly followed in marriage between two unequal grades within the same caste looks extremely doubtful. Except in a Brahman's hypergamous marriage, the social rule of caste or class for children born of hypergamous marriages is decided by the father's caste. This arrangement is also applied in hypogamy.

grade from the other Chhetris for any kind of social inter-change, but Haimendorf describes a slightly different situation among the Chhetris of the Kathmandu Valley. There, according to him, the children of Brahman male and Chhetri woman adopt Khatri names instead of the father's Brahman clan name²⁶. The full form in which these names are written is Khatri-Chhetri (now--a days the anglicized abbreviation of K. C. is being more common). Thus hypergamous marriage in the Kathmandu valley seems to have introduced yet another problem, that of caste grade among Chhetris derived from a notion of purity of descent. This has given the Chhetris a notion of *jharra* (pure) and non-*jharra* statuses.²⁷ In fact, the Chhetri caste in Nepal has been one of the most open-ended society in its making, and represents the greatest instance of cultural-biological admixture in Nepal. The most effective form of Hinduization and Nepalisation of diverse ethnic groups in Nepal has taken place within the ranks of this caste, which was also known by its more historical and a generic name Khasa until the recent past. This caste has been subject to a wide-spread infiltration from below by people of more obscure and non-descript social origin, who were keen to emulate their lives according to the Hindu norms. It, no doubt, makes the issue of status grades very important to the older and more prestigious clans of Chhetri families living in or outside the Kathmandu Valley. Despite this weakness of their rank, the Chhetri caste has not produced any case of fission leading to the birth of an endogamous sub-caste among them. The question of *jharra* and non-*jharra* status, which is expressed in social behaviour towards each other, can, however, be ameliorated with one or two lucky marriages so that a full caste status is ultimately attainable after a period.²⁸ The principle of hypergamy is applied one or two generations further down in order to achieve a full status caste restoration. In the hills of central Nepal where I have done some detailed enquiries among Chhetri groups the common belief is that the full restoration to the Chhetri caste of the offspring born of the Brahman and the Chhetri fathers from their hypergamous marriages is completed in three generations. Then an offspring is accepted as a full-status caste member. This practice puts faith in the process of gradual purification which results from a Hindu fathering of them. Despite this diversity of the origin of the Chhetris, it has 'preserved an almost tribal feeling of homogeneity and solidarity' throughout Nepal.²⁹

Issue of Thakuri (Rajputs) castes born of hypergamous marriages are known to be adjusted within their own ranks³⁰.

26 Haimendorf, 'Unity and Diversity in the Chhetri Caste of Nepal.', pp. 31-32.

27 Haimendorf, *Ibid*, pp. 32-40.

28 Haimendorf, *Ibid*, pp. 47-56.

29 Haimendorf, *Ibid*. pp. 63-64.

30 Lionel Caplan, 'Inter-Caste Marriage in a Nepalese Town', p. 53.

Social mobility among the Newars does not exactly follow the *Parbatiya* model presented by the Nepalese Code. We have already said elsewhere in this paper that the codifiers of the Nepalese social law looked upon the Newars as one single social group for invoking inter-caste relationship rules, so only a most perfunctory treatment of caste-rules in inter-caste marriage of Newars has been given in the Code. (Code 145: 1-5, p. 644).

The problem of the caste of offspring from such inter-caste marriages would be a matter of concern only for the Newars and in this situations their tradition was allowed to prevail in resolving such situations satisfactorily. In this the Code made very little interference.

* * *

The Nepalese social process as mirrored in the Code gives us new insight, which might have an importance for understanding the theory of caste in general in South Asia. In no other situation of this study made in India has anyone based it on a written Code. Most material on social mobility has been compiled from the observed phenomenon by the social scientists in the course of their field work amidst various communities. This Code deserves a more detailed and careful analysis than attempted here. It is possible that in actual practice the behaviour of castes in Nepal does not wholly correspond with the injunctions of the Code. Unfortunately, field-based studies on social groups of Nepal have not been done widely, but the Code can still be said to reflect the Nepalese reality by and large. The politics of Nepal before 1951 A. D. had been one of a traditional authoritarian form and this, compounded with Nepal's total isolation from the outside world, had made Nepal's social evolution a strictly controlled and a regulated affair. The political authority in Kathmandu established in 1768-69 A. D. did not undergo much change affecting the nation's social outlook, and hence it may be said that the social process of Nepal sailed throughout the period of our study on a steady and an unchanging course. Nepalese history of this time was neither characterized by the fluid political situation of India before the coming of the British nor was it set on by new socio-economic forces such as those unleashed by *pax Britannica* in India which made castes behave as they do in that country and enabled them to reap advantages of a different sort.³¹ Even in the instance of the Ranas who were powerful enough to keep the Code in abeyance to their advantage, their behaviour in regard to caste promotion did not go far outside the injunctions of the Code. The Ranas were catapulted to power in 1846 A. D., largely through the efforts of Jung Bahadur, who, before coming to power, belonged to a Chhetri family of Kunwars. After coming to power he adopted a more pretentious name of

³¹ M. N. Srinivas, *Social Change in Modern India*, p. 32.

Rana for himself as well as for his sons and brothers and had a new family genealogy written connecting his lineage with the Rajputs of Chitor.³² In a ruthless pursuit to gain higher status (or power?) the Ranas forced matrimonial relations with the house of the King of Nepal, which was Thakuri, both hypergamously and hypogamously. The objective of these acts probably lay in creating a political legitimacy for their rule more than in achieving social ascendancy for their family. Despite these efforts, the Ranas could not ever succeed in raising themselves into the Thakuri caste nor did their unchallenged political power lead to caste-fission among the Chhetris creating a distinct Chhetri subcaste. All Ranas are today a large family of the *sapinda* groups of Chhetris within seven generations descended from a common ancestor, the father of Jung Bahadur.

SANSKRITIZATION

Although the predominant groups of people living in Nepal today are Hindu, it is actually a multi-ethnic society consisting of a large number of diverse ethnic populations living alongside the Hindus.³³ Preliminary language surveys of Nepal have revealed 'forty mutually unintelligible languages still being spoken'. It reveals the presence of a wide array of cultures and social groups represented by this linguistic plurality. There is no means at our disposal to know the exact number of Hindus in relation to these ethnic groups. Only an approximation can be made by computing the number of speakers of the the main languages listed in the census.³⁴ This seems to put the total number of these ethnic groups and communities around 20 to 25 per cent of Nepal's 12 million population. Whereas the Hindus are an ubiquitous people found settled everywhere at all the rice-growing altitudes, the other ethnic groups are known to live mainly in their traditional habitats.

The Himalayas and its foothills have been described as the abode of the many Mongoloid groups of cultures referred to by probably a more general regional term of the *Kiratas*³⁵ in the epics and other Sanskritic literature. The Aryans later extended

³² G. H. D. Gimlette, 1928. *Nepal and the Nepalese*, H. F. & G. Witherby, London, p. 128.

³³ See Dor Bahadur Bista, *People of Nepal*, for an account of these diverse people.

³⁴ The number of speakers of Nepali, Newari, Maithili, Bhojpuri and Awadhi totals to 79.05%. The speakers of the other smaller Sino-Tibetan, Indo-Aryan, Austro-Asiatic and Dravidian (Tharuwani has been included in this group. Although its linguistic classification will be disputed it gives an estimation of the Tharu speakers, one of the distinct tribal groups) language total to 22.15%. The two figures present a small discrepancy. But this is to be ignored in our rough approximation. See Subhadra Subba, 'The Languages of Nepal,' pp. 140-143.

³⁵ Suniti Kumar Chatterji. 1970. 'Contributions from Different Language Culture Groups:' *The Cultural Heritage of India*, The Ramakrishna Mission Institute

their domain from the plains to penetrate into these hills. There are three separate dates of the advent of Hindus in Nepal. The first Aryanised settlers came to the Kathmandu valley around the first century of the Christian era. The Sanskritization which ensued as a result of this penetration developed over time into the Newari state and its distinctive civilization. Another phase of Hindu penetration started in the far western hills of Nepal around the 12th century A.D., this time from the Kumaon hills. These new waves of Hindus, comprising Brahmans and probably Thakuris (whose descendants claimed a highly prestigious Rajput Ksatriya origin a little later) laid roots of an aggressive and forceful Hinduism which was destined to spread all over Nepal over a relatively short span of time. These new Hindus integrated in and eventually dominated a strong and an extensive Kingdom based in Semja and Dullu, both in the Karnali basin of western Nepal, in the 12th-14th century period.³⁶ When this Kingdom of Jumla broke up, a myriad of small principalities dotted the hills of Nepal gradually spreading eastwards, ruled mainly by the various Thakuri houses. The Kingdom of Gorkha, founded in the middle of the 16th century A. D. and which ultimately threaded all these microstates with a common culture and language into a large unified state of Nepal in the 18th century A. D. , shows only an example of this process of the Hindus pressing constantly eastwards in the Nepalese hills.³⁷ The Sanskritization process which started in these hills with the coming of these hill Hindus (*Parbatiya* Hindus) had not only a cultural content, but a far-reaching political significance as well. This Hindu rule was actually responsible for laying the roots of Nepal's political, administrative, economic and social structure.

The first group of people who came under the force of the Hindu socialization were probably the Khasas.³⁸ The early history of the Khasas has been studied at length by Grierson in his fundamental *Linguistic Survey of India*.³⁹ These distinct peoples who eventually arrived to settle in the hills of the Himalayas appear to have been only marginally Hinduized. The Hindus of the Karnali basin have called their Kingdom *Khasa desa* lending credence to the theory that this was a country populated by the Khasas.⁴⁰ Gradually these Khasas were brought over to accept the

of Culture, Calcutta (Reprint.) Volume I. pp. 86-90.

36 Prayag Raj Sharma, *Preliminary Study of the Art and Architecture of the Karnali Basin, West Nepal*, pp. 17-19; Guiseppe Tucci, *Preliminary Report on Two Scientific Expeditions in Nepal*, Rome, 1956, p. 107-12

37 Prayag Raj Sharma, *Ibid*, p. 13.

38 Prayag Raj Sharma, *Ibid*, pp. 14-15.

39 G. A. Grierson, 1968, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Motilal Banarasidas, Delhi (2nd edition), Vol. IX, pp. IV. pt. 2-8.

40 Prayag Raj Sharma, *Preliminary Study of the Art and Architecture of the Karnali Basin*, p. 14.

Sanskritized way of life. All kinds of social interchange must have followed including inter-marriage. We have got a 16th-century document showing the granting of the sacred thread or the snatching it away at will from their servants or dependants, bearing today's Chhetri clan names by the petty rulers of Western Nepal.⁴¹ This could be a typical example illustrating the process of Sanskritization in medieval Nepal. The same clan-names as to-day's Chhetris appear in the records of the Kingdom of the Karnali basin. The owners of these names appear to be the Khasas, which gives a good basis to infer that these Karnali Khasas had represented the ancestors of to-days' Chhetris of Nepal.⁴²

Aside of the above two groups, there is a third group of Hindus in Nepal. These are the Hindus of the Tarai. Most Tarai dwellers of to-day are comparatively recent migrants from adjoining regions of India having pushed gradually northwards beginning from the Indian border in the last two or three hundred years.⁴³ Their settlement in the Tarai has been part of an official policy of the hill rulers of Nepal in order to expand cultivated acreage in a thinly settled Tarai land in the preceding centuries, but a few of those places in the Tarai which have a holy associations and are religious places of pilgrimage will have an older history of settlement.

* * *

Sanskritization in Nepal which happened as a consequence of the arrival of these various groups of Hindus, achieved its growth in two distinct stages. The first stage is marked by a heavy importation of Sanskritic ideas in their untransmuted forms to all socio-cultural, economic and political aspects of the lives of the hills, and the second stage, by the absorption of these Sanskritic ideas into a regional and locally expressed forms. An acculturation of Hindu— Ethnic cultures materialised in this second stage.

Throughout recent Nepalese history the Hindus have been in control of Nepal's state politics by virtue of being its rulers. These rulers have invariably claimed a high Ksatriya caste status of Rajput origin for themselves⁴⁴ and have tried to connect their lineages with the genealogies of the mythical Sanskritic heroes, although the actual circumstance of the origin of the different Thakuri clans in Nepal may vary. All these rulers gave Brahmans a high position out of respect for their faith in the long Hindu tradition and presented them with gifts of land and other wealth. Their concepts of politics and administration had been shaped by the Sanskritic laws derived from

41 Prayag Raj Sharma, *Ibid*, p. 15.

42 Prayag Raj Sharma, 'The Matawali Chhetris of Western Nepal', pp. 43-60.

43 Frederick H. Gaige, *Regionalism and National Unity in Nepal*, pp. 59-62.

44 Prayag Raj Sharma, *Preliminary Art and Architecture*, etc. pp. 15-16.

Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, the *Mahabharata*, the *Manusmriti* and other *Smritis*. This Hindu domination of politics set the real tone for starting the Sanskritization process. Only the political agility of these Hindus had succeeded in forging the idea of a nation-state among the highly divided and mutually insulated cultures of Nepal. The desire for integration and the welding together of a pluralistic society into a single nation may itself be a Sanskritic activity in Nepal.⁴⁵ A powerful instrument of extending communications across the various cultural-linguistic barriers used by these Hindus was their language, Nepali. Adoption of it by smaller groups of people has itself been called a Sanskritization process in Nepal. Again, the Hindus living in a country as culturally diverse as Nepal were bound to create a high incidence of inter-marriage with the different ethnic groups and communities. The tradition which honoured hypergamy in Nepal, formally recognised by the Code, is an outcome of this Hindu—non-Hindu ethnic group interrelationship. Hypergamy has indeed been a unique mechanism by means of which non-Hindu ethnic groups have been readily admitted into the caste system of Hindu society. The great zeal for Hinduization or Sanskritization is underlined by the high twice-born status which the tradition of Nepal allows for the issue of hypergamy in Nepal. It is true that such a social arrangement may ultimately have been created by accepting the notion of the superior blood of the high-castes in the new caste-entrants, but this arrangement allowed the sons and daughter of a Matawali to be suddenly elevated to twice-born caste status. The Code made many social and ritual behaviours in line with the high tradition of Hinduism obligatory for all the twice-born castes, which makes it clear that although the attainment of a higher caste standing was possible, to preserve it needed the inculcation of a great many new habits and the pursuit of a new lifestyle necessary for the aspirant.

In spite of the fact that the Code of Nepal established the supremacy of Hindu values, still its adopted policy was one of non-interference with the traditional customs and usages of the ethnic groups if they did not directly contradict basic Hindu values. This allowed for the independence of the ethnic cultures and their languages which continue to be preserved despite a long Hindu rule.⁴⁶ Some of the prominent communities such as the Newars, Magars, Gurungs, Rais, Limbus and the Lepchas, who

45. Leo Rose, 'Secularization of a Hindu Polity: The case of Nepal', pp. 31-48.

46. Shigeru Iijima has succinctly contrasted the cultural traits of the Himalayan ethnic groups from those of the Hindus. The Hindus, according to him, follow a caste system, refrain from eating beef, are sedentary agriculturists, perform Sanskritic Hindu rites and speak Nepali, a derivative of the Indo-Aryan family of languages. On the other side, the smaller cultural groups follow no caste system, consume liquor and chicken, are pastoralists, traders and agriculturists, follow a syncretised religion, have Mongoloid features and speak a derivation of Tibeto-Burman language. Shigeru Iijima, 'Hinduisation of a Himalayan Tribe in Nepal', pp. 43-44.

according to the Code belonged to the unenslaveable category, have not only preserved their caste names, but also retained a sense of pride in their ethnic heritage.⁴⁷ One notices no desire by these communities of Nepal to abandon their clan names in order to adopt Hindu caste status. The Magars have been regarded as one of the first ethnic groups to be Hinduized because of their early contact with the Hindu groups. Although many Magars may have lost their language and imitated some Hindu mannerisms in the process they have not been totally absorbed into Hinduism. Belonging to a non-Hindu ethnic group usually did not imply suffering any degradation in social or secular terms in the every day life of Nepalese villages, although its ritual notions at times did express a discriminational nature. Wealth and power brought social prestige to a member of any ethnic group in the entire village and commanded a respectful form of address even from the high castes. Members of the ethnic groups were employed in limited numbers in the high civil service and army posts by the Hindu rulers in absolute trust. They also filled all sort of administrative posts in the village and district levels. Their jobs brought them into close contact with the authority of the *darbar* (palace) in Kathmandu. This has been one of the prime factors for inducing other communities to emulate the life-style of the Hindu *darbar*. The wealthier members of these groups have shown a greater tendency to imitate Hindu mannerisms and life-styles of the urbane ruling class. This imitation has been observed to exist among many ethnic

⁴⁷ The *Matawalis* of enslaveable category had faced a greater danger of extinction. Slaves, which were the main props of the Nepalese land-based economy, were essential elements to the society and were largely enlisted from the ranks of such *Matawalis* both in the government and the private households. The revenue contractors such as the *Ijaradar* and the *Amali* also got a claim over slaves under legal dispensation (Code 86, p. 367-68). The enslaved persons were weaned away thus from their own social milieu, once they were reduced to slavery. As slaves they quite naturally adopted the customs of their masters in their life.

There is no basis to judge why certain groups of *Matawalis* were ranged in the enslaveable category in the Code. Those included in it certainly fell within the more economically and culturally backward peoples than the others and it must have been this reason, if anything, for their domination. But all the people of enslaveable castes did not constitute a slave population of Nepal, as some scholars have tended to believe. Slavery was awarded to individuals in punishment of certain types of offence regarded as severe by the Code. If the offender was a pregnant woman, the unborn child would also be affected by the sentence. (Code 86: 3, p. 367). The offences punishable by inflicting slavery included sexual intercourse with a high-caste woman by a person of the enslaveable caste (Code 153 p. 367) or any act of his which caused the purity of the high castes to be compromised (Code 80: 10, p. 410, Code 60: 12, p. 274), stealing of children (Code 68:39, p. 310) or committing incest (Code 118:3 p. 548). The slaves who were called by the term *Kamara-Kamari* were inferior in status and even worse in their fate than the bondsmen and women called *bandhya bandhetyani*. The latter were people, who, driven by utter poverty would agree to sell themselves in bondage to their buyers. Their freedom was at least repur-

groups, and anthropologists have labelled this Sanskritization.⁴⁸ Its influence is judged from the adoption of Nepali language, shedding of tribal dress, and the inculcation of wider Hindu religious beliefs in public life. In the village situation, Brahmans are enlisted for priestly services, but it does not mean that tribal customary rites were completely abandoned. In fact, a selection process seems to have always been at work in the emulation of Hindu customs or retention of traditional non-Hindu practices. Gurungs, Rais and Limbus are known to call in the services of the Brahmans only for performing birth rites of their children (incidentally, this might explain all the Hindu names of the non-Hindu groups in Nepal), preparing horoscopes or for performing the *Satyanarayana puja* (worship to Vishnu, one of the high Hindu divinities).⁴⁹ Gurungs are also known to call in Brahmans for performing their marriage ceremony. But in regard to other life-cycle rituals, they seem to adhere to their own traditional priests, oracles or mediums. Magars, probably, because of their greater Hinduization, use the services of the Brahmans more often even for performing death-rites⁵⁰ and in some areas have no other priests of their own.

chasable by repaying the sum to their buyers, although in their condition it would be quite difficult to accumulate the needed amount for it. Slavery in the Code was something which could in no case be opted through selling oneself. (Code 81:3, p. 352 and Code 82:1, p. 355) This could be meted out only as a punishment for categorised offences as stated above in a legal court and became an irredeemable situation for such a hapless person. Slaves could be turned free only with the will of their masters or in the case of a woman, she would be freed if she became her high-caste master's wife. Such freed slaves who still lived in the master's household were known as *Gharti* or *Parya Gharti* (Code 161:19, p. 689) Children born of slaves would also be slaves. Slaves could be sold freely as property by their owners and at one time slave trade was widely practised in Nepal (See Jahar Sen, 'Slave Trade on the Indo-Nepal Border in the Nineteenth Century', *Kailash*, Vol. I, No. 2, 1973. pp. 159-66). But the children born of a slave-mother and a high-caste father would be able to earn their freedom if they were owned up by the father and his family. In substance the slaves represented a class who had no caste of their own and thus had no social root in their own rank and file. The Nepali term *masnu* meaning to annihilate adequately explains this extreme socially degraded position of these slaves. A slave could not regard anything as his property including his wife and children since everything he would have belonged to his owner. At one place the Code (Code 82:8, p. 357) says most clearly, therefore, that slaves may be awarded all kinds of punishment but they should not be punished for guilts which requires confiscation of property. (I am grateful to Mr R. R. Khanal for giving me some information in this respect).

48 Rex Jones, 'Sanskritization in Eastern Nepal', pp. 63-75.

49 Rex Jones, *Ibid.*, pp. 68-71; also see John Hitchcock, *The Magars of Banyan Hill*, pp. 77-78 and Bernard Pignede, *Les Gurungs, Une Population Himalayenne*, p. 388.

50 John Hitchcock, *The Magars of Banyan Hill*, pp. 54-55.

The most widely-cited case of Hinduization in contemporary times is the one presented by the Thakalis.⁵¹ These are the inhabitants of the Thaksatsaya and Panchgaon villages of the Kaligandaki basin on the Beni-Muktinath trail. Although, linguistically, these people are akin to the Gurungs living south of them, their many cultural traits are closer to the Bhotiyas. Gombas belonging to the Lamaistic sects abound in their regions, although most are in a state of neglect now--a--days.⁵² These Thakalis, who once were patrons of these Gombas, have completely turned away from their Tibetan religion and learning, and have been modelling their thoughts, beliefs and practices on those of the high caste Hindus. The Thakalis have been a very clever and successful trading people, who until recently carried on the trans-Himalayan salt-trade along the Mustang-Baglung trail. This trade received a boost with the monopoly they came to exercise as a result of the authority granted to them by the rulers in Kathmandu in the last century. The title of Subba granted to the family which received this monopoly also brought them additional authorities to exercise in the region. The new situation in which they came to acquire both power and wealth, induced the Thakalis to change their life-style, reject what they considered their embarrassing Bhotiya past in a society of different values and to bring it as close to the Hindu high-castes as possible through imitation. They cast away their custom of eating yak-meat, a repulsive act to the Hindus. One interesting feature of the Thakalis was that their social reforms were backed by a corporate decision of the whole community as this was made possible by the existence of their unique institution of traditional village council headed by their village chiefs (*mukhiyas*).⁵³ The Subbas who were in fact the greater beneficiaries from the trade monopoly accumulated wealth and exercised a high power in their region. This role led them to develop a psychology close to the ruling elites of Kathmandu. They even created mythical stories of their Thakuri origin linking them with the rulers of Jumla. The attempt of the Thakalis to conceal their true origin in all these above activities becomes quite obvious. But it should not be interpreted as a serious bid on their part to raise themselves to the Thakuri caste as such a bid would never have met with success in view of the Code's tight social control. Such group endeavour in social mobility would never have been allowed to happen in Nepal unilaterally by people making legendary claims of their origin. The story of the Thakuri origin as well as the haste in which the Thakalis were

51 Haimendorf, 'Caste Concepts and Status Distinctions in Buddhist Communities of Western Nepal,' pp. 146-151. Also see Shigeru Iijima, 'Hinduization of a Himalayan Tribe in Nepal', pp. 48-50.

52 D. Snellgrove, *Himalayan Pilgrimage*, pp. 177 f.

53 Andrew E. Manzardo and Keshav Prasad Sharma: 'Cost-cutting, Caste and Community: A Look at Thakali Social Reform in Pokhara', *Contributions to Nepalese Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 2.

keen to give up their traditional habits—the chief among them being the ban on eating yak meat—looks like an apologia for their Bhotiya past. The Bhotiyas had a very low position in the caste-framework proposed by the Code. In fact one sees contemptuous references to the Bhotiya people everywhere in the Code, unlike other *Matawali* castes. The punishment for committing state offences of certain category awarded to the Matawali castes was to lower them to the Bhote caste (Code 42:1, p. 212). Such a low estimation of the Bhotiya people undoubtedly springs from the common habit of all Bhotiya groups in Nepal of eating yak-meat. The concern of the Thakalis, therefore, appears to have been to get away from this past and attain new social recognition within Hindu society at par with that of the major tribal groups. To this extent their effort seems to have been quite successful, for the Thakalis have not been enumerated in the same class as the other Bhotiyas of Nepal in the Code.

CONCLUSION

The foregoing account shows a very rigid Hindu model to have been operative in the pre-1951 Nepali society regarding Hindu-tribal interaction. Notwithstanding it, it is a unique model the like of which has not yet been reported from anywhere in India. Ethnic identity faced with two options in the workings of this model. It either was destined to lose it completely in the caste change which followed hypergamy in the next generation or in the absence of that, to preserve it intact. No case of individual or group mobility in the upward direction would have been allowed by the Hindu Code except through hypergamy. Resort to deception and subterfuge was liable to punishment. For groups or communities retaining their ethnic identity, Sanskritization became only an imitative act limited to changing their outward life-style, but actually producing no real caste social mobility. Imitation has led to some erosion of the language and culture of the ethnic groups but it has not led to the extinction of ethnicity. People who have been obliged to migrate from their traditional habitats have been uprooted from their cultural and linguistic moorings, but these migrants have taken their ethnic identity wherever they may have gone to live. Newars settling outside the Kathmandu valley and other communities settling outside of Nepal in India, have continued to retain their clan or caste names, although they may not be speaking their own language any more. Sanskritization in a traditional sense is unlikely to exert influence in Nepal in the future and its place will likely be taken by westernization or modernisation. In the new situation, newer symbols of status would come to be created by the upper class families in urban centres which would set the pace for emulation by the new aspirants of social ascendancy. But ethnicity in any new adjustment is likely to endure as the stigma attached to non-Hindu customs will disappear with new forms of socialization.

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THERAVĀDA BUDDHISM IN NEPAL

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INTRODUCTION 1

The modern Theravāda movement in Nepal has been given little attention by students of Buddhism. It is mentioned only briefly by Gokhale² and Bechert³. Most of the written sources at our disposal consist of articles in Buddhist journals⁴ and references in the publications of the Dharmodaya Sabhā of Nepal⁵. The present account is based partly on these written sources, but mainly on observation and interviews carried out during several visits to Nepal beginning in 1973. Combining both types of information it seems possible at least to give an outline of the main historical events in the development of the movement. Without the willing cooperation of many Theravādin monks, nuns, and laymen in giving information, the history would have remained vague and fragmented.

It is less problematic to get acquainted with the present situation, although in cases of research of this kind it is always with caution that personal observations and interviews should be evaluated. We are dealing with a new religious community which is in a process of development and which is influenced and criticized from different sides. This also makes it difficult to draw any definite conclusions. Therefore we shall confine ourselves in this article to a description of the history and the present status of Nepalese Theravāda.

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- 1 Visits to Nepal between 1973 and 1977 have been made possible through financial support from the State University of Utrecht and the Prins Bernhard Fonds. I am grateful to the Venerable Amṛtānanda, Sumaṅgala, Śākyānanda Prajñānanda and Mahāpantha for their kindness to provide me with the necessary information. I am also indebted to the anagārikās of the Dharmakīrti Vihāra, and to Mr. Purnaharsa Bajracharya, Mr. Manik Tuladhar, Mr. Ratna Bahadur Bajracharya, Dr. M. Witzel and Mr. R. van Kooij. An earlier version of this report has been read at the 13th Congress of the International Association for the History of Religions, which was held in Lancaster, England, 15-22 August 1975.
 - 2 V. V. Gokhale, in P. V. Bapat (ed.) *Years of Buddhism*, 84.
 - 3 H. Bechert, *Buddhismus, Staat und Gesellschaft*, I, Frankfurt/ M.-Berlin 1966, 160
 - 4 Especially the *Mahā Bodhi* and *The Buddhist*.
 - 5 The journals *Dharmodaya*, *Dharmakīrti* and *Lumbini*. See also Kularatna Dharma Tuladhar, *Buddhism and Nepal*, Dharmodaya Sabhā, Kathmandu 1956; Bhikkhu Sumangala, *Buddhist Meditation*, Lalitpur 1974.

THE THERAVADA MISSION IN NEPAL 1900-1946

At the end of the 19th century Buddhists in Ceylon began to revalue their own religious and cultural heritage. In line with a growing nationalism in the Buddhist countries the activists tried to fight European domination with a new emphasis on the traditional ideas and customs. The resulting so-called Buddhist modernism became influential in all Buddhist countries, especially in those countries that felt the pressure of Western political, economical and cultural dominance.

The development of this movement has been described in detail by Bechert⁶ According to him, one of the main characteristics of the movement is the emphasis that is laid on the rationalistic elements in Buddhist teaching, especially in comparison with Christianity. Another aspect is the importance of the lay organizations and the role of the laity in the whole of the movement, which is contrary to its modest position in traditional Theravāda. The modernistic movement could come into existence because of a series of previous developments and under the influence of several outside impulses. The interest of European scholars in the ancient Buddhist literature, philosophy and religion positively influenced Buddhist self-consciousness. A new interest in the scriptures and in the history of the ancient Buddhist cultures became another characteristic of Buddhist modernism. Both became venerated symbols of a glorious Buddhist past. Not only did this development promote a renewal of Buddhist religious practice, it also greatly contributed to the rise of a national consciousness in the struggle for independence.

One of the leading figures of the modernistic movement was the Anagārikā Dharmapāla (1864-1933), who established a strong link between nationalistic feelings and Buddhist renewal. In 1891 he founded the Mahā Bodhi Society, whose primary aim it was to unite all Buddhist efforts for the restoration of the place of pilgrimage in Buddha Gayā, the place of the Buddha's enlightenment. The society was the first international Buddhist organization and in the course of years became the centre of Buddhist missionary work. The Mahā Bodhi Society was the active force behind endeavours for renewal and supported various new directions in Buddhist thinking and social action. Its main purpose was the propagation of Buddhism. But this was combined with nationalistic and social-revolutionary ideals. No wonder that the traditional Rana regime in Nepal had its doubts regarding the contacts of Nepalese Buddhists with the Mahā Bodhi Society in the thirties and forties.

The success and the zeal of the Mahā Bodhi Society impressed the few Nepalese Buddhists who came into contact with the society in India in the beginning of this century. And throughout the history of Theravāda in Nepal contacts remained strong. That is the main reason that characteristics of the revivalist movement can also be

⁶ See Bechert, o. c. 37-109

found in Nepalese Theravāda. Modern Theravāda emphasizes the rationalistic elements in Buddhism and the first Theravāda monks who became engaged in preaching in Nepal tended to point at the rationality and purity of their Theravāda practices in comparison with the rituals of the Newars. This led to public debates, in which the monks' ardour in defending their views often aroused the antipathy of their Newar listeners, who saw their religious customs attacked. This way of preaching of some of the first monks has resulted in some cases in the emergence of a Mahāyāna counter movement, led by Vajrācāryas. Some Newars avoided the monks for this reason. Later the Theravādins became aware of the offending aspects of this way of preaching and they started more and more to discuss the ideas they have in common with the Newars, without much criticizing the laymen's attachment to Mahāyāna ceremonies.

Another characteristic of reviving Theravāda is the new interest in ancient Buddhist history. This aspect is also found in Nepal. Reference to the prosperous times of the ancient Buddhist kings frequently recurs in the speeches and writings of the leaders of the movement. In this connection we find that Aśoka is often compared with present Nepalese kings, who 'did everything possible for the propagation of the cause of Dhamma' (King Tribhuvan) and who 'in tradition with the ancient Buddhist kings took a lively interest....' (King Mahendra).⁷ Frequent mention of Nepal as the country of birth of the Buddha as well as the activities to make Lumbini a main centre of pilgrimage are also results of this interest in the past, as is the fact that many Theravāda authors refer to the importance of the Sākyas who formed the first Buddhist nation in an area which is now part of Nepal.⁸ Aśoka not only represents the model of a righteous king, but also is said in his lifetime to have shown an extra interest in Nepal. In this connection the stupas of Patan, which tradition attributes to Aśoka, are mentioned, as well as the memorial pillars erected by him in Lumbini and Kapilavastu and the Cārumatī Vihāra (Chābahil) built according to tradition by his daughter Cārumatī. The important place given to the laity is also a feature of Nepalese Theravāda. From the very start laymen have played an essential role in the organization and development of the movement. In this context we should also consider the fact that in Newar Buddhism the place of the laity is already more prominent than in traditional Theravāda. The Newar priests, unlike celibate monks living in monasteries, participate in everyday social life and do not distinguish themselves from those who have no priestly functions. Following the Mahā Bodhi Society, the Dharmodaya Sabhā, when founded in 1955 in Sarnāth, comprised monks and nuns as well as laymen without giving special privileges to the

7 *Report of the Fourth World Buddhist Conference of the World Fellowship of Buddhists, Kathmandu, 1956, 9.*

8 See e. g. *Dharmodaya* No. 35

monks. In fact the management of the Dharmodaya Sabhā has mostly been in the hands of laymen.⁹

At the time of the first contacts with the Theravāda movement in India, Nepalese Buddhists could hardly study Buddhism in their own country. India was for a few intellectually interested the only place where they could go for further study. An important propagator of Buddhist revival in this time was Dharmāditya Dharmācārya, a Nepalese Buddhist scholar, who was the editor of *Buddhist India*, and one of the organizers of the All-India Buddhist Conference.¹⁰ In the twenties he and a few others had been in India, Sri Lanka and Burma for education and for the purpose of finding support for their increasing concern to protect Buddhism in the country of its birth. Among them was Dharmāloka Mahāsthavira, who left us a short description of this first period of the Buddhist revivalist activities in his *Mahāchina Yātra*.¹¹

Dharmāloka mentions the establishment of a small monastery (vihāra) at Kindol at that time, which gradually became a centre in the Kathmandu valley. The visits of the Indian scholar Rāhul Sāṅkrtyāyana to Dharmāloka and the small group of activists strengthened their relations with the Indian Buddhists. Kindol Vihāra became a centre of study, of public debates and of regular religious ceremonies. The monks who were engaged in this had no special ties yet with the Theravāda Buddhists. Most of them were Newars and followed Mahāyāna customs. What made them stand apart was their concern for the future of Buddhism in Nepal. In their wish to revive Nepalese Buddhism they also kept in touch with Tibetan Buddhists and Lamas, to form a united front. And this is a period in which the expectations for the survival of traditional Newar religion were considered small¹² as was the tolerance of the administration towards them.

Dharmāloka states that he was the first Nepalese monk to wear the yellow robe. After a visit to Ceylon he brought yellow robes and a begging-bowl with him. Having returned to Nepal he stayed at Kindol Vihāra and began using robe and bowl, while following some special religious observance. The number of people taking part in the religious activities in the Vihara then increased rapidly. At that point the police started to keep an eye on the activities of the group. In November 1931 a number of Buddhists, including Dharmāloka, were arrested. Some of them were

9 *Dharmodaya*, No. 108 (1956) gives the names of the Dharmodaya Sabhā working committee members: only five of the seventeen members are monks.

10 *Dharmodaya*, No. 35

11 *Mahāchin Yātra*, Kalimpong 1950; translated (excerpts) in the *Regmi Research* series 9. 3:33-41 and 9.4:49-51 (1977) as 'A Journey to Great China'.

12 Cf. e. g. the remarks of S. Lévi, *Le Népal*, 2 vols, Paris 1905, 26; H. A. Oldfield, *Sketches from Nipal*, 2 vols, London 1880, II, 72.

expelled, others were fined for distributing pamphlets and begging for food. The Venerable Mahāprajña, like Dharmāloka Mahāstavira, had travelled in many Buddhist countries to study and on his return to Nepal associated with Dharmāloka. He had to face expulsion in 1926 together with five other monks, on the accusation of causing communal disturbances. The venerable Chandramaṇi, Burmese Nāyakathera of Kuśinagara, is often mentioned as the original philosopher, instigator and guide of the Theravāda movement in Nepal. Born in 1876 in Arakan in Burma,¹³ he entered the Order at the age of twelve under the name of Chandra. He came to India at the request of Dharmapāla to assist in the revival of Buddhism. After further study in Burma, leading to higher ordination (upasampadā) which he received in 1903, he returned to India and took up residence at Kuśinagara. In Kuśinagara he worked for the restoration of ancient Buddhist monuments, which were in ruins. In 1929 he started a school, the Chandramani Free School, for the village and later, with the help of Indian Buddhists, a secondary school and a Buddhist college.

The first Nepalese Theravādin monks all became active propagators of Theravāda after studying under Chandramaṇi in Kuśinagara. Most Nepalese monks, novices (*samaṇera*) and nuns (*anagārikā*) were initiated by him and advised to continue their studies in Burma or Sri Lanka. Many went to Burma for higher ordination. In the early thirties Chandramaṇi introduced and supported a group of Nepalese Buddhist women who went to Burma for study and ordination.¹⁴ He also inspired the translation of Buddhist Canonical texts and other materials into Newari. This work was first begun in Kuśinagara by the Venerable Dharmāloka after a journey to Burma in 1932.¹⁵ As the teacher of the first Nepalese Theravādin Chandramaṇi remained the leader of the Theravāda mission in Nepal and the director (*dharmānuśāsaka*) of the Dharmodaya Sabhā, founded in 1944. He kept his residence in Kuśinagara, making occasional visits to Nepal, until his death at the age of 96 in 1972.

The opening of the Mūlagandhakuṭi Vihāra by the Mahā Bodhi Society in Sarnāth in 1932 was seen as a symbol of the success of Buddhist revival and created enthusiasm all over the Buddhist world. The Nepalese regarded the event as a turning-point in the history of Buddhist restoration. Meanwhile, more monks and novices were becoming educated in Burma and later also in Sri Lanka. Among them were the Venerable Aniruddha, Amṛtānanda, Mahānāma, Subodhānanda Śākyānanda and Buddhaghoṣa. On their return to Nepal they became active in preaching and promoting Buddhism.

13 *Dharmodaya*, No. 45, 1951.

14 See *Mahāchin Yātra*, Excerpts, p. 36.

15 He started with a translation of the Sanskrit *Buddhacarita* of Aśvaghōṣa; see *Mahāchin Yātra* (Excerpts), 37.

The Venerable Amṛtānanda returned to Nepal in 1941 from a period of study in the Vajirāma in Colombo, under the guidance of Nārada Mahāthera, a well-known and active Sinhalese monk. He became involved in the work of the Nepalese Buddhists on several occasions and used his diplomacy and reputation to the advantage of the Theravāda cause. Amṛtānanda, through his zeal and enthusiasm, was the most important leader of the movement for the following thirty years. His preaching, through which he became popular, resulted in a rapidly increasing number of sympathizers, mainly from the Newar part of the population. Some other monks joined him at Kindol Vihāra, where religious meetings were regularly held. Dharmāloka Mahāsthavira, impressed by Amṛtānanda's popularity, urged him to write down his sermons and to publish books on Buddhism in Newari. This led to a very successful series of publications and translations of Buddhist literature in Newari, after the earlier attempts of Dharmāloka and the Newari Buddhist journal¹⁶ of Dharmāditya Dharmācārya had failed for lack of financial and editorial assistance. Amṛtānanda often preached at a place near Svayambhu, where Dharmāloka lived in a hut. At this place some laypeople started building what was later to be the Ānandakuṭi Vihāra, now one of the main centres of Nepalese Theravāda.

In 1944 the Venerable Candramaṇi came to Nepal at the request of his disciples and presented the Ānandakuṭi with a marble statue of the Buddha which was to be brought from Kuśinagara by Dharmāloka. On his way back to Nepal he found out that the Rana government was considering measures against the Theravāda monks. On the 30th of July 1944 the Prime Minister Juddha Shamsheer gave them notice to cease preaching, ordinations, performing ceremonies and observing festivals and to stop printing books in Newari. He also ordered the monks and nuns to return to lay-life. Those who refused had to leave the country. The monks were to leave immediately; the nuns were allowed to stay till the end of the rain-retreat (*varṣavāsa*).

Again about a dozen monks left for India. This time protests were sent to the Nepalese authorities from several Buddhist countries. First the monks went to Kuśinagara, where with the financial assistance of the Nepalese businessman Maṇiharṣa Jyoti accomodation was provided for them as well as for the nuns who would join them soon. After the period of the rain-retreat, the Mahā Bodhi Society offered them hospitality in its Sarnāth headquarters. The monks who stayed there were advised to form their own, Nepalese, Theravāda organization. Thus on the 30th of November 1944 the Dharmodaya Sabhā was founded with the Venerable Candramaṇi as president and the Venerable Amṛtānanda as General Secretary. The organization included monks and nuns as well as laymen.

¹⁶ Its name was *Buddha Dharma wa Nepāl Bhāshā*. The journal was printed in Calcutta, the books in Varanasi. Transport problems made distribution even more difficult: *Mahāchin Yātra* (Excerpts), 49.

THE HISTORY OF THE THERAVADA MOVEMENT FROM 1946
TILL THE BUDDHIST CONFERENCE IN 1956

In 1946 Amṛtānanda instigated a Goodwill Mission from Sri Lanka under the leadership of the Venerable Nārada Mahāthera and with himself as a member, to get permission from the Nepalese authorities for the exiled monks to return.¹⁷ Nārada visited the Rana Prime Minister Padma Shamsher, who gave this permission. During his visit Nārada also suggested making Buddha Jayanti on Vaiśākhā Full Moon Day (Vesak) a national holiday. He also asked for the Buddhists to be allowed to open Buddhist schools and to teach Buddhist children. At this same visit, he laid the foundation for a Buddhist library at Ānandakuṭī, the Ānanda Pustakālaya. In the same year he came again to be present at the ceremony at Vaiśākhā Full Moon when six Buddhists laid the foundation stones for a Stūpa at Ānandakuṭī, which was unveiled two years later as the Lankārāma Stūpa. At time a *simā*¹⁸ was established at Ānandakuṭī and a sapling of the Bodhi-tree, brought from Anuradhapura, was planted on the same site. The visits of the Venerable Nārada continued over the years and resulted in the growth of strong contacts with organizations in other Buddhist countries.

After the return of the monks in 1946 a number of new viḥāras were built in the Kathmandu valley¹⁹. But although the monks had been allowed to return the Prime Minister did not permit the Dharmodaya Sabhā to have its seat in Nepal. Therefore in 1947 the organization moved from Sarnāth to Kalimpong, where Maṇihar-ṣa Jyoti bought a building for its headquarters and financed the journal *Dharmodaya* as well as other books and pamphlets in Newari and Nepali. In the 1950 issue of *Dharmodaya*²⁰ the Theravādins expressed their wishes for the future. They listed eight main points of action which were also presented at the World Buddhist Conference in Sri Lanka in 1950:

- (1) to open Buddhist schools all over Nepal;
- (2) to build a viḥāra in every city or village where the majority of the people are Buddhist and to have one or two monks live there to give religious instruction and free medical services;
- (3) to publish translations of Canonical texts as well as other books on Buddhism in Nepali and Newari;
- (4) to educate Nepalese to propagate Buddhism;

¹⁷ See *The Mahā Bodhi*, 56, 1948, p. 262 ff.; *Dharmodaya* 1948 and 1950.

¹⁸ *Simā*, lit. 'boundary', is a ritually delimited area which belongs to a monastery. All the monks within the area have the obligation to attend the uposatha (full moon day) ceremonies at the monastery.

¹⁹ *Dharmodaya*, No. 35, 1950: in Palpa, Tansen, Butwal, Pokhara, Kathmandu and Bhojpur.

²⁰ No. 35

- (5) to publish two journals, one in English and one in Nepali;
- (6) to persuade the Nepalese authorities to take the necessary steps to preserve the ancient Buddhist monuments (Lumbini, Kapilavastu);
- (7) to encourage Buddhists of other countries to visit Nepal and to offer facilities to Buddhist scholars;
- (8) to guard against institutions active in converting people to other faiths (mainly meant against the Christian mission). For the realization of this programme they asked the assistance of other Buddhist nations, especially in providing scholarships to Nepalese students and in giving moral and material support.

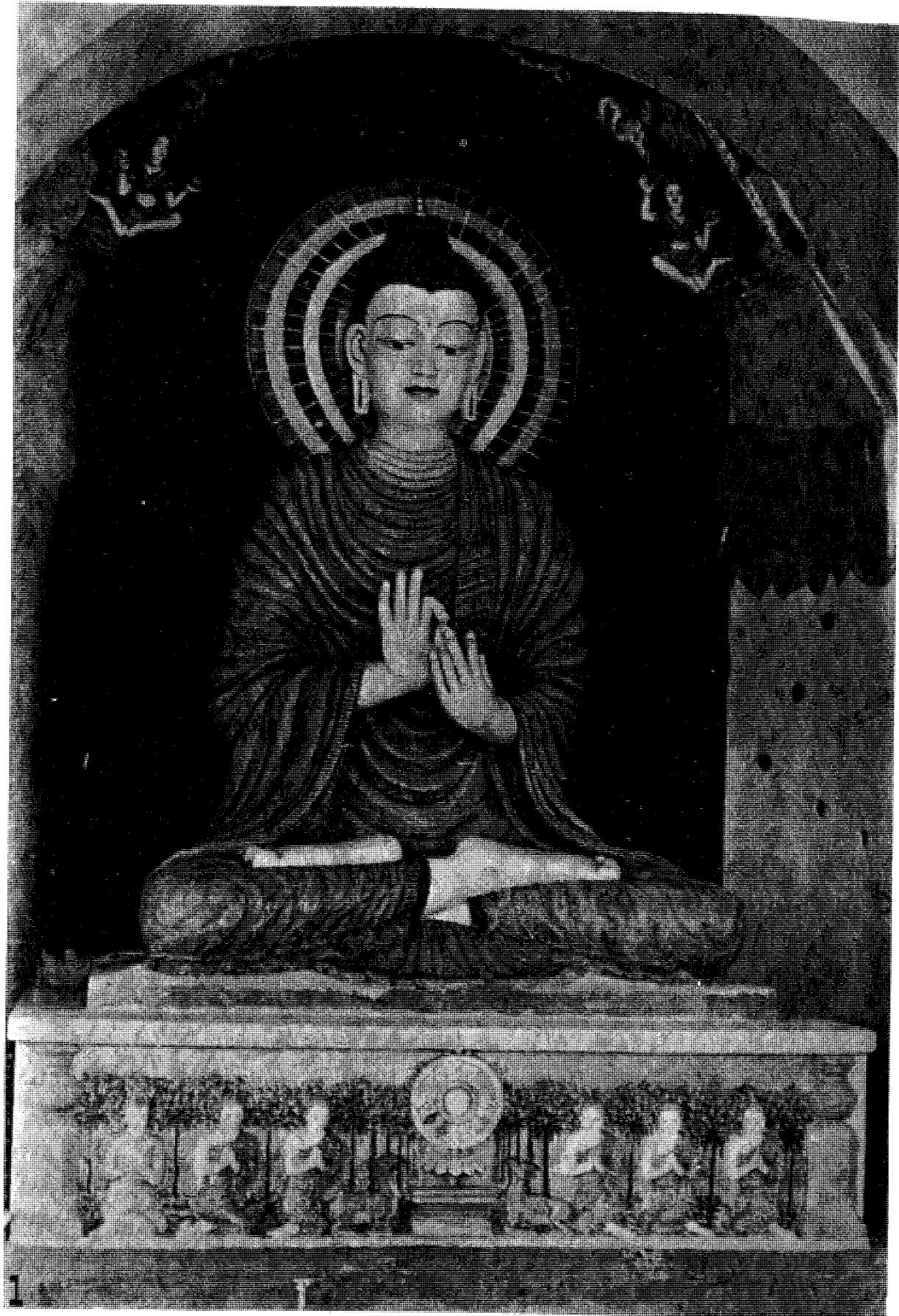
After the overthrow of the Rana regime in 1950 the Buddhists were able to organize all activities freely. Their freedom was demonstrated by King Tribhuvan by his participation of the Buddha-pujā on Vesak-day in 1951, thereby abandoning the tradition which forbade the Gurkha rulers to worship the Buddha. At the same time this day was declared a national holiday. It also led to the permission for the Dharmodaya Sabhā to move its headquarters from Kalimpong to Nepal.

The year 1952 became important because of the celebrations accompanying the visit of a Sinhalese delegation, which made a tour with the relics of Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana.²¹ The delegation was received by the King and the relics carried by him to the palace, before they were brought to different places for worship. On this occasion the King and Queen invited all monks for a traditional dana.²² In the same year Amṛtānanda founded a Buddhist school at Svayambhu, the Anandakuṭi Vidya-peeth. In this year the number of monks was estimated at twenty. The number of nuns seems to have been about thirty.

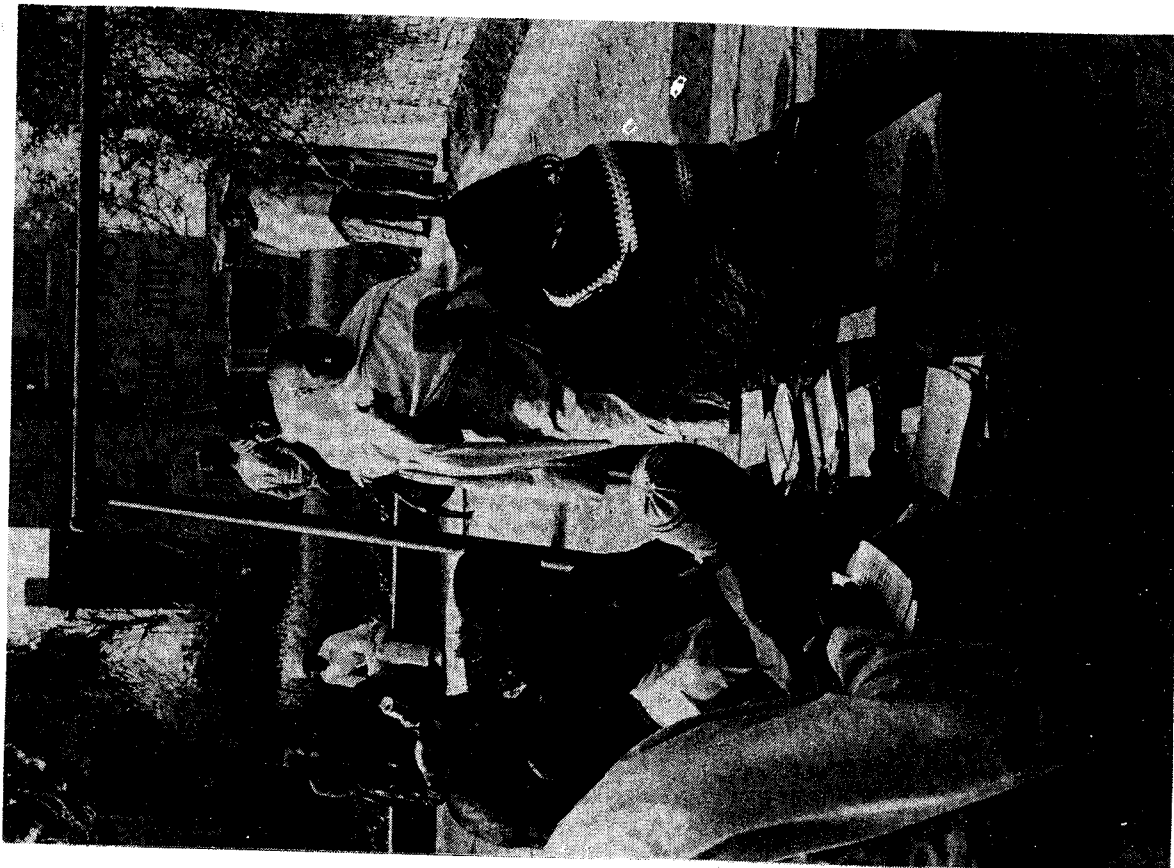
After the example of the Mahā Bodhi Society the Dharmodaya Sabhā sent requests to the government to renovate the important place of pilgrimage at Lumbini. A programme was developed to make provisions for the lodging of pilgrims, to build a monastery and to construct roads. This project was to be finished at the celebration of 2500 years of Buddhism, in 1966, but although most of the buildings taken over have been erected, the place remains not easily accessible. Reconstruction has been planned by the United Nations, with financial support from other Buddhist countries. These plans to renovate Lumbini became urgent when it became known that Nepal was to be the host for the next Conference of the World Fellowship of Buddhists. In 1956 this Conference took place, under the leadership of the Venerable Amṛtānanda, then president of the Dharmodaya Sabhā and elected vice-president of the World Fellowship

²¹ *Mahā Bodhi*, 60, 1952 (Nepal Number) issued on the occasion of the visit of the Sinhalese delegation with the relics.

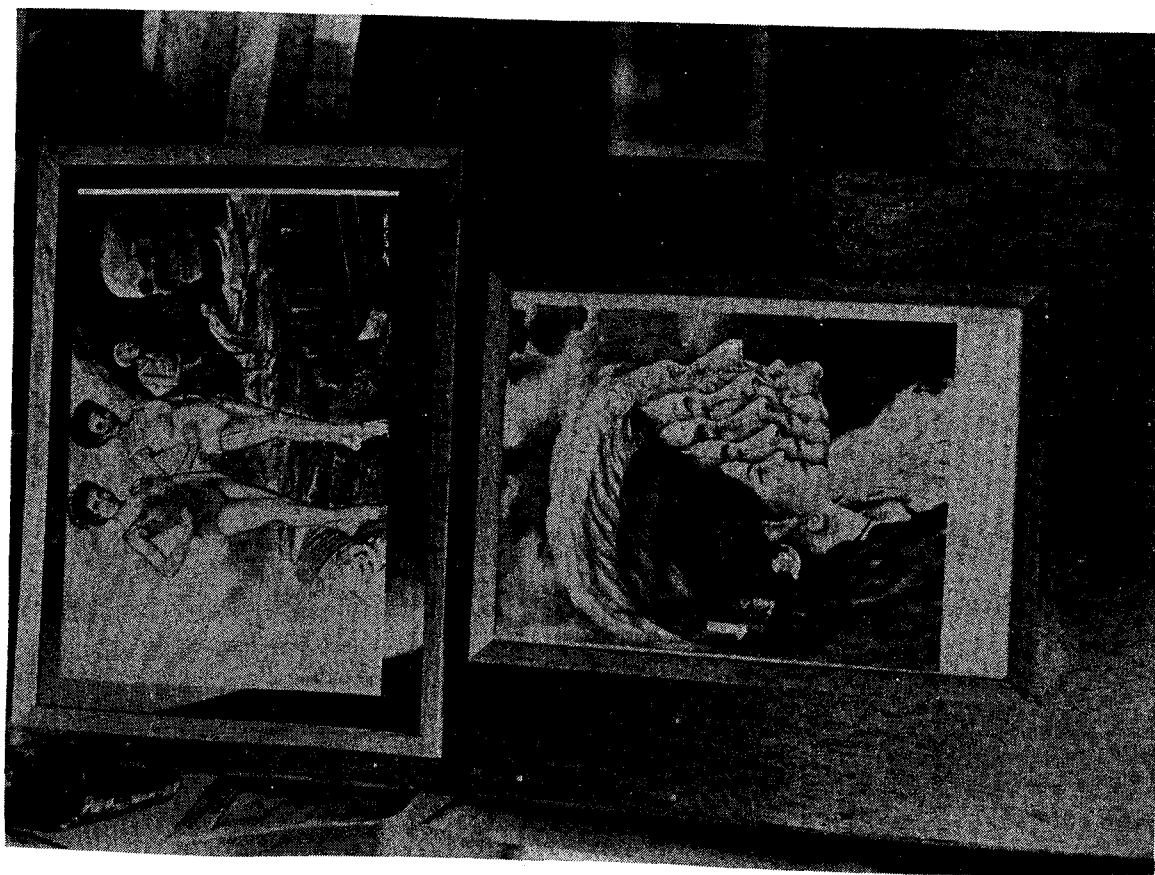
²² On the occasion monks had been invited for a meal and to receive gifts. From their side the monks gave a sermon.



Copy of the 5th century Buddha in Sarnāth.
Śākyasimha Vihāra, Patan.



Nuns giving lessons in Buddhist religion. Gana Mahāvihāra, [REDACTED] Kathmandu



Illustrations of the transitoriness of the body. Dharmakīrti Vihāra, Kathmandu.

of Buddhists. The report of the Conference²³ mentions the government's organizational and financial support and King Tribhuvan's personal interest in it. The King's private secretary, Mr. Lok Darshan, also played an important role in the preparatory committee. At the opening ceremony speeches were given by King Mahendra, the Venerable Candramaṇi and Dr. G. P. Malalasekera, then president of the World Fellowship of Buddhists.

During the conference the importance of foreign support to the Nepalese Buddhists was repeatedly emphasized. The ideal of Nepal as a Buddhist country and the comparison of its King with Aśoka comes up frequently in the proceedings of the conference. In this connection also Lumbini and Kapilavastu are mentioned as important places for restoration since they are the symbols of Nepal's Buddhist past, and future 'centres of the faith and devotion of all Buddhists of the world'.²⁴ The preparations for the conference and the occasion itself involved a lot of publicity for the Dharmodaya Sabhā. As it was the inviting organization the success of the meeting resulted in its becoming known to a greater public, inside as well as outside the country. But it appears as if organizing the conference had used too much of the Dharmodaya Sabhā's resources, for we find that its activity decreases quickly after 1956. The Dharmodaya Sabhā had come to the foreground as *the* national Buddhist organization, representing all Nepalese Buddhists. This task it could not possibly fulfill, since it was only supported by Theravāda sympathizers, relations with other Buddhist groups being mostly on a personal basis and far from united in a single body.

Dr. G. P. Malalasekera's presidential address at the conference concerned the main objectives of the World Fellowship of Buddhists for the years to come. Important for the Nepalese who attended the conference were his suggestions for closer cooperation with Mahāyāna Buddhists. Other aims he formulated agree for the greater part with the objectives mentioned by the Dharmodaya Sabhā in 1950; more publications and translations of Canonical works in the various national languages; the establishment of a Buddhist news and information service; international Buddhist cooperation, especially in determining a common standpoint on international political issues; reflection on the task and responsibility of a Buddhist organization in the world; development of ideas concerning a Buddhist welfare state, concerning education and missionary activity and concerning cooperation with other religions.

The 2500 year Buddha Jayanti in 1956 was another reason for that year to stand out in the history of Nepalese Theravāda. Various activities accompanied this celebration organized by special committees in the various cities.²⁵ These included religious gatherings and worship, processions, public meetings and conferences.

²³ See *Report of the Fourth World Buddhist Conference*, Kathmandu 1956, 9-11.

²⁴ *Dharmodaya*, No. 135, 1958

²⁵ *Dharmodaya*, 1956, Vesak Number

DEVELOPMENT OF THE THERAVADA MOVEMENT AFTER 1956

The year 1956 was recorded by the Dharmodaya Sabhā as 'a New Year in the Revival of Buddhism'.²⁶ In its evaluation of the events it repeatedly points to the importance of the activities and efforts of the lay-people who supported the organization of the conference. In this context it was stated that the visit of the relics of Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana in 1952 had taken place in time to rouse the voluntary help of many lay Buddhists. One of the results of the conference was that the work to restore Lumbini as a place of pilgrimage was taken up again. Bhikṣu Mahānāma was sent to Lumbini to assist in the reconstruction. The conference also resulted in an increased self-confidence of the Dharmodaya Sabhā and in the rise of great expectations for the future. This incited monks as well as laymen to institute regular religious services and to prepare for the building of new monasteries. Also at this time some leading personalities seem to have taken the role of coordinators of all different initiatives. Amṛtānanda's part in this must have been essential. At the same time owing to their new international reputation he and other members of the Dharmodaya Sabhā were busy establishing contacts with Buddhists in other countries. Foreign visitors were received in Kathmandu, among them President Rajendra Prasad of India, Prime Minister Chou En-Lai of China, a Buddhist delegation from North Korea, and a Chinese Cultural Mission in 1957. Some Nepalese Buddhists, mainly laymen, went to the meeting of the World Peace Association in Colombo in 1957-8.

A great impression was made by Amṛtānanda's journey to China, North-Vietnam, Mongolia, and the Soviet Union in 1959. On his return he was convinced that Buddhism was flourishing in these countries and was to have a great future.²⁷ Everywhere he had been treated as a guest of honour and he came back with a gift of 500 000 rupees for his Buddhist High School.²⁸ His praise of the communist countries made a great impression on the Buddhists in Nepal and also in Sri Lanka and Burma.

On his return the expected growth failed to occur. Several reasons can be suggested for this. The success and popularity of the Dharmodaya Sabhā at the time of the conference did not continue in normal circumstances, in which the less glamorous everyday work of managing the organization's activities had to be taken up again. The enthusiastic help of many laymen during the preparations of the conference decreased and the former core of supporters and active monks became again

26 *Dharmodaya*, No. 135, 1958

27 Amṛtānanda, *Buddhist Activities in Socialist Countries*. Peking 1961; id., Religious Freedom in China, in the *Buddhist*, XXX, 1959-60, 1974 f.; see also *World Buddhism*, VIII, 12, 1960, 11; X, 6, 1962, 24; X, 9, 1962, 26; XI, 1963, 23.

28 See Holmes Welch, Asian Buddhists and China, in *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 40, 1963, 18; Bechert, o. c., 160.

the centre of the movement. At this time the important financial aid of Mañiharṣa Jyoti, who still lived in Kalimpong, gradually came to an end, after the removal of the Dharmodaya Sabhā to Kathmandu. This meant that the publication of the journal 'Dharmodaya' had to stop. At the same time younger monks and laymen began to take over some of the places of the first activists. Their interest shifted from missionary work to the role of the established monasteries among the people and their educational tasks.

The number of sympathizers has not greatly increased in the last two decades. But it seems as if this fact had a positive influence on the consolidation of the movement and resulted in deepening and strengthening its ideals and creating a closer relationship between its members. The earlier tendency to have many small monasteries in different places now seems to change in favour of having larger monasteries with more monks living together in one place. Books and pamphlets in Newari continue to be published, written by monks as well as by laymen, and distributed through the monasteries.

THE PRESENT SITUATION

Up till now it has remained a custom for Nepalese monks to study in Burma or Sri Lanka, and since 1966 also Thai Buddhists have expressed their wish to help with the promotion of Theravāda in Nepal. In that year the Upasangharājā of Thailand visited Nepal, on which occasion also an American Buddhist was ordained.²⁹ At the moment thereabout are 44 monks and novices living in 31 monasteries. In Kathmandu there are five monasteries. There are fifteen nunneries in the whole of Nepal. Many of the 37 nuns however prefer to live alone in private houses.

As is the case with the monks, most nuns come from Newar families. The monasteries or buildings they inhabit are given to them for this purpose by lay people. Some of them have private means for their living and the rest are dependent on gifts. Most of them have not been married and have entered the order at a young age. The parents often have problems with accepting their daughters' decisions to become nuns.³⁰ But some were formerly married and became nuns with their husband's consent or after husband's death. The reasons they give for their choice of religious life range from the wish to become educated or to leave the rigorous life of a housewife or the desire to attain a spiritual life and a higher aim. As with the monks their religious activities comprise meditation, study of the canonical texts, recitation of texts, *puja*, preaching and teaching. At times they are invited for lunch in the house of a layman and visit important family celebrations. More often than the monks they are asked for advice in family matters.

²⁹ *The Buddhist*, XXXVII, 1, 1966, 26 f.

³⁰ See Yahmhamhyāy, Kathmandu (Dharmakirti Vihāra), 1970.

The monks have their own individual activities during the day. After breakfast they receive laymen and guests in the monastery and after lunch each may go his own way. General meetings are convoked in connection with matters of common interest. Once a month they celebrate *uposatha*³¹ but they do not always have a general meeting on that occasion. Ordination (*upasampadā*) and the rain-retreat are held only in the two bigger monasteries which have a parish-boundary (*simā*), namely Ānandakuṭi Vihāra in Kathmandu and Sumaṅgala Vihāra in Patan. All the monks are active in preaching. They deliver sermons in the vihāras and in the houses of laymen. At the moment most of them are inclined to emphasize in their preaching the ideas they have in common with the Newars, e. g. concerning moral obligations. They illustrate their talks with well-known stories from the *Jātakas* and other popular texts like the *Rasavāhini* and the *Dhammapada*. In the month of Guṇḍa (August-September), there are special gatherings every day. Often the majority of the listeners at these meetings are women.

Ascetic tendencies, which are found especially among the younger monks, are not encouraged since all are needed for missionary work. Lately however, a greater interest in meditation has come up, and a small number of monks have devoted themselves to the practice of Satipaṭṭhāna-meditation.³²

The practice of going from house to house to beg for food appeared to be difficult for the monks to continue because of the influence of the caste system. When they had accepted a gift from a person of a lower caste, others, of higher castes, might refuse to present them with food any longer. Therefore many monasteries have lunch-invitations from laymen, and the monks go to them alone or in a small group. Other days they take care of their own cooking or eat the food which laymen bring them in the morning.

The monks do not participate in rituals that have a Mahāyāna origin. They do however perform a *parittā* ceremony³³ at the request of laymen. This can be done on different occasions, on birthdays, at a marriage, or in cases of illness or death, at which times they recite the Suttas that suit the event. They also perform the ceremony in connection with customs like the *annaprāśana*.³⁴ At times a *parittā* is used to cure people who are possessed by evil spirits. It is a custom of the King to order a *parittā*

31 The monthly gathering on full moon day of monks, at which the monks' rules are recited and possible breaches confessed.

32 For *Satipaṭṭhāna*-meditation see *Dīgha Nikāya*, II, 290 ff.; *Majjhima Nikāya*, I, 55 ff.; Nyanaponika, *Geistestraining durch Achtsamkeit*, Konstanz 1970, Bhikkhu Sumangala, *Buddhist Meditation*, Lalitpur 1974.

33 Lit. 'protection'. At the ceremony Canonical texts are recited, which are considered as possessing protective properties; see also E. Waldschmidt, *Das Paritta*, in: *Von Ceylon bis Turfan*, Göttingen 1967, 465-478.

34 The Hindu ritual (*Saṃskāra*) at which a child receives its first mouthful of rice.

to be held at his birthday every year.

Those who have an extra interest in Buddhism and who wish to do more than to listen to the preaching, are individually instructed in the monasteries. Lately also a few Buddhist study-groups have come into existence. In Patan the Young Men's Buddhist Association has been active on this point but the main activity comes from the Dharmakīrti Bauddha Adhyayana Goṣṭhī under the leadership of the Venerable Aśvaghōṣa and organized by the nuns of the Dharmakīrti Vihāra in Kathmandu. In Banepa a similar group exists. In the field of education more is done, and in this again the nuns of the Dharmakīrti Vihāra are engaged. Apart from teaching at school in Pokhara and Patan, the nuns give religious education to young children every day, and to high-school students and adults once a week. They also give advice in meditation and are active in teaching adults to read and write, and other things like cooking, handicrafts, painting, etc. Lessons on health and on the Pāli language are offered to the interested laity. These educational activities are very popular with the laity and they are usually well attended.

The Buddhist schools founded by Amṛtānanda were in 1971 taken over by the government. Since then on their free days the Buddhist children have been given the opportunity to come to the monasteries for religious education. In Gaṇa Mahāvihāra Bhikṣu Mahāsaṅgha runs a class of some forty to fifty children, the Nepal Bauddha Pariyatti Siksa, from 8 to 10 every Saturday. Parents are requested to send their children for this religious education. It seems that the children are less enthusiastic to sacrifice their leisure time in this way, and the monks have therefore planned to organize some recreation for them as well. To finance all this remains a problem, since they depend mainly on the voluntary contributions of the laity.

The Anandakūṭi Vidyapeeth was started by Amṛtānanda in 1952, at first in the monastery with four pupils, later in buildings of their own close to the monastery at Svayambhu. At the moment the number of pupils is approximately 700, mostly from Buddhist families. The Buddhist elements in the life of the school have been restricted to the morning service, the visits to the vihāra on full moon days, and the lessons on religion of the three monks who work at the school. During the yearly Vesak-celebrations there is a special programme for the pupils, including a procession. The contacts with Sri Lanka are still strong. Regularly monks from Sri Lanka, but also from other countries, give lectures. This year the school expects to be able to start a high-school for girls as well.

On the compound of the Gaṇa Mahāvihāra a kindergarten, the Siddhārtha Sīśu Niketana, has been founded by the Venerable Sumaṅgala, who is its head. Every day from 10:30 to 3:30 eight teachers have about 100 children in their care. The school receives some help from Sumaṅgala's friends in the United States and Japan who send toys and educational appliances.

The interest of westerners in meditation has resulted in the organization of a programme of study for American students and others who wish to be introduced into Satipaṭṭhāna-meditation, in Gaṇa Mahāvihāra, under the guidance of the Venerable Sumaṅgala. He also gives meditation-courses to Nepalese and regularly invites monks from abroad to give lectures. Since 1975 a *Vipassanā Bhāvanā* meditation programme has been conducted for two hours every Tuesday and Friday at Gaṇa Mahāvihāra, and it is attended by 30 to 70 people.

A small health clinic has been set up in Gaṇa Mahāvihāra, the Siddhārtha Svāsthya Sevā, which has so far treated about 3000 patients. On Vaisākhā Full Moon Day the clinic sends out a medical team for out-patients. On the same day also the nuns of Dharmakīrti Vihāra go to various hospitals to visit patients and distribute food. Already in 1950 health services had been given an important place in the programme of action of the Dharmodaya Sabhā. At present also the Dharmakīrti Study Organization has attracted the help of a medical practitioner and a nurse to provide free medical assistance one morning a week in their monastery. This has been extended also to Banepa, where in the Dhyānakūṭi Vihāra patients of TB and asthma are checked regularly. There are plans to make this service available to other villages as well.

For lay-people who wish to make a pilgrimage to visit the Buddhist sites in Nepal and in India, the Theravādins organize tours, and a monk usually comes along with them a guide. The Venerable Sumaṅgala has conducted pilgrimages five times to India, and also to Burma, Thailand and Malaysia.³⁵ The Gaṇa Mālā Saṅgha, a society of amateur musicians who have been playing and singing religious songs every morning at Svayambhu for 25 years, is now organizing its second pilgrimage. On the first about 500 people went to the sacred places.

The importance of practical work in the propagation of Buddhism is often stressed by the Nepalese Theravādins. Most initiatives made in this connection however seem to be purely individual, although they can be said to fit into the broader outline of the organization's ideals. One gets the impression that most—if not all—activities result from the devoted zeal of individual people, and that without their inspiration the movement would not be able to develop. At present some very active members are found among the monks and nuns and their work has led many Buddhists in Nepal to have increasing confidence in them. Their efforts have resulted in an increasing number of publications, contacts with other countries, the establishment of modest Buddhist libraries and teaching facilities, the development of health services and the building and repairing of monasteries. In their contacts with the laity the monks and nuns occupy a confidential position. They often give advice concerning family matters and visit laymen at their homes.

³⁵ See e. g. the itinerary published for one of the pilgrimages by the Gaṇa Mahāvihāra in 1974, *Bauddha Tirtha Yātrāko Kāryakrama*.

The influence of the laity can not only be seen from their share in the management and the publications, but is also evident from the fact that they have requested and influenced a number of religious developments. For example, a few years ago a Buddhist wedding-ceremony was instituted. The typical Newar custom of initiating boys into monkhood for a limited period has been adopted by the Theravādins.³⁶ They ordain boys by means of the *pabbajjā* ('going forth') ceremony, after which the young novices live in the monastery for a short time, thereafter to return to lay-life again. Adults also can receive the *pabbajjā* or the higher ordination for a short period, from a few days to a full three months during the rain-retreat, living in a Vihāra as a nun or a novice. In 1976 twelve adults were thus initiated in Lumbini.

By far the majority of lay-people who visit the Theravāda institutions are Newars. They attend the meetings and religious services and on certain occasions seem to prefer the monks to the Vajrācārya. In the beginning this caused a negative attitude of some Vajrācāryas towards the Theravāda monks, as some of them are economically dependent on their tasks as priests. This opposition however diminished when it became evident that most Newars continued relying on them for their ritual services, which were refused by the Theravādins. Their relations with other Buddhists and the Tibetans seem for the greater part to be based on personal contacts and restricted to occurrences of common interest. Of late attempts have been made to organize all Buddhist groups in the All Nepal Buddhist Federation, which was founded in 1973 by the Venerable Sumaṅgala. The unfamiliarity of this way of combining interests seems a reason for the rather subordinate position of the Federation at the moment.

Theravāda influence on Hindus in Nepal has been more limited. Sometimes a Hindu family invites a monk, or a few Hindus attend a sermon. Very rarely Hindus get interested in the Buddhist teaching, although instances have been reported of Hindu participation at Buddhist meetings and of Hindu women who became nuns. There appears to be some interest among the younger Hindus, but usually they do not feel any necessity to become Buddhists because of the flexibility of their beliefs which makes it easy for them to accept Buddhist ideas within a Hindu framework. This might also be an important reason why the Theravāda Buddhists are not considered as acting against the Nepalese law³⁷ which forbids conversions to religions other than one's traditional family beliefs.

The Theravādins continue to contribute to the amount of publications in Newari and Nepali, which they consider of utmost importance since very few books on

³⁶ See Stephen Greenwold, *Monkhood versus Priesthood in Newar Buddhism*, in *The Anthropology of Nepal* edited by Chr. von Fürer-Haimendorf, London 1974, pp. 129-150

³⁷ Cf. Selections from the 1963 Legal Code, III, Nepal Press Digest, Nepal Law Translation Series, Vol. 7/33, Kathmandu 1973, 23-25

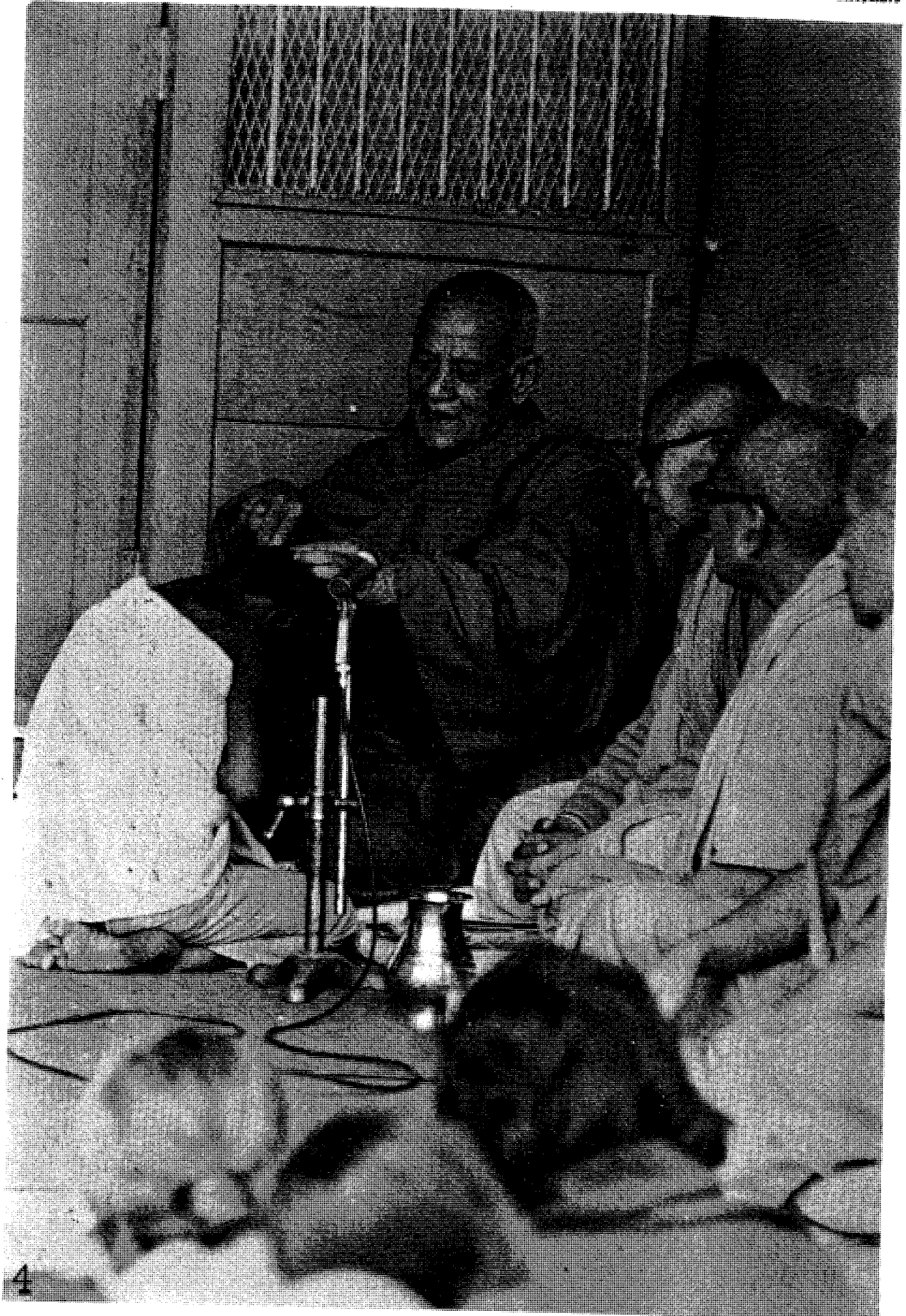
Buddhism are available in these languages. Many of the monks and laymen regularly publish sermons or booklets treating some special subject, usually in the field of ethics. Also translations of Canonical texts by the Venerable Amṛtānanda³⁸ continue to be brought out. In a list of publications of 1974, 394 titles (by 89 authors) are given, written in the period from 1935 to 1973. Nearly all the publications deal with some aspect of the Buddhist teaching, of the Canonical works, or of ethics, or else they contain edifying stories.

Magazines are scarce and are irregularly published. In 1959 the publication of *Dharmodaya* was stopped. At the moment the only magazine, *Dharmakīrti*, is brought out by the Dharmakīrti Vihārā once a year at Vesak. The journal *Lumbini*, started in 1970, is published very irregularly.

There is some activity going on in restoring or enlarging old monasteries or in building new ones. Up till now the architecture of the Theravāda buildings has depended largely on the existing shape of the area and its usefulness for the occupants and the intended activities. The usual village monastery contains a modest shrine room, a monk's cell and sometimes a separate bathroom. The monasteries in the cities are often not much distinguished from the surrounding houses or buildings. The layout of Ānandakūṭi Vihāra forms an exception, because from the beginning it had been planned like a Sinhalese monastery, having a separate shrine room, preaching hall and monastery, as well as a stūpa and a Bodhi-tree. But the majority of Theravāda buildings do not show any specific characteristics,³⁹ apart from a sign over the gate and maybe a small stūpa on the compound or on the roof. However, there seems to be a tendency to use the traditional Nepalese architecture for new buildings, together with the woodcarvings and curved roofs, as is evident from the new vihāra in Lumbini and the building of the Candrakīrti Vihāra in Banepa, which is in progress. The question which now poses itself is: Is there a possibility of a typically Nepalese development of Theravāda Buddhism? As is known from its history in South-East Asian countries, Theravāda has a certain flexibility to adjust itself to existing religious patterns. Since Nepalese Theravāda is still in an early stage of its history it does not seem correct to compare the Nepalese situation with that in Theravāda countries in South and South-East Asia. We can only see some differences and similarities and the beginnings of what may become a more or less typically Nepalese feature. The life of the monks and their various activities are very close indeed to the traditional ways of other Theravāda communities. But there is a tendency to accept existing Newar customs, like ordination for a limited period, only when they are not in conflict with Theravāda

³⁸ See Buddha-Dharma Sambandhi Grantha-Sūci, edited by Bhikṣu Sudarśana, Gaṇa Mahāvihāra, Kathmandu 1974.

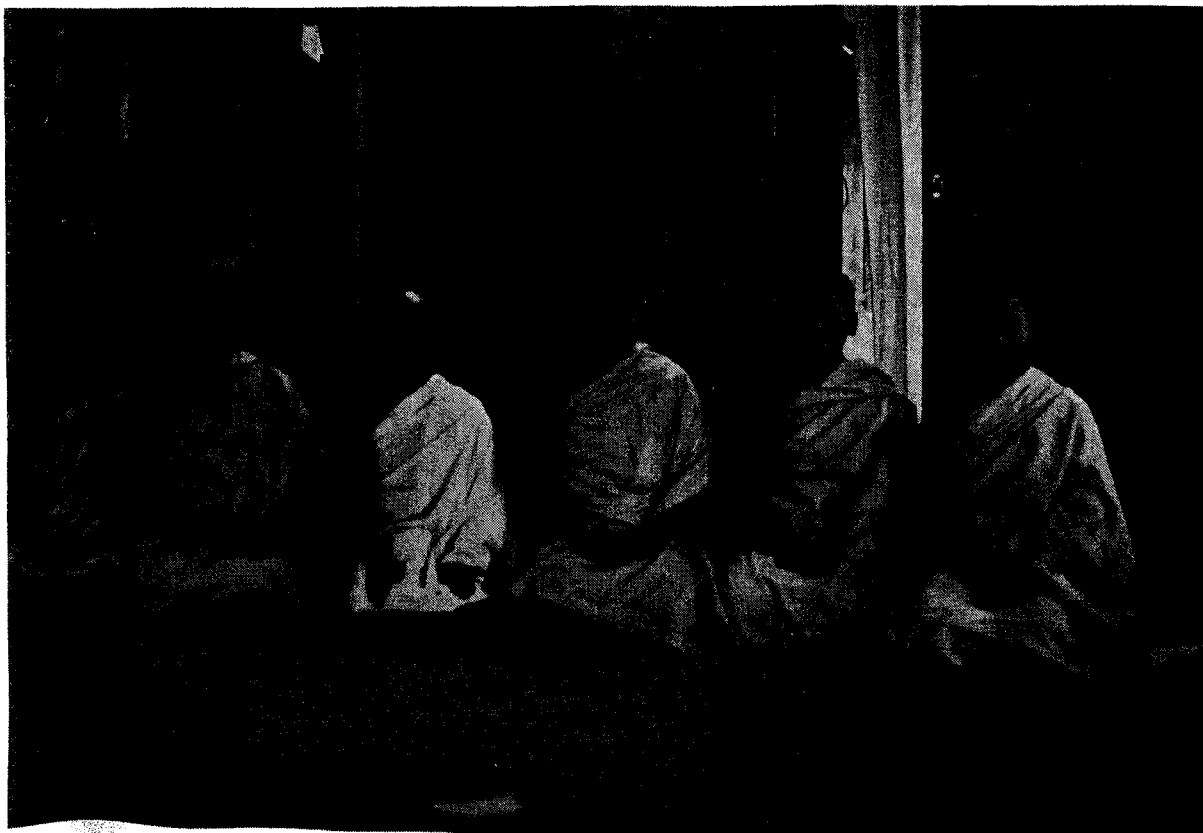
³⁹ See also the remarks of Jacques Maquest, Expressive Space and Theravāda Values: a Meditation Monastery in Sri Lanka, in *Ethos*, 3, 1, 1975, pp. 1-22.



Temporary initiation (pabbajjā) of a young boy. Gaṇa Mahāvihāra, [redacted] Kathmandu



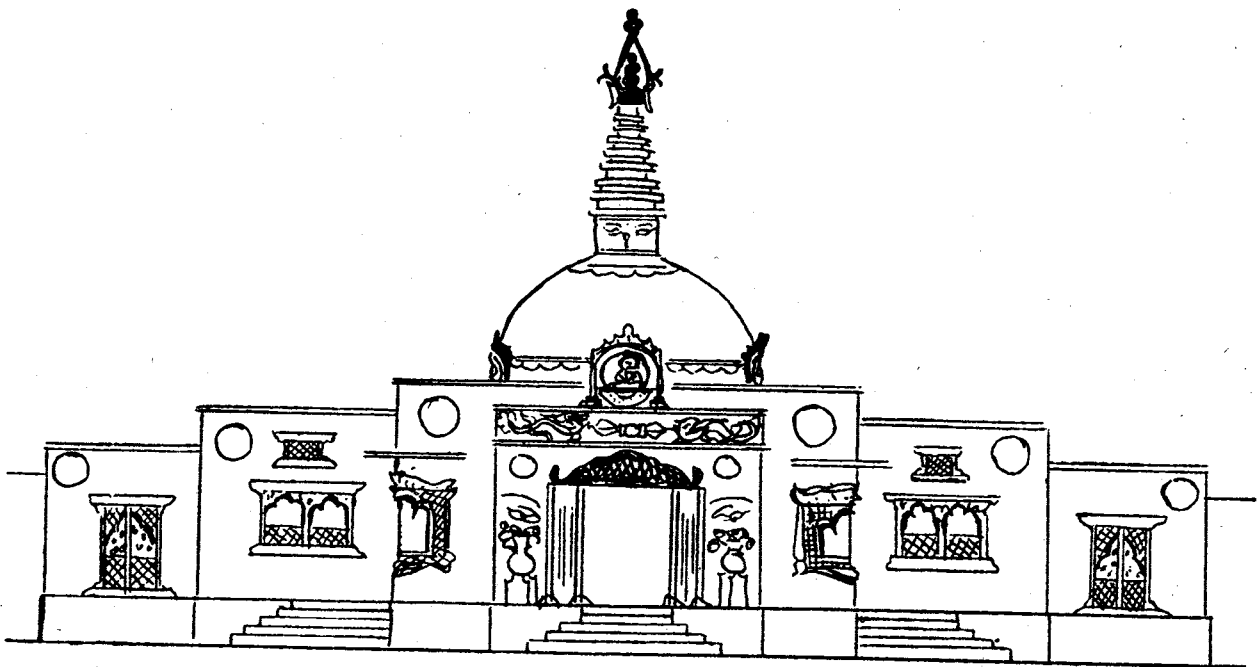
Boys remain in the monastery for some days after initiation.



The nuns of Dharmakirti Vihara, Kathmandu.

ideas. When they are considered as Mahāyāna, as in the case of various rituals, they are rejected. On the other hand we can say that the new interest in Newar culture and literature can for an important part be connected with the success of the Theravāda mission among the Newars. At the same time the monks' international Buddhist relations have prevented too close an association with one community, and an open attitude towards all other religions within the country.

There is a clear influence of Burma, Sri Lanka and Thailand, especially with regard to the education and training of young monks and novices. This has created a dependence on these countries and at the same time provided an opportunity to keep in close contact with them.⁴⁰ Also international Buddhist associations keep in contact with the Nepalese, who are at the same time members of the established Theravāda community and engaged in the promotion of Buddhism in a Hindu kingdom, which in its process of growth towards a modern state will need all its cultural and religious resources as well. It still remains to be seen if in the future we can speak of a typically Nepalese development of Theravāda Buddhism, which may have a role to play in the preservation of the ancient religious traditions in combination with the establishment of a new emphasis on the task of organised religion in a developing country.



Lumbini Vihāra, after a drawing in *Dharmodaya*, 8, 96-97, 1955

⁴⁰ There are plans to start a *pirivena*, a monastery school for novices and monks in Kathmandu so that it will no longer be necessary to send young monks abroad.

APPENDIX

LIST OF THERAVĀDA MONASTERIES IN NEPAL

(March 1977)

I. Monks

| | | |
|------------|-------------------------------|---|
| Kathmandu: | Ānandakuṭi Vihāra: | Bhikṣu Amṛtānanda ⁴¹ Bhikṣu Mahānāma Bhikṣu Kumāra Kāśyapa Bhikṣu Aśvaghoṣa (Bhikṣu Maitri—in Sri Lanka) |
| | Sriḡha Vihāra: | Bhikṣu Jñānasāgara |
| | Bhasatipura Vihāra (Balambu): | no monks ⁴² |
| | Gaṇa Mahāvihāra: | Bhikṣu Sumaṅgala Bhikṣu Subodhānanda Bhikṣu Prajñāraśmi Bhikṣu Sudarśana Bhikṣu Sāsanapāla (Bhikṣu Susobhana—in Bangkok) (Bhikṣu Dharmasobhana—in Bangkok) (Bhikṣu Dharmasukha—in Bangkok) (Sramaṇera Sugandha—in Bangkok) (Sramaṇera Sunīta—in Bangkok) |
| | Mātātīrtha Vihāra: | Bhikṣu Dharmavaṃśa |
| Patan: | Sumaṅgala Vihāra: | Bhikṣu Buddhaghoṣa Śramaṇera Saṅgharatna Śramaṇera Ananda (Śramaṇera Nanda—in Sri Lanka) (Śramaṇera Sumedha—in Bangkok) |
| | Śākyasiṃha Vihāra: | Bhikṣu Prajñānanda Bhikṣu Dharmapāla |

41 In the spelling of the names of the monasteries and the monks and nuns, as well as of Buddhist technical terms, both Sanskrit and Pāli forms are used by the Nepalese Theravādins.

42 The monasteries which have no permanent inhabitants are used for accomodating visiting monks.

| | |
|--|---|
| Mañimañḍapa Mahāvihāra (Dhapaga | Śramaṇera Mahājavana (Śramaṇera Candragupta-in Sri Lanka) Vihāra): Bhikṣu ñānaponika Bhikṣu Silabhadra |
| Kirtipur: Kirtipur Vihāra: | Śramaṇera Upāli |
| Bhaktapur: Muṇi Vihāra : | Śramaṇera Mahinda |
| Samaskṛta Vihāra: | Bhikṣu Vivekānanda |
| Banepa: Candrakīrti Vihāra: | Bhikṣu Mahāpantha |
| Sudarśanacakra Vihāra: | Bhikṣu Bodhisena |
| Dhyānakuṭi Vihāra: | no monks |
| Dhulikhel: Śikhalapura Vihāra: | Bhikṣu Dharmānanda |
| Purvārāma: | no monks |
| Thimi: Paṭi Vihāra: | Śramaṇera Muṇijyoti |
| near Vajravārāhi: Campāpura Vihāra: | Bhikṣu Sugatamuni Śramaṇera Vipāśyin |
| Trisuli: Sugatapura Vihāra: | Bhikṣu Medhankara |
| Pokhara: Vihāra under construction | |
| Tansen: Ānanda Vihāra: | Bhikṣu Śākyānanda |
| Mahācaitya Vihāra: | no monks |
| Holangi (near Tansen): Holangi Vihāra: | no monks |
| Ridi (near Tansen): Sugandha Vihāra: | no monks |
| Butwal: Padmacaitya Vihāra: | Bhikṣu Cuṇṇa |
| Bhojpur: Śākyamuni Vihāra: | no monks |
| Dharan: Buddha Vihāra: | no monks |
| Bungmati: private house: | Śramaṇera Sumana |
| Baglung: Bānglung Vihāra: | no monks |
| Taulihawa (Kapilvastu): Kapilvastu | Vihāra: no monks |
| Narayanghat: Buddhapark Vihāra: | no monks |
| Lumbini: Lumbini Buddha Vihāra | (Nava Mandir): Bhikṣu Anirudha Bhikṣu Vimalānanda |
| Chainpur: Siddha Vihāra: | no monks |
| Without fixed residence: | Bhikṣu Dharmavaṃśa |
| In Sri Lanka: | Bhikṣu Sudharma Bhikṣu Guṇakośa |

Bhikṣu Sangewanchuk
Bhikṣu Maitri (Ānandakuṭi Vihāra, Kathmandu)
Śramaṇera Nanda (Sumaṅgala Vihāra, Patan)
Śramaṇera Candraguṭpa (Śākyasiṃha Vihāra, Patan)

In Bangkok:

Bhikṣu Aggananda
Bhikṣu Susobhana (Gaṇa Mahāvihāra, Kathmandu)
Bhikṣu Dharmasobhana (Gaṇa Mahāvihāra, Kathmandu)
Bhikṣu Dharmasukha (Gaṇa Mahāvihāra, Kathmandu)
Śramaṇera Sugandha (Gaṇa Mahāvihāra, Kathmandu)
Śramaṇera Sunita (Gaṇa Mahāvihāra, Kathmandu)
Śramaṇera Sumedha (Sumaṅgala Vihāra, Patan)

In India:

Bhikṣu Dharmajyoti
Bhikṣu Ānanda

In France:

Bhikṣu Saṅghapāla

II. Nuns

Kathmandu: Mahāparinirvāṇa Vihāra (Kindol): Anagārikā Dhammacāri

Anagārikā Vimukhā

Anagārikā Virati

Anagārikā Yaśodharā

Dharmakīrti Vihāra (Srigha): Anagārikā Dhammavati

Anagārikā Guṇavati (Burmese)

Anagārikā Ratnamañjari

Anagārikā Dhammadinnā

Anagārikā Anupamā

Anagārikā Rūpavati

Kuṅsa Bāhā :

Anagārikā Dhammadassī

Anagārikā Pattācāra

Private houses in Kindol: Anagārikā Viśākhā

Anagārikā Saṅghamitrā

Anagārikā Uttarā

Anagārikā Kuśavati

Anagārikā Dānaśilā

Anagārikā Sumitrā

Anagārikā Śrāvastī

Anagārikā Sarojinī

Anagārikā Khemānandā

Anagārikā Māgandhī

| | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Private houses in Kathmandu : | Anagārikā Sāmāvati |
| | Anagārikā Sujātā |
| | Anagārikā Sujitā |
| | Anagārikā Sucittā |
| | Anagārikā Paññā |
| | Anagārikā Sumanā |
| Patan: Yaśodharā Vidyālaya: | Anagārikā Mādhavi |
| Ila Bāhi: | Anagārikā Muditā |
| | Anagārikā Vijitā |
| | Anagārikā Silapārami |
| Tānī Bāhā: | Anagārikā Suśīla |
| | Anagārikā Saṅgharakkhitā |
| | Anagārikā Anasobhā |
| | Anagārikā Abhayā |
| | a new Anagārikā |
| Śākyasiṃha Vihāra: | Anagārikā Jñanasīla |
| | Anagārikā Satyasīka |
| Private house: | Anagārikā Uppalavaṇṇā |
| Bhaktapur: Samaskṛta Vihāra: | Anagārikā Vajrajñānī |
| Banepa: Private house: | Anagārikā Anojā |
| Thimi: Paṭi Vihāra: one | Anagārikā (name unknown) |
| near Vajravaraḥi: | Anagārikā Dānapārami |
| Pokhara: Buddha Vihāra : | Anagārikā Dharmasīrā |
| Tansen: near Ānanda Vihāra: | Anagārikā Sudhammā |
| | Anagārikā Uppalavannā |
| | Anagārikā Sumedhā |
| | Anagārikā Vivekacāri |
| Mahācaitya Vihāra : | Anagārikā Karuṇā |
| | Anagārikā Vijitā |
| Ridi (near Tansen): Sugandha Vihāra : | Anagārikā Culasubhadrā |
| Hungi (near Tansen): Hungi Vihāra: | Anagārikā Vivesanā |
| Butwal: Padmacaitya Vihāra : a new | Anagārikā |
| In India (Kusīnagara): | Anagārikā Upekhā |

WHO WERE THE DARDS? A REVIEW OF THE ETHNOGRAPHIC LITERATURE OF THE NORTH-WESTERN HIMALAYA

Graham E. Clark
Oxford

BACKGROUND

In the past twenty-five years field research in the Himalaya has largely been confined to the valleys off the southern slopes of the central and eastern parts of the mountain chain. Thus "Himalayan research" has, for the most part, meant research in Nepal. The far north-western Himalayan areas, including the regions of Ladakh and Baltistan, have been in this period all but closed to western researchers. Under these circumstances it is very easy to forget that a mere thirty years ago the picture was reversed: Nepal was the closed country, and the north-western Himalaya, as part of British India, was easily accessible to western explorers and scholars.

Currently the practical possibilities of Himalayan research appear to be altering once again, since parts of the north-western Himalaya have now opened to foreign researchers. We have recently seen, for instance, the publication of the first full-length work based on contemporary field research in Ladakh for nearly forty years (Snellgrove, D., and Skorupski, T. 1977). At the same time there has been a renewal of interest in the major publications from the earlier, colonial period of investigation on both the north-western Himalaya and the Hindu-Kush. Cunningham's *Ladak* of 1854, Drew's *Jummo and Kashmir Territories...* of 1875 and Biddulph's *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh* of 1880 have all been recently reprinted. And the book that heralded this era of study—Elphinstone's *Account of the Kingdom of Cabaul...* of 1815, reprinted formerly in 1819 and 1839—has again been republished (in 1969).

Given this renaissance, it will be useful to appraise the earlier literature, in the hope that future research will be able to integrate critically the work that has gone before. Likewise a review of the works from this early period will prevent us from setting out on research that is either fundamentally misconceived or has simply already been done.

To review comprehensively this body of work would be a major task, since this colonial period of research and travel produced over one thousand books and articles. The census officer for Jammu and Kashmir in 1911, Matin Uz Zamin Khan, aptly noted this:

A bulky literature has accumulated which, consisting of articles and books by persons of various nationalities, Chinese, Tibetan, Persian, Indian, English, American, French, German and other writers, makes most interesting reading. Scarcely any traveller of repute has come to this country, either for pure recreation or bent on geographical or scientific research, who has not written something about our famous land.

Matin Uz Zamin Khan, 1912, *Kashmir, Census of India*, Vol. XX, Lucknow.

It is certainly not my intention to provide an exhaustive review of all these works. Rather, this article is limited to those aspects of the colonial literature that are of ethnographic interest, in the hope of providing some assistance to future anthropological field workers in the region. The main body of this paper concerns writings on 'the Dards' and in so doing gives general guidelines to the available ethnography of the Himalaya generally. In addition, a more comprehensive ethnographic bibliography is given at the end of the paper, which should be of general service. Finally, since certain problems in our understanding of the colonial period derive from the style of the literature rather than from the circumstances of the peoples themselves, this paper has general relevance for the history of ideas of this period.

As the above quotation from Matin Uz Zamin Khan indicates, the first foreign presence in the north-west Himalayan region dates back long before the ascendancy of the East India Company on the sub-continent. For example, in the seventh century A. D. Tibetan armies passed through Baltistan to reach Turkestan, and in the eighth century A. D. the Chinese established a garrison in the Gilgit area (Chavannes, E. 1904 p. 150) Again it is not my purpose to give a detailed history of kings and conquests in an area which, by any standards, has had an extremely turbulent political history; but it is helpful to bear in mind that the two principal vectors of both military and cultural influence have been to and from Tibet, and by way of the Kashmir valley from the south-west. And the influence of the two great religions of Buddhism, and latterly Islam, has generally been tied to military and political conquest.¹

The first European presence in Ladakh dates back to the early seventeenth century, and this was in all probability the coming of the Portugese Diego d'Almeida from Goa to Leh, (Hedin, S., 1922, p.46). Leh, the capital of Ladakh, was a staging post for the Jesuit missionary A. de Andrade, on his way to establish a mission at Tsaparang in 1626 (Wessels, C., 1924, p. 101). The well known Jesuit explorer of Tibet, Ippolito Desideri, passed through Leh in 1715 on his way to Tibet, accompanied by Manuel Freyre. Yet for all their intrinsic historical interest, these early mentions of Ladakh hardly give us much information on the place or the people. For Desideri, Ladakh was little more than a 'Second Tibet', a stopover on his way to Lhasa (de Filippi, F., 1932, p. 76).

At the beginning of the nineteenth century Britain became concerned with the possibility of a renewed threat to India from a post-Dupleix, Napoleonic France. And at repeated intervals throughout that century, Britain perceived a similar threat to the northwest frontier from Imperial Russia, especially with the advent of the railway in Central Asia. The search for a secure frontier to the western flank of India implied, under a 'forward policy', a continual cycle of expansion and consolidation, and the acquisition of the north-western Himalaya followed from the annexation of of the Punjab in 1848.

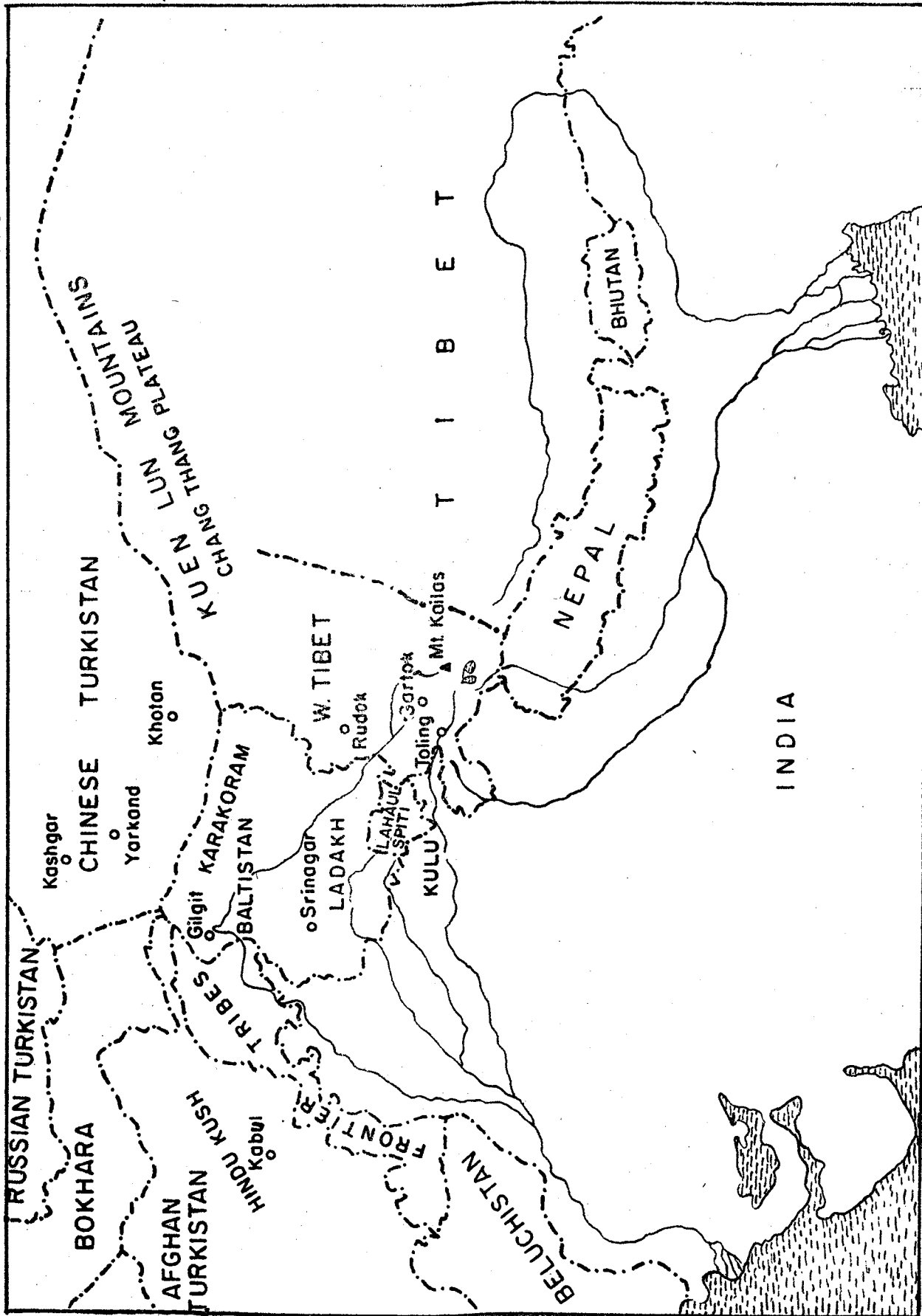
At that time Central Tibet was closed to foreigners, and political and scholarly

interests coincided in focussing on the Hindu Kush and the north-western Himalaya. In a period dating from the initial explorations of Mir Izzet Ullah in 1812, up until the disintegration of British India in 1948, these two regions were the major areas of western exploration beyond the plains of India. Politically more secure than the north-west frontier region itself, Baltistan and Ladakh became hunting resorts for British officers. The region soon became tramped by botanists, cartographers, geographers, glaciologists, geologists, zoologists, political missions and just plain travellers. The scale of this influx was so great that regulations were in force limiting the number of Europeans allowed to winter in the area. Trips to this region became such a routine adventure that a tourist guide to the area was in its ninth edition by 1913 (Neve, A., 1913).

Many of the publications from this period were little more than narratives that focussed on the marches, sufferings and other experiences of the traveller on tour. In other accounts topics of specialist interest—be they geology, land and freshwater shells, or the size and form of the spread of horns of wild sheep—were woven into narratives. A few writers stepped outside the narrative framework of the tour, and attempted a more holistic account of place, people or other topics. Hunters and missionaries, explorers and mountaineers, classical scholars and scientists, political agents and residents, all have written on the area. Their works appear not only under the titles of Ladakh and Baltistan, or the 'West Tibet' and 'Little Tibet' as they were commonly known. Some works are so specific that their titles contain a village name; whereas other works appear under such general epithets as north-western Himalaya, Northwest Frontier, Upper Indus Valley, Karakoram, Transhimalaya, Jummoo and Kashmir, Central Asia, Tibet and India. Even a non-existent country, 'Dardistan', appears as the title to a book on the region that I have here, for the sake of descriptive neutrality, referred to as the 'north-western Himalaya'.

In the main body of this paper we will return to the Dards and Dardistan, but first we will consider the more general problems of material on the people of the north-west Himalaya. Apart from its sheer volume, one has to deal with the antiquity, obscurity and variety of the sources in which material on the Himalayan peoples has been published. These problems become all the more apparent when we search through materials under the humanities, rather than in the more clearly defined natural sciences. Another difficulty, especially germane to ethnological research, is that most of the accounts of the people of the Himalaya are couched in terms of the theoretical assumptions of past centuries. One dominant theoretical current was an offspring of classical European studies, and another drew from the perspective of a naive Evolutionism. The former led to the view that the history of the north-west Himalaya marked the grandiose 'Rise and Fall' of Classical Antiquity. This interpretation reflects the desire of these writers to connect the origin of the Himalayan peoples to those peoples mentioned in Classical Greek sources. The latter theoretical current was based on the

ADAPTED FROM SHERRING C. A. *Western Tibet and The British Borderland* 1906.



use of a discrete, linear, evolutionary tree as the model of the development of peoples. This attempt, however, remained indeterminate, given the authors' own references to the intrinsically contingent nature of these societies, their sub-divisions and boundaries, and to their very real flow and interchange that resulted from historical and geographical circumstances. Indeed, in some works one simply cannot be sure to whom the author is referring under his reified 'tribal' name.

'The Dards' furnish a prime example of all these difficulties. In unravelling the particular historical and circumstantial strands of the 'Dards', I am attempting to illustrate the possible pitfalls of taking this literature at its face value. At the same time, I hope to demonstrate that in many cases these early works do have valuable ethnographic information tucked inside them. And not least of all, this paper should clarify the heterogeneous status of the various peoples who have been called 'the Dards'.

GEOGRAPHY²

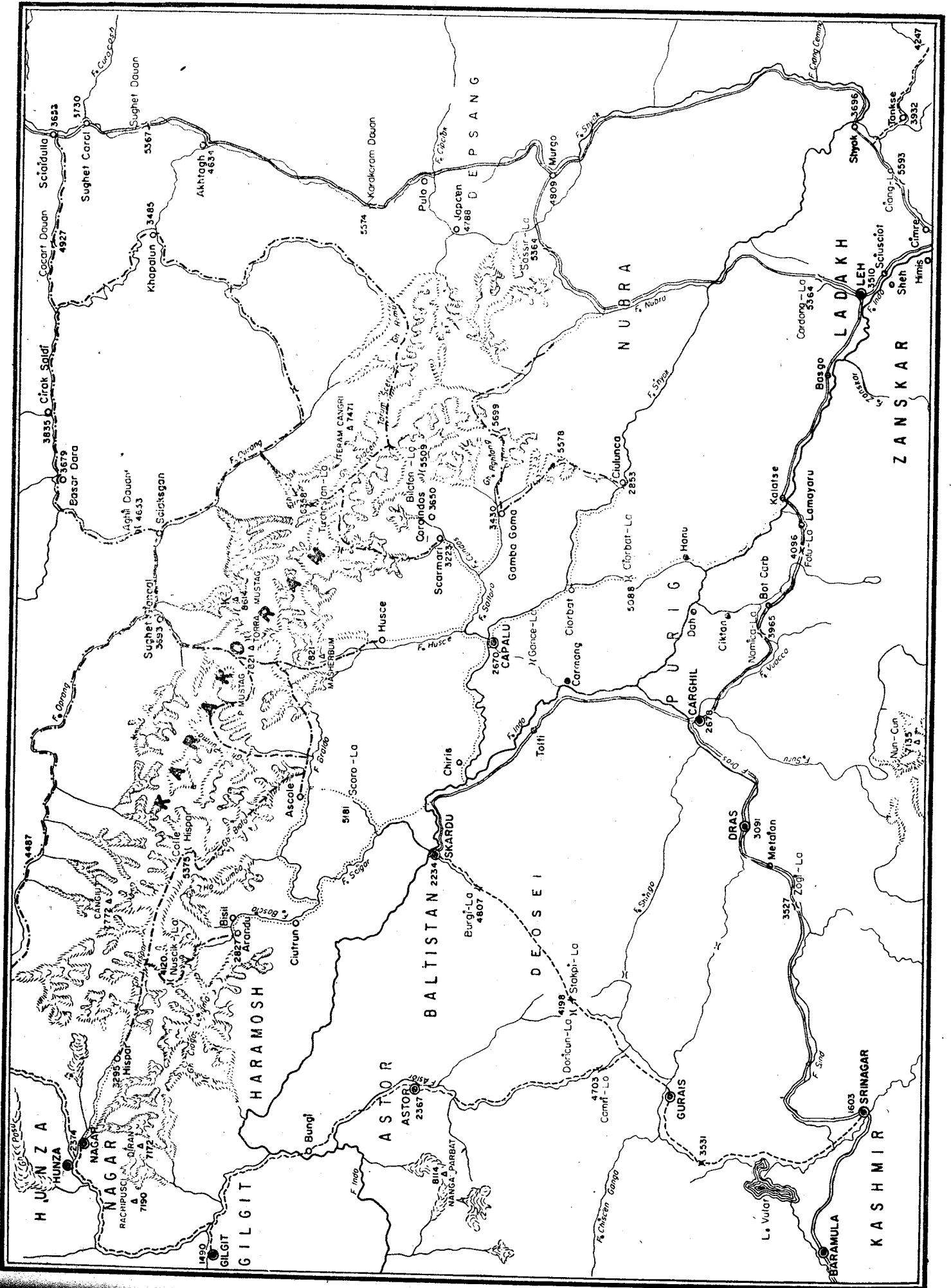
The area here referred to as the north-western Himalaya is located at 76 E. longitude and 35 N. latitude. It includes the area from Ladakh in the east, westwards through Baltistan to the Gilgit region in the north-west.

From the far east, the land slopes downwards from an altitude of over 14,000 ft. from the Depasang, Aksai Chin and Lingzithang plateaus to an altitude of below 2,000 feet on the river valley of the Indus. Except in the far west, this area falls between two parallel main ranges of the north-western Himalaya, namely those of the main Himalayan north-westerly spur, known as the Zaskar range, and the major Karakoram range to the north. The former rises to an altitude of approximately 18,000 ft. The latter range is over 28,000 ft. high and contains the largest concentration of 'giant' peaks and the longest non-polar glacier in the world. This range forms the main watershed between Central Asia and the Indian sub-continent. In the east, between these two ranges, lies the Ladakh range, which is of similar altitude and north-westerly orientation as the Zaskar range. There are three parallel mountain ranges in the south-east, and two in the central western part of this area.

In the valleys between these ranges flow two major river systems, the Shyok in the north and the Indus in the south. The Shyok rises to the north-east of the Karakoram, flowing to the south, and then looping westwards around the region of Nubra. Here it joins the similarly named Nubra river as it flows from the north through the main area of Ladakh. Flowing past the village of Capalu, this river finally joins the waters of the Indus near the village of Chiris in Baltistan.

The Indus, the longest Himalayan river, rises to the south-east near Mt. Kailas in Tibet. Here it flows northwestwards past Leh, to be met by the Zaskar and later the Dras river from the south. These waters then flow through the area known as Purig, before joining the Shyok river from the north-east.

Adapted from Dainelli, 1925. Height in metres.



From the mouths of the valleys lateral to the major rivers, glacier-fed streams provide water for irrigation the whole year round. Terraced fields in the east taper across wide fan-shaped river deltas; on the west they fall along the steep hillsides. The principal rivers themselves almost always flow in gorges deep below the valley floors, making the water inaccessible for irrigation. Many observers have commented on the contrast between the lush cultivated zones, and the stark, barren region outside these oases. The greater part of the population is settled at the edges of these lateral river valleys.

WHO WERE THE DARDS ?

Dards—(Aryan)... chiefly Muhammedans, dwelling in the mountainous country north of Kashmir; the Tibetan Baltis being their neighbours on the east and the Pathans or Afghans on their west.

Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, 1890.

Moorcroft, explorer and veterinary surgeon of the East India Company, returned from his first journey to Tibet in 1822. He then deputed his Indian assistant, Mir Izzet Ullah, to make an exploratory tour in Turkestan to prepare for his own future journey to that area. Izzet Ullah left Srinagar in September of 1812, passing by Dras and Khalatse to Leh, where, after a brief halt, he passed northwards into Yarkand and Chinese Turkestan. He eventually returned to British territory via Kabul in 1813. Moorcroft later made his own trip, but died on the expedition.

Izzet Ullah took extensive notes, especially concerning the route, in Persian. His manuscript was translated into English and published in the *Quarterly Oriental Magazine* of Calcutta in 1825. The article, originally entitled 'Travels beyond the Himalaya', was published in French and German in 1826, republished in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* in 1843, and published yet again, this time as a small book, under the auspices of G. Henderson in 1872. The editor (and probably the translator) of the original article was H. H. Wilson, who later prepared Moorcroft's posthumous notes for publication. He was the Secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the President of the Royal Asiatic Society, the Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford and Fellow of the Royal Society.

Apart from asides of both Izzet Ullah and Moorcroft that were published as occasional letters in the *Oriental Quarterly*, this article is the first publication from personal experience on the north-western Himalaya of the British Raj. It is also the first publication to make reference to the Dards:

The houses of this country hitherward from Matayain were all in a ruinous and deserted condition, a number of persons having been carried off the year before by a party of people called Dardi, an independent mountain tribe, three or four marches north from

Diras (Dras), who speak the Pushtu as well as the Daradi language: their religion is not known. It is said to be a journey of ten stages to Badakshan from Cashmir, through the country to the Dardis. The prisoners they make in these predatory incursions they sell as slaves.

Izzet Ullah, 1825, *Quarterly Magazine, Review and Register*, Calcutta.

It is reasonably clear from this quotation that the area referred to must either be the Astor valley that leads to the Indus, or the southwards area along the Indus river valley from Bunji to Chilas. These were not the only areas that carried out raiding for slaves: up until at least 1869, both Chitral and Hunza indulged in this trade, for which there was a ready market in nearly Badakshan. However, proceeding on the assumption that Izzet Ullah's information is correct, can we find out who these Dardi were ?

According to one source, there were originally four groups of people in the Chilas area, the Bagote of Buner, the Kané of Takk, the Boté of the Chilas fort and the Matshuké of the Matshuko fort (Leitner, 1893, p. 78). According to another source, the Bagote and the Matshuké were originally descended from brothers (Biddulph 1880, p. 15) but in none of these sources are the groups locally referred to as *Dardi*. The only reference to Dards in this area, apart from Izzet Ullah, is from Shaw; the Ardeikaro of the Dah and Hanu valleys are said to refer to a parent group from the Astor valley as *Darde* (Shaw, 1878, p. 3). Can we necessarily assume that the term *Dardi* is a name rather than a description ? Izzet Ullah's rendition of the term *Dardi* in Persian script implies that it has the same root as the word for 'pain'. But since the local language, Shina, is unwritten, and since we do not know what language Izzet Ullah used to obtain his information, it would be wrong to presume a connection between the two words. His orthography can no more be accepted as standard than could a casual orthographic rendition in Roman script. Now Shina is a member of the Indo-Iranian language group that subsequently, and rather ironically, became called 'Dardic'. There are a number of dialects of Shina, of which the Chilas-Darel-Shingo-Dras variety is one. The language spoken between Gilgit and Harmosh on the Indus Valley is another, and that of Rondu-Astor-Skardu is a third (Biddulph, p. 46). These three languages form a group that can be separated from the Shina dialect of the Dah-Hanu valleys, with which it is not mutually intelligible (Shaw, 1878, p. 11; Biddulph, 1880, p. 50; Bailey, 1924, p. xiv). Whether this separation of Shina dialects is due to heavy lexical borrowing from the adjacent Tibetan, or has a more basic linguistic reason, is not known.

Thus Chilas and Dras speak the same dialect of Shina, while the dialect of Astor is different, but closely related. Beyond this linguistic association between these peoples, there is evidence of an actual historical linkage. The arrival of Shina speakers in Dras and Shingo from Chilas and possibly from Astor is historically documented and the pattern of this migration is consistent with our knowledge of the expansion of the Machpon rulers from Skardu down the Indus at the turn of the 17th century. One version of this history is as follows. The then King of Baltistan, Ali Mir, who had defeated King Jambans Namgyal of Ladakh, had four sons. The eldest, Ahmad Khan, succeeded to the kingdom on his father's death. Ahmad Khan himself had three sons, but none of these succeeded him. Rather, his own younger brother, with the aid of a Moghul army, took control of the kingdom. The sons of Ahmad Khan then moved away westwards establishing petty polities in Rondu, Astor and Shingo. It was the movements of these armies that triggered the migration of peoples up the Astor valley and over the Deosei plateau to the Dras and Shingo valleys. People were still migrating along this axis by as late as 1913 (Biddulph, 1880, p. 145; Dainelli, 1925 b p. 171; Petech, 1939, p. 138).

People living in all these areas, although Shina speakers, are not only of the Shin subgroup, but are also of the Yeshkun, Rono, and various 'unclean' groups such as Krammin, Dom, Shoto and Ustad (Biddulph, 1880, p. 35; Leitner, 1896, p. 80).³ The information used here possibly lacks sufficient detail, and it may be that the areas such as Chilas and Astor are too large to consider as homogeneous units. Nevertheless, it does appear that *some* of the Shina speakers of Chilas and Dras, if not those of Astor and Dras, have a very close connection indeed. In this case the use of the term Dard could possibly take on a more local meaning: it could be the name of a minor lineage, a village named after some local feature, even a term of abuse. In the absence of proper ethnographical or linguistic information we cannot make a firm judgment on this point.

However indeterminate this original ethnographic reference to the *Dardi* may be, it marked the beginning of the use of the term 'Dardi' in the literature. As a classicist, H. H. Wilson was clear in his own mind as to who the *Dardi* were. In a footnote to Izzet Ullah's essay, he writes that they were 'the Dards of the classical geographers'. In his preparation of Moorcroft's papers for publication, this footnote was extended:

Few people can be traced through so long a history as these as they are evidently the Daradas of Sanscrit geography, and Dardae, or Daradrae of Strabo. They are also, no doubt, the Kafers of the Mohammedans...

By 'Dardu' or 'Dards', (terms which he used interchangeably) Moorcroft was referring to the people of Gilgit, with whom he quite correctly connected the people of Chilas, calling them Dardu-Chilas. He likewise referred to some of the people of Chitral as Dards (Moorcroft, 1841, II, p. 268). In the map that accompanies his journals there is also a village below Chilas on the left bank of the Indus that is named Dardu. This village is not subsequently marked on any other map. But Moorcroft, it must be realised, never visited that particular part of the Indus by Chilas, nor even Gilgit, and on his journey to Turkestan he was accompanied by Izzet Ullah, who presumably helped him in the preparation of his notes. These two sources are, then, probably just one.

It would be meaningless to select Wilson for individual criticism on the form of his inference. Criticism of Wilson is really criticism of the intellectual climate of his times. In the nineteenth century, the quest for origins was seen as a central part of scientific endeavor and a connection between Oriental Studies and The Classics was considered perfectly direct and conventional. It is now reasonably evident, that the names of peoples that classical scholars (Greek or Indian) mentioned are not always accurate ethnographic references. It must be remembered that the classical scholars themselves had only minimal contact with these varied groups. Such names⁴ were much like modern administrative divisions, little more than vague, and immediately useful, social classifications.

We can, by way of example, take one Sanskrit reference to the Dards and try to decipher its intent:

By the omission of the prescribed duties and also by the neglect of the Brāhmaṇas, the following Kṣatriya jātis have gradually sunk to the position of the Vṛṣala (Sudra or the low-born); the Puṇḍras (or Pauṇḍrakas), Coḍas (or Auḍras), Draviḍas, Kāmbojas, Yavanas, Sakas, Pāradas, Pahlavos, Cīnas, Kirātas, Daradas and Khasas.

Manusmṛiti X, 42-44, quoted in Sircar, D. C., Jour. As. Soc. Vol. IV, no. 2, 1962, 'Sagaras Adversaries', p. 52.

Whilst it is difficult to date the writing of this manuscript, the original was probably composed before the second century A. D. But one does not have the slightest guarantee that the names given are not later interpolations that someone made whilst copying from an earlier manuscript. It is the form of the work rather than the content that is likely to have remained constant. 'Dravidas', 'Cīnas', 'Kiratas' and 'Khasas' refer to the ruling peoples of South India, China and the Limbu-Rai and Indo-Iranian speaking peoples of Nepal. As these were yet ritually unclean this section explains their power in terms of their originally Ksatriya status. It gives an explanation of the anomaly of the existence of non-Hindu rulers in Brahmanical terms. One may argue that these were the high castes' means of classifying non-Hindu peoples of the sub-continent

at one period of history. But if it is this matter of giving an explanation, rather than the list itself, that is the central concern of this section, it would be mistaken to argue that present-day ethnic groups are the social descendants of peoples so classified.

The general reason why these sources are quoted in current works is not for the information they give on the people concerned but because they provide an introductory pedigree to a study. It is conventional to quote them; they are a scholarly reflex, used because they have been used. What is sociologically more interesting is that these classifications themselves have the potential of "creating" the very peoples they apparently describe. In this way the classifications can become self-fulfilling prophecies (Boorstein, D. 1962). What we see in Wilson's precipitation of the Dards of antiquity from the manuscripts of Izzet Ullah and Moorcroft, is the genesis of such a pedigree, a continuity between a past literature and a present people that is assumed rather demonstrated.

From that time on the use of the term *Dard* in the literature had an assumed legitimacy. Csoma de Koros, for example, referred to 'Dard' elements to the west of the 'Balti' (Csoma de Koros, 1832, p. 124). The very use of the terms Balti and Ladakhi as ethnic labels can be seen as examples of identities created by local polities. These same ethnic classifications have been more recently reinforced and extended through their development into modern administrative divisions. Traditionally, the terms Baltistan and Ladakh were used only to refer to the present-day towns of Skardu and Leh. These broader politically-formed identities are still developing and have become part of the modern process of nation building. The early nineteenth century writers were not overconcerned with the creation of any such national identity. Rather, they saw their task of classification as a means of establishing a "scientific" taxonomy of these peoples.

Whilst being able to refer to 'the Balti' in an operational descriptive manner, the early scholars could at the same time ask, 'Who are the Balti?' Vigne, Cunningham and Campbell, writers representative of this period, make use of the idea that Persian, Indian or Aryan characteristics existed among the Balti or in the population immediately to their west (Vigne, 1842, II, p. 217; Cunningham, 1854, p. 291; Campbell, 1867, p. 217). They considered the people of Ladakh and Baltistan as Tibetan, Mongol, or—as some in a more abstract way referred to them—Tartar or Turanian. But these same scholars had to allow for the existence of some Persian or Aryan characteristics to the west. It was for this latter need that the term *Dard*, as a sub-type of Indo-Aryan, proved convenient.

These writings do not provide much in the way of descriptions of peoples, but they do reveal the search for physical or cultural criteria by which the 'prototype' of the people may be discovered. They give geographical distributions of these types, explain the variation in types by reference to their position in an evolutionary taxonomy

of peoples. Hence 'Tibetan' is explained as a type of 'Mongol', itself considered a type of 'Turanian' and so on. To understand the Dards in this kind of scheme, the early writers referred to the terms 'Persian' or 'Indian', and then higher still to 'Aryan'.

The criteria for these classifications were primarily physical. Cultural criteria such as language and religion were also taken into account, although these measures rarely correlated with the physical criteria. This concern with 'genera, orders and species' was natural enough in the intellectual climate that was soon to see the publication of Darwin's work, but there was still a major problem in using such a taxonomical approach. The peoples did not fall neatly into classes. This gave rise to a predominance of 'mixed types' and to interminable discussions as to who a people 'basically' were (with little consideration of what it meant to be such a people). The ambiguities in the classifications also led to the use of *post hoc* logic of migrations and diffusions to explain away anomalies in the taxonomies. Where these theories focussed on presumed 'underlying types' the discussion disappeared into a western evolutionist mythology. But when these theories of migrations and diffusions grew from a consideration of the particular circumstances of real groups of specific, localised peoples, it developed into an interesting speculative history that still carries value.

This history will be examined later in this paper when we consider the writings of Shaw, Drew and Biddulph. Thus far I have illustrated the germination of the idea of the Dards, and the classical and evolutionist climate that allowed this idea to gain currency. However, the real extension of the use of the term 'Dard' derives from a more idiosyncratic writer, G. W. Leitner, whose work cannot simply be placed in either of these two traditions. His work is remarkable in that he not only forcibly and openly writes of the Dards and Dardistan, but also documents his own role in this process.

His work, originally published in 1866, 1867 and 1872 was republished in practically the same form in the *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Reviews* of 1891 and 1892, of which he was editor. His work on the Dards also appears in other articles, and in his *Hunza and Nagyr Handbook* of 1896. For the sake of convenience, I here refer to the supplement to the latter work, entitled *Dardistan*:

The country is indifferently known as Yaghistan, Kohistan, and since my visit in 1866 as Dardistan.... The name of Dardistan (a hybrid between the "Darada" of Sanscrit and a Persian termination) seems now to be generally accepted. I include in it all the countries lying between the Hindukush and Kaghan (lat. 37 N, and long. 73 E. to lat. 35 N, long. 74. 30 E). In a restricted sense the Dards are a race inhabiting the mountainous country of Shinaki... but I include under that designation not only the Chilasis, Astorris, Gilgitis, Daryyelis, etc., but also the people of Hunza, Nagyr, Yasin, Chitral and Kafiristan.

those countries which lie in the triangle between Cashmere and Kabul and Badakshan, and to which I first gave the name of Dardistan in 1866,

Op. cit. , app. viii, p. 8.

Readers of Leitner should be aware of the large area which he includes under the label of Dardistan. His label covers the Burushaski-speaking regions of Hunza, Nagir and Yassin, and the later celebrated Kafirs of the Hindu Kush. One would have thought that it could scarcely be otherwise, as Dr. Leitner was in the habit of repeatedly quoting himself in print. And it is the very effects of the repetition, rather than its logical basis, that seems to have imprinted itself in the minds of his contemporaries.

Leitner was a Hungarian naturalised in Britain, interpreter in the Russian war of 1855; Lecturer in Arabic at King's College, London; Barrister-at-Law of the Middle Temple; Principal of the Lahore Government College; Principal of his own Oriental Institute at Woking in Surrey; principal organiser of the schismatic ninth International Congress of Orientalists of 1891; and latterly editor of the *Imperial Asiatic and Quarterly Review*. By any standards, Dr. G. W. Leitner, LL.D., Ph. D., D. O. L., was a most extraordinary man. As Principal of the Lahore College he was so successful in reforming the College that indigenous Islamic scholars from beyond the territory of British India came to study with him. His most important achievement is not, as he perhaps thought, the discovery of Dardistan, nor his coinage of the expression 'Graeco-Buddhist', but his initial discovery and recording of the unique Burushaski language of Hunza, Nagir and Yassin. His work created its own romantic image, and one can find the following comment in a perfectly serious and scholarly review of his *Languages and Races of Dardistan* of 1867, 1870, 1872:

Hungry, thirsty, and surrounded by enemies, he, with one hand on the revolver and the pencil in the other—occasionally by the dim light of a camp fire—wrote down words and phrases.

Trumpp, E., 1872, *The Languages and Races of Dardistan*, by G. W. Leitner, *Calcutta Review*, April, p. cviii.

But Leitner's enemies were far more often the western orientalists—such as Max Muller, and British politicians—than ever were the inhabitants of 'Dardistan'. Leitner devoted a large portion of his life to arguing for the independence of these hill polities. Much of his later writing is a collection of polemical essays for the press and the British government on this topic.

However entrancing Trumpp's picture of Leitner's field research might be, Leitner himself was in this respect an extremely practical man. He had the good sense

to continue his detailed linguistic research with informants he had brought back to Lahore from such places as Gilgit, Chilas, Hunza and Nagir. One of these informants even accompanied him to England in 1887.

Leitner's main field trip took place in May and October of 1886. But he had to return to Lahore in July following the death of his companion, Cowie, near Dras. He then went back to the Kashmir valley on his most extraordinary quest: to discover whether Mt. Kailas and Chilas were one and the same. The Maharajah of Kashmir, who was at that time using his army to consolidate and expand his rule to the north-west, was, understandably, less than enthusiastic about the presence of a roving Britisher in his territory. Dr. Leitner was forced to withdraw from the Maharajah's territory. He then moved across the Indus to Gilgit to work with the very groups who were resisting the Maharajah. Possibly it was their very unity in opposition to Kashmir which impressed Leitner and led to his idea on the formation of Dardistan.

Leitner's academic research, besides giving linguistic analyses and lexicons of a number of local languages (including Burushaski and Shina)⁵ gives ethnographic notes on customs, genealogies, history and mythology. As a whole it stands as a major achievement. All the same, his ethnographic publications are extremely disorganized, and read like a loosely re-worked sequence of field-notes rather than a book. One can read a beginning page on castes and turn the leaf only to find a section on animal myths printed in a different type-face ! That this should have been so in the early rushed production of his work is excusable. That it was reprinted twice in the same format twenty years later is not.

Furthermore, he has a patently forced and unsophisticated approach to the problem of large-scale synthesis. This is illustrated for the Dards in the following quotation:

As is the case with uncivilised races generally, the Dards have no name in common, but call each Dard tribe that inhabits a different valley by a different name. . . . The name "Dard" itself was not claimed by any of the race that I met. If asked whether they were Dards they said "certainly", thinking I mispronounced the word "dade" of the Hill Panjabi which means "wild, independent", and is a name given them by foreigners as well as "yaghi" rebellious. . . . I hope the name of Dard will be retained, for besides being the name of at least one tribe, it connects the country with a range known in Hindi mythology and history. . . .

Leitner, 1896, *Dardistan*, p. 58.

It is a curious fact about Leitner's work that it contains a recognition of the restricted use of the term 'Dard' to refer to the Shin people around Chilas, and yet the force of his own argument is directed in completely the opposite direction

If Leitner had been a frontier political officer, rather than an educationalist writing bitter polemics to the press, he might well have succeeded in creating a federation of hill states that would have been known as Dardistan. This might, then, have paralleled the creation of the larger polity of Afghanistan or Baluchistan. If there had been a Dardistan, the kind of political processes of integration that we have already discussed for Baltistan, would surely have created the Dards. The idea of a fixed named tribal unit often only occurs at the time of incorporation of a people into a larger national polity; it is a phenomenon of urban ethnicity rather than a traditional truth. But the historical fact is that the boundaries of the State of Jammu and Kashmir were well to the west of the Indus boundary laid down in the 1846 treaty. And Kafiristan became, after the Durand Agreement of 1893, integrated into Afghanistan. The interpolation of a British administered territory between the two can be seen as, firstly, a desire to have a north-western frontier with Russia under direct observation and control, and secondly, as in the east between Kashmir and Nepal, to obstruct an alliance between Kashmir and Afghanistan against British interests.

The effect of this policy was to create centralised autocratic polities which could be observed and influenced by a resident in a central court, rather than to create decentralised federations with their corresponding diffusion of powers and responsibilities. It was political and military circumstance, not the nature of cultural similarities and differences, that was responsible for the creation of those specific polities in that region of the north-west frontier. Although Dardistan was to remain a political dream in the mind of one man, it was a dream of such potency that this man could lead a session of the 9th International Congress of Orientalists entitled 'Central Asia and Dardistan'. Dardistan was to continue to hold a certain academic viability up until the present day.

Whereas the writing of Leitner was idiosyncratic and naive, that of other writers—such as Drew, Biddulph and Shaw—contains a valid speculative history of the region. Their work to some extent disentangles the various ethnical strands in the 'Dardic' picture.

Drew offered one of the clearest treatments of the history of the people of this region. He was a geologist who had entered the service of the Maharajah of Kashmir in 1862 as a consultant mineralogist. He later became responsible for forestry, and finally was Governor of the transhimalayan region of the state before returning to England in 1872, where he took a position as a master at Eton. His popular work, *The Northern Barrier of India*, was published in 1877, and in that same year translated into French (Ernouf 1877). But it is an earlier work, *An Account of the Jummoo and Kashmir Territories* (1875), that originally contained the details of his historical work.

He speculated that the people of Baltistan and Ladakh had originally been pastoralists in the south-east of Ladakh in Tibet. These pastoralists, his theory continued, had migrated down the Indus valley on account of shrinking food resources. The

bulk of the population became sedentary agriculturalists, while the residue formed the Chiangpa group of nomads on the plateau to the east of Ladakh. The group that stayed in Ladakh were pure Tibetans, whilst those who moved westwards to Baltistan absorbed a later immigration of Dards from the west. This absorption, then, accounts for the fact that they were not pure Tibetans (Drew, 1875, pp. 6, 238, 256, 356, 433).

Drew suggested that there were two main Dard migrations. The first was an early movement following the initial immigration of Tibetan nomads but occurring before the arrival of Islam to the area. This population, a pure representative of the Dard type, came from the north-west, over the Braldu glacier from Nagir, and settled in Purig between the two Tibetan populations at Ladakh and Baltistan. Drew termed this group Brokpa (Tib. 'brog-pa), a term which in Tibetan carries the general connotation of 'highland herdsman'. The second group came from the west of Baltistan forming an Islamic Dardic overlay on top of the original Tibetan population. Thus in Drew's picture there is firstly a migration of Tibetans from the south-east, followed by two later migrations of Dards from the north-west and the west that mixed with the basically 'Turanian' type. For Drew, all non-Tibetan people in the region are Dards.

Biddulph, referring to approximately the same groups, suggested a reverse sequence of migrations (Biddulph, 1880, p. 49). Using a local tradition of the people of Baltistan, he maintained that the first inhabitants of the region were Dards, and that later waves of Tartar conquests had overlaid this Aryan people. Like Drew, he splits the Dards into two groups, an early migration into the Dah and Hanu valleys, and a later movement into the Dras area (Biddulph, 1880, p. 50). He did so because of the difference in their dialects, and their own affirmation that they were not kin to each other. He refers to both as Brokpa, but he was aware of the local meaning of the term in Ladakh, where it refers to all outsiders to the west, and in Baltistan, where it is used for all presumed latecomers to the region. Here, all Brokpa are sharply distinguished from the original inhabitants, who are referred to as Bloyil. In Baltistan 'Brokpa' carries a pejorative connotation. Furthermore, Biddulph's work is principally a descriptive ethnography; and in writing on the Shina speakers of the Dras and Shingo valley, he separates them further into two groups, the Shins (or Roms) and the Yeshkuns, following the division of Leitner (Leitner, 1896, p. 80).

Like the writing of Biddulph, that of Shaw is principally a descriptive ethnography. He separates the Dards in the same way as did Drew and Biddulph, i. e. dividing the Dras-Shingo and Dah-Hanu areas. He offers a description of the latter group, who term themselves Arderkaro (Shaw, 1878). Shaw held that all of these groups had come from the south-west via the Deosei plateau.

Now there are notable differences between these three writers regarding the sequence and route of the Dardic migrations. Shaw had them all coming from the south-west, whereas both Drew and Biddulph had them coming from the north-west. For

Drew, the Tibetans are the first-comers; for Shaw and Biddulph this distinction is bestowed on the Dards. Nevertheless in all cases the reader is given precise geographical locations, and it is reasonably clear as to which people are being referred to as the Dards in each case.

Biddulph and Shaw, like Drew, were connected with the British administration of India. Biddulph, formerly of the 45th Bengal Cavalry, was a member of the second Forsyth mission to Yarkand in 1873. He was the Political Agent at Gilgit from 1877 and was connected with the administration of the north-west frontier region until 1895. Shaw, who in 1868 travelled via Leh to Turkestan (Shaw, 1871), was the British Resident in Ladakh from 1871 to 1876. Thus these contemporaries had all spent long periods in the north-western Himalaya, and the general detail of their work reflects an intimate geographical, linguistic, and to some degree ethnographical knowledge of the region. Their speculations have a plausible historicity.

Biddulph himself criticised the earlier use of the terms Dard and Dardistan by Leitner:

His scanty opportunities, however, have caused him to fall into the error of believing that the tribes which he classed under the name of Dard are all of the same race and he has applied the term of Dardistan, a name founded on a misconception, to a tract of country inhabited by several races, speaking distinct languages, who differ considerably amongst themselves.

Biddulph, 1880, p. 9.

Furthermore, he proposed a resolution of the etymology of the term *Dard*:

The name Dard is not acknowledged by any section of the tribes to whom it has been so sweepingly applied... I think that the name must have been given, in a general way, to all mountain tribes living in the Indus valley, by the less warlike peoples of the plains and the effeminate Cashmeris, and that the legend grew up concerning them, not an uncommon one in wild countries, that they were descended from wild beasts. "Why do you call me Dardoo?" is the question most commonly asked by the Gilgits who visit Cashmere. "Because your grandfather was a bear", is the not infrequent answer. Thus from the Persian *dud*, "a beast of prey", or from *darenda*, "fierce", the name Dard may have come to be used as an ethnological term.

Op. cit. , p. 156 f.

The term has a number of possible etymologies. Are we to trace it to the Dard of Izzet Ullah, the Dardu of Moorcroft, the Dade of Leitner, or the Due or Darenda of Biddulph? Shaw, Biddulph and Leitner all wrote that no group referred to themselves as Dards. In looking for the meaning of the term it may be significant that each writer noted the use of the term by different groups for yet other groups.

A group on the right bank of the Indus, who called themselves Maijon, referred to those who spoke a different language and who lived on the other side of the river as Dard (Biddulph, 1880, p. 12). The Arderkaro of the Dah and Hanu valleys referred to a supposed parent group of the Astor valley as Dard (Shaw, 1878, p. 3). A group living on the left bank of the Kandia river in the Hindu Kush were called Dard by their neighbours (Leitner, 1896, *Dardistan*, p. 58). Thus it may be that the term has the connotation of 'outsider' as well as that of 'fierce' or 'uncivilised'.

In spite of his criticism of the use of the term Dard as a proper name, Biddulph advocated the retention of the term Dard in a general sense to refer to the peoples of that region. He also used the term in his linguistic papers of 1884 and 1885.

Familiarity with the full body of Biddulph's work, however, should have dispelled any illusions as to the existence of such a unitary people. In that the writings of Francke and, to a lesser degree, Grierson, persist in this error, the danger of the retention of such a name, even in an operational sense, is easily recognised.

The Rev. A. H. Francke was, along with the other pioneer Tibetologists K. Marx and H. A. Jaeschke, a member of the Protestant Moravian mission that emanated from Herrnhut in Saxony. He stayed for a long period in the north-western Himalaya and published over forty articles, notes and books on the region between 1898 and 1926. For the main part, these are precise, detailed, descriptive works on ethnographical, linguistic and archaeological matters. His descriptions of 'the Ladakhi pre-Buddhist marriage ritual' (1901), 'the drinking songs of Khalatse' (1904), 'the eighteen songs of the Bono-na festival' (1905), and 'the Dards of Khalatse' (1907), are especially remarkable as pioneer ethnographical descriptions of non-Buddhist rituals, and they compare favorably with other ethnological work in the area.

It is extremely unfortunate that Francke's attempted overview, *A History of Western Tibet* (1907), and the general sections of his *Antiquities of Indian Tibet* (1914, 1926), are not works of this class. Whereas his other work is scholarly and descriptive, these works are naive, vague and imaginative to the point of romance. As has been remarked somewhat unfairly, but aptly, in this context: 'A. H. Francke is somewhat handicapped by (a) lack of scientific training and unfortunately more endowed with imagination than with sound and cautious scholarship.' (Laufer, 1918, p. 38).

In his work of 1907 Francke tried to give a comprehensive history of the peoples of Ladakh and Baltistan. He regarded the region as the seat of the ancient Tibetan Monarchy (hence the title) and wrote of four successive immigrations into the region: those of the Tibetan Nomads, the Mon, the Dards, and finally the Tibetans. But Francke uses an extremely dubious linguistic argument to infer that the region was already inhabited by Tibetan nomads at the time of Ptolemy, and that the coming of the Mon marked the arrival of a civilising mission that founded monasteries and temples in the region. Nowadays it is known that the word 'Mon'

(Tb: *mon*) refers in a general way to people from the wooded regions on the southern slopes of the Himalaya, and that in Tibetan *mon* is a rather open classification, not a proper name. Francke, however, argued from the widespread use of the term 'mon' to the greatness of the so-called Mon people. In trying to explain how the Mon in Ladakh consist only of a few low status blacksmiths in each village, he proposes that they were the remains of a population successively subjugated by the Dards and the Tibetans, '... otherwise it is hardly possible to explain why the position of the *Mon* became so much lower than that of the Dards....' (Francke, 1907, p. 26). Having proposed a rise, he also had to suggest a decline and fall in order to account for the fact that no traces of such a civilisation have ever been discovered.

But who, then, are Francke's Dards? He writes that we know more about the Dards than about the Mon since they have not all lost their culture. But this implies that groups lacking the culture that he refers to as Dardic actually possessed it at one time. In his ethnographic work on the Dards he is usually referring to a people who call themselves Minaro, a population centered around Khalatse in Purig. In this and later work he generally translates the word Brokpa as 'Dard'. More surprisingly, he also sometimes translates the term Mon as 'Dard' (Francke, 1917, p. 60).

Thus by arbitrary translation, ruined castles are identified as having belonged to the Dards; because the Brokpa of Dras and the people of Khalatse trace their migrations back to Gilgit, the Dards must have come from Gilgit; because the people of Dah refer to *Rong chu gyud* to the east, the Dards must have once expanded to the east; and when non-mongoloid skulls are excavated at Leh, then they must be those of the Dards.

By the simple expedient of equating the class of 'non-Tibetan' with the Dards wherever it is convenient to do so, he has created a people. It is not surprising, then, to read that the influence of the Dards on the development of West Tibet must have been enormous. As with the Mon, his main problem was to account for their disappearance, their decline and fall. The solution he adopted was the same: as the Dards conquered the Mon, so the Tibetans conquered the Dards, leaving only the fragmentary pockets of people that were present at his time.

Francke's technique was to assume the validity of the historical rise and fall of people. He conceived this process in a grandiose classical manner, and he adjusted, in what can only be called a most extreme manner, the data to fit this pattern. Perhaps a parallel can be seen between his ideas on the pure, civilising Buddhist mission of the Mon and the hopes and aspirations of his own Moravian mission.

Two very surprising facts about his 1907 work are, firstly, its extreme speculative nature (which contrasts with his earlier work on some of these Dard populations) and, secondly, the complete lack of reference to other historical or ethnographic work

published in the late nineteenth century. The writings of Francke the historian seem to be written by a totally different person from those of Francke the Tibetologist; and they are quite distinct from the mainstream of evolutionary writings of the late nineteenth century. He evidently thought in terms of links and parallels between Classical Antiquity and the north-western Himalaya.

Grierson, in both his publication of *The Piśaca Languages of North-Western India* of 1906, and as part of the *Linguistic Survey of India* of 1919, was directly concerned with the classification of the Indo-Aryan languages of this region. In the latter work Grierson makes use of the work of Miklesich (1874, IV, p. 51) and Pischel (1883, p. 368) on the relationship between the Dardic and the Romany languages.

In this classification the major language group of Dardic covers the vast area stretching from Kabul via the Hindu Kush over to and including Srinagar in Kashmir, as well as including a subdivision that is also referred to as 'Dardic proper' or 'East Dardic'. Grierson expressed reservations as to the use of the term Dardic for the language group as a whole, and preferred the use of the term Piśaca, on the grounds that Pischel had already linked the Romany and Shina dialects with the so-called Piśaca group. But due to the negative connotation of the term Piśaca, it was avoided and the supposedly neutral term Dardic was used for the major group in the Linguistic Survey. One will, for example, not only find an entry under *darada* in Turner's comparative dictionary (Turner, 1966, entry 6191), but also a reference to the Dardic language group as a whole.

In avoiding the term Piśaca, Grierson used the term Dard because he presumed that the Shina speakers were proper Dards:

At the present day the country to the north of Kashmir, with Gilgit for its centre, is inhabited by Sins (Dards)...the language of the Sins, or Sina, is one of those which Pischel has connected with Piśaci.

Grierson, 1906, *The Piśaca Languages of North-Western India*, p.2

For Grierson, all the Shina speakers are Shins (he does not distinguish between the Shins and Yeshkuns of Biddulph) and all the Shina speakers are Dards.

One may well wonder to what extent his argument is based on purely linguistic grounds, and to what degree prior ethnological assumptions play a part in this classification. All the languages of the Major Dardic group are Indo-Iranian, and supposedly form a sub-group on account of commonly shared gross phonological peculiarities. He noted that there were many word borrowings from the adjacent and singular Burushaski language that was spoken only in Hunza, Nagir and Yassin. In subdividing these languages of the Major Dardic group, he took account of the peculiarities of the Kafir group, placing them in a special Western sub-group. Kho-War or Citrali were listed as members of the Central subgroup, and the Proper Dardic constituted the members of the Eastern sub-group.

According to a more recent scheme, only those of the Kafir group of the Major Dardic languages are separable from the Indo-Iranian mainstream on such phonological grounds. This leaves the others—namely Kalasha, Cawanbiri, Bashkarak, Phalura, Dameli, Pashai, Tirahi, Khowa, Kashmiri, Kohistani and Shina—as non-Dardic languages belonging to the Indian language family (Lockwood, 1972, p. 192). According to this view, Shina, the Proper Dardic of Grierson's Shins or Dards, is not a Dardic language at all. But according to another recent authority, the term Dardic is not even linguistic, but is merely a convenient geographical expression used to designate the Indo-Iranian languages that exhibit archaic characteristics and that are spoken in the north-western Himalaya and the Hindu-Kush (Fussman, 1973, p. 11).

A further problem for Grierson's Eastern or Proper Dardic group is that it includes not only Shina and Kohistani, but also Kashmiri. No one before Grierson even implied that the people of Kashmir are 'Proper Dards', and one may well suspect that little more than the fact of geographical proximity has created such a grouping. Certainly in his earlier work Grierson states that the only true member of this sub-group is Shina, the others having become Sanskritised (Grierson, 1906, p. 6). But the classification of the *Linguistic Survey* appears, in this case, to be extremely rough and ready.

Grierson had reservations as to the use of the term Dardic, but only with reference to the language group as a whole, a linguists' abstraction which has since become conventional in the literature, not to the Proper Dardic sub-group itself. It is very difficult to know from Grierson's taxonomy where the linguistic argument stops and the ethnological assumptions, or the fact of geographical proximity, takes over. Ethnological assumptions are definitely present in his labelling of the major language group as Dardic, and also in the labelling of the minor family as Dardic, but to what extent the very formation of these groups depends on such assumptions is not known. Such a taxonomy, with two nodes labelled Dardic, is certainly misleading to the casual reader. For Grierson, all speakers of Shina, and possibly those of Kohistani and Kashmiri, are proper Dards. Although he never committed the excess of Leitner in classifying the Burushaski speakers as Dards he, like Francke, failed to take proper consideration of Biddulph's work on this region. Nor did he take account of Biddulph's stricture on the use of the word Dard.

Although Grierson's classification of the Major Dardic language group has not gone unchallenged, the use of the term Dardic to cover this language area has achieved a conventional legitimacy in the literature. Since Grierson's work, 'Dardic' has been commonly used to refer to the languages spoken from the Hindu Kush up to and including Kashmir. This covers an area even larger than that of Leitner's Dardistan.

Following Grierson's linguistic classification, a recent article on the Shina

speakers refers to the area as Dardistan, to the people as Dards, and furthermore connects the Dards to the Kafirs and the people of Kashmir (Jettmar, 1961, p. 79), since they all belong to the same language group. Grierson's logic has, then, turned full circle. Interestingly, Jettmar concludes that all these people are more likely connected with peoples of the Caucasus region than with a group of 'Indo-Aryans'. It appears that 'Dardii' peoples are neither dwellers from the 'Cradle of the Aryan Race' (Leitner, 1896, *Dardistan*, app. VIII, p. 9), nor are they even 'Stray Arians in Tibet' (Shaw, 1878).

CONCLUSION

The term Dard has therefore received a scholastic extension far beyond Izzet Ullah's original use of the term to refer to a group four stages from Dras. For field linguists and ethnographers there is little danger of distortion from the introductory use of the term Dard. But for a comparativist lacking detailed knowledge of the literature, the term is exceedingly misleading. Witness A. G. Haddon's *The Races of Man and their Distribution* of 1924, and J. H. Hutton's *Caste in India, Nature, Function and Origins* of 1946, both of which refer to the Dards and Dardistan.

Not only is it unclear as to exactly which peoples are to be considered as Dards, but the group so named evidently contains heterogeneous peoples, with little connection other than their contiguity. The labelling of any of these peoples as 'Dards' lacks firm basis, either in the ideas of these peoples themselves, or in the classical sources. Both the grouping and its labelling appear to result from misconceptions that have arisen from theoretical biases in the colonial literature.

It is possibly true that, if the region had a different political history in the nineteenth century, a 'Dardistan' would have been created and we would then have Dards. All the same, administrative areas often create rather than reflect ethnic truth.

There are examples from other world areas where such self-fulfilling prophecies have materialized. In Africa, many of the peoples referred to as 'tribes' are actually recent, administratively created entities. The Nilotic and Alur peoples are two such examples (Southall, 1971, p. 377).

This kind of development generally occurs with peoples whose political and social organisation is acephalous and segmentary, rather than with those that have lived under a traditional central polity. This argument follows Fortes and Evans-Pritchard's seminal distinction between state and stateless societies (reference 1940). This distinction may well be of direct relevance to the understanding of the peoples of the far north-western Himalaya. But in this case one can only speculate, as the available ethnography does not allow any such far reaching conclusions.⁷

If such an analysis is applicable, if these Himalayan peoples are in some way acephalous, then the puzzles of boundary definition, and the corresponding problems

of what it is that constitutes a people, would become more intelligible. It is almost definitional of segmentary people that they have no use for the name of 'their people' as a whole. As Southall has pointed out, in these circumstances any single definitive boundary drawn between one tribe and the next is bound to be relative, arbitrary and to some degree a misrepresentation (Southall, 1970, p. 35). Peoples are differentiated in many ways and for many purposes. The extent of 'the tribe' derives from a given context and possesses a situational logic, the coherence of which is structural rather than empirical. Leitner saw the combined peoples of the Himalayan region in opposition to the Maharajah of Kashmir and wrote of them as 'the Dards'; whereas Biddulph, with his longer experience of these peoples in many different contexts, did not see them in any such unitary way.

One can see that in these circumstances the application of the simple 'Pacific Island' model of a tribe—a bounded, discrete social and cultural entity that is geographically localised—clearly could have helped produce the confusion of reference that we have documented for the Dards. Such general historical tendencies of western observers have been discussed by Southall:

The named tribes which appear in the literature frequently represent crystallisations at the wrong level, usually a level which is too large in scale because foreign observers did not initially understand the lower levels of structure or failed to correct the misrepresentations of their predecessors or because some arbitrary and even artificial entity was chosen for the sake of easy reference, despite a realisation that it was fallacious and misleading.

Southall, A., 1970, 'The Illusion of Tribe',
J. As. and Afr. Study, Vol. V, p. 33.

From Wilson to Leitner, from Biddulph to Grierson, the views expressed are all validly encompassed by Southall's statement which could as well have been written on the north-west Himalaya as on Africa. Through documenting the recent political history of the region, and the history of the writing on the region, it is hoped that these facts have been made apparent, and that such a casual reification as the Dards will not reappear in future research on the north-western Himalaya.

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NOTES

- 1 The literary sources for such a history are in Tibetan, Arabic and Chinese; a useful introduction to this material is available in Petech (1939, 1947, 1948).
- 2 The most comprehensive and detailed description of the area is that given in the works of the de Filippi Italian Expedition of 1913, 1914 (de Filippi, (ed.), 1923-1939, Bologna, 16 vols.) Outlines of the geography are given in the more readily available works of these writers, (de Filippi, 1931, Dainelli, 1933). The main series gives numerous sketch maps and photographs as well as excellent and comprehensive 1: 750,000 scale maps of the region, these maps also being available in Dainelli's 1924 work, *Paesi a Genti del Caracorum*. Another excellent map, probably based on the same survey, is available in the Census of India volume on Kashmir of 1944 by Wreford. This is of a scale of 1" = 15.783 miles, and has the reg. no. 2175 E 41 (D. O. 1-1/M) 3,000' 42, Calcutta.
- 3 An informant of Leitner gave the following picture of the ranking and relations between these four groups, . . . "The shin is the right hand, the Yashkun the left, the Kramin the right foot, the Dôm the left foot" . . .) Leitner 1896, Dardistan, p. 63). In the Census of India of 1931 two possible origins of the Rono are proposed. Firstly, that they are descendants of Sumalik, the ruler of Mastuj; and secondly that they are Arabic, being descendants of Muahammed Hanifa, the son of Ali, who was the son-in-law of the Prophet (Raj Bahadur, 1933, p. 321).
- 4 Herodotus (iii, 102-5), Strabo (XV), Pliny (Natural History, XI). According to Bellew, Herodotus is quite accurate in giving the names of peoples in Afghanistan (Bellew 1891).
- 5 Leitner refers to Burushaski as Khajuna (Leitner 1896).
- 6 According to Jettmar, *rom* in Shina refers to a military unit of 500 houses (Jettmar 1961, p. 84). According to Morgenstierne, *shin* (Shin) probably derives from *srennya* and is either an ancient tribal name, or simply has the sense of 'tribesmen' from *Sreñi* in the sense of 'troop' or 'company', (Morgenstierne 1926, p. 58. fn. 1.)
- 7 In the use of the term "acephalous" here I am also following Barth (Barth 1956). In distinguishing between the 'State of Ladakh' in the east, and the stateless far north-west, one can usefully speculate as follows. In Ladakh, since Buddhist monasteries are a major political institution, it is unlikely that recruitment to important positions is based solely on patrisuccecion. (See Carrasco 1959, p. 162-181). In the western regions of Haramosh and Darel people are organised into patrilineal groups known as *dabbars* (Jettmar 1961, p. 84). Circumstantial evidence on segmentation comes from a reference to a "republic of eleven houses" in the west (Leitner 1896, Dardistan, App. VIII, p. 9), and from the well-documented warfare and raiding between these groups when they are not united against an outsider such as Kashmir. Furthermore, there is a higher effective population density in these lower, steeper western valleys than in the higher, arid, less fertile, plains of Ladakh. All these are features which, following the descriptions of African peoples (Fortes and Evans-Pritchard, 1940), make one suspect the presence of a segmentary lineage system in the far west. This is documented for the peoples of the adjacent southern regions of Kohista, Swat and the Indus (Barth, 1956).

However, in this latter literature a distinction, following Drew (Drew 1875, p. 456), is made between "rajaships" and "republics", with only the latter being seen as acephalous. These "republics" are seen as developments from "rajaships"

under a forced conversion from Islam. (Barth 1956 p. 80 ff., Jettmar 1961, p. 85, Staley 1969, p. 23). If this analytic distinction is used there would be three political forms to be distinguished, namely "acephalous", "rajaships", and "state".

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