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Chief Editor: Kamal P. Malla
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**Book Review**

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Social Research in Nepal: A Critique and A Proposal *

Chaitanya Mishra
CNAS/TU

The basic objective of this paper is two-fold. The first is to sketch certain dominant substantive and epistemological biases embedded in the institution and practice of social research in Nepal. The second is to forward a few tentative suggestions towards making social research speak more directly on the limitations, hopes and fears of our people, and of ourselves.

The paper consists of five sections. This section focuses on the preliminaries. The second section endeavours to sketch some of the dominant substantive biases of social research. The third section sketches the dominant epistemological biases of social research. The fourth section tries to provide a few suggestions on research priority alternatives. Finally, the concluding section briefly speculates on the relationship between social research and university teaching in Nepal.

Before I begin, I think I will do well to provide a few clarifications. The first clarification — and admission — concerns the use of the phrase "social research." I intend the phrase to denote most of the research endeavours which recognize and work upon the essential sociality of all human practices, whether they be at the familial or national level, or whether they be primarily political, economic or ideological. Lest this definition appear unnecessarily abstruse, I use the term "social research" broadly to encompass research works (on Nepal) conventionally attached to the disciplines of history, political science, economics, sociology and anthropology. I must admit that I am more of a layman — a curious one at that — than an expert in most, if not all, of these research areas. In a sense, therefore, it is as a layman that I want to assess the biases in social research in Nepal. However, I also have had the benefit of learning from authorities in the respective fields (cf. Sharma 1974, Malla et al. 1978, Nessrec 1981, Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences, 1983). Lastly, assuming the commonality of the various research areas with respect to "the social", I expect to be fairly general and abstract in my exposition such that I may be able to transcend certain "disciplinary specificities."

The second clarification relates to the fact that I will be talking about "social research in Nepal" rather than about "social research at Tribhuvan University." I do this for two interrelated reasons. First, a substantial bulk of social research being undertaken in Nepal is being carried out either at Tribhuvan University or by Tribhuvan University personnel and/or graduates. This will probably continue to be the case for a long time. Second, the University as well as the other research

*This paper was read at a seminar on Teachers' Role organized by Nepal University Teachers' Association, 12-13 December, 1983, Kathmandu.
establishments work under more or less similar constraints, and are engaged in producing more or less similar research works. It is perhaps for these reasons that the contributors to the Malla et al., volume mentioned earlier make an effort to inventory research efforts beyond the University setting.

Finally, the slimness of this paper probably merits clarification, I justify it on two counts. First, I was asked that this paper be brief, short enough to hold attention at a reading session. Second, as I noted at the beginning, this paper is intended only as a sketch rather than detailed and authoritative treatment of the topic.

II

If I may be allowed to plunge head on, the first criticism that can be levelled against the institution and the practice of social research in Nepal is that it has, by and large, proved itself to be incapable of penetrating the centre. It is not my intention here to go explicitly into the 'why' of this problem, although it needs to be, and can be addressed also. We could possibly utilize another reading session for this purpose. However, I merely want to elaborate my point here. The institution and practice of social research has, in general, failed to deal squarely on most of the fundamental issues perplexing the everyday lives of masses of Nepalese people. Research programmes have sidestepped their mundane woes, often opting out for fancier topics. As I make a survey of social research efforts, only a few researchers appear to have made sustained efforts at examining the problems of landlessness (or landedness for that matter), labour, poverty, tenancy, exploitation and the gross socio-economic inequalities that our society is heir to (cf. Regmi 1963-68, 1971, however). Only a few of our researchers have engaged themselves in systematically elaborating the relationship between the society on the one hand, and nature on the other, and on the fantastically active rate at which we are losing and/or destroying our natural resources. Few of us are engaged in specifying the parameters of population growth. Even fewer, if at all, are engaged in investigating corruption and the gross political-administrative-professional inefficiency we know about us. It hardly merits emphasizing that these are our concrete experiences. These are some of our most central concerns. Yet, we do not seem to be able to confront them. Monumental though these problems are, we let them pass by. There can be little doubt, that in the process, we are alienating ourselves from making contributions consonant with long-range national interests.

Second — and this is a corollary to the point made above — the institution of social research has generally come to enshrine slogans, cliches, sycophancy, and the relatively insignificant into its domain. What clearly comes out from a perusal of research efforts in economics is that we are predominantly enchanted with "feasibility and impact studies" and with the ubiquitous "socio-economic survey" (es. Shrestha and Dahal 1978) despite their limited overall significance. Going through
the economic research list compiled by Shrestha and Dahal, one cannot but arrive at the conclusion that most of our economists are engaged in what may be called "the economics of and for the privileged" fundamentally oriented towards problems related to the generation of exchange values. This, despite the fact that the overwhelming majority among us are engaged in the creation of use values, of subsistence, household economics. Commodity economics, not social, human relationship, defines the framework of contemporary economic research.

The situation appears hardly brighter in other disciplinary areas. Research in political science has just about consistently managed to evade problems of generation and distribution of power (cf. Baral 1977, however) and of relationships of dominance and submission. That this is surprising is evident when we consider the fact that by almost all accounts ours is one of the most intensely hierarchized societal forms in existence in the contemporary world. Notwithstanding, one learns that these vital experiences of our daily lives fail to register on the "priority list" of political science research (cf. Baral et al. 1978).

Historical research too, despite its considerable upsurge and promise of the recent years (cf. Regmi 1963, 1971; Bajracharya 1974; Stiller 1973, 1980; and the unfailingly lively issues of Purnima) has taken occasional and halting steps at the provision of a historically coherent and meaningful account of aspects of our social past. Personal-political histories — which probably provide the historian with the whiff of grandeur and power — have continued to dominate the interest of most of our historians. Much of History today remains a fetishized account of genealogy, chronology, inscriptions, myths, events, and above all, of personalities. It is as if, in the eyes of most of our historians, the people were non-persons and their social forms non-entities.

Research in sociology/anthropology has had its share of being preoccupied with the less significant and the peripheral. Mired in discrete and spurious ethnographic accounts and, once again, on "socio-economic survey" and "impact studies", sociology/anthropology has failed to elaborate on the fundamental bases of our social structure and of its cultural manifestations. It might be symptomatic of sociology's unconcern for the mundane that one of the first graduate seminars in sociology at Tribhuvan University focussed on "Spirit Possession in Nepal" (Macdonald 1974: 29). Given its traditional preoccupation with the ideological-spiritual realms as manifested in the ethnic contexts, it comes as no surprise that the very legitimacy of the practice of sociology/anthropology has fallen under the shadow of a soul-searching question mark. How is research in sociology/anthropology to justify itself when the basic problems facing us at large relate to food and clothing (cf. Bista 1974, also cf. Rai 1974)? Clearly, this is not a problem haunting sociology/anthropology alone. Indeed, how is the institution of social research to rationalize its existence given that it continues to address itself to problems peripheral to our social-national existence?
Third, the institution of social research thrives, and operates on, the basis of a more or less explicit collusion with national and international political-administrative-ideological interests. I am not, of course, referring here to an isolated instance of a department or an agency carrying out a particular research project on behalf of one of these interests. What I am referring to relates to the mutual exchanges of legitimacy between these interests on the one hand, and the institution of social research on the other. As we witness the booming business of sponsored research, we cannot but remain uneasy at their distorted research priority agenda. Unless we have a firm belief on the cohesive identity of interests between these research organs on the one hand, and the people who remain the passive subjects of political, economic and sociological/anthropological research studies on the other, this queasiness will persist. As it is, we are slowly but inexorably succumbing to these organizations. We let them define and elaborate our basic paradigm: they do the thinking and we work for them. This surrender — or usurpation — is nowhere more blatantly exhibited than in the official declaration of objectives of the Centre for Economic Development and Administration (cf. CEDA 1978), our premier research institution. It is not my intention here to quote the text of the objectives; suffice it to note that the key reference person of CEDA's research efforts is "the policy maker". CEDA's research efforts, the document assures us in explicit sequence, are meant to help the policy maker in the formulation, development, implementation and evaluation of various plans, projects and policies, and in the reformation of the administration. In addition, we are told, CEDA's research efforts are also directed at recommending alternative ideas, experiences and decisions to the policy maker. CEDA, of course, is by no means unique in its submission to the omnipresent policy maker. One vainly looks for the otherwise familiar old-fashioned adage "service to the people" as one goes through the scores of brochures put out by the various, recently proliferating research establishments. This surrender assumes a greater significance when we examine it against the often voiced criticism of the institution of social research that outstretched upwards as its palms are for research funds and research issues, it incessantly looks down on the people below rarely, if ever, taking time out to judge the hands that dole it out (cf. Nicolaus 1972, Shaw 1972).

To venture on epistemological biases, the first criticism that can be levelled against the institution of social research is that it has sold itself to the atheoretical, epiricistic mode of research. We appear to have arrived at an unanimous consensus on the quintessential image of the social researcher: He is a person who goes to "the field" in "search of facts." We have come to regard facts as given, lying in the villages out there waiting eagerly to be searched out. We remain unconcerned that it is a particular theoretical or metatheoretical standpoint that gives meaning, indeed birth, to a search for facts. Facts are meaningless unless they draw on, and are illuminated by, a particular theoretical/metagtheoretical framework. That is, facts are only as good as the theoretical framework that underlies them if only because research categories cannot be independent of theoretical categories. As it is, we bestow
unserving loyalty on facts: We believe that facts, once searched out, will speak for themselves. It is ironic that we continue to work under this presumption at a time when the very legitimacy of facts in testing theories is being seriously questioned (cf. Habermas 1974).

Second, the institution of social research can be criticized for having failed to assume — let alone practice — that the society we live and carry out our research in, is an interrelated whole, a totality. I hardly need to belabour the point; it is much too obvious to those of us engaged in social research. Yet the institution, and the practice, of social research almost invariably negates this common assumption. Some of us are interested in "economic research", some in "political research", some in "historical research" and still some others in "sociological and anthropological research." We are somehow aware that these boundaries are artificial but because we have been trained, and continue to work under a system that nourishes such a division, we are unable to explore on the essential coherence of our social life. Unable as we are to deal with the whole, we make a virtue out of dealing with the parts. Even worse, many of us mistake the part for the whole. In the process what we lose is a certain meaningfulness, a certain coherence. What we gain is a misrepresentation, a distortion.

Third, it is not at all certain whether the institutionalization of village or micro studies will bear fruit on the long run. The rush for such studies, of course, is evident in the current practice of social research. I do not doubt that when efficiently carried out, such studies will be able to provide useful information on the locale to the various interested sponsors. However, what is of concern here is whether a collection of discrete micro studies can legitimately be taken to have laid the groundwork for a study of similar issues at other levels, e.g., the national level. Clearly there is a serious risk of running into ecological fallacy here. This risk could be minimized to a certain extent, were we to carry out micro studies within a broader macro theoretical-substantive frame of reference which ultimately gives meaning to micro studies. It is apparent, however, that most of us consistently skirt the essential problem of establishing correspondence between a macro-theoretical-substantive framework and the particular micro research study we are engaging in.

Fourth, the institution of social research is generally wedded to research designs which are non-comparative and ahistorical. This is largely attributable to the ad hoc and one-shot nature of most of our research efforts. In any case, it is apparent that research efforts which are neither historically-informed nor cross-culturally comparative, are prone to produce outcomes which are weak with respect to validity as well as generality and significance. A study which can aduce neither historical nor cross-cultural evidence to buttress its arguments is necessarily weak. A good research study, by definition, is one which is historically-and cross-culturally-informed. Most of our studies, however, are sadly lacking on these counts.
Fifth, the current emphasis on 'methodology' — methodological technology to be precise — in social research may not have been entirely to the good. It has certainly aided in the standardization of research efforts, and in the provision of a rather facile means for evaluating them. However, it also has had the consequence of blunting creativity and of creating the impression that methodology is independent of theoretical-substantive interests. This lure of technicism has probably also had the effect of diverting attention from substantive issues. I do not think this is a serious problem with us as yet, but it has been a persistent criticism of social research in the West. Often, certain issues are investigated more with a view to exploiting the "room" these issues allow for a display of elegant methodological technology, and less for an illumination of the issues themselves. A highly-reputed American sociologist once said that as long as you have a problem and you are sufficiently interested in it, you are bound to develop an appropriate methodology to deal with it. A certain degree of methodological flexibility, may not be without its benefits.

Finally, the existing institution of social research, oriented as it is to the scientistic notions of "objectivity" and "value neutrality", has largely emasculated itself by abandoning the role of critical research. Most of us have failed to see, and utilize, research as a practice of criticism. I need not dwell on this any further as it forms the dominant theme of Professor K.P. Malla's (1979: especially pp. 179-206) recently published collection of brilliantly cynical essays, Critical research, however, should not stop at the mere criticism of the phenomenon, of the appearance. Critical research, instead, should try to demystify the phenomenon by continually interrogating on the whereabouts of its roots (cf. Smart 1976: 174-84, Lukacs 1971: 149-59). However, given our attachment to the popular and immensely powerful ideology of scientific research, it is not likely that many of us will work to exploit the potential of critical research.

IV

Clearly, the institution is facing some serious problems. Can we do something about it? I personally would like to forward an explicitly equivocal answer: "No" and "Yes" because, as most of us are aware, many of the problems of social research are intimately related to, and indeed emanate from, currently-existing political-economic and ideological-administrative structures at the national and international levels. "Yes" because we are aware of many of these problems and may eventually have to work towards their solution. In making the following brief suggestions — suggestions which follow from my earlier criticisms — I have merely tried to expand on the optimistic side in the belief that we, particularly the University social research institution, can do something about these problems.

First, I believe that the institution of social research should make a conscious and concerted attempt at delineating the crucial problems facing the Nepalese population at large. It is only then, that we
can be institutionally capable of exploring on the mainstream of Nepalese life, and of dealing with our central concerns. I think we will do well not to commit ourselves to the laissez faire practice of social research, particularly because the social organization of the Nepalese society at large—and of social research as well—is not framed around the laissez faire model. Embedded in this plea is the note that research efforts be directly framed around real, live problems haunting the lives of most of us. As indicated in the earlier section, problems related to the social organization of production and distribution (agrarian production and distribution in particular), poverty and inequality, and power and the State may be regarded as some of the crucial problem areas facing the institution of social research. Far-fetched as it may seem in the present context, social research will be only successful to the extent that it can directly address itself to problems related to our genuine basic needs.

Second, the institution of social research should make an effort to make the practice of research truly interdisciplinary. The transplanted, fossilized disciplinary cocoons we inhabit cannot meaningfully grasp the realities we have to address ourselves to. Indeed, I strongly suspect that these cocoons have certain built-in mechanisms which work very effectively at hiding, or at deemphasizing, the very problems which have the greatest need for illumination.

Third, the institution of social research should make efforts to encourage theoretically-conscious research. Hungry as we are for facts, for information, for data, these will probably be of very little use in the long run—unless of course we continue to move along the current course. To the extent that our research efforts are framed around real problems, the conventional counterposition of "theoretical" and "applied" research would bear little sense. That is, to the extent that theory relates to practice, to the practice of our life, the image of the "theoretician" as one dealing with the irrelevant and the nonexistent deserves little merit. On the other hand, it is only a theoretically-conscious research that can adequately grasp the various manifestations and meanings of our practice. In other words, only a theoretically-conscious approach, because of its totalizing and generalizing focus, can adequately comprehend a problem.

Lastly, the institution of social research must make serious efforts at enlivening the practice of criticism as an integral part of its research undertaking. There must be a realization on our part, that genuine social research necessarily entails a re-examination of the existing social and intellectual order. Critical research achieves this by carrying out a critique of the present, by venturing beyond the present. I think this is the only course open to us if we desire a better future.

V

It is commonsense that research and teaching are interrelated activities. This is fundamentally based upon the recognition that research can reproduce positively only by teaching. Teaching itself, of course,
must be based on research. It is in this context that we, as teachers, should try to visualise the interaction between teaching and research.

It is not my intention to examine this interaction in a great detail. However, even a cursory glance at our teaching practice is enough to indicate that we may not be producing "good" research capability. Admittedly, this is a complex problem and needs to be examined at a greater depth. I feel, however, that the basic reason for this state of affairs is the obvious lack of correspondence between what our students learn in class, and what they experience in life. This disjunction between classroom learning and vital life experiences contributes to a distinct sense of alienation. This in turn serves to nourish "the student problem"—indiscipline, lack of motivation to learn, and lack of commitment.

The major—but by no means the only—constraint with respect to this creation of relevance lies, I think, within the design of the syllabi. I would like to end my presentation by forwarding five interconnected avenues to improve the design of social science syllabi at the University. First, to reiterate, the syllabi should be intimately connected with everyday reality. This is not a mere cliche. A close examination of the currently operating syllabi, I am certain, will bring out a number of grotesque, as well as rather subtle mis-emphases. Agricultural economics and population economics, for example, are regarded as "optional subjects" in the Master's course in economics. Local, district and regional politics, for example, are hardly discussed in the teaching of political science. The situation is not much different in other social science disciplines. Second, Master's level teaching in all social science disciplines should focus explicitly on the Nepali experience—albeit in the world theoretical context. Theories and theoretical models per se should be taught at the intermediate and the bachelor's levels, even if in a rather simplified manner. Third, and as far as it is practicable, repetitions in topics covered at various levels must be avoided. Fourth, courses should explicitly be built around issues which bear current relevance, e.g., ecology, water resources, people's participation and national integration, for a specific body of small, concerned student participants. Such an arrangement, apart from generating interest among students, would also create more specialized and employable manpower while at the same time avoiding the redundancy in graduate expertise. Finally, the courses of study at the Master's level should concurrently allow room for the student's exposure to practical work in the area the student is interested in.

REFERENCES


Illness Interpretation and Modes of Treatment in Kirtipur

Padam Lal Devkota
Kirtipur Campus, T,U.

Introduction

This paper is based on the field work carried as a part of UNFPA Project in 1983 among the Newars of Kirtipur, Nepal. An attempt is made to explore the interpretation and beliefs about causes of illness as held by the people of study area. The nature of community reactions and management of illness are also the special areas of interest on which the whole subject matter of the paper rests.

Social and Cultural Aspect of Illness Interpretation

The traditional interpretation of illness in Kirtipur goes far beyond exploring the ambiguous causes and their appropriate remedies like many other traditional communities (see Tuckett, 1977:293, Foster 1978: 43, Stone 1976:57, Hands 1982:57). The understanding of disease causality stems from a distinctive conceptual organization of Newar culture. Illness for the Newar of Kirtipur is a state in which many natural and supernatural forces partake. Thus, illness and affliction are attributed to deeper and often ambiguous causes. Informants believed that patient's social, moral and ritual situations can be responsible for prevalence of particular illness. Instead of merely analyzing patient's illness in most cases therefore, a correlation is established among the various forces.

Illness in Kirtipur is not simply a biological and metaphysical phenomenon, it is socio-somatic in nature (Renee 1973:9). People always present logico-rational explanations of illness, and curing techniques are organized accordingly within the broader Newar cultural perspective and social organization.

The Kirtipur people hold the belief that agents responsible for various diseases are widespread in their area. It is, therefore, usual that individuals easily come into their influence. When an individual falls ill, his behaviour under the influence of illness is observed by his relatives. They then decided whom to consult amongst several medical practitioners available in the village. Some times experienced people recommend means to control the situation. Invariably, it is the job of traditional medical practitioners who always possess better knowledge and skills to cure the illness. The people of Kirtipur believe that various types of illness are caused by several natural and
supernatural forces and the traditional medical practitioners are the only people who can trace out the disease causation levels and control the situation. For the local people, these illnesses are distinct from each other because the forces or agents responsible for all of them are thought to be playing different roles. As King (1962:91) correctly writes on the theory of illness.

Beliefs and attitudes toward disease in any group will be held with tenacity and assurance that they are quite adequate to explain and handle illness. People believe that the malefic action of another human being or intervention by a supernatural power cause disease, which can be cured only by resort to appropriate magical formula or application to the supernatural power.

Natural and Supernatural Causes of Illness

Illness interpretation in Kirtipur can be divided into two broad causation levels — natural and supernatural. The following is a description of supernatural causation of illness. The role of various traditional medical practitioners in handling such supernatural forces is also detailed. This will be followed by a description of natural forces of illness causation.

Supernatural Causes

The people of Kirtipur believe that numerous illnesses are caused by the 'attacks' (lageajwima) of supernatural forces. It is argued that an intervention of such forces while trapped inside human body can cause illnesses.

1. Chwāsa

Chwāsa is a square elevated ground located in each Newar ward, at the side of a cross-road. It is a public place assigned in each Newar community as a tole or area specific rather than caste specific.

The Chwāsa is a socially accepted place where people can throw household rubbish. When a person dies, the rice (for the man who sits in the mourning site) is cooked using three mud bricks (kaci apā) instead of the usual mud stove. On the last day of mourning (sudhi), these bricks and other ritual items are thrown at chwāsa. It is also an appropriate place for the clothes and other possessions of a deceased person to be thrown. After the birth of a new born, the blood soaked clothes, umbilical cord and placenta are thrown at the chwāsa by the local midwife (didi-aji).

The people of Kirtipur believe that chwāsa is the abode of two spirits, known by kinship terms — grandfather-grandmother (aju-aji). These two spirits are husband and wife according to a local interpretation. One particular informant claims he has seen the old couple one mid-night. According to him, they wore white clothes and were tall,
Another informant argued that āju-aji change their dress and shape to any form. Some informants consider this couple as deities (deo) and others as evil spirits (bhut). On the day of gatha mungal which occurs in the month of June-July, people of each ward gather at their respective chwāsa and worship āju-aji by burning ricestraw (chwāli).

The local belief is that āju-aji attack human beings only when their 'hunger' is not appeased. When one suspects their attack, the hunger must be satisfied, offering a small share (bhag) to them. While small children are most vulnerable, āju-aji can attack adults too. They may act individually or together depending upon their whim.

The sick suffers from severe stomach pain, headache, bleeding through mouth and diarrhoea. He consults a village exorcist (jār-phuk-yaimā) or a vaidya who knows tantric spells (mantra). The practitioner observes, reads the pulse and then decides the causation level of the illness following a trial and error method. If the traditional medical practitioner feels that āju-aji are involved, he recommends that the patient put some cooked rice (jā) and rice lamps on a green leaf of baavinia vahili (ghum). It is to be left at the chwāsa site either in the early morning or after the sunset. If the patient is a child whose feeding ceremony is not yet performed, flattened rice (baji) is offered instead of the cooked rice. The exorcist may recite spells if he thinks the act necessary.

The process of intervention of the chwāsa caused illnesses depends upon the traditional medical practitioners who possess knowledge on the nature of spirits. They are considered indispensable in maintaining a harmonious relationship between the spirits and human beings.

2. Gayo

Gayo is also a public place in Kirtipur. On the last day of mourning rite ceremony, the deceased's relatives are invited to a feast (bhoj). The left over food and garbage of the feast are thrown to the Gayo.

People believe that gayo is the abode of an evil spirit called 'gayo spirit' (gayo-bhut). It is said that, unlike chwāsa which resembles human beings, gayo appears like black ball. Among these spirits, some are more malevolent than others. People claim that if an individual is attacked by the gayo of a particular place called Macadeo, an immediate measure must be taken to ensure the patient's survival.

A person afflicted by the gayo suffers from a sudden and severe stomach pain. A local exorcist must be consulted immediately to relieve the problem. Offerings of flattened rice (baji), ginger (pālu) and salt (ci), must be made to the gayo.

3. Puihayegu

The people of Kirtipur consider water sources (e.g. ponds, wells and natural taps etc.), the abodes of several disease causing agents,
and call such diseases by a generic term Puihayegu. When one suffers from mild stomach ache and high fever, a local vaidya or exorcist is consulted to cure it. The treatment involves putting turmeric coloured rice on a green leaf of Bauhinia vahillii (ghum), making serpent god (nag) from raw cotton and vermillion powder (abir), and consecrating them near the suspected water source.

4. **Deo-Palagu**

A person, who happens to come on the way of god may suffer from the latter's influence. When this happens, the person show symptoms of epilepsy. One can contract this illness anywhere. This disease in Kirtipur is also called topu-waigu. People have to seek the help of a tantric vaidya to cure this illness.

5. **Dhopwa**

In Newari 'Dhopwa' means outlet of a household or ward sewer. It is the abode of the spirit dhopwa, who is considered responsible for man diseases. It is said that dhopwa looks like a small rooster and crows at night to cause illness among people.

The symptoms of this illness are nausea and diarrhoea (jhārā-bāntā) with mild fever (jor). When a vaidya is consulted, he establishes a ritual friendship (miteri) between the patient and dhopwa. The believe is that such relationship compels the dhopwa to remove his ill influence. Grains of uncooked rice (kanikā) are washed in the water and left at the side of the pond or tap.

6. **Bhuji Khā Nyāigu**

In classical Newari bhuji khā nyāigu means 'bites of young flies.' Rashes (khatira) appear on the particular parts of the patient's body. The patient must rub his body with a net bag (jāli-thaili) and press the latter under stone grinder (lo-macā) which is left at the stairs of four days.

7. **Kaladeo**

Kaladeo, the spirit, is believed to reside at a place where garbage from the area is deposited. An attack of Kaladeo brings stomach ache and high fever. A vaidya or exorcist is usually consulted to determine the underlying cause of ill illness (dosa). The remedy recommended for all Kaladeo caused illness in simple: Some flattened rice (baji) is kept on a green ghum leaf and dropped it at the abode of Kaladeo. The local curer may also officiate rituals if the illness requires so.

8. **Chetra Pāla**

Chetra pāla is considered the god that protects the area and its people. His shrine, located at Ward No. 7 of Chithu Panchyat of Kirtipur, is visited each morning by the women of Chithu ward to offer rice
Illness Interpretation 15

grains. The god stone Chetra pala is placed on the ground at the crossroad side of the Chithu Tole. If Chetra pala becomes unhappy, he brings diarrhoea and fever. An exorcist is consulted to cure such illness. He performs a ritual and offers flattened rice (baji), a piece of ginger (pulu) and grains of salt (ci) to the Chetra pala.

9. Gasima or Aisamaca

Children between the age of 3 to 6 years are vulnerable to gasima illness. When a mother becomes pregnant her already lactating child sometime does not like to eat and do unnecessary encumbrance. The child never gets sound sleep and exhibits weeping behaviour. This sort of illness is called gasima maca or aisamaca or sometime also a weeping illness (runce roj). When a child suffers from aisa (weeping) or gasima (very lean and thin) his face is washed in the early hours of the morning and is taken to circumambulate the pipal (ficus religiosa) tree. Items like cow's milk (sadudu), ghee (ghya), honey (kasti) and flattened rice (baji) are offered. Clothes of the child (maca la), clay lamps (kuchila), thatch rope - (kasiwipa) are also taken. A small vessel (ghacala) and the cloth of the child are hung on the rope and tied around the trunk of the tree. The first visit is followed by rituals performed in the name of child, but rest five consecutive days' visits do not need any kind of ritual performance.

10. Khayatamha Deo

The shrine of Khayatamha deo is located at Bhat Bhateni, Kathmandu. This god is said to be responsible for various illnesses among small children. The term 'khayatamha' in Newari means 'child taken by an eagle.' The child contacted by khayatamha deo loses his sense, falls on the ground and rolls the eye upside down. When these symptoms appear, a local vaidya is resorted to cure the illness. The vaidya raises consecrated rice (acheta - sanima) and promises to perform a ritual to the khayatamha deo on a later date (see Stone, 1981:65).

It is believed that the khayatamha deo must be appeased prior to the use of medicine. If an individual does not heed either this medicine does not work or the illness gets worse. In the worship of khayatamha deo people offer rice (jaki), flattened rice (baji), egg (khe), meat (la), beer (tho), ginger (pulu) and soyabean (musya) etc. The single term to denote these ritual items is 'same bajii' in local Newari language.

11. Kyakahagu

The kyakahagu illness is caused by the evil spells (kumantra) directed at an individual by human agents or by supernatural forces. It is said that the spell enters on a particular part of body and affects that part. When it is suspected of kyakahagu illness, the sick must consult a local exorcist (jhar-phuk-yaima). The exorcist recites mantra.
for three consecutive times. In each visit, the patient's affected part is brushed off three times with a particular grass brush (tuphi).  

12. Mikhāwangu

The Newars of Kirtipur consider witchcraft (mikhāwangu) responsible for several illnesses. When a person suspects of evil eye, he goes to a local exorcist. The practitioner can tell who, where and how the deliberate act of witchcraft (kukartu) was accomplished. He performs anti-spells - (ultāmantra) to remove the evil act. When the evil spell is cast through the food items, the exorcist asks the patient to bring food items and consult him either on Tuesday or Saturday. From the tantric viewpoint these two days of the week are considered auspicious. On the chosen day the exorcist recites hymns to extract evil spells from food items and asks the patient to eat them by putting them on the patient's opposite side of the right palm.

Depending on the duration of illness and the effect of evil spell on the patient, the exorcist may continue the treatment from a few days to a few weeks. If the condition does not improve, the practitioner suggests to conduct a worship (pula) in the name of some powerful gods or goddesses.

13. Nakāhaigu

When an individual happens to eat food on which a spell is cast by a female witch (boksi mantra), he contacts the nakāhaigu illness. The symptoms related to nakāhaigu illness are loss of appetite and failing health condition. When these symptoms appear, a tantric vaidya is consulted. When confirmed that it is nakāhaigu illness, the patient is asked to bring food on which the witch is suspected to have cast her spell.

The practitioner mixes honey (kasti), clarified butter (ghya), sugar (sākha) and mustard grain flour (pakā-dhu) with a knife. While he recites mantra, he puts the above mixture on food items brought by the patient. The food is divided into three equal shares; the first for the enemy (satru-bhāg), the second for the offence against the enemy (satru-sikār) and the last for the patient's self-satisfaction (atma-santosh). This tantric exercise conducted by the vaidya to cure nakāhaigu illness is called by a single Newari term 'ulta mantra yāyu' (Lit. to perform a ritual to undo the spells of bewitchmen).

14. Kasāyāwaigu

When an individual falls in deep sleep at night he can get attacked by some trouble-causing agent - kasāyā waigu (probably a particular kind of witch or evil spirit). Once attacked, the individual feels but cannot move any of his body parts. If such attacks are regular, the individual consults a tantric vaidya for the appropriate cure. The vaidya performs incantation (jhar-phuk) to cure the illness. The practitioner prescribes
an amulet (jantar) to wear on the patient’s neck. It is believed that the amulet possesses tantric power against the 'kasāyā waigu.'

15. Sinka Pugu

The informants stated that the illness, sinka pugu, is caused by the 'feast' - god called sinka. The symptoms are loss of appetite and malnutrition. People believe that sinka pugu deo is angered when the house is ritually polluted (chau-chhu) or when it is not offered its share in proper time. Thus, in a feast parts of each food are at first offered to the sinka deo.

For the treatment of sinka pugu illness, a tantric vaidya recommends purification of the patient’s house by plastering it with cow-dung. The tantric vaidya asks samples of meat items which the patient wants to eat. The meat prepared and placed before the patient who is ready to eat is snatched by another person. The patient's consecutive attempts to recover the meat are foiled. This is done to punish the patient for he had foiled to offer the share of sinka pugu deo.

Natural Causes

The Newar community of Kirtipur also believe in another category of illnesses – those which have observable cause and effect (i.e. naturalistic). The rational interpretation of disease causation can be seen in the descriptions of the following illnesses. The particular focus of the description, however, is the societal perception of symptoms described and cures used by the traditional medical practitioners.

1. Sarko

The Newars consider a twitch of muscle (sarko) disease caused by disequilibrium inside the human body. To cure the illness a priest or an exorcist who knows spell (sarko-mantra) is consulted. When the practitioner cures the twitch of muscle on one part of the body by mantras, it shifts to another part of the body and affects it. Application of mantra is continued until the illness is not completely cured.

2. Mikhāshyāgu

All types of eye infections are grouped in a single Newari term 'mikhāshyāgu,' which literally means - 'eye sores.' Informants believed that there may be several causes behind eye infections. When one contacts eye-infection he goes to a local pond early in the morning and washes his face with the pond water. This method of treatment is continued until the infection is completely cured.

3. Janāikai

In classical Newari language, the term 'janāi' means sacred cord worn by the twice-born castes in Nepal and 'kāi', infected wounds
(khatira-patira) on the skin. The disease 'janāikai' appears as boils on the body in a circular form like a sacred cord. Stomach, waist and chest are the bodily parts where usually janāikai appear. The body part where the boils appear first is called 'head' (chyo) and where it appears last is known as 'tail' (nyaphyo). It is believed that when the boils complete a circle, the person may die. Understandably, when janāikai appears, the sick person immediately consults a tantric vaidya. The vaidya draws two figures of the lion (one at the 'head' and the other at the 'tail' of the infected area) with an ordinary ink pen. In the figures, the opened mouth of the lion faces the boils. It is believed that these two figures of the lion would swallow the boils and within a few days the disease will disappear.

Khotahra kai

Khotahra kai means 'big boils and ulcerations' that appear on the body. There is a local belief that khotahra kai appear when a kind of disequilibrium prevail inside human bodily parts. This belief corresponds to the humoral theory of disease causation followed in Ayurvedic and Chinese medical systems.

It is cured by a kind of incense called 'gokul dhup', which is applied on the boil except its mouth. The incense is said to help fester the boil. After the application of incense, the pus comes out. The patient may be suggested to consult an exorcist for protection from the evil eye.

A number of illnesses are attributed to several village deities. People believe that when the village deities remove their protection, (bigrya juima) illness prevail. They are Karunamaya, Indrani, Bagbhairav, uma-Maheswar, viswakarma, mahankal, Ganesh etc. There are individual shrines and statues for all these deities and people offer regular worship (pujā) for them on auspicious days. Unlike the evil spirits, the village deities do not cause illnesses to an individual without reasons; they are the protective forces for the place and people. If an individual offends them, he suffers from illness. Under such circumstances, he prays to these deities to be saved from their designs. He may promise a worship (pujā) to the affiliated deity at a later date, which must be fulfilled. These deities may withhold their protection for an individual being attacked by evil forces. Thus villagers make regular offerings or worship.

The people believe that their life is affected by gods and goddesses whose shrines are located outside their villages. The Hārati mājū, a goddess of small-pox and measles, whose shrine is at Swayambhu, Kathmandu, is worshipped regularly. This is continued even though the small-pox has been already eradicated. Similarly, the Khāyātama deo (the protector of children) of Bhāṭbateni is also worshipped to ask protection. The Unmatta Bhairav of Gyaneswor, Sāṅkata deo of Tebahal, Vijeswari of Sobābāghavati, Kali of Pharping, Matsē Narayan of Machhe Gaon and several other gods and goddesses are also worshipped so that they continue to protect people.
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Illness and Traditional Medical Practitioners

In the eyes of local people, the traditional medical practitioner's knowledge of illnesses caused by various spirits and meditation for a cure through his use of tantric knowledge (tantra vidya) are valid and rational. His significance and legitimacy among the Newars of Kirtipur must be judged on the above perspective.

The traditional medical practitioner plays an important role in the Newar Community of Kirtipur. People trust him because his practice is grounded on the local traditions. Notwithstanding the fact that the traditional medical practitioner provides vague explanations for the cause of disease, his method of treatment incorporates the emotional aspects of the people.

Prevention of diseases and treatment of minor illnesses are areas where the traditional medical practitioners have their greatest success. It is also evident that their skills are used to appease supernaturalistic forces. There are people who increasingly rely on the modern health facilities. As one put it -- "We approach the traditional medical practitioners to cure several illnesses primarily because it has been our tradition."

The traditional medical workers are accepted by the people because they live in the village, understand the social, cultural and religious backgrounds of the community, provide care by using locally available herbs and minerals (Sharma, 1979:80). Thus, they exert a significant influence on the community by providing primary preventive and curative services. Their diagnosis is mostly based on the local beliefs and thus their treatment makes use of local herbal medicines or recitation of Tantric spells.

Despite widespread popularity of modern medicine among villagers, the Traditional Medical practitioners claim to have achieved success in controlling the various illnesses and ailments. The practice of traditional medicine is very much alive and its popularity will remain so in the foreseeable future.

Conclusion

The Newars of Kirtipur are quite able to explain and handle different types of illnesses and ailments that prevail in their communities. Perception of illness crisis and organization of care for the sick are viewed as a societal matter rather than merely as an individual affair. Recently, change has been appearing at the realm of illness perception and treatment organization but their faiths in traditional ways of illness interpretation and age old popular methods of curing still remain unshaken.
NOTES

1. I am highly indebted to Prof. Dor Bahadur Bista for giving me opportunity to conduct research in Kirtipur. I owe a debt of gratitude to Dr. Chaitanya Mishra for his generous guidance and regular inspiration in each step of my academic exercise. Above all, I wish to express my sincere thanks to the people of Kirtipur who provided fruitful information while preparing the paper.

2. Local Midwives (didi-aji), exorcists (Jhär-phuk-yāima), Vaidyas (vaidya), village astrologers (Joshi), bone setters (Lep taimha), female shaman curers (deo-majju) are the renowned Traditional Medical Practitioners of Kirtipur.

3. The Chwāsa, is used synonymously with the cross-road in several Newar community studies. But the term Chwāsa as it is used in this paper may not be applied in that general sense, for some Chwāsa in Kirtipur and Panga are not located at the cross-road.

4. Kirtipur provides unique opportunity to observe an interaction between traditional and modern medical systems of Nepal. To an outside observer, there perhaps exists a rivalry between traditional and modern medical systems, but to the local people both systems are mutually complementary.

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High Altitude Animal Husbandry and the Thakalis of Thak Khola: Biology and Trade in the Himalayas

Andrew E. Manzardo
Dhading District Development Project
Kathmandu

A successful system of animal husbandry is the critical element in maintaining a successful trading system in an area with poor transportation, such as the Himalayas. Although I have argued elsewhere (Manzardo, 1977), that access to pack animals and plentiful pasture land gave the Thakalis an advantage over neighbouring groups in establishing themselves as the major trading group in central Nepal, my stress has been on economic and social structural factors in the Thakalis’ adaptation to life as traders. In this article, I would like to change emphasis and discuss some of the biological and biosocial elements of that adaptation, as well as mention some of the special features of Thakali high altitude husbandry.

The traditional home of the Thakalis is a section of the Thak Khola region of the upper Kali Gandaki river valley known as Thak Sat Sae. The valley floor of Thak Sat Sae lies at approximately 2500 meters, with hills rising steeply on either side of the valley. The rapid changes in altitude provide the Thakalis with an habitat containing many small and sharply different micro-environments.

Domestic animals, on the other hand, are sharply limited by their own biological characteristics to certain defined altitudinal boundaries. Although there is some flexibility of habitat for each animal, the animals domesticated by any group must be limited by the habitats the group has at its command. Since the Thakalis possess small amounts of land at many different altitudes, they have the potential for raising only limited numbers of animals, but can raise animals of many types.

Winter is harsh in the Thak Khola. Most animals find it difficult to survive outdoors. The Thak Khola has only a little winter pasture and fodder is limited. The animal population kept in Thak Khola for the entire year, therefore, must be kept low and be carefully selected. There is a surplus of summer pasture in Thak Khola and the animal population rises sharply at this time. These are not the animals of the Thak Khola Thakalis, however, but largely the animals from neighbouring Gurung and Magar villages, as well as the animals of Thakalis who have migrated to the south. It is profitable for the Thak Sat Sae Thakalis to rent their summer pastures to these outsiders since their inelastic winter animal population ceiling keeps their own summer pasture demand low. This is convenient to the southern groups as well. Winter pasture is plentiful for these groups, but is exhausted by the time spring arrives. Owners then have to seek out new places to pasture their animals. The pastures
of the Thakalis provide these spring and summer pastures. Without them, these groups would have to sharply curtail their animal populations as well.

The Thakalis placed their emphasis on the husbandry of pack animals; especially mules, donkeys and yak. Pack animals provided the basis for trade between India and Tibet. This was the major source of livelihood for Thakalis before the end of the trans-Himalayan trade in the early 1960's. The yearly cycle of trade, the availability of pasture and fodder, and the biological needs of the animals were closely in accord, as we shall see.

Mules were used in the southern half of the trans-Himalayan trade route. This part of the trade was carried out in the winter, when the roads were dry in the middle hills and the northern tarai and when it was too cold for mules to live for long periods in Thak Sat Sae. In the summer, when the monsoon came and made the roads impassable in the south, the Thak Sat Sae pastures were open and full of grass and the mules could have a rest, since they were not needed for trade at this time.

At this time of the year, the yak and cross-breeds, also raised by the Thakalis, were used to carry loads through the high passes into Tibet where the snows had just melted; areas too high for mules to travel. The yak prefers high pasture and can easily survive the cold winters of Thak Sat Sae. It cannot survive in low altitude areas. The biological needs and abilities of the yak, therefore, curiously complemented those of the mule. Thus the two major animals could be used at different times of the year for different transport needs. Each could be kept in its own niche within the variety of niches in Thak Sat Sae. Each served a different role within the Thakalis' overall strategy for survival.

Other animals are found in the remaining niches; animals to plough the fields, animals to ride and to provide milk and other products. These were generally few in number and relatively unimportant to the Thakalis who increasingly commanded so much economic power through their expanding trade.

It is the purpose of this article to explore the complex ballet of movement of animals through the system of Thakalis and to see how the necessities of animal husbandry affected certain historical decisions related to Thakali trade. More directly, however, we will show how the diversity of animals provided the Thakalis a means to prosper within a high altitude environment in Nepal. Finally, the animal husbandry of the Thakalis is looked at in light of its implications for the development of Nepal.

Mules, Horses and Donkeys

Mules and donkeys were the most important animals within the context of the Thakali trade in southern Nepal. Thak Khola lies in a river valley which is the major trade route between the Tibetan plateau and
the plains of India for central Nepal. It was once a very lucrative route because of the salt trade and the related trade in grain and wool.

India and the middle hills of Nepal lack salt, while it is plentiful in Tibet. Tibet was always a grain deficit area and was anxious, therefore, to trade its salt for the surplus grain of the south. Access to transport was a major factor in determining who could participate in this trade. Profit in the grain trade in the central Himalayas lies not in having a local monopoly in supply. Grain storage is still a major problem in the middle hills. Farmers or merchants are unable to store much grain for too long without substantial losses. Instead, success in trade is due to the ability to transport grain to places where it is scarce. The Thakalis' ability to raise the necessary animals gave them the ability to carry out this trans-Himalayan trade at a profitable level. Since trade involved transporting wool and salt to the south and grain to the north profit could be made on both legs of the journey (Manzardo, 1977; 1978).

Mules are driven along the better-maintained roads of the middle hills between November and June each year. During that period, they walk constantly. Mules are well cared for, on the whole, but they tend to get quite run down during their working season. Once monsoon begins, the mules are taken off the trails and are brought up to pasture. Medicine is put on their backs and they are allowed to rest and heal for the summer.

The major expense for the mule owner is fodder. While they are on the trails, mules are fed on barley grown in Thak Khola, since the grass is quickly eaten along the heavily used trails. A mule must be fed three mana (approximately forty-eight ounces) of grain in the morning and in the evening. Each mule consumes roughly three times a human ration in grain each day. With this type of daily fixed cost, mules cannot be kept idle very long.

The needs of the mules strongly effects the type of agricultural production found in Thak Khola. As traders, the Thakalis have been used to purchasing rice for their own subsistence for some time. Before this, however, Thakalis often subsisted on naked barley (uwa) in Thak Sat Sae.

Naked barley is a primary grain raised for human consumption in the high altitude areas of the Himalayas. It can be popped and ground to form tsampa, a precooked flour which can be mixed with hot tea to form an instant meal. It is a staple in the traditional diet of Thak Khola and to the north.

There is a second form of barley found in the area called hulled barley or jaun. This grain is not commonly eaten by humans in Nepal, except in its distilled form as liquor. It is still heavily produced in Thak Khola. The primary economic value of jaun is as a source of transportable animal fodder. The importance of this can be seen from the high production of this grain. At one point when fodder production
began to drop as the result of farmers switching to other forms of production, a localized cost spiral began in the area. It soon became the local equivalent of an "oil shortage," when the shortage of fodder began to drive up the cost of transport and with it the cost of all other goods in the area (Manzardo, 1976). We must conclude, therefore, that the heavy production of hulled barley in the Thak Khola is directly related to the needs of animal husbandry.

In spite of the sensitivity of the cost of animal transport to the price of grain, no other available form of transportation can compete with the donkey or the mule in the moving of goods in the Himalayas. If the cost of building and maintaining a motor road were included in transport cost calculations, this would include motor transport as well. This fact has tremendous implications for the development of the transport sector of the Nepalese economy.

In 1977, for example, mule transport between Pokhara and Jomosom cost ten rupees per pathi on the northward journey, and six rupees per pathi on the southward journey. Human porterage cost eleven rupees per pathi going north, the uphill journey, and seven rupees south, a difference of between 10 and 20%. The actual difference is even greater most of the time, since this survey was taken at the period where the abnormal rise in the cost of fodder mentioned above, had been causing an abnormal rise in the cost of animal transport.

Thakalis' mules are not bred locally. The Thakalis have a taboo against cross-breeding animals. Most Thak Khola mules are purchased in Uttar Pradesh. A single mule costs between 2,500 and 5,000 rupees, and although they can be used for twenty-five years, they do represent a sizeable investment even for a wealthy trader.

Today, with the closing of the bulk of the trans-Himalayan trade in the Kali-Gandaki transect and the emigration of many of the wealthier Thakalis to permanent homes in the southern bazaar towns of Nepal, mules have become less important to the Thakalis of Thak Sat Sae (see Table 1). Although mules and donkeys continue to be used for transport in the area, it is no longer the Thakalis who keep them. The decline in the mule population is directly related to the lack of continued interest in localized trade on the part of the Thakalis. The people of Marpha, Panchgaon and Baragaon are still involved in local transport and keep large numbers of mules and donkeys.

Table 1. Number of Mules Kept in Selected Villages of Thak Khola.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Number of mules</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Taglung</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Sauru</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Larjung</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Tukuche</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Horses continue to be kept for personal transportation in Thak Khola, although they are not used for transport of goods, since a horse cannot carry as big a load as a mule, or operate as cheaply as a donkey. Therefore, they are not considered to provide enough profit in return for their upkeep. Horses must be stabled throughout the year and fodder is expensive, so they are thought of as a luxury in Thak Khola meant only for the wealthy. A horse cost 3,500 rupees in 1974.

Although the trade has diminished along the trails to the north, the importance of mules in Thak Khola still remains high. In 1977, the district headquarters of Mustang district became centred in Jomsom. Along with this came a programme of building offices and officers' quarters. The mules again took an important role in supplying food and building supplies to the government and the army. Thakalis still living in Thak Khola began to bid for supply contracts, and today one sees a return of some trade to the area. The arrival of an integrated rural development project to the area sought to have increased this trend. Without the trans-Himalayan trade, however, the importance of the trade and the mules will continue to be limited.

Yak

The yak population of Thak Khola seems to have risen in recent years (Table 2) gives a rough estimate of the yak population of several Thak Khola villages in 1977.

Table 2. Estimated Yak Population in Several Kali Gandaki Villages: 1977

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Number of herds</th>
<th>Estimated head</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kobang panchayat (nine villages)</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1000+/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tukuche</td>
<td>3-4</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taglung &amp; Kunja</td>
<td>3-4</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marpha&lt;sup&gt;3&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Yaks are utilized for milk products by the Thakalis, and for producing several types of wool.<sup>4</sup> Although the yak was once kept for its meat, it is no longer true.

The Thakalis are sensitive about the question of yak eating, because it represents the locus of an important set of status distinction in Thak Khola. Today, many Thakalis are trying to foster an image of being good Hindus. For this reason, the Thakali Social Reform Organization, which regulates much Thakali social behaviour (see Manzardo and Sharma, 1975), has banned both yak sacrifice and the consumption of yak meat within the group. The Thakalis point to their neighbours, who they claim still eat yak, and emphasize their lower status within the Hindu
system as a result of their continued old-fashioned ways (cf. Schuler, 1979: 65-72 for a detailed discussion of this situation.)

There are several yak pastures in Thak Khola. First, Marpha has its own summer and winter pastures on the western side of the river valley high above the old town of Marpha. Their winter pasture lies at roughly 4,000 metres, and the summer pasture is at 5,000-5,500 metres. The Thakalis themselves have several pastures of their own. Two are found in the hills above Taglung on the eastern side of the valley. The first is a winter pasture called Nupsang; and lies at 4,000-4,500 metres elevation. The second, the summer pasture, is called Marche and is just above at 5,000 metres. Another pasture called Muli is found on the western side of the valley, high above the village of Koba on at about 3,700-4,200 metres. This area is only used in the winter each year. All yaks which use this pasture must be driven across the Kali Gandaki river twice each year going to and returning from the summer pasture at Mache. In order for the yak to find summer pasture they must be brought down from the Muli side, across the Kali Gandaki and be driven back up into the Marche summer pasture.

The yaks are in the hands of professional herdersmen or gothala. The work of a gothalo is lonely and dangerous, the trails to the pasture steep and dangerous, and the yaks bad tempered and unpredictable. The gothalo lives with about fifty other herders for twelve months in the higher pasture areas. These men come down only occasionally to pick up supplies. Gothala are paid a salary and are given a share of the dairy products. They are responsible for the care and safety of the herds as well as for collecting the milk and preparing milk products for delivery. The gothalo milks the yak and separates the butter. All other dairy operations are carried out in the village by the yak owners or their servants. Their only outside contact for most of the year is with villagers who come to collect these dairy products each week.

Milk production is primarily for household consumption, although butter is sold for use in preparing the salty Tibetan-style tea favoured in the area and for use in religious rites. A type of dried cheese is made as well. There is a shortage of milk products from November to June, after the yaks calve each year. Production increases again until the following winter.

Yaks are shorn once a year, just before they are driven to the summer pasture in mid-May. The ahir from the outer coat is woven into a heavy water-resistant cloth called pherpa in Thakali. This cloth is used to make the cover of the herdsman's tent. The finer inner coat of the yak is used to make blankets of the highest quality (seldom done by the Thakalis these days) or the fine hair can be sold for use in making shawls and mufflers.

In 1977, a female yak (mah) with calf cost approximately 1,500 rupees. A herd-owner has between 37,500 and 75,000 rupees invested in his herd. Yaks and cattle are not cross-bred in Thak Khola. We have pointed out that it is taboo for Thakalis to cross-breed animals. Cross-
breeds or dzoba (dzo: singular) are purchased in Dolpa and brought down to Thak Khola. Furer-Haimendorf confirms the statement of some informants that there was once an extensive trade in yak-cattle cross-breeds with Sherpas living in Solukhumbu. The cross-breeds of the Sherpas were considered superior to the local varieties and their sale was profitable enough to consider the risks of the long trek and smuggling them across from Tibet under the noses of the Chinese (cf Furer-Haimendorf, 1975: 195).

Dzoba are generally slower and more docile than yak. This makes them more valuable as pack animals in most cases. Dzoba also are able to operate at lower altitudes than yaks. Kawakita quotes an old Tibetan proverb, "Where maize is planted yak cannot go" (1974: 43). It is generally held that yak cannot live below 3,500 metres for any length of time, dzoo have been seen by the author operating in Darchula Bazar at 3,000 feet. Yaks are needed, however, to cross the highest passes.

Yaks and dzoba were more valued before the closing of the Tibetan trade. Now cross-breeds are becoming less common. Although dzoba could still be found in Marpha in 1977 and may still be present, they were no longer being raised in Thak Sat Sae at that time. Yaks' are still considered to be economical because of their wool and dairy production.

Cattle, Lulu, Oxen and Agriculture

The Thakalis keep few cattle of the low altitude varieties (Bos indicus and Bos taurus) on a permanent basis. The reason for this low cattle population is the lack of winter pasture in the Thak Khola and the need to stable cattle in winter. Although summer pasture is plentiful it is cattle from villages south of Thak Khola that are brought to pasture during the warm season. These cattle have to return to the south, however, before the winter begins. For the Thakalis themselves, stable space was limited and was often needed for pack animals, which made visits throughout the winter. Since the pack animals were the major source of profit for the Thakalis, the larger cattle seemed a poor investment and were seldom kept.

Thakalis and other groups living north of Kanti do keep a miniature breed of cattle called lulu to provide daily milk needs. These animals produce nearly three litres of milk per day, a high production relative to their size and fodder consumption. Lulu are relatively cheap to purchase. A four month old lulu cow cost only 550 rupees in 1977, or only about 100 rupees more than a mature goat at that time. Moreover, the lulu are so small that they can easily be stabled throughout the year and thus all of its manure can be captured for use in agriculture.

Oxen continue to be kept in areas where grain production is important, but fruit production and other types of agriculture had begun to replace grain production in many areas by 1977. So oxen had appeared to be growing less essential to local agriculture as frequent ploughing was seldom practiced in Thak Khola (Manzardo, 1976). My own survey of the area for 1977 is shown in Table 3.
Table 3. Cattle Holdings in Selected Villages of Thak Khola, June, 1977

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Altitude (ft.)</th>
<th>Cattle</th>
<th>lulu</th>
<th>oxen</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Kunja</td>
<td>8700</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Ulla Taglung</td>
<td>9200</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Larjung</td>
<td>8600</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Tukuche</td>
<td>8600</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Thakalis' emphasis on animal husbandry, of course, has affected the crops they select. This is more important for the lower altitude animals such as cattle or sheep. These animals are allowed to use the agricultural fields during some portion of the transhumance cycle; eating grain stubble or feeding on fallow areas. For this reason, the agricultural cycle has to take into account the transhumance cycle. Beans and millet, for example, cannot be grown in Kunja and Taglung because they would be standing in the fields during the period when those fields would be needed as pasture for cattle. The interconnections between the pastoral cycle and the agricultural cycle are important, but the situation is quite common in Nepal and not particular to Thak Sat Sae. Mules and higher altitude animals, however, create no such problem for farmers as they are either on the trail or in pastures far above the agricultural areas.

Sheep and Goats

There are four types of sheep and goats found in Thak Khola. These are: a low altitude variety of sheep (bhera); a high altitude variety of sheep called chaaluk; a high altitude goat called changara; and the common low altitude goat or bakhra.

Sheep were once used as pack animals by the Thakalis, and were particularly important on the section of trail between Tatopani and Khasa, south of Thak Sat Sae. This was a poor road at one time and could only be traversed by human porters and sheep (cf. Hamilton, 1819: 274, Bista, 1976:89, Hagen, 1971 plate captions for plates 67 and 71; Tucci 1962:27). A new road was built on the east bank of the river in 1962, which made the entire route passable to mules.

Sheep can carry quite extensive loads. Elsewhere we have estimated that a flock of two hundred sheep could carry as much as 2.25 metric tons of grain. The general load is about two pathi per head, one in each of two sacks (lukhal) lashed one on either side of a sheep. Kawakita reports that he saw sheep being used between Jomosom and Lumlei, probably on his 1953 expedition, although he does not specify the date. It is unlikely that sheep were continued to be used long after the new stretch of road opened the entire Jomosom trail to use by larger animals. This caused the Thakali-owned sheep population to dwindle. Others, as we have pointed out, continue to bring their sheep and goats to Thak Khola to pasture in the summer. Table 4 lists populations of sheep and goats in selected areas of Thak Sat Sae in 1977.
Table 4. Locally-owned Sheep and Goat Populations in Selected Villages in Thak Khola in June, 1977.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Goats</th>
<th>Sheep and Goats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Kunja</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Ulla Taglung</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Larjung</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Tukuche</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Marpha</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>351</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thakalis do not keep sheep in large numbers for the same reason they don't raise many cattle. The severe limits on available fodder and winter pasture make it uneconomical for the Thakalis to keep large flocks of sheep. Instead the Thakalis rent their excess summer pasture space for the flocks of others and keep the size of their own flocks quite small.

The Thakalis of Taglung rent the use of the Marche pasture to outside shepherds for cash. In 1977, for example, the rent was 100 rupees per flock of sheep for the season. There were eight flocks using the pasture that year. The owner provides his own shepherd, dogs and supplies.

The other Thakali villages rent their share of the other common pasture, the Muli pasture, as a group and demand payment in kind. In 1977, the price was one to two sheep from each flock depending on the flock size. The sheep which are collected as rent are used for the yearly sacrifices to the village earth deities.

Tukuche was once a centre for the livestock trade. According to Furer-Haimendorf, as many as 20,000 sheep were driven down through Thak Khola each year until 1959, when the Chinese put restrictions on the trade. Until 1945, for example, the price of a goat was 25 rupees. By 1958, the price had risen to 40 rupees. In 1960, the price of a goat had fallen again to 30 rupees as refugees began to cross the border into Nepal with their livestock from Tibet with no access to pasture land and no way to feed their flocks. When this surplus disappeared, the price again rose and by 1962 it reached 70 rupees a head (1975:193-194). Kawakita reports that the price of a sheep in 1963 was 93-75/- (1974:95). By 1977, the price was more than 400 rupees.

After the start of the Chinese restrictions on the livestock trade, Thakalis began to go to Dolpa to buy sheep. Jest, in a personal communication, reported extensive Thakali sheep holdings in Dolpa. As the Thakalis began to migrate out of Thak Khola, however, their interest in the sheep trade diminished and others took it over, often with Thakali financial backing. Although locally-raised livestock continues to be sold, but at nowhere near the pre-1959 levels.8

Wool trade was a major source of income for the Thakalis at one time, although very little of the wool which was traded was raised in
Thak Khola. According to Purger-Haimendorf (1975:191-193), Tibet was a major source of Indian wool, but although the Thakalis had control of that portion of the trade that came through the Kali Gandaki valley, it still represented very little of India's overall imports. By 1962, the wool importing business had already declined immensely.

Conclusions

We have discussed the linkages between animal husbandry and trade in Thak Sat Sae. We have pointed out that the Thakalis emphasized raising animals which either directly supported their trade links: such as mules and yaks; or which were themselves objects of trade: such as sheep and goats. Few animals not related to trade were kept.

The study of the features of such an animal-based transportation system in the Himalayas, although now largely a historical study, yields some important points relevant to the development of Nepal. First, it is clear that the Thakalis were able to maintain an efficient and profitable trade network in Nepal utilizing only pack animals, without having need for more modern forms of transport. This system could be maintained without major road improvements, although these were accomplished when necessary with minimal external support (such as the improvements made on the Khasa sector of the Jomosom trail in 1962). The transport system of the Thakalis was cheap and efficient within its own context, and was manageable within the means which were available to hill dwellers.

The study of this Thakali system, however, shows that roads themselves are not sufficient. The key to the success of the Thakalis has combined access to adequate roads with having the proper animals and a means to feed them efficiently. The Thakalis relied on mules for southern trails and yaks for the northern passes. When the trails were bad, the Thakalis used sheep to carry their loads. Thus the animals used were those that could best manage under local conditions. The mode of transport used was appropriate to the roads.

The Thakalis also developed an efficient management programme for their pasture areas, controlling access and charging outsiders for its use. They also developed a system of grain production for use as animal fodder. The Thakalis kept down their cattle population and limited other peripheral animals so that their limited resources could be concentrated on animals which brought the greatest return. Their example could be applied to other areas in Nepal.

The creation of such a transport system is not a simple task. No single activity, such as mere road building, can bring such a system into existence. This is a task which requires a truly integrated approach.

There is a belt of potentially utilizable grassland near the Mahabharat range of Pyuthan, Rolpa and Salyan districts, for example. This area could be developed to increase fodder production. This development would require the efforts of several agencies. The Livestock Department,
for example, has several varieties of improved grass seeds available to it. Agriculture would have to develop an extension programme to teach pasture improvement and production techniques. The Ministry of Panchayat and Local Development would be needed to begin the construction of mule trails or improve current trails, shifting emphasis away from expensive and hard-to-maintain motorable roads. Livestock and mules must begin to be imported, or even better, to be bred for transport. Together, these efforts could act to support the formation of a transport system more appropriate to Nepal's hills.

Currently, there are many places outside of Thak Khola which use pack animals, but horses or sheep are being used instead of mules (Manzardo, Dahal and Rai, 1976). Horses are neither strong nor economical because they require better quality food than mules. These need to be replaced on a systematic basis. Roads need to be improved so that larger animals can be used. Credit is needed to help individuals purchase mules.

I visited a Small Farmers Development Project in Rolpa in 1981. Loans were being arranged for many poor, landless farmers, to make it possible for them to purchase pack animals to make a living. Other projects were to be carried out in the programme area and materials had to be transported to local project sites. The SFDP group organizer, therefore, financed his projects in such a way that the recent purchasers of pack animals would be given "captive contracts" making it possible for them to pay back at least part of their loans from money earned transporting these needed goods. This type of approach could be applied elsewhere.

If the goal of improving hill transportation is to increase the flow of goods and services into the hills and get the loads off human backs, then a system of mule trails, rather than motorable roads, seems a more reasonable approach. Mule roads are easy to maintain. They do not increase oil consumption and thus do not deplete the nation's foreign currency reserves. Most importantly, mule trails allow local economies to grow slowly, without being inundated from the outside. The Thakalis have shown that motor roads are not the only answer, nor even the best answer to the problem of hill transportation in Nepal. Other alternatives exist and should be explored.

NOTES

1. Water buffaloes were found by the author living at 8,000 feet in Taglung in 1977 far above their normal expected range. (Kawakita 1974;43), for example, has reported that buffaloes are not found north of Dana). Keeping buffaloes at this high altitude necessitated nearly constant stabling in an area of the Thakali house normally reserved for commercial activity. As Taglung was an agricultural village and had no commercial activity as such, the area was free for other uses, here to stable buffalo. Since Thakalis claim they don't eat buffalo (as it is considered a cow
from a ritual point of view) and since the milk from a buffalo is hardly profitable enough to justify efforts to keep it; it should be assumed that the buffaloes are kept for reasons other than economic ones. Upon more careful study, it was found that the wife of the householder came from a Thakali family living in Pokhara. She had married back to Thak Khola and brought with her a taste for milk tea, rather than butter tea. The buffalo was a concession to her past.

2. Mules are extremely hardy. I once saw a mule fall from a steep trail south of Ghorepani in the monsoon of 1974. The mule fell, fully loaded, crashing through the trees along the steep hill side. The children walking with us began to cry and the wife of the driver got a look of resignation on her face. The driver slipped over the side, I thought, to pick up the packs of the now broken body of a dead mule. He was gone about ten minutes, but when he came back, he was leading the mule. No human would have survived that fall, yet the mule continued up the trail.

3. Valiex claims that Marpha had a yak population of 102 (1974:273–274). This figure seems more reasonable than the one I was given, but as I was unable to get up to the Marpha yak pasture in 1977, I have repeated the figure passed on to me by the Marshalis.

4. Thakalis believe that the blood of the yak has medicinal properties. They say, that because the yak lives in the high pastures where medicinal plants grow, they must eat them. The medicinal properties of these herbs are said to enter the bloodstream of the yaks, and therefore would be absorbed by those who drink the blood of the yaks. Drinking yak blood is considered, therefore, to be highly beneficial; especially to sedentary Thakalis who spend the year sitting in their stores in large bazaar towns. The benefits of getting out and trekking four to eight days to the yak pasture, spending several days in the fresh air and then returning over the same strenuous route is not considered by the Thakalis in their evaluation. Instead of exercise; the Thakalis attribute the improvement in health to drinking the yak blood itself.

Yak blood is drunk two times each year: once just before the yaks leave Nupsang pasture, and the other in the summer when the yaks are in the Marche pasture. The second of these periods is more important, when hundreds of Thakalis close their stores and travel to the pastures for fifteen days of eating, drinking and good fellowship.

Blood is taken from the carotid artery by the herdsman. He knows how to extract the blood from the yak without injuring it. No more than six tea glasses are taken from each yak. The blood if then sold for about three and a half rupees per glass (1977 figures). The flow of blood is staunched by placing a piece of dung over the cut.
5. A complete account of yak-cattle cross breeds in Dolpo can be found in Jest, 1975, 138-141. The quality of a cross breed can be determined if you know whether the mother was a cow or a yak, whether the animal is a first or second cross and finally the question of the genetic qualities of the parents. A female yak crossed with a bull is called a drimdo and female cow cross with a yak bull is called a phamdo.

6. The Thakalis were once largely dependent on intinerant trade as a basis for survival and as a consequence were largely dependent on their pack animals. In recent years, however, the Thakalis have increasingly migrated out of Thak Khola and have taken up positions as retail merchants in more southerly bazaar towns (Manzardo, 1978). The combination of migration out of Thak Khola and increased dependence on sedentary commercial occupations mean that very few Thakalis are now concerned with occupations which bring them into contact with livestock to anywhere near the degree that once was the case. Many of their decisions involving livestock and the relative importance of one animal over another, however, still remain valid. Although the Thakalis may still own large numbers of animals, individuals actually handling animals usually belong to other groups.

7. This measurement of the load capacity of sheep was arrived at based on figures obtained on fieldwork done among the Byanshi or Sauka, by the author and his colleagues in 1976. The Byanshi at that time were still using sheep for trade transport. The sheep was the only animal that could be used in that far-western area, due to the poor quality of the narrow roads (cf. Manzardo, Dahal and Rai, 1976: 88). Kawakita claims that the pathi, a Nepali measure, gained popularity because it coincided with the load of one sheep's bag (1974: 29).

8. Meat and the preparation of meat have a special significance to the Thakalis. Some of my most delightful afternoons in Thak Khola were spent participating in activities involving the preparation of meat. Since goats or sheep are expensive and since refrigeration is nonexistent, it is most economical to purchase and consume meat communally. The sharing out of the meat and its preparation becomes a community activity, rather than an individual family one. All Thakalis in the community can share in these activities as equals regardless of their economic status within the community. The animal is slaughtered by cutting its throat outside the house of one of the shareholders. The blood is saved in a pan. Nothing goes to waste. The carcass is cleaned (skinned-in the case of a sheep, the hair burned off in the case of a goat) and beheaded before it is brought into the house and laid on a tarpaulin in the middle of the main room. The entrails are removed and the carcass is cut into small pieces by the shareholders. The meat is then arranged in equal piles for later distribution; one pile for each share purchased in the sheep or goat.
Several Thakali delicacies are prepared by the men who have shared in the cost of the goat and while the food is being prepared, the wife of the householder sells liquor to the shareholders.

Each man then gives his marker; a feather, a button, a small pebble etc., to a small child. The child is told to put a marker on each pile of meat. Since the child does not know which marker is which, the effect is nearly a random selection. Each man takes the pile corresponding to his marker or markers. Any disappointment is soon dispelled when the cooked meat and soup is brought out. Everybody eats and drinks his fill. Everybody pays his bill for liquor and the meat and sets off for home.

This activity serves to bring together the community together to carry out other activities as well, such as the settling of community problems or discussions about joint activities. Its importance is reiterated by the fact that this communal meat preparation by an individual's close friends and neighbours (mag-pa) is an integral part of the large ancestor worship ceremony (tha chowa), which was once an important part of the Thakali ritual year.

REFERENCES


Educational Aspirations and Expectations of Rural Youths in Rautahat District of Nepal

Kiran Dutta Upadhyay
Kirtipur Campus
Tribhuvan University

Vital information on rural youths in Nepal, such as their educational aspirations and expectations is still wanting. One may ask several questions about the rural youths. Such as what are their educational aspirations and expectations? Answer to these questions are still lacking.

In 1978-79 the enrollment of children was 65.3, 18.6 and 13.7 percent at primary, lower secondary and secondary levels respectively (Gurung in The Children of Nepal, 1981: 88). This low and decreasing enrollment highlights the increasing drop-out ratio of the youths in the country. From this, it is inferred that a high proportion of our youths belong under the category of out-of school and no-schooling youths.

Hence, the situation is rather grave that the misery in youths lie in the corner of the Nation. If we look towards education and culture, the drop-out and the no-schooling youths remain the number one problem of the elementary schools in spite of free elementary (Prathamik) education. While this drop-out and no-schooling pattern is distressing, it is worsened by the fact that most are unskilled and are, therefore, either unemployed or underemployed. This is because, the phenomenon is at its height when the youngsters finish elementary education, especially in the rural areas. Like other developing countries, youths constitute a major percentage of the population in Nepal. These youths do not get adequate opportunities to gain knowledge and to develop skills to make themselves responsible and productive citizens. There is an urgent need, therefore, to provide them with the necessary opportunities and alternatives for their proper development.

In this line, Castillo (1971: 16) opined that as a residual category, the out-of school youths ipso facto tends to be viewed as a problem. Such a conception unfortunately reinforces merely the stereo-typical belief of the common man, which may be stated, simply as "in as much as they are of school age and they are not in school, then efforts must be made to get them back to school; and if that is not possible then the second best thing would be to devise programmes which would compensate for their lack of schooling."
Objectives of the Study

This study attempts to determine the educational aspirations and expectations of rural youths in Rautahat district which lies on South-Central Terai belt of the country. First and foremost this paper aims to define these two variables. Educational aspiration refers to level of schooling the youths want to attain. Whereas, educational expectation refers to level of schooling the youths could have attained, considering their economic and other opportunities.

Selection of Village Panchayats and Respondents

Out of the nine Panchayats which had high schools, three were randomly selected. The three Village Panchayats were Potihahi Bharahari, Santapur, and Pipra Bhalohia. The following were the criteria for the selection of the study area

- a Village Panchayat having a high school;
- a school within the Rautahat district; and
- agriculture as the main occupation (livelihood of the populace).

From the list of three different sampling population, (in-school, out-of-school, and no-schooling youths) a proportionate sample of 10 percent from each category was drawn using random tables. These constitute the respondents. Finally, 122 youths became the respondents of this study.

Hypothesis of the Study

To determine the educational aspirations and expectations of the rural youths the following null hypothesis (H₀) was formulated.

The educational aspirations and expectations of rural youths are not associated with the following independent variables which were taken into consideration in this study.

Demographic-socio-economic factors:

1. age
2. sex
3. civil status
4. sibling position
5. religion
6. caste
7. level of schooling
8. size of farming land of parents
9. tenure status of parents
10. income of parents.
Family Background

1. Educational attainment of parents.
2. Occupations of parents.
3. Number of Children.
4. Parents' influence on the youth.

Research Design and Research Instrument

The research design followed in the study was the Ex-Post Facto Design, because the researcher was not in a position to control the variables as they already took place.

The data were classified, and analysed in terms of their statistical meaning and significance taking into consideration the objective of the study. The Chi-Square ($X^2$) statistic was computed to test the validity of the null hypotheses. The hypotheses were accepted or rejected to 0.05 level of significance.

Method of Analysis (Categorization of Variables)

Age was dichotomised into teen or young. Respondents whose age were 15-19 were classified as teen, while those whose age ranged from 20-25 were classified under young category.

Sex was categorised as either male or female.
Civil status was categorised as either single or married.
Sibling position was classified as eldest, middle, and youngest children of the family.
Religion was categorized as either Hindu or Muslim.

Caste was categorized as Brahmin (or equivalent), Kshyatriya (or equivalent), Vaishya (or equivalent) and Sudra (or equivalent).

Level of schooling was classified into four groups based on the number of years of schooling, namely, illiterate, primary (1-3 yrs. of schooling) middle (4-7 yrs. of schooling) and high (8-10 yrs. of schooling and above).

Size of farming land of parents was classified into small landholding (less than 1 ha.), medium (1-5 ha.), and large (above 5 ha.).

Tenure status of parents was categorized into owner cultivator, owner and tenant, and tenant.

Income of parents was the annual income of the family which was categorized into low (up to Rs. 2,500/-), middle (Rs. 2,501/-, Rs. 5,500/-) and high Rs. 5,510/- and above).

Occupation of parents was classified into farming, employed, business, housekeeping and labour. Respondents who were engaged in farming
were classified under farming. Those who were employed in any kind of employment were classified under employed. Respondents who were engaged in any kind of village business such as vending were classified under business. All kind of farm and non-farm labours were classified under labour.

Number of children was categorized into small family (4 children and less), medium family (5-7 children) and large family (8 children and above).

Educational aspiration was dichotomised into low or high. Respondents who aspired no interest to study and those who aspired for primary, middle school, and vocational education (1 yr. of schooling after 7th yrs.) were placed under low. The respondents who aspired for high school and college education were placed under high aspiration.

Educational expectation was dichotomized into low or high. Respondents who expected no interest to study and those who expected for primary middle school and vocational education (1 yr. of schooling after 7th yrs.) were placed under low. The respondents who expected for high school & college were placed under high expectation.

Selected Factors and Level of Educational Aspirations and Expectations of Rural Youths

It was hypothesized that the level of rural youths' educational aspirations and expectations would not be affected by demographic-socio-economic factors and family background factors. However, the Chi-square independence revealed that civil status, sibling position, level of schooling, level of schooling of fathers and mothers, tenure status of parents, size of farming land of parents, income of parents, number of children, parents' influence on educational expectation, parent's influence on occupational aspiration, and parent's influence on occupational expectation were significantly related to the rural youth's educational aspiration and expectation.

Caste was found to be significantly related to the rural youth's level of educational aspiration and expectation. Whereas, in the case of the youth's educational expectation, religion, occupation of father, and parent's influence on educational aspiration were found to be associated. The Chi-square test revealed that religion and parent's influence on educational aspiration on the youth were significantly related to the rural youth's level of educational expectation. Occupation of father was found to be especially important. (Tables 1 & 2).

Civil Status

The educational aspiration and expectation of the respondents were highly affected by their civil status; implying that the educational aspiration and expectation of the respondents who were single were 'high'.


Table 1: Chi-square values for the test of relationship between the Independent Variables and level of educational aspiration of rural youths.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demographic-Socio-Economic Factors</th>
<th>X^2 VALUES</th>
<th>DF</th>
<th>LEVEL OF SIGNIFICANCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>1.20</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>1.91</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>ns</td>
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<tr>
<td>Civil Status</td>
<td>47.91</td>
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<td>**</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sibling Position</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>3.91</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caste</td>
<td>13.13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level of Schooling</td>
<td>36.06</td>
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<td>**</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tenure Status of Parents</td>
<td>23.74</td>
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<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Size of Farming Land of Parents</td>
<td>50.43</td>
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<tr>
<td>Income of Parents</td>
<td>27.45</td>
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<tr>
<td>Family Background</td>
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<tr>
<td>Level of Schooling of Father</td>
<td>54.37</td>
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<td>**</td>
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<tr>
<td>Level of Schooling of Mother</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>**</td>
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<td>Occupation of Mother</td>
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<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Children</td>
<td>56.06</td>
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<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents' Influence on Educational Aspiration of the Children</td>
<td>2.40</td>
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<td>ns</td>
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<tr>
<td>Parents' Influence on Educational Expectation of the Children</td>
<td>17.96</td>
<td>1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents' Influence on Occupational Aspiration of the Children</td>
<td>28.23</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents' Influence on Occupational Expectation of the Children</td>
<td>40.22</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Significant.
**Highly Significant.
ns Not Significant.
Table 2: Chi-square Values for the Test of Relationship between the Independent Variables and Level of Educational Expectation of the Rural Youths.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDEPENDENT VARIABLES</th>
<th>$X^2$ VALUES</th>
<th>DF</th>
<th>LEVEL OF SIGNIFICANCE</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Demographic-Socio-Economic Factors</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>1.08</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>2.09</td>
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<td>ns</td>
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<tr>
<td>Civil Status</td>
<td>33.00</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sibling Position</td>
<td>29.03</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>6.32</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caste</td>
<td>9.66</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level of Schooling</td>
<td>29.35</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenure Status of Parents</td>
<td>17.12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Size of Farming Land of Parents</td>
<td>56.70</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income of Parents</td>
<td>23.46</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Family Background</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Level of Schooling of Father</td>
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<td>Level of Schooling of Mother</td>
<td>20.87</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation of Father</td>
<td>20.16</td>
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<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation of Mother</td>
<td>4.61</td>
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<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Children</td>
<td>29.97</td>
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<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents' Influence on Educational Aspiration of the Children</td>
<td>4.94</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents' Influence on Educational Expectation of the Children</td>
<td>12.35</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>**</td>
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<tr>
<td>Parents' Influence on Occupational Aspiration of the Children</td>
<td>24.23</td>
<td>1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents' Influence on Occupational Expectation of the Children</td>
<td>54.44</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Significant.

** Highly Significant.

ns Not Significant.
compared to those who were married. The relationship between the two is
direct and positive; that is, if the respondent is single, the higher is
his educational aspiration and expectation. It is usually presumed in
Nepalese society that a single person is more free than a married. One
He has less responsibility relating to family affairs. He is free to
think only about himself. Thus, it is safe to assume that the rural
youths who are single are more likely to aspire to and to expect higher
education than those who are married.

Sibling Position

Statistically, educational aspiration and expectation of the youth
were found to be influenced by his sibling position. The inference that
may be made from this observation is that the older (eldest) ones have
more responsibilities in the family. In some cases they have to give up
their education to be able to acquire employment so that they can support
the family including the education of their younger brothers and sisters.
In this case, the relationship between the two was found negative; that
is, if the respondent is middle or younger, the higher is his educational
aspiration and expectation.

Religion

The educational expectation of rural youths was affected by their
religion. The majority of the respondents were Hindus. Chi-square re-
vealed that those who were Hindus have higher expectations than those
who are Muslims. Generally, in the Nepalese society, the Hindus belong
to the upper strata. They have more exposure in society. So, it can
be concluded that due to their religion, they can expect more in their
education as compared to the Muslims.

Caste

The Chi-square test revealed that belonging to a certain caste
significantly influenced the level of educational aspiration and expecta-
tion of the rural youths. This finding implies that the caste of the
youth affected his educational aspiration and expectation. Youths, who
came from Brahm, Kshatriya, Vaisya had high educational aspirations
and expectations as compared to those in the lowest caste, Sudra.

The variations in the level of educational aspiration and expecta-
tion of the respondents with varying castes could perhaps be explained
in terms of their social status and more exposure to society. The upper
caste people have higher prestige in society. Presumably, they have
better exposure to the outside world. They perhaps become more know-
ledgeable and have a better grasp of the importance of education.

The Sudra belongs to the lower stratum in the social stratification.
Generally, the Sudra used to perform functions which pay much less.
Though they might have been exposed to the importance of education, they
cannot afford the same. In Nepalese society, the thinking is that "why
do you think if you cannot afford?". It may be argued that due to these deeply ingrained values in society they are inhibited from aspiring to expecting higher education.

Level of Schooling

The Chi-square test revealed that the level of schooling of youths was significantly related to the level of educational aspiration and expectation. This means that educational attainment affects the level of educational aspiration and expectation to a great extent. The relationship between the two is direct and positive; that is, the higher the educational attainment of the rural youth, the higher the level of his educational aspiration and expectation. This is to be expected since high educational attainment is usually associated with better performance in any undertaking. It is presumed that an educated person possesses better thinking. Thus, it can be assumed that the rural youths with middle or high school education can visualize more than that of their illiterate or primary educated fellows. So, they aspire for and expect high education.

Tenure Status of Parents

The Chi-square result revealed that youths whose parents were owner-cultivators had high educational aspiration and expectation as compared to those youths whose parents were owners and tenants, and tenants.

From this, it may be presumed that the owner-cultivators cultivate their own land, harvest more, are economically better off and thus possess high status compared to the owners and tenants, and tenants. They are in a better position to send their children to school. Hence, their children might have shown high educational aspiration. Though their expectation was lower than what they aspired for, it was still high compared to the children of the other two groups (owners and tenants; and tenants).

Size of Farming Land of Parents

It was found that the children from medium-landholding families had high educational aspiration and expectation compared to those of large and small-landholding families. Though the former expected less than what they aspired for, it was still high compared to the latter two groups.

From this, the following argument can be presented. Youths from the large-landholding families are from comparatively higher income groups. They have less strain and stress in their life. They tend to be more easy-going in their ways.

On the other hand, the youths from small-landholdings though they aspired for higher education might not have expected much because of their economic limitations.
Youths from middle-landholdings are from the middle-class family. They experienced hard times in their struggle to maintain the family, as well as to fulfill their aspirations and expectations. They are hard-working and also have comparatively better standing in society. The struggle in their lives might have made them realize the importance of education for upward mobility. They know how hard their parents have tried to support them in their education. This might have made them aspire and expect more as compared to the youths of the other two groups.

Income of Parents

The relationship of youths' educational aspiration and expectation and the income of parents were found highly significant. Chi-square result showed that youths from the middle-income family had high educational aspiration and expectation as compared to high and low-income families. Though the youths from high and middle-income families could expect equally, youths from low-income groups had very low expectation.

The findings may seem to be in order. In most cases the low-income groups have a hand-to-mouth existence. The parents are usually not in a position to support their children's education. Even though some of the children aspire for high education, they cannot expect it. The youths from high-income group might have an easy-going life. They are not faced with the hand-to-mouth problem. The parents' property is in the back of their lives. They might have thought that they do have their parents' property to support them. This might be one of the reasons why they give less importance to education.

Youths from the middle-income group might be in the stream of struggle. It is a question of survival. They know that their parents had to face hard times to support their education. If they do not perform well, their parents will not support them further. Family situation might have influenced them to realize the importance of education. They might have regarded education as a passport for a job and, ultimately, as support for their family in the long run. This might have influenced them to aspire for and expect higher education than the other two income groups.

Level of Schooling of Parents

In both cases, parents' level of schooling and youths' educational aspiration and expectation were found highly significant. The Chi-square result revealed that as the level of youths' parents' educational attainment increased, a greater number of respondents tended to have high aspiration and expectation.

From this, it can be argued that educated parents were more knowledgeable. They gave importance to education, and they were in a better position to analyze and finalize their childrens' situations as compared to illiterate and less educated parents. They realized that education can uplift them to a better social standing. In spite of their economic limitations, the educated parents' children could aspire and expect more, when compared to illiterate and primary educated parents.
Occupation of Father

Educational expectation was high among children whose fathers' occupation was farming and employee as compared to the children of those fathers who were small village businessmen and labourers.

Therefore, it is safe to hypothesize that parents who had large landholdings and who were employed under private or government service were in a better position to send their children to school. This made their children keen for education.

Number of Children

The Chi-square result showed the significant relationship between number of children and educational aspirations and expectations of the rural youths. It was found that the youth from small-size families could aspire for and expect high education more frequently as compared to the children from large and medium families.

The significant relationship between the two variables could perhaps be attributed to the possibility that parents who had a small family could afford the education of their children. The youths from large and medium families might have thought of their family situation and their parents' condition and could not aspire and expect what the youths from the small family had shown.

Parents' Influence on Educational Aspiration

It was found that the youths' educational expectation was dependent upon the parents' influence on educational aspiration for their youth. The relationship between the two is direct and positive; that is, the higher influence of parents on educational aspiration for the youths, the higher the educational expectation of the youth.

It is usually presumed that the youth whose parents had high educational aspiration for him could expect for high education.

Parents' Influence on Educational Expectation

The youth's educational aspiration and expectation were closely related to the parents' influence on educational expectation. It was also found that with parents who could expect for their youths' education, the majority of the youths' would also aspire and expect for their education. Here the relationship was direct and positive. Hence, it is safe to assume that youths whose parents could afford the education of their children would accordingly make the latter aspire and expect for their children.

Parents' Influence on Occupational Aspiration for the Children

It was found that parents' influence on occupational aspiration for children was related to the youth's educational aspiration and expectation.
It was also found that parents who influenced their children for blue-collar jobs would make children aspire and expect low education. On the other hand, parents who aspired for white-collar jobs would make children also aspire for high education.

As these relationships were direct and positive, it was safe to assume that children's aspiration and expectation were influenced by the parents.

**Parents' Influence on the Youth's Occupational Expectation**

The Chi-square result revealed positive and direct relationship between parents' influence on the youths' occupational expectation and educational aspirations and expectations. Hence, it is safe to predict that parents who could influence white-collar jobs for their children would make children automatically aspire and expect for high education, without which white-collar jobs for them is impossible.

However, the youths' age, sex, religion, occupation of father, occupation of mother, and parents' influence on educational aspiration for their children were not associated with the youths' educational aspiration. Similarly, age and sex of the youth and the occupation of mother were also found not affecting the youths' educational expectation.

The above findings reject the hypothesis that the educational aspirations and expectations of the rural youths were not associated with their demographic-socio-economic factors and family backgrounds.

With these above findings it is inferred that within the independent variables taken into consideration in this study, many were associated with the rural youths' educational aspirations and expectations.

**REFERENCES**


Indo-Nepal Migration: Problems and Prospects

Vidya Bir Singh Kansakar
CEDA/T.U.

Introduction

Nepal is a land of ethnic diversity. The proper understanding of Nepal's ethnic diversity is not possible without understanding the role of international migration. The population of Nepal represents waves of migration from the north and the south at different periods of history. As such, Nepal contains both the Mongoloid and the Indo-Aryan races as well as their admixture. The legend of Manjusi coming from China and the draining away of the Kathmandu Valley lake and the subsequent rehabilitation provides some clues as to the earliest settling of the people from the north. Nepalese hills became a pleasant habitat for the people coming from the harsh climatic conditions of the Tibetan plateau (Hagen, 1961:39). Later on, however, the geographical and historical compulsions brought Nepal and India close to each other. The relations between Nepal and India date back to hoary past. Before the occupation of India by the British, large scale migration of population into Nepal from the south resulted in the wake of invasions and disturbances in India. Thus migration of population from the north was of voluntary nature in search of pleasant habitat, whereas that from the south was of involuntary or forced nature in search of secure place for shelter against political persecutions and repressions by powerful enemies in India.

The Indo-Nepal Migration Prior to British Invasion in India

Before the Muslim invasions in India, migration from India to Nepal was confined to the kings, nobles and their attendants. During the Muslim invasions it encompassed a large section of Indian population who took refuge in Nepal to avoid proselytization into Islam as well as political persecutions. The intruding refugees were mostly Hindus and were in such a large number that they encroached upon the fertile lands of the indigenous populations such as Gurung, Magar, Tamang, Rai, Limbu, Sunuwar, Jirel, etc., and drove them to the slopes of the hills. With the introduction of the caste system and conversion into Hinduism, the immigrants from India greatly affected the social structure of the Buddhists and the indigenous aborigine population observing animism. Prior to the introduction of the new code of law, the social and religious structures of Nepal were largely Buddhist and partly Brahminical. Though the ruling dynasties from the third century A.D. to the present day are Saivas, the harmony among different religions in Nepal is unparalleled in the world. As regards religious fervour of the indigenous ethnic groups living south of the main Himalayas, Hinduism sat very lightly amounting to little more than respect for the Brahm and reverence for the cow (Nepal and the Gurkhas, 1965:21). These ethnic groups do not fall into any of the caste hierarchies of the Hindus.
The Indo-Nepal Migration During British Colonial Rule in India

The British occupation of India virtually stopped immigration of Indians into Nepal for shelter against political persecutions, excepting the refuge of Nana Saheb, one of the leaders of the Mutiny of 1857, and the widows of King Ranjit Singh of Punjab and Nawab Wazir Ali Shah of Oudh. However, a large number of Nepalese royalties, nobles and elites continued their political exiles to India during and after the period of the unification of Nepal and most of them went to the holy city of Banaras. Throughout the nineteenth century, Banaras has been a hot-bed of intrigue for restoring some royal exile to Nepal (Wheeler, 1889:574-75). In the twentieth century, it became the centre of political exiles from Nepal and political movements in Nepal. Moreover, Banaras has been the major place of attraction for the Nepali Brahmins seeking Sanskrit education, because there are several Sanskrit institutions providing free scholarship.

Migration of population between Nepal and India since the late eighteenth century has become more of the economic character than of the political one. The attempts made by the kings of Palpa, Makwanpur and Bijayapur to reclaim the Terai forest for cultivation through the Indian immigrants were also followed by the Gorkhali rulers after the unification of Nepal (Dahal, 1978:51-52). The period of unification and expansion of Nepal’s territory during the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth century was accompanied by movement and settlement of the Nepalese in Darjeeling, Sikkim, Kumaon and Garhwal. However, large scale emigration of Nepalese to India for economic opportunities started after the Anglo-Nepal war of 1814-15. After the fall of M还有什么 at under Kazi Amar Singh Thapa, Major General David Ochterlony compelled Amar Singh Thapa to enter into convention on 15 May 1815, entitling the Gorkhalis to have liberty to enter into the service of the British East India Company (Aitchison, 1863:110-112). By the time the war in the west ended in 1815, about 4,650 soldiers of the Gorkha (Nepali) army had deserted and sought service with the Company in response to the invitations of the British commanders (Pembie, 1971: 348), and the British raised three regiments from the Gorkhalis which later became the I, II and III Gurkha Rifles (Tuker, 1957:86-87). Sensing the resistance offered by the Gorkhali army to the British, Sikh King Ranjit Singh tried to recruit Gurkhalis in the Khalsa (Sikh) army by offering high pay and also entered into treaty with Nepal Government in 1839 (Naraharinath and Basnyet, 1964:21-22).

Nepal up to 1950 was essentially a military state, the royal family and the military leaders represented the total leadership of the country. The energies of the government were concentrated primarily on the collection of revenue to finance its growing military and administrative expenditures. Concern for the well-being of the people seldom found a reflection through the disbursement of public funds (M.C. Regmi, 1971:14). Since the signing of the Sugauli treaty in 1816, Nepal’s prospect for territorial expansion virtually stopped and Nepal since then had been able neither to increase the strength of the army nor to maintain the existing strength. So the government opted for a policy of army service on a rotation basis. Those in the service were termed as jagiriya and
those off the employment as dhakriya. In 1832 Brian Hodgson had estimated 30,000 dhakriyas in the Nepalese army and strongly pleaded with the British government to enlist them in the Indian army:

"In my humble opinion they are by far the best soldiers in Asia; and if they were made participants of our renown in arms, I conceive that their gallant spirit, emphatic contempt of Madhesias (people of the plains) and unadulterated military habits, might be relied on for fidelity; and that our good and regular pay and noble pension establishment would serve perfectly to counterpoise the influence of nationality, so far that could injuriously affect us" (Hodgson, 1874:41).

The Nepalese government was principally against the recruitment of its people in the Indian army and as such it was extremely difficult to get Nepalese in the Indian army. When the British carried out recruitment secretly by sending recruitment agents into Nepal, the Nepalese government disliked the clandestine operations and took strong measures like putting to death some of the Gurkhas on their return home on leave and confiscating property of those serving the Indian army (Mojumdar, 1973:11). Owing to the harassment meted out by the Nepalese government to the families of the Gurkhas serving the Indian army, and to make the recruitment easier emigration of the Gurkhas from Nepal with their families was encouraged with the establishment of settlements of the Gurkhas in the hills of India, such as Dharmashala (Bhagsu), Bakloh, Darjeeling, Dehradun and Shillong. There are also considerable colonies scattered over Burma and Assam; those in the former started in the days when Gurkhas were enlisted into the old Burma Military Police (Nepal and the Gurkhas, 1965:61), and those in the latter among the pensioners of Assam Rifles (Gait, 1892:67).

The installation of the Rana regime in 1846 through Kot Massacre heralded the end of the era of active enmity and beginning of good faith, understanding and cordiality with the British, because Jung Bahadur cherished the goodwill of the British for the consolidation and support of his regime. Jung Bahadur himself leading 12,000 Nepalese troops went to help the British to quell the Indian Mutiny of 1857. In recognition of that assistance, the British government, under a treaty concluded on 1st November, 1860, restored to Nepal the tract of territory on the Oudh frontier (Far Western Terai) which had been ceded to the British government in 1816 (Elles, 1884:27). As agriculture was the main source of revenue of the government, Jung Bahadur wanted to reclaim the new areas as well as the other areas of the Terai to appropriate income for his family, favourites and supporters as well as for the state. Because of the problem of ecological adaptation in the hot, humid, and malarial environment of the Terai the hill-people were reluctant to settle in the Terai, and because of the absence of the provision of landownership rights Indian immigrants were also unwilling to migrate into the Terai. As such, many governments failed in reclaiming the Terai. Realising the possibility of reclaiming the Terai through immigrants from India, Jung Bahadur made provision in the first legal code of the country entitling the alienation
of land through sale or purchase to the foreign nationals residing in Nepal (the Legal Codes, 1966:35). Since then the reclamation of the Terai forest for cultivation started and resulted in immigration of the Indians from Bihar and United Provinces in a large number.

The Rana families for the first time employed European and Bengali teachers from India to impart education to their children (Wright, 1877:141). During Jung Bahadur’s time, Indian traders were permitted to carry on trade at specific points in the Terai. However, some of the Indian traders were carrying on trade in Kathmandu city even before that period to cater to the luxurious needs of the royal families, rulers and nobles (Hodgson, 1874:94). During the Rana period, initially most of the technical manpower needed for running schools, colleges, hospitals, hydro-electric installation, water supply, ropeway and railway, came from India. Moreover, India became an important country for the Nepalese to acquire higher education in academic and technical fields.

The beginning of the present century has been the most important period in the history of Indo-Nepal migration. Nepal’s assistance to the Younghusband Mission to Tibet and the discovery of Chumbi Valley of Sikkim as a trade route from India to Tibet gave a death blow to the importance of Nepal as a trade route between India and China. Some of the traders and artisans, mostly the Newars and a few Sherpas, managed to move to Kalimpong and Sikkim. The Nepalese were the only foreigners from South Asia permitted to carry on trading activities within Tibet. However, the large-scale migration of the Nepalese from Darjeeling and from eastern Nepal has been connived at by the British since last century. The Nepalese who accounted for over one-fourth of the population of Sikkim at the end of the 19th century, has reached to two-thirds of Sikkim’s present population, making the original Bhutia-Lepcha of Sikkim a minority in their own country (Rustomji, 1971:141). The overwhelming number of Nepalese migrants to Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri of West Bengal constitute those who migrated from eastern Nepal for employment in tea gardens.

By 1904, the three Gurkha battalions of 1816 have swelled into sixteen and by 1908, the Gurkha Brigade had reached its permanent establishment of 20 battalions organised in 10 rifle regiments numbered from one to ten. During World War I, Nepal helped to raise more than 200,000 men for recruitment in the Indian army, and they fought in every theatre of war with casualties of 20,000 people. The magnitude of the movement of the Gurkhas for recruitment in the Indian and the Nepalese armies (Nepal also assisted the British by sending its own army) was so great that able-bodied males from the villages of the martial races (Magars and Gurungs) were difficult to get during the war (Bruce, 1928:xxvii). The drain of manpower led to the deterioration of agriculture and food supply in the hills as well as loss of government revenue from the land. Moreover, there was difficulty of getting back the Gurkhas discharged from the army service, because most of them stayed back in India to work either as watchmen, or even to work in the police under the government, or in other positions available to them. For many Indian merchants had good faith in the Gurkhas as honest and loyal servant (Bruce, 1934:200).
Of the 10,932 Gurkhas discharged after World War I, only 3,838 returned home in 1919 (Mojumdar, 1975:73). A large number of the Gurkhas, therefore, settled permanently in India. Before World War II, the number of Nepalese living in Calcutta alone was estimated at 30,000 (Nepal and the Gurkhas, 1965:131). During World War I, the Indian independence movement gained momentum, and sensing the ever-growing threat to the British and their settlements, the British government encouraged the retired Gurkha officers to settle with their families around major settlements of the Britishers in the hill resorts and other places of India such as Shillong, Darjeeling, Kalimpong, Kohima, Dehradun, Mussorie, Almora, Simla, Ranikhet, Dalhousie, Nainital, Abbottabad, Murree, and Quetta. Thus the children of the Gurkha officers were educated in the best educational institutions of India, but the educated Gurkhas were, indeed, not enrolled in the Indian army, they were suspected as potential transmitters of political ideas to the Gurkha regiments (Mojumdar, 1975:30). In order to ensure the regular supply of the Nepalese in the Indian army, in 1919 the British government provided the Nepali government with a gift of one million rupees annually in perpetuity (Tuker, 1977:201). This gift and the entire revenue of the state were treated as the ruling Prime Minister's personal income, and they deposited the money in foreign banks particularly in India.

The British government's formal recognition of Nepal as a sovereign independent country under the treaty of 1923 led to the opening of the Terai for Indian traders. The industrial development of the eastern Terai which started after the establishment of Biratnagar Jute Mills in 1936 led to another wave of immigration from India, mostly entrepreneurs, skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled labourers to run various industries. Industrial development in the Terai did not result in mobility of labour from hills to the Terai because of the problem of ecological adaptation of the hill people in the hot, humid and malarial environment of the Terai on the one hand, and the preference for working in India due to high wages and highly prestigious social position accorded by the hill society to the people working in the foreign army.

The involvement of the Gurkhas in World War II was on a grander scale. The 20 battalions were expanded to form a total of 51 battalions comprising 44 Infantry and Parachute battalions, 6 Training battalions and one Garrison battalion (Mansergh and Moon, 1980:865). The Gurkha casualty was 24,000 persons. During this period it was difficult to get able-bodied men not only from the lands of the Gurung and Magar, but also from the lands of the Rai and Limbu. There had been a greater difficulty than ever before in getting discharged soldiers to return to their homes and a large number of the Gurkhas released in 1946-47, made only short visit to their homes before going back to India for civil employment.

The Issue of the Gurkhas During Transfer of Power in India

The Cripps offer of 1942 came up with the declaration regarding the complete transfer of power from British to Indian hands. However, the probable effect of change in India's constitution on the Gurkhas remained unresolved for a long time (Kansakar, 1982:91-94). Initially,
the British were totally against transferring the Gurkhas to the future Indian government. However, with constitutional change in prospect, the British government realised Nepal government's anxiety regarding the maintenance of the position of the Gurkhas numbering nearly 100,000 in the Indian army, because Nepal's economy needed to export her manpower (Mansergh and Lumby, 1970:307-308). In order to ensure the steady supply of recruits in the Indian army, the Indian government increased the annual "present" of Rs. 1,000,000 which had been given to Nepal in perpetuity since 1919, to Rs. 2,000,000 in 1945 (Mansergh and Lumby, 1970:62). British Commander-in-Chief indicated the desirability of retaining as many as possible of the pre-War Gurkha battalions to garrison British colonies like Iraq, Aden, Ceylon, Burma, Singapore, Hong Kong and Borneo because it was difficult to get British troops for these places. Moreover, the cost of maintaining Gurkha units was very low. After the War, the Labour Party came to power in the U.K. and adhered to the policy that any decision on matters relating to India should be made only after consultations with the interim government in India. The Indian leaders, however, opposed the employment of Gurkha troops by the British government, and opted for retaining them in the post-war Indian army officered by Indian officers. They suggested the settlement of the issue by negotiation between the U.K., Nepal and India (Mansergh and Lumby, 1980: 30-31). In 1946, Dmbar Singh Gurung, President of All India Gurkha League had already declared that his league did not countenance the continuation of Gurkha units in the British Imperial Service. The reason given then and later was that such service should prejudice the relation of the Gurkhas with Independent India (Tuker, 1950:268). The Gurkhas had to go through the ordeal of being a symbol of contempt for the people of India. The assistance of the Nepalese army in quelling the Mutiny of 1857, the involvement of the Gurkhas in Jalianwala Bagh massacres at Amritsar in 1919 and the use of the Gurkhas in the Quit India movement of 1942 have led the Indians to consider the Gurkhas as stooges of the British. The outcome was that though the Cripps' offer of 1942 assured to safeguard minor communities, the Gurkhas did not feel assured because they had not been recognised as a community in India despite their living in India for generations. In order to safeguard the interest of the Nepalese living in India, All India Gurkha League which was established after World War I, appeared as a political party in June 1943 with loyalty to the British Raj (Rawat, 1980:182-186). But when they realised that their fate was bound with India because most of the Gurkha settlements would fall within the Dominion of India, they became anti-British and actively participated in the independence movement after 1945, and a lot of the Gurkhas joined Indian National Army of Subhash Chandra Bose. During the communal riots in the Punjab and Bengal in 1946, the Gurkhas, though mostly Hindus themselves, carried out the task required of them by their British officers with strict impartiality and saved the lives of millions. But the Bengal ministry, by unfair treatment and taking a communal line, exposed the Gurkhas to the abuses from both the Hindu and the Muslim papers. They were also subjected to a cruel boycott by the Hindus though long months of 1946 (Tuker, 1950:234). The Bengal landlords turned the Gurkhas and their families out of their houses and they were generally boycotted in the food-shops. The Gurkha soldiers were subjected to insult and mole-
stations wherever they travelled (Tuker, 1950:193). The general slogan prevailing against the Gurkhas at that time was "Hindustan for the Hindus, Pakistan for the Muslims and Kabaristan (graveyard) for the Gurkhas." It is remarkable that despite being a man of independence and self-respect, the Gurkhalı did not lose his temper and retaliate in a violent and bloody fashion.

When the British thought of retaining the Gurkhas in the imperial force outside the Indian army with the notion that the Gurkhas had complete loyalty to the British Raj, Prime Minister Padma Shamshere said that Gurkhas who wished to serve in the new Indian army should be allowed to do so. He opined that Nepal is landlocked, and with the unbending policy towards the State of Hindustan's leaders it was likely that whatever economic pressure was necessary would be exerted to keep her compliant. But the most important fact was that Nepal's economy cannot support both the people and her top-heavy family of rulers, their kinsmen, bastard children and retainers. So poor peasants must seek a living outside. The long tradition of and preference for emigration of the unskilled hill people for employment opportunities in army service and other economic opportunities, is still continuing, and the existence of these avenues has tended to postpone the necessity of responding to the pressure of population in the hills and the crisis arising out of it since a long time. Moreover, the rulers of Nepal had substantial personal investments in India, as it was most necessary, apart from political reasons to remain on terms of friendship with the Central Government of India (Tuker, 1950:629). The attitude of the Nepalese government and Nehru's indisposition in dispensing with the Gurkhas to the British put the British government in an awkward position.

Sensing the difficulty of getting Gurkhas, Viceroy Lord Mountbatten hit upon a plan for settling once and for all the question of the Gurkhas by putting forward the issue of the Andaman and the Nicobar islands before the Indian government stating that Britain would retain them for her strategic requirements in case India was unwilling to offer the Gurkhas for the British (Mansergh and Moon, 1982:319-320). Sensing the strategic importance of these islands to India, Nehru agreed to the British proposal (Mansergh and Moon, 1982:608). On 8th August 1947, it was revealed that the 2nd, 6th, 7th and 10th Gurkha regiments had been selected for continued service with the British, while the remaining six regiments should serve the Indian government (James and Sheil-Small, 1965:254). However, the tripartite agreement between Nepal, India and the U.K. was signed only on 9th November 1947. Had the Gurkhas not been loyal to their duties, there would be no question of maintaining them in the Indian army after independence. Nehru's concern for the Gurkhas was governed by India's own situation at home. The Indian army was largely composed of Muslims accounting for 60 percent of the army. Nehru said to the Viceroy Wavell that India would need a first class army if she did win her freedom (Glendevon, 1971:174). Moreover, the Congress Party was not in a position to take the Sikh into confidence, and they were at a dilemma regarding the inclusion of the Punjab in the Indian Union because of the Sikh's persistent demand for autonomous status (Collins and Lapierre, 1982:125). The loyalties of the Gurkhas did not affect their service to either India or the U.K.
The communal violence that ensued after the transfer of power to India and Pakistan by the British resulted in a mass exodus of the Hindus from Pakistan and also a large number of Muslims from India, and the brutality committed by rival groups over the refugees en route their aspiring homeland could be controlled only by the Gurkhas escorting the refugees. Captain R.E. Atkins and his Gurkhas spent weeks escorting refugee column, taking Sikh into India, then bringing hordes of Moslems back over the same route (Collins and Lapierre, 1975:378). In India, the recruitment of the Nepalese is not confined to Gorkha Rifles, they are to be found in large numbers in Assam Rifles as also in Jammu and Kashmir Rifles, Garhwal Regiment, Kumaon Regiment, Border Security Force, Central Reserve Police, and so on. The magnitude of the recruitment of the Nepalese in the Indian army fluctuates with its hostility with its neighbours. The strength of the Nepalese in the Indian army has been ever increasing since conflict with China in 1962, and it is further increasing with growing hostility and conflicts with Pakistan. The large-scale emigration of the hill people to India and the preference for employment in activities requiring no skill at all, such as army and police services, watchman, household servants, and security guards have been governed by availability of these jobs in Indian cities and towns to a greater extent.

After the installation of democracy in 1951, the Nepalese who were exiled to India during the Rana regime and also domiciled Nepalese returned to Nepal in a large number. It also marked the complete relaxation on movement of population between India and Nepal. This movement was the result of the Indo-Nepal Peace and Friendship Treaty of 1950 which agreed to grant, on a reciprocal basis, to the nationals of one country in the territories of the other the same privileges in the matter of residence, ownership of property, participation in trade and commerce, movement and other privileges of a similar nature. It is to be noted that Nepal has open border policy not only with India but also with China. However, with the posting of Indian military check-post along the Sino-Nepal border in the early 50's according to the clauses contained in the letter of exchange of the treaty of 1950, the Sino-Nepal border became closed one, requiring people on either side to have visa to travel between the two countries. However, the movement of population between China and Nepal was very low as compared to that between Nepal and India.

The agricultural, industrial and commercial potentialities of the Terai attracted more Indians than the native population from the hills. By the time the Terai became attractive for the hill people after the eradication of malaria, large tracts of the alluvial part of the Terai were already owned and cultivated by the Indian immigrants; only the marginal lands north of the Terai, the Bhabar region and some forested areas of Jhapa and the far Western Terai were available for the hill people (Kansakar, 1979:250). Reclamation of the Terai and the resulting agricultural development which led to a large-scale immigration of labourers from India was further increased by land reform. The demand for labour from India is closely related with the prevailing large holdings, absentee landlordism and the inefficiency and inability of the hill migrants to work in the Terai environment. Moreover, cultivation of
land by the immigrant labours preclude the risk of according tenural
right to the tillers (Kansakar, 1982). The Temporary Citizenship Certifi-
cate Distribution Teams in 1976 failed to detect the foreigners in the
Terai and as such a large number of foreign nationals living in the Terai
were successful in acquiring the Nepali citizenship certificate. It has
been alleged by the local people and the media that corruption among the
government employees deputed for that task was widespread, and it has
been a major reason behind the acquisition of citizenship certificate by
foreigners as compared to the indigenous population. The task force on
migration constituted by the National Commission on Population has noted
the encouragement to immigration by existing citizenship policy. This
is evidenced by the unprecedented increase in award of citizenship cer-
tificates based on parentage and birth right, following the change in rules
regarding naturalized citizenship (the National Commission on Population,

Distribution of Indian Migrants in Nepal

India-born and Indian nationals constitute the largest number of
foreign-born population and foreign nationals in Nepal. According to
the census of 1961, there were 76,311 Indian citizens in Nepal repre-
senting 69.3 percent of the foreign citizens, while there were 324,159 India-
born population representing 96 percent of the total foreign-born popula-
tion. The number of Indian citizens went up to 128,829 persons in 1971,
an increase of 68.8 percent within a decade. The India-born population
on the other hand, has gone down to 322,718 persons. However, the census
figures cannot indicate the magnitude of migration between India and
Nepal, because census enumerators cannot find correct answers regarding
a sensitive issue like migration. According to the reply given by the
External Affairs Minister, Mr. P.V. Narshingha Rao, in Indian Parliament
on 24 July, 1980, there are 3.8 million people of Indian origin in Nepal
out of which 23,87,973 persons have already acquired Nepalese citizen-
ship (Dinmān, 1980:42:38). This statement sparked off several reactions
in Nepal as a threat to national integrity and sovereignty. Since then
immigration of the Indians has been looked upon as a matter of serious
concern in Nepal, and this concern was further reinforced by the inci-
dents in the north-eastern states of India from where a large number of
domiciled Nepalese fled into Nepal.

The Terai region contains 96.6 and 94.8 percent of the total Indian
nationals and India-born population in Nepal respectively (Table 1).
According to the census of Nepal (1971), Indian nationals are charac-
terised by preponderance of males over females indicating immigration of
enterprising population such as traders, businessmen, skilled and un-
skilled labour, etc. India-born population is characterised by perp onde-
rance of females, and they are mostly confined to the Terai indicating
large-scale marriage migration owing to the socio-cultural similarities
on either side of the Indo-Nepal border. In the Terai, 65 percent of
the Indian-born population are females. Similarly, according to the
census of India (1971), 85.2 percent of the Nepal-born population in
Bihar are females.
Table 1
Distribution of Indian Nationals and India-Born Population in Nepal 1971

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Geographic Regions</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Indian Citizens</th>
<th>Indian Born Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEPAL</td>
<td>128829</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>71169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOUNTAIN REGION</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Eastern Mountain</td>
<td>346</td>
<td>.27</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Central Mountain</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Western Mountain</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Far Western Mountain</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HILL REGION</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
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<td>3.13</td>
<td>2385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Central Hill</td>
<td>536</td>
<td>.42</td>
<td>318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Western Hill</td>
<td>2706</td>
<td>2.10</td>
<td>1632</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Far Western Hill</td>
<td>366</td>
<td>.59</td>
<td>414</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TERAI REGION</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>21</td>
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<td>1. Eastern Terai</td>
<td>124446</td>
<td>96.60</td>
<td>68583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Central Terai</td>
<td>56045</td>
<td>43.50</td>
<td>32864</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Western Terai</td>
<td>27279</td>
<td>21.18</td>
<td>13670</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Far Western Terai</td>
<td>32249</td>
<td>25.03</td>
<td>17191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8873</td>
<td>6.89</td>
<td>4858</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Considering skill, entrepreneurship, efficiency and cost effectiveness, neither the government nor the private enterprises have been able or willing to replace Indian immigrants by providing employment to the relatively unskilled and inefficient Nepalese citizens (Kansakar, 1979:54). Moreover, any attempt at developing industry, commerce, trade and construction activity in the Terai in particular, and the hill in general, has actually benefitted the Indian immigrants who by virtue of comparatively high level of skill and entrepreneurship have made it very difficult for the less skilled and less enterprising Nepalese to compete with them.

Distribution of Nepalese Migrants in India

In 1911, there were 274,251 Nepal-born persons in India and it went up to 526,526 persons in 1971, an increase of 252,275 persons or 92 percent over a period of 60 years. However, up to 1951 the increase was steady (Table 2) with a moderate decline in 1921. The decline has been

Table 2: Nepal-Born Population in India (1891-1971)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Percentage of all Foreign-Born Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>234,260</td>
<td>36.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>239,127</td>
<td>36.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>274,251</td>
<td>42.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>260,220</td>
<td>45.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931*</td>
<td>303,139</td>
<td>44.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>278,972</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>498,836</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>526,526</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The figures up to 1931 include Nepal-born population in Burma where the Nepal-born population in 1931 was 23,889 persons.

Source: Census of India, 1891-1971.

attributed to World War I casualties of the Gurkhas and the influenza epidemic of 1917. The decline between 1931 and 1951 might be due to World War II casualties of the Gurkhas, the Bengal famine, the partition of India and the communal violence before and after independence of India. However, there was a drastic increase from 278,972 persons in 1951 to 498,836 persons in 1961, an increase of 219,864 persons or 78.8 percent over a decade. The drastic increase might be related to large-scale recruitment of Nepalese in the Indian army and the relaxation of movement of Nepalese within and outside the country after 1951. The increase between 1961 and 1971 is, however, 27,690 persons or 5.6 percent only. Nepal-born population in India constitute 0.1 percent of the total population of India while India-born population in Nepal constitute 2.79 percent of the total population of Nepal. The highest percentage of Nepal-born
population was in Arunachal Pradesh (3.33 percent), while the percentage of India-born population in Nepal was 7.05 percent of the total population in the Terai.

More than 90 percent of the Nepal-born population in India is confined to Northern India. Nepalese emigrants to India were tending to spread rather than to concentrate in the border areas (David, 1951:39), and as a result, their proportion in bordering states of Sikkim, West Bengal, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh has declined from 70.0 percent in 1951 to 59.2 percent in 1971 (Table 3). The magnitude of Nepalese emigrants in India has been increasing ever since India's confrontation with China in 1962 and with Pakistan in 1965 and 1971, and this has been further increasing as a result of deteriorating situation of law and order in the cities and towns in India where there is a great demand for Nepalese as security guards and watchmen. However, the seasonal movement of Nepalese hill population to north-eastern India and Sikkim and Darjeeling district of West Bengal has declined as a result of agitation in Assam, restriction imposed by Sikkim State and the Central Government declaring Sikkim and Darjeeling as strategically sensitive areas.

In Assam, the Nepalese, by clearing the heavy tree jungle infested with wild animals and malaria for sugarcane, prepared the land for subsequent cultivation of rice by the Assamese (Lloyd, 1923:42). The Nepali migrants entered the State (Assam) with their traditional occupation of dairy farming and wetland in the sub-urban areas. They have been successful due to the absence of competition from local inhabitants (Gogoi, 1980:10). Tea plantation in Assam, which started in 1839, also seems to have attracted a large number of Nepalese due to the practice of granting rice plots to plantation workers by the tea-estates. However, Nepal government imposed restriction on migration of Nepalese to those areas on the plea that they were being used as slave and bonded labour (Rana, 1925:35-36). The planters used all methods, including physical coercion, to prevent their labour from leaving tea garden, since labour was scarce (Bhowmik, 1980:6).

The tribal heartland of the north-eastern states, also known as 'seven sisters', has been a troublesome spot in India since the British period. The political assimilation of these states, without the assimilation of these distinct and diverse tribal people into the great Indian cultural milieu, after independence has been a major reason behind dissident underground movements by the Nagas, Mizos, Manipuris, and others in these states. However, the use of the Gurkha troops to quell underground movements of these groups since the 60's brought about more hostility between the people of Nepalese origin and the native population. This resulted in the frequent fleeing of the domiciled Nepalese from these areas. These people had to enter Nepal because of the nativist policy of the Sikkim government.

Nepalese emigrants to India are not confined to able-bodied males only. Able-bodied females are also emerging as important migrants to India, and these females constituted an important supply of women for
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>1961</th>
<th>(%)</th>
<th>1971</th>
<th>(%)</th>
<th>Absolute Increase</th>
<th>Percent Increase</th>
<th>Annual Rate of Growth</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>INDIA</td>
<td>498836</td>
<td>(100.00)</td>
<td>526526</td>
<td>(100.00)</td>
<td>+27690</td>
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<td>Andhra Pradesh</td>
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<td>(0.37)</td>
<td>3535</td>
<td>(0.67)</td>
<td>+1675</td>
<td>+90.05</td>
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<td>Assam</td>
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<td>91665</td>
<td>(17.41)</td>
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<td>+10.94</td>
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<td>Bihar</td>
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<td>(21.85)</td>
<td>122528</td>
<td>(23.27)</td>
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<td>+12.44</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gujarat</td>
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<td>(0.67)</td>
<td>4315</td>
<td>(0.82)</td>
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<td>(3.74)</td>
<td>+10019</td>
<td>+103.3</td>
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<td>Jammu and Kashmir</td>
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<td>1296</td>
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<td>+318.06</td>
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<td>1280</td>
<td>(0.24)</td>
<td>+856</td>
<td>+201.89</td>
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<td>(1.68)</td>
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<td>Maharashta</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tripura</td>
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<td>(0.17)</td>
<td>930</td>
<td>(0.18)</td>
<td>+69</td>
<td>+8.01</td>
<td>+0.77</td>
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<td>(15.85)</td>
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<td>(1.18)</td>
<td>9670</td>
<td>(1.84)</td>
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<td>+64.12</td>
<td>+5.08</td>
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<td>Goa, Daman &amp; Din</td>
<td>-10</td>
<td></td>
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<td>(0.06)</td>
<td>+288</td>
<td>+2880.00</td>
<td>+40.42</td>
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<tr>
<td>Laccadive, Minicoy &amp;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Aminadive Is. Pondicherry</td>
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<td>(0.02)</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
<td>+78</td>
<td>+78.91</td>
<td>+0.55</td>
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</table>

Source: Census of India 1961 and 1971.

Assam includes Maghalaya and Punjab includes Haryana and Chardigarh.
brothels in Indian cities. According to the report in a newspaper in 1973, out of 10 prostitutes in the city of Bombay, 3 were from Nepal. The rescuing of the destitute girls by voluntary organisations and by the police is well-known to all. Serious concern has been expressed by the Nepalese people regarding the growing trafficking of Nepalese women to India for selling into brothels in Indian cities.

Some Problems and Prospects Associated with Indo-Nepal Migration and Relations

India's support for the democratic movement of 1950 is a fresh chapter in the memory of the Nepalese. In 1948, Nepal had also made a loan of 10,000 Nepalese army to India, when the Indian government faced major challenges in both Hyderabad and Kashmir. Since British period, Nepal's relations with her powerful neighbour were based on the loan of her men, and these relations were governed by the friendship and constant intercourse that the transaction promoted. The Gurkhas are said to have no religion when they are soldiers, and it is an important quality which distinguishes them from their Indian colleagues in the Indian army, who are characterised by diversity in caste, creed and belief (Kansakar, 1982: 111-112). The Gurkhas, because of their valour, constitute the major spearhead of Indian defence, and they have demonstrated their valour in India's war with her neighbours in 1962, 1965 and 1971. The drain of these Gurkhas from Nepalese hills has deprived the hill areas of most enterprising and dynamic elements of population, and the absence of these youths has stagnated the development of the hills. Though the remittances from the army and civil services in foreign countries have relieved the people from economic hardship by the hills, the remittances have only worked as oxygen to keep the deteriorating economy of the hills just alive rather than to transform it. The economy of the army villages has remained the same as it had been several decades age (Kansakar, 1982: 117-118).

India's contribution to the development of agriculture, industry, irrigation, hydro-electricity, transportation and communication, education, etc. particularly in the initial phase of Nepal's economic development as well as the aftermath has been significant. Nepal's contribution to India, particularly in the field of irrigation, is no less important, e.g. the Sharada canal, the Koshi Project and the Gandak Project which irrigate considerable portions of land in India as compared to that of Nepal. In the industrial development, the investment by Indian private investors individually and in collaboration with Nepalese is very significant. It is to be noted that the investment in India made by the Nepalese is no less important, because the Ranas have made considerable investment in India, they conceded to Indian government proposition regarding the recruitment of the Gurkhas in the Indian army and the treaty of 1950 which was kept secret until 1959. The clauses in the letter of exchange of this treaty contained a number of restrictions imposed on Nepal by India in the matter of defence and foreign assistance beyond India. In 1972, among the largest tax-payers of India, General Singh Shamsher Rana occupied the third position. These clauses contained in
the letter of exchange of Peace and Friendship: 1950 are being looked upon by the Nepalese as India's design to keep Nepal as its dependent satellite and these clauses have remained a major hitch in maintaining smooth relations with India as well as with other countries.

The attitude of Indian politicians has been to look with suspicion any assistance Nepal gets from China. The debate in both houses of Indian Parliament on Kathmandu-Kodari Highway linking Kathmandu with Lhasa and of that highway as "military road capable of moving tanks" bears ample testimony to the fact. However, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has to say, "China is a neighbour of Nepal and naturally they would like to remain friends with China also. But I do not think it in any way interferes with the very close friendship and close cultural ties which we have with them" (Bhasin, ed., 1970:116). When the Chinese constructed a ring road around Kathmandu and Lalitpur, some Indian papers carried the news that the road is wide enough to land jet fighters. Frequent strains in the relationship between Nepal and India at government level are not due to political, geographical, economic or cultural reasons, but due to the amateurish handling of some of the issues by Indian politicians (Sharma, 1970:2). The early fifties has been a period when India's interference in Nepal's internal affairs reached its zenith. The treaty of 1950, in effect, brought Nepal within the security system the Indians were attempting to build for South Asia, without providing the Rana regime with the type of formal guarantee that had been extended by the British. In addition, after the installation of democracy, the Indian Ambassador, C.P.N. Singh functioned as Tribhuvan's political advisor and even interfered directly in policy and political matters (Rose and Scholz, 1980:37, 47). Even a person of the stature of the late Jawaharlal Nehru loosely informed the Indian Parliament by making a statement in 1950 that Nepal's independence was "formal" (Sharma, 1970:2). However, Nehru was the Indian leader who aspired for and established cordial relations between Nepal and India. Speaking at a press conference in New Delhi on 18 January 1961, he said, "Broadly speaking, our relations depend not really on any person's goodwill, on Nepal's goodwill, on that government or this government. ...... They depend on geography and history, which cannot be easily done away with" (Bhasin, 1970:55).

Indo-Nepal trade is an important issue which has been the subject of constant discussion between the two countries. Nepal's foreign trade is predominantly confined to India, and it is characterised by an adverse balance of payments on Nepalese side. Since British India, treaties between Nepal and India regarding trade and transit which are of particularly crucial importance to a small, poor, landlocked country have so far tended to regulate rather than to encourage Nepalese exports (Blakie, Cameron, and Seddon, 1980:12). The present condition of Nepalese manufactured goods seeking export to Indian market, require 80 percent of the manufactured items consisting of indigenous materials. It is a difficult hurdle for developing industries to meet local demands and to export to narrow down the trade gap between Nepal and India. Inder Malhotra has remarked, "Nepal's economic needs should be treated with the maximum understanding and generosity even if India has to suffer losses here and
there, provided no grave damage is done to the Indian economy. India's unwillingness to adopt such an attitude has been due to the diversion of import and export between Nepal and India in which a particularly unsavoury group of Indian businessmen in Nepal have been the main promoters as well as beneficiaries of the various racket. If allowed unchecked, the activi-
ties of these ugly Indians may do incalculable damage to India-Nepal rela-
tions" (Malhotra, 1970:6). India's trade protectionism has a direct bear-
ing on import of consumers' goods from overseas beyond Nepal's own needs, with the calculated purpose of smuggling them across India. Smuggling from Nepal to India has been termed as "smuggling by the Indians, to the Indians and for the Indians." In absence of industrial development in Nepal, the strain on the limited natural resources of Nepal is ever-
increasing with an adverse impact on ecosystem of the Himalayas. The ecosystem and natural resources of the Himalayas are the common interest of both countries, the deterioration of which will have a disastrous effect on climate, agriculture, irrigation and hydel-power. Therefore, the exploitation and conservation of the ecosystem and the natural re-
sources of the Himalayas is possible only through mutual cooperation of both countries.

The ever-growing pressure of the Nepalese population on limited agricul-
tural land and a lack of industrial development in the country is creat-
ing an acute problem of unemployment. The urge for providing native popu-
lation with whatever economic opportunities available in the country has become the need of Nepal. In such a situation, it is not surprising to find a growing sense of nationalist sentiment among the Nepalese. The development of these sentiments among the Nepalese is the reflection of a growing sense of the nativist attitudes and policies in the north-eastern States and Sikkim State of India. There is no dearth of All Assam Students Union - or of Gana Sangram Parishad-like elements in Nepal, and one element in Nepal is spreading the rumour that there are 5.22 million Indians in Nepal (as against 3.8 million people of Indian origin as stated by the External Affairs Minister of India), and they have demanded the introduc-
tion of work permit for immigrants and to discard open-border policy be-
tween Indian and Nepal.

Indo-Nepal migration is a unique type of international migration, not to be found elsewhere in the world. It is characterised by migration on either side for exploiting economic opportunities. It is comparable, neither with migration of Tamils to Sri Lanka, nor with that of Bangla-
deshis to India. It is shameful to report in a newspaper of international repute like The Telegraph that Sri Lanka-type of situation is cropping up in the Terai, and that the visit of ex-Prime Minister K.N. Bista to China as seeking some kind of an assurance that the Chinese authorities would exert a countervailing pressure if India intervened in the event of ethnic trouble in the Terai region (The Telegraph, October 2, 1983). Such a baseless report by the newspapers might do incalculable damage to Indo-Nepal relations. Whatever might have been the origin of Nepalese nationals in Nepal, they are true citizens of Nepal, and Nepalese nationals of different origins in India are likewise true citizens of India. The problem of people in a country is the internal problem of that coun-
try. So far as the territorial integrity of both the countries are
concerned, neither will India support the secessionist movement of the Terai people, nor will Nepal support the secessionist movement of the Nepalese in India.

Conclusion

The geography of the Indian sub-continent has a considerable bearing on the large-scale movement of population between India and Nepal since time immemorial, and the impact of this movement on cultural development of Nepal in particular has been far-reaching. The hordes of migrants have completely modified the culture of the tribal people at many places and at the same time the immigrants have adopted several culture traits of the indigenous people. When Nepal felt the necessity of a super tribal culture, she borrowed foreign traditions from the Hindu and the Tibetan mode of life, which have penetrated into landlocked areas through the Siwalik and the Great Himalaya. In fact, these two great cultures have been the forces which have eroded or acculturated the indigenous tribal cultures in Nepal (Kawakita, 1957). Nepal's position as an entrepot between India and China has played an important role in the introduction of the Hindu culture and the Tibetan culture in Nepal. Historically, when Nepal lost its entrepot position after the occupation of India by the British and the discovery of the Chumbi valley route, Nepal was compelled to have a greater degree of socio-economic relations with India. The movement of people, goods and cultures between Nepal and India has been taking place without any hitch and hindrance. As Mr. K.N. Sharma, staff reporter of The Times of India remarks, "The relation between India and Nepal are not the handiwork of treaties or agreement but natural. Both the countries are bound by a common geography, history and heritage of religion and culture. Whether the governments agree on particular clauses of a treaty or disagree on the economic relations, the relation between the peoples of India and Nepal continue perennially unaffected" (Sharma, 1970:2).

In order to ensure the unrestricted migration of Nepalese hill people for recruitment in the Indian army and an unrestricted flow of raw materials from Nepal for industries in India, the British kept the Indo-Nepal border open between the people of both countries. India after independence maintained the status quo of the open border and reinforced and formalised the movement of people and goods by the Indo-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship of 1950. To sum up, the movement of population, and economic and political relations between Nepal and India are bilateral issues. However, both the governments have been responsible for adopting unilateral approaches to the issues of mutual interest of Nepal and India. It is not possible to find solutions to bilateral issues through unilateral action on the part of either country. The policy of Nepalese government to control immigration (from India) without realising the problem of emigration of Nepalese to India is an instance in point. Similarly, the resentment against the Nepalese and the Indians of Nepalese origin in the north-eastern India, and the restriction imposed by the Indian government in the movement of Nepalese in Sikkim State and Darjeeling district, are also examples of unilateral approach
towards bilateral issues. Because of such actions, friendly relations between the two countries at times have been marred at the governmental level as well as public level by occasional misunderstandings. Recent incidents in the north-eastern States of India are just one illustration of such misunderstandings. The assurance of the Indian Prime Minister and of the Home Minister to the delegation of the North-Eastern Nepalese United Front that the government would ensure their interest and of other minorities in the north-eastern region (The Times of India, November 5, 1980) and the similar assurance by the Nepalese Home Minister to a delegation of Nepal Chamber of Commerce regarding Indian immigrants and Nepalese of Indian origin (The Gorkhapatra, September 24, 1980) have been helpful in erasing the misunderstandings. They indicated attempts towards an amicable solution to these bilateral issues, rather than indulging in recriminatory debates. Those instigating xenophobia in India forget the contribution of the Gurkhas as a spread-head of Indian national defence, while those against Indians in Nepal forget the contribution of India in providing employment to the Nepalese in India. In order to erase the xenophobia towards each other, it is essential that Nepal and India should make a proper assessment of Indo-Nepal migration to understand its diverse problems and prospects, to control the unhealthy aspect of migration which will have adverse effects on demographic, economic, political and cultural development of the two countries. Migration between the two countries for employment opportunities is indicative of both countries' inability in generating suitable employment for their respective people. The growing nativist attitude is, not only confined to each country, but also extended within regions of the countries. With the ever-growing sense of "the sons of the soil", the export of poverty and unemployment between Nepal and India will not be possible within foreseeable future.

The spatial characteristic in terms of distribution of migrants between India and Nepal is distinctly different. Nepalese migrants in India is marked by dispersal in different parts of a huge country like India which is 22 times larger in land-area and 45 times larger in population size than Nepal. On the other hand, Indian immigrants are marked by their concentration in the Terai region of a small country like Nepal. The political implications of such concentration in the Terai are apparent. The concern of the politicians in power is confined to ballot papers rather than national interest and national integration. The incidents in the Assam State of India and the continuing agitation against the Bangladeshi immigrants by the local population are glaring examples of public resentment against the party in power's interest in ballot papers rather than the interest of the local population. Had the Bangladeshi immigrants been dispersed over different parts of India, there would have been no Assam agitation in India. The indifferent attitude of the Bangladesh government in solving this problem compelled India to fence with barbed wire the entire length of the Indo-Bangladesh border in the interest of the Assamese and India. The continued unrestricted movement of the Indian immigrants and their concentration in the Terai, and the resulting political risk might give rise to an Assam-like agitation in Nepal unless Nepal and India think over this issue seriously.
India and Nepal should be always cautious and watchful in preventing the cordiality and friendliness of Indo-Nepal relations turning into hostility. It is rather unwise to set aside the Indo-Nepal migration and related issues as sensitive, and the economic, political and social price of procrastinating Indo-Nepal migration issue will be high. Indo-Nepal migration is a bilateral issue; there is no solution to it through unilateral action. Therefore, the need for bilateral approach to deal with problems arising from and contributing to Indo-Nepal migration at government and academic levels by both countries is urgent.

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"मौलिक परम्परा र कैदी नेपाली माटीका मुद्रा र"

मीला ०९, नं. २
(अप्रैल ६८५३)

लेखक दब्रव्य
नेप. आ. के.

मान्यता उत्पाद र विकासी भाष-साहि जन-का मानिस स्वातंत्र्यको ल्याउ पुरस्कार को पत्रको अभिक्रिया बन्द्रु नुक्सान गर्ने, त्यसलाई समधैल साघारण्यालाई मान्यता जातिको व्यावसायिक पदाको कला भए सत्तालाई स्वल्पकोन हुन सकिन। यस पूर्वस्थायमा प्रभाव: मानिसको विने-भर्यको माटीका ल्याउ वस्तुमुद्रा (Commodity Money) लाई न एकलको व्यावसाय, तय-उद्देश्य यस विनिमयको कोबु विनिमयका भीलाई बुझे गर्न। यसलाई बृहस्पति मुद्राको प्राचीन विद्वान्तको विवरण दुर्स्युद्ध गर्न, यसलाई प्रक्षेपित गर्नले पहिला नै मानिस लाई वस्तुमुद्राको विनिमयका भीलाई पल्ले आग्रह उन्मादिद्विथयो; पूर्वः मौलिक अर्थव्यवस्थाको ग्रामगत पनि।

मान्यता प्रमाणको पूर्वस्थायमा दुब्रव्य, काटो, काटो, फोडी, हाथ आदि वस्तुको पनि विनिमयको माटीका ल्याउ प्रयोग फर्की कुराको पनि उल्लेख पाइन्छ। दब्रव्यको काटाला आदे महत्त्वपूर्ण; निर्धारित विनिमयको माटीका ल्याउ प्रयोग मफौलको उत्पाद वित्तको प्रवेश हुन आकर्षण हुन्छ। यसैलाई विवरण दुस्तार अथ चार्ड, तामा जोड्र भए। पनि विनिमयका माटीका ल्याउ प्रयोगको सको निर्देशको आधार मुद्राको ल्याउ प्रयोग हुन सकिन। नेपाली पनि मौलिक अर्थव्यवस्थाको शुक्लको याचना गटी गटी हटाउने प्रयोगको सको हो। धारको प्रत्येकमा ने प्राचीन मौलिक ल्याउ निर्देशण गटीएल गरिन्छ, चार्ड गटीएल गरिन्छ। धराको प्रत्येकमा ने प्राचीन गटीएल गरिन्छ। धारको प्रत्येकमा ने प्राचीन गटीएल गरिन्छ।

मुद्राको प्रथममा नेपाली मौलिक ल्याउ को प्रति प्रयोग फर्की कुराको पनि उल्लेख पाइन्छ। धारको प्रत्येकमा ने प्राचीन गटीएल गरिन्छ। धारको प्रत्येकमा ने प्राचीन गटीएल गरिन्छ। धारको प्रत्येकमा ने प्राचीन गटीएल गरिन्छ।

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भक्त का अभिशप्त ग्यान आदि मुद्रा पाया है तथा भक्तों के साक्षी आपाता वर्तमान नष्ट हुए तथा निकलकर, राजन तथा संपूर्ण लोगको लिखने हुए कथा सत्यम दिन अपने प्रतीति। तपसी गरीब दोष आमणने को नक्का हाथ आदि प्रार्थना नूतन जीते जोड़ी अमाल रहीं थे। यह ग्रन्थमा नेताली विन और वहाँ राजा कारी और लक्ष्मी आपाता विषम करता गरीं हैं।

जीते जोड़ी अमालकी स्वास्थ्य-प्रार्थना जिन्दाबाद वचन नुस्रत रामापी की अधिकार और इतिहास समझ विवाह भक्ती कुरा उलझ गर विनिव। जब समयसमयो विस्तार भक्ती के अवसर प्रार्थना धारी को मपन 100 वर्ष अनुप्तिए हुआ मंगल कुरा हुआ। यहाँ भबोही अमालकी समय करीब 100 वर्ष परिभाषा अपभ्रंश मुहर्य शाब्दिक तिर

भक्ती माही आल मुद्रा प्रार्थना कारी विषम कर्ता गर्दरी पौरी साक्षीय धारी शृंखला आची आची नियतो विनिव भक्ती कुरा स्वीकृत विनिव। यहाँ भक्ती मुरु के नित्य सामाजिक कार्य का रूप नामक्ते के अतिको विषम कर्ता गरिन्दू। लदिले जीते जोड़ी में केरली माही खिलाना काल वा

जीते जोड़ी मुहर्य विवाह माही आल मुद्रा प्रार्थना कारी विषम कर्ता गर्दरी पौरी साक्षीय धारी शृंखला आची आची नियतो विनिव भक्ती कुरा स्वीकृत विनिव। यहाँ भक्ती मुरु के नित्य सामाजिक कार्य का रूप नामक्ते के अतिको विषम कर्ता गरिन्दू। लदिले जीते जोड़ी में केरली माही खिलाना काल वा

यह पदक्षेत्र पदन आपाता विषमकी माहितिको रूपमा भारतीय प्रार्थना मुद्राकु नेमला वल्लदेली कुरा गुरीवालिक प्रार्थनाले पुष्के राधा हृदय मधुरा पश्चि दौड़ी स्वामी आल मुद्रा पक्त के अतिको उत्तम नूतन भक्ती शेष इतिहास भक्ती के अस्तित्व इतिहास मुद्राको प्राप्ति व्यवस्था व्यापारीक सम्मन र मुद्रा प्रवृत्तिको माहितिको रूपमा त्यत सम्मन पदन नामक्ते कुरा स्वीकृत हृदय के अतिको विषम कर्ता गरिन्दू। यहाँ आल मुद्रा प्रार्थनाके अतिको उत्तम विषमा भक्ती नूतन गरिन्दू। यहाँ भक्ती मुहर्य विवाह माही आल मुद्रा प्रार्थना कारी विषम कर्ता गर्दरी पौरी साक्षीय धारी शृंखला आची आची नियतो विनिव भक्ती कुरा स्वीकृत विनिव। यहाँ भक्ती मुहर्य विवाह माही आल मुद्रा प्रार्थना कारी विषम कर्ता गर्दरी पौरी साक्षीय धारी शृंखला आची आची नियतो विनिव भक्ती कुरा स्वीकृत विनिव।
कैथे नेपाली माटोका मुद्रा ७३

शिक्षक राजाको भुग गर्दछ नीच्रक परस्परको नेपाली माटोका हितिहासमा वास्तव

मा प्राध्यापन फिक्री बुझेको र नेपाली माटोका हितिहासमा कैथे नेपाली माटोका हितिहासमा वास्तव

मा प्राध्यापन फिक्री बुझेको र नेपाली माटोका हितिहासमा कैथे नेपाली माटोका हितिहासमा वास्तव
গার্কা হনু। যেরূপ পাঠিই বলিয়া গিয়েছিলুক্ত ইন্দ্রিয়কী মুদ্রা প্রাণিত্ব করার নির্দেশ পাঠ মেহন্দি মসালাত করে ইন্দ্রিয়কী হুরা পুরী টুইকংও বং। প্রাণীর মুদ্রিক পরম্পরারুকী জীব টুইকংপর্চি অবধি পুহুলুমুদ্রা পাঠ পাঠিকী মসালাত মাতৃস্ত কেদরীত্ব সর্বস্বরুকীপ্রাণাণ- যাত্রায় বলিকী মুদ্রাতে বিলোক্তকী মায়ামকী গার্কী হুরা পনি ইতিহাসকরাতলি ক্যক গার্কা হনু।

তথা যে বিচারকাদি পনি পুনর্বিচার গুণুণপর্চি অবস্থা বিচার আর্কী বং। একাড়ির বংশাধিকার ক্যানিনিপথ রাজা রক্তালোক হুরি টক মান্না হোক তামাসাকান্নাত তামার লাল প্যাকা হুরা পনি বনান প্রকল্প স্থাপ্ত মেহন্দি মুদ্রাতে পরিষ্কার হু বেন। ত্যস্ত অন্তর্ভুক্ত পূর্তু পঞ্চাশ প্রাপ্ত ভানু বিচার তামাসা প্রাপ্ত মাকী বকুল আর্কীদের হনু। সামান্তে পূর্তু মুদ্রাতে মায়ামকী প্রাণাণ গিয়েছে মাটোকী মুদ্রা বিলোক্তকী পাঠ নির্দেশ গুণু পনি অবস্থা ক্যক।

মাটোকী মুদ্রাতে বিলোক্ত ক্যানিনিপথের কুরালোক বিচার গুণুতল মন্দা আর্কীদের হুরি আর্কী মুদ্রাতে প্রকল্প মাকী হুরা পুনর্বিচার বং। যে বিচারকাদি বিচার গুণু বাংলা করে নির্দেশ রিসালত সাক্ষাৎ প্রদীপ্ত স্থাপ্ত মেহন্দি মন্দা আর্কী অবধি প্রাপ্ত মায়ামকী পুরুষ অবস্থা দেবায়নে বস্তুতঃ বাংলা হুরি আর্কী মুদ্রাতে রামরিত গুণান্ত প্রাণাণ মেহন্দি মন্দা হু বিচার তামার প্রাণাণাতে প্যাকাতলি ক্যক ভিন্ন তামার প্রাণাণাতে প্যাকাতলি ক্যক হু বিচার ভিন্ন তামার প্রাণাণাতে প্যাকাতলি ক্যক।

যে কুরালোক ভিন্ন মুদ্রাতে প্রাপ্ত মাকী আর্কী বিচার যে বিচারকাদি মাটোকি রিসালত বিচার মাকী তামাসা ইতিহাসকরাতলি পুরোনু মায়ামকী প্রাণাণ গুণু প্যাকাতলি ক্যক আর্কী বিচার মাকী তামাসা ইতিহাসকরাতলি পুরোনু মায়ামকী প্রাণাণ গুণু প্যাকাতলি ক্যক।

মাটোকী মুদ্রাতে বিলোক্ত ক্যানিনিপথের মন্দা আর্কী বিচারকাদি নৃত্য লাভ প্রাপ্ত মাকী হু প্যাকাতলি ক্যক আর্কী বিচার মাটোকি রিসালত বিচার মাকী তামাসা ইতিহাসকরাতলি পুরোনু মায়ামকী প্রাণাণ গুণু প্যাকাতলি ক্যক আর্কী বিচার মাটোকি রিসালত বিচার মাকী তামাসা ইতিহাসকরাতলি পুরোনু মায়ামকী প্রাণাণ গুণু প্যাকাতলি ক্যক।

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মাটোকী মুদ্রাতে বিলোক্ত ক্যানিনিপথের মন্দা আর্কী বিচারকাদি নৃত্য লাভ প্রাপ্ত মাকী হু প্যাকাতলি ক্যক আর্কী বিচার মাটোকি রিসালত বিচার মাকী তামাসা ইতিহাসকরাতলি পুরোনু মায়ামকী প্রাণাণ গুণু প্যাকাতলি ক্যক আর্কী বিচার মাটোকি রিসালত বিচার মাকী তামাসা ইতিহাসকরাতলি পুরোনু মায়ামকী প্রাণাণ গুণু প্যাকাতলি ক্যক।

মাটোকী মুদ্রাতে বিলোক্ত ক্যানিনিপথের মন্দা আর্কী বিচারকাদি নৃত্য লাভ প্রাপ্ত মাকী হু প্যাকাতলি ক্যক আর্কী বিচার মাটোকি রিসালত বিচার মাকী তামাসা ইতিহাসকরাতলি পুরোনু মায়ামকী প্রাণাণ গুণু প্যাকাতলি ক্যক আর্কী বিচার মাটোকি রিসালত বিচার মাকী তামাসা ইতিহাসকরাতলি পুরোনু মায়ামকী প্রাণাণ গুণু প্যাকাতলি ক্যক।
केली सेवली मारोका मुळ ५५

मारोका मुळ राजीवं विवाहक्षये हायको मौधिक हविसाह्या त्यागी गहन सीती हुनै सेवली कैन मनुसा अलूकित हुन। अलिहाम प्राप्त मरका खाने पहिले मारोका हुम्मानीवाद प्राप्ते करालाई मान्य विनियममा रहित, वर्तमानी खेले वहाउँदा के बीच के उत्तर गरुझ मक्की है। यस कुरालाई मनो गर्दा हामी धारु र माथि दुखायु गुरुका हविसाह्य देशपक प्रेक्षक गुरु मक्की ही मनो नुमान नगर विनियममा। उपर्युक्त तथ्यहरू मान्यि आयातकारक उपर्युक्त मारोको करालाई मारोका मुळ ५५ हे हो मनो स्वीकार हामिलाई पुनिःस्थ गरेका उन्नत प्रामाण्य सृजन त्यसैले वातावरिक उपलब्ध गनु हुन। क्रियान्वयन मारोका करालाई पार्थिव प्राचीन वाणीस्वरूप प्रेक्षित करा र अन्य दिशानुसार वार्तालाई लागि पति निर्मिति गरिएको विकिरण ५५। वाक्यालाई स्पष्ट मक्की स्थानमा प्राप्त मक्की "पेसिका हुँ प्रामाणीया......" पनि उल्लेख सम्बन्धी रोशन उल्लेख मक्की स्पष्ट विनियमक्रमात मारोको करालाई यस खेली खेली संगाम पति पक्षी र बुनको गुलाम तथा अन्य पति कसै कसैका प्राप्त मरका प्रामाण्यक गिनौल मिल्दै र भित्रको बन्न। वनो गरेर यस खेली संगाम अभी एक काफिला जिन्होंने "सिवस" उन्त्यादेखि विविध सहकारी निकूल विनियमक्रमात मारोका सानी करका पति हालातके प्राप्त मक्की है। यस खेली विविध उद्धृति गरुझ पाती (तराई) कुराला अलिहाम प्राप्त मुळाहुँ पति विनियमक्रमात कलिका नेपालका बलिका विकिरण ५५। वैराग्ना बहाउँदा कै सँगै आडी वर्तमान प्राप्त मुळ र अनुकूलन रोके प्राप्त मुळाहुँ पति निर्मिति बन्न। उपर्युक्त कृत्ति पातै नसली मारोको पति मुळा प्रामाण्य गने परम्परा त्यस कसैले भिक्षे। किस मनो वहाउँदा प्रामाणीया यथार्थार्थण हुन।

tर माथि उल्लेख गिरीङ्गुँ दुः मारोका कक्षामा सम्पूर्ण अवलोकन आयाम गायक मात्र दुवै; धिपी आविभूत मक्की दैसन्याखे। नसली निषिद्ध दुवै मक्की कक्षामा आय र पृथक दुर्गमात्या दुवै दैसन्याखे धिपी अर्थमानी दुवै दैसन्याखे धिपी आविभूत मक्की है। यस निषिद्ध कर वर्तमा अर्थमानी मात्र दुवै तथा धिपी आविभूत मक्की र दुर्गमात्या पति केली महाराज दैसन्याखे निषिद्ध मारोका कक्षामा मारोका मुळाहुँ मनो दैसन्याखे। यसली कक्षामा बास गरी पार्थिव वाणीस्वरूप प्रेक्षित करा नले कै सँगै पार्थिव पति, पनि आधारको हाप रासी वनाएर कराउने गिरीङ्गुँ दुः मुरामा दुवै विनियमक्रम रासै दैसन्याखे। यस कुराली प्रामाणिक लागि पार्थिव प्राप्त मरका हुम्मानीक आत्मवादको विनियम दिनाइ दैसन्याखे।

मुरामाध्यमा दैसन्याखे र दिवसीय कक्षामा आविभूत मुरामा दुवै दैसन्याखे अर्थमानी मक्की कक्षामा दैसन्याखे अर्थमानी मक्की कक्षामा दैसन्याखे अर्थमानी मक्की कक्षामा दैसन्याखे अर्थमानी मक्की कक्षामा दैसन्याखे अर्थमानी मक्की कक्षामा दैसन्याखे अर्थमानी मक्की कक्षामा दैसन्याखे।
76, വി. മേലായി, പീ. 2, (ജ്യോതി. 1967)

സാരാം ഉപ്പൂർത്തി നിമിഷത്തില്‍ മാടോക്ക വൈകാളി മുട്ടുമാവുക ഭിത്തി അതായത് മാടോക്ക വൈകാളി വിപാകവും വിശേഷിക്കല്‍ ഉള്ളു. 

നിമിഷത്തില്‍ നിമിഷം മാടോക്ക വൈകാളി വിപാകവും വിശേഷിക്കല്‍ ഉള്ളു. 

നിമിഷം മാടോക്ക വൈകാളി വിപാകവും വിശേഷിക്കല്‍ ഉള്ളു. 

നിമിഷം മാടോക്ക വൈകാളി വിപാകവും വിശേഷിക്കല്‍ ഉള്ളു.
Fifty Pieces of Full Silver Coins for Each Villager

...अथातु प्रत्येक गाँवाच्या ५० गुण वारीको पैता मध्ये उर्लेले गर्या किर्ती होते. या क्रममा स्वतंत्र विचार पार्यात या उर्लेले गर्या उदाहरण कर्या.

या क्रममा या वर्तमान स्थितीमध्ये विचार पार्यात या उर्लेले गर्या उदाहरण कर्या.

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पाठिसन। तर त्यस समयम सर्वप्रथम तीन र तात्त्विक गुणांक अध्ययन मूल्य निर्धारण
गर्हििे परम्परा बहिरकेकु ग्राम खिलवा उत्पन्न हुि सकेि; नवुशा मानककेकु मुद्रामा लागू
hुि सकेि। किनक, तात्त्विक स्तर (Metal Standard) मनुि सबाने मानककेकु मुद्रामा
भाग।

या लेख प्राचीनकृत मातोका मुद्राकर नियन बनुि.--

१. पाठ्यका राज्य सिद्धिनरसिद्धकृि मातोकी मुद्रा ।

या मुद्राकृि आधुनिक यो शी शिक्षेि त्यसकी वरिष्ठ-परिष्ठ फकी र साने भौपलाल्य
बनृ। फुस्त भागमा मानिसलकी पत्ती अस्पत्तकु रुपकृि साधनमा दायाँ-दायािकृि हिंि र
tल नेवारी दिक्षितमा अधिकृि ह। वरिष्ठत हिंिला र फकी देखिि र यो फकी
पालली ह। यो मुद्रा सानू शैखरी कोथ काट खाने मालिकाना का सत्ता प्राप्त करी
hुि वुििकृि ह।

२. सिद्धिनरसिद्धकृि पत्ती-पद्धति शासने मातोकी मुद्रा।

यो मुद्राकृि आधर शासने मत्ता पत्ति नकसकी मोटीजके ही याकी ह। यो ६ चौशा
परिष्ठ ह र मोटीजकी ६ कृि पाठ्यका फूल्युदंिकाट गर्हि मरक बुद्ध-बुद्धूि एक एक अधिि गरि
यरिि दिि न र थिे नेवारी दिक्षितमा अधिकृि ह। आधुनिक वरिष्ठत हिंिला र हुिे फकी
कृिमा वहृिको फिर र "हेड्राणी" मनि नेवारी दिक्षितमा अधिकृि ह। ब्यक्ति चिर पत्ता
माधि निरुलारक पत्ति देखिि। फुस्त भागमा मानिसलकी पत्ती अर्पस्तकु रूि र तिथिी कवी मुि
बस्ता नति नेवारी दिक्षितमा अधिकृि ह; जुि अधिकृि जसो रहिे हो। यो मुद्रा
फकीपार्वती पारिपूजव "राजकी" मनि स्थानमा प्राप्त करी रहिे ह।

३. पाठ्यका राज्य विषुत्तकृि मातोकी मुद्रा

यो मुद्राकृि विषुत्तकृि गुणहृि करी पत्तन। किनकी विषुत्तकृि मललके चार्दीकी मुद्रामा
तक हपय यो मुद्राकृि दुिे अधि र फुस्त भागमा पाञ्जब र यसकी आधर पत्ति हीी जुिे ह।
यसकी मोटीजके त्यवि पालली पत्ति हैि र त्यवि वाकी पति। यस्का वरिष्ठत व जीसा बनृ
र मोटीजके वरिष्ठत साधारण फूल्युदंिकृि अधिकृि बनृ। मुद्राकृि अध भागमा शी शी
माधि र वीक्षा "विषुत्तकृि मलल देवे" सािे विषुत्तकृि फिर अधिकृि ह र फकी मुि समझदा
tल अन्य मललकालिक चार्दीकी मुद्रामा नकसे गरिे ८५५ अधिकृि ह जुि ने म। ८५५ हो। फुस्त
भागमा वरिष्ठत आर्टूने पराव वाहिि की वीम नील्द्व मलल देवे र पेश फिर "शी "शी
कीकारी र वीक्षा संबंि फिर अधिकृि करी देखिि। यसकी चिप्प पति नेवारी रहिे ह। यो
मुद्रा देशप्रदेश दरहििमुत्तकृि मलल दरहिि पाटिमा लालकेि (जुि पतिहे पुििर रैकृि
थियो) की स्थानमा प्राप्त करी रहिे ह।
ਕੇਤੀ ਕੈਥਿਕੀ ਮਾਦਰੀਕੀ ਮੁਦਰਾ ਅਤੇ ਤਹਾਡਾ ਰਾਜਾਠਨੀਆਂ ਜਾਂ ਜਾਂ ਲਾਲ ਮਿਲਤਾ-ਹਣਦ ਹੁੰਦਾ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਦੀ ਦੀਵਾਰ ਮਾਲਕ ਨੇ ਜੰਉਥ ਮਾਦਰੇਕੀ ਮੁਦਰਾ ਪਨੀ ਪਣਤਾ ਹੁੰਦਾ ਹੈ।ਲਖੀ ਵਿਸ਼ਾਲਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਅਨੁ ਤਸਕਰੀ ਰਾਜਾਠਨੀਆਂ ਚਾਰਦੀਵੇ ਮੁਦਰਾ ਪਨੀ ਨੀ ਨੀ ਨੀ ਲੋਕਸਾਹ ਕਲਜਾ ਤੌਰ ਪੰਛ ਮਾਣਦ ਨਾਲ ਹੁੰਦਾ ਹੈ। ਇਸਦੀ ਜਾਦੂਦੀ ਮਾਲਕ ਨੇ ਪਰਮਾਣ ਮਾਹੀ ਕੰਧ ਦੀ ਰੂਪ ਹੈ।ਦੀਵਾਰ ਦੀ ਦੀਵਾਰ ਰਾਜਾਠਨੀਆਂ ਹੁੰਦਾ ਹੈ।

ਇਸ ਕਾਰਨ ਮੁਦਰਾ ਰਾਜਾਠਨੀਆਂ ਹੁੰਦਾ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਦੀ ਦੀਵਾਰ ਮਾਲਕ ਨੇ ਜੰਉਥ ਮਾਦਰੇਕੀ ਮੁਦਰਾ ਪਨੀ ਪਣਤਾ ਹੁੰਦਾ ਹੈ।ਲਖੀ ਵਿਸ਼ਾਲਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਅਨੁ ਤਸਕਰੀ ਰਾਜਾਠਨੀਆਂ ਚਾਰਦੀਵੇ ਮੁਦਰਾ ਪਨੀ ਨੀ ਨੀ ਨੀ ਲੋਕਸਾਹ ਕਲਜਾ ਤੌਰ ਪੰਛ ਮਾਣਦ ਨਾਲ ਹੁੰਦਾ ਹੈ। ਇਸਦੀ ਜਾਦੂਦੀ ਮਾਲਕ ਨੇ ਪਰਮਾਣ ਮਾਹੀ ਕੰਧ ਦੀ ਰੂਪ ਹੈ।ਦੀਵਾਰ ਦੀ ਦੀਵਾਰ ਰਾਜਾਠਨੀਆਂ ਹੁੰਦਾ ਹੈ।

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पुस्तके कतारा निवास राहन सकिन। सीवी भाषाको साहित्य यस विषयमा अन को
बालको प्राप्त गरी सफेदे कतारा कुमार हुन सकिन।
अर यस विषयमा यी मातोकी मुदाको मौडिज हजार र वस्तु समाहारी चाही रीका
विकासमा सामन्त्वयौ विषयमा साहे यस्ता सहारी तर्फबाट ज्ञात्त (Guarantee)
को विषयमा उत्सर्ग भाषाको हुने प्रामाणिक उपभोक्ता प्राप्त गरी सके मौडिज हजारमा अन
को पहले मातोकी मुदाकी हुनौ स तप्तौँ साग युक्त पिली। यसो मा यस विषयमा
हाँका अन्त्यसम्बन्धी हुने अनुसन्धान श्रेयस्तिका वटी महत्त्व दिइर मातोकी मुदाकी र यथामुदाकी
मूलको सामन्त्व नितौँ पाहाला वातौँ गरी देखिन।

टिप्पणी

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_chkannana raja ranam raja shahki padhugati

visarad mannavar
vidhaas hidhagata smriti

madyasala salana karihii rajyabhamai eka bhyami. pujabhiyana shahale nala
upakhya vibhaa guddu manda anadi ke dalaana r pairi samvaitha rathike deesikha.

vi s, 1863 ma n pujabhiyana shahale apante koori vibhagamarike vibhaa salana-
ka raha bheekuna shahak bhora ranamim rasha ranidhaka shikii r leeshaa dwaar varna
pah bheekuna shahale pujabhiyana shahak pada bhavantanaalai eke amaru ekkatu nee
manaana kura ullela gari sadhaa prasanga ranidhaka shikii. pahs bahadur shahale
nayaavi salana gher dalaana napatra priti anashita sthuta 'ekadri mantra' rajyakle rup
'nya' r leeshaa rajawa-
lai keeji pranamika ti sthita prakar prabandh samasaanki shikii. leesha salana
raja bheekuna shahale shikii.

vi s, 1850 ma bheekuna shahale apante bhora ranamim shah (vibhagamarike
loji) laai salanaa rajawari rashi aapute kabiivai gare. aapante vibhag samvaath-
che nataa nesala rajawari salanka rajawariyawas samya samvaath shikii. ranjvahai
rashhe giriivankaap sthata shahale ekkata phalama ranamim shahka laaa anek maanay
shardhu prasang gariiska hushakii. sthuta phalama unalai 'ke' manharaaj shah 'ke' shah
niti vibhag gariiska padaa bhe keeji varna pahiga vibhagama unalai 'ke' man-
haraajaparivak 'ke' manharaaj ranamim shahri r vibhag phalama 'ke' manharaajaparivak 'ke' shah
niti unalai vibhag samvaath garisaka padaa.

sthu salana rajyakle ekkai purva phalama pada vibhagamekai unalai vibhagama bhikuna-
ke ekkai samvaath chekei thalii odeeranaa (bathu) shikii. tara pah purva pati vibhag
salana deeksha bhalamanu r unalai vibhag samvaath pahika vibhagama bhikuna
vahitho s. vibhagama bhikunamarike anuruddha garisaka shikii.

vi s, 1866 ke sthuta nesala r salana samvaath vibhagamarike vibhago r
raja ranamim shah padhugati gare. ya phatakamaa peekale manharaajakal bhoin buno r
unnaalai aapante prakrutham shakthi vaach sathde keeji ullela gareka saanu. kekkal
'kannada
suvaanilata maana dushara

vi s, 1863 ma n pujabhiyana shahale apante koori vibhagamarike vibhaa salana-
ka raha bheekuna shahak bhora ranamim rasha ranidhaka shikii r leeshaa dwaar varna
pah bheekuna shahale pujabhiyana shahak pada bhavantanaalai eke amaru ekkatu nee
manaana kura ullela gari sadhaa prasanga ranidhaka shikii. pahs bahadur shahale
nayaavi salana gher dalaana napatra priti anashita sthuta 'ekadri mantra' rajyakle rup
'nya' r leeshaa rajawa-
lai keeji pranamika ti sthita prakar prabandh samasaanki shikii. leesha salana
raja bheekuna shahale shikii.
രണ്ണാവാഹൂർ ശാര ഹിന്ദു പി മിക്കാട് ീജാറുൽ നിബിഡ്‌ പ്രതി ആലാസി മാത് നൽന്നാദ്‌ .

പാലാകിണാറിക്ക് ഉന്നത വാക്കുന്ന പായ വാലൂർ ര വിജാറുൽ നിബിഡ്‌ പ്രതി ആലാസി മാത് നൽന്നാദ്‌ .

അഞ്ച് മാസാംഗരി കാരണം വിജാറുൽ നിബിഡ്‌ പ്രതി ആലാസി മാത് നൽന്നാദ്‌ .

അഞ്ച് മാസാംഗരി കാരണം വിജാറുൽ നിബിഡ്‌ പ്രതി ആലാസി മാത് നൽന്നാദ്‌ .

അഞ്ച് മാസാംഗരി കാരണം വിജാറുൽ നിബിഡ്‌ പ്രതി ആലാസി മാത് നൽന്നാദ്‌ .

അഞ്ച് മാസാംഗരി കാരണം വിജാറുൽ നിബിഡ്‌ പ്രതി ആലാസി മാത് നൽന്നാദ്‌ .

അഞ്ച് മാസാംഗരി കാരണം വിജാറുൽ നിബിഡ്‌ പ്രതി ആലാസി മാത് നൽന്നാദ്‌ .

അഞ്ച് മാസാംഗരി കാരണം വിജാറുൽ നിബിഡ്‌ പ്രതി ആലാസി മാത് നൽന്നാദ്‌ .
ফলানী রাজা রাণার শালী পদব্রত ২৭
ফলান সদ্য গৌপালের লিন্দা লালনা বাট ফর্কী গুরুনাথ নটি (মান বালাকোরা গড়া) না ফেলে রূপে স্বরু গরে গুলিকে ভিয়ো। ২০ ফা পাঁচে সিন্তিক নামুল সরকারে স্বাভাবিক রাজারায় হেটাই হুয়াকো ছুরিতে নিষ্পাদন গরিয়ালো। ২০ ১৪৬৯ খ্রীষ্টান শুনি ৫ রো ১ মাত্র পালায় পদটি সতিদি স্বত্ত্ব মণ্ডলী রা মামলা। হামিদ অনেকার্ণ ধারায় নামার মূল রূপ আদেশ হচ্ছে নামাদ্রু পড়া। বী দুই পাঠায় স্বাভাবিক রাজারায় সাধা নটি পালন করার বিষয়ে হুয়াকো ভিয়া। যার অনুসারে তিনি রাণারায় শালী সালাহি পালন স্বাভাবিক রাজারায় নোটো কামান থেকে দিয়া ধীর এবং পাট দুই দীর পল্লের আদেশ গরিয়ালো। ২০ মন্ত্র বী তার মন্ত্রী শুরু পুলার মান শালী (মুঠ) করা মিলনের মতো শ্রদ্ধা করালো। পালন সাড়া ধারিয়া কল্পনা নেহাল ভিয়ার সাহায্য শিক্ষার্থী। উনিশার জন্য মান শালী পালন সাহায্য প্রদান করে নিষ্পাদন প্রেক্ষাপটে রাজারায় যে হয়ে এক দিকে রাজারায় নেহাল পদব্রত উনিশার সাহায্য গরিয়ালো। ২০ মাত্র সাহায্যকে কোন মন্ত্রী পালন সাহায্য মিলনের উপর অধিক গায়ে নামাদ্রু এক দিকে রাজারায়। উঙ্গার পদব্রত সাহায্য স্বাভাবিক রাজারায় অনুমত যে সাহায্য পুলার সাহায্য বাহিক রাজারায় উনিশার সাহায্য গরিয়ালো। স্বাভাবিক স্বাভাবিক সদ্য গৌপালকে মান শালী করে নিষ্পাদন দিয়া এবং উনিশার পদব্রত সাহায্য গর নিষ্পাদন গরিয়ালো। ২০ মাত্র সাহায্যকে কোন মন্ত্রী পালন সাহায্য মিলনের উপর অধিক গায়ে নামাদ্রু এক দিকে রাজারায়। উঙ্গার পদব্রত সাহায্য স্বাভাবিক রাজারায় অনুমত যে সাহায্য পুলার সাহায্য বাহিক রাজারায় উনিশার সাহায্য গরিয়ালো। স্বাভাবিক স্বাভাবিক সদ্য গৌপালকে মান শালী করে নিষ্পাদন দিয়া এবং উনিশার পদব্রত সাহায্য গর নিষ্পাদন গরিয়ালো। ২০ মাত্র সাহায্যকে কোন মন্ত্রী পালন সাহায্য মিলনের উপর অধিক গায়ে নামাদ্রু এক দিকে রাজারায়। উঙ্গার পদব্রত সাহায্য স্বাভাবিক রাজারায় অনুমত যে সাহায্য পুলার সাহায্য বাহিক রাজারায় উনিশার সাহায্য গরিয়ালো। স্বাভাবিক স্বাভাবিক সদ্য গৌপালকে মান শালী করে নিষ্পাদন দিয়া এবং উনিশার পদব্রত সাহায্য গর নিষ্পাদন গরিয়ালো। ২০ মাত্র সাহায্যকে কোন মন্ত্রী পালন সাহায্য মিলনের উপর অধিক গায়ে নামাদ্রু এক দিকে রাজারায়। উঙ্গার পদব্রত সাহায্য স্বাভাবিক রাজারায় অনুমত যে সাহায্য পুলার সাহায্য বাহিক রাজারায় উনিশার সাহায্য গরিয়ালো। স্বাভাবিক স্বাভাবিক সদ্য গৌপালকে মান শালী করে নিষ্পাদন দিয়া এবং উনিশার পদব্রত সাহায্য গর নিষ্পাদন গরিয়ালো।
दुःख रेतिया खड़क आपुरुषा जिम्मा हि राजनु मानीशा आदि राजा उनका माहौ छोरा मे-बाद मारायाद की लाई जैसे पति गुजरका गरी पकड़ी दवार पताकाँ पंगावाल उनकी केहरे देन पछि पताका हाल कीवा मन्ना लोहोरा ताड़ वाक हागही व्युकर्ष वाणी वही लोगकर ज्ञाना पौषित गरी जाना पति सदिया फिलिमा पति दांव हागा मानीशा राजनु में क्षा विंगार वेश गरी ओढ़ात रात विरात गरी क्ष्री बाएँ मान मौह परुकी धरी चिता गरी पन्द्राह देत वेश काम लाई चिंता स्वयं मान सी लाई घाया नुने वायो गए।...

भोंती निर्देश (प्र. १६६६ भैया ४ दिन ३) पेशेम पाहहाड़ा केिश पिचाही का नाम पति शट्टा लाई मीहर जारी गरिया पिंपी, जसमा ६...अज सम रणार्वीि मान लाई राधिया मानी रूसी धूली उनका हुस्न तामिया चलो चली गरी उनकी गुजरके कहानिया नक्षा हामो होके मानी हरीगा कशी मानी मानता निकलाया जी बाहर चवस होला रणार्वीि वाहिर राणार्वा अज उद्धार मानानु...पति निचामो पिंपी। साथि उपाधी राणार्वा "नवरपिको अक्षि" प्रहर सीता ठाकुर बुझ मरी १ पढ़ाते बाटोता को वाकिल सीठि ल्यापु अल मानिया तेज और मानिया पैलाकङ्क नाड़ी धारी बानी बूढ़ा बूढ़ा बूढ़ा बूढ़ा ल्यापु राणार्वा ल्यापु पीछा लोयर बूढ़ा ल्यापु। मानी आदेश पिंपी। जहां सम रणार्वा अल नवाद्वार (भाज्या मानी आदित) हूलूखिया पति देशकर बवाड़ी पत्ता राजनु मनाल क्षे जंग लिंगेंक लाई ल्यापु पति बैल अं जान दिन मनो बैल नाभा आनव बीर्वा ल्यापु पिंपी आनव दिन मनो बैल मनी आदेश पिंपी।

स्वातन्त्र्य राजा उनका स्वाक्षेपदार्शण वेताल सरकार प्रिय पति पैतृक बैल पिंपी। तार ठक्का हाथि धारिया लिदाली पतालका फ्रांसा धेट महीना सम धामाड़िंडाल स्वात र स्वातन्त्र्य स्वामाड़ जाने बिल्कुल लयो मानिया माति पुरा धारिया राहत आदेश पिंपी। धुने बादिया मानिया फैला परी तुरित केली पाल्या जैवनु भने पति हुर्म दिल्ली कैसी।

यस प्रकार से वनायुष्ट बिलाई सैनिक प्र. १६६६ भैया ४ दिन ३ का दिन विंतस्व ल्यापु भावी राणार्वी राणार्वी शाहलाई मद्दाट हटाकरो त्योराणो गरियो। दारम स्वातन्त्र्य बन पहाड़ पेश्वसा छोरा बका चार वर्ष कलश जातका नामसा जारी गरिया पत्ता को बुझे मुककी कविताका संबंध मेंलीराही पठाकाँ गरी जोड़ी मंड़ारी सद्यवाराई स्वातन्त्र्य जाद धरी स्वामा राज्य देशी दिवाली नुमे सम उनका नाथ ल्यापु उद्धार उद्धार ल्यापु राज्य देशी जाति नाषिके राज्य देशी चिता दिवाली गोदा दिवाली नाषिके बाहिरि मार्ग नान चिता स्वातन्त्र्य धारिया करी हुर्म उनका नामी। मनी बिलिया चितानु ३०।
सत्यानी राजा रणगीम शाहकी फलस्विता ५५

भार्षिक उल्लेखित वर्गिकार यी गिन्द हुन्छ कि सत्यानी राजा विट्ठ नेपाल वर्गिकारे ज्यादै ने कठोर नीति अन्नहरु की थियो। पहिलो करा ब राज्यकी रानी विक्रमशुभारी भ्रे गौरवणु युक विक्रम का साथ पुकारकै रहेको र उनी त्यसका तेलाका नीति ने थिन्छ।

सलीहो अवस्थामा डल्चानी राजालाई पढूँ गरूँ नेपाल सरकारकी लागि साधारण खुदा धिन्न। दोहरकी सत्यानी राजालाई उर्जा उल्लेख भएर भएर धारादरी स्वनिर्मित पनि फडकी कामाडीलाई खुदा आदेश दिन्छ। नेपालन नगरको मनाहालाई सांस्कृतिक मानिस रनी हो बने रणगीम शाहकी खेता भोरामा उपकर न्यायकी वर्णमा गरी आफूँ रहाँ गरेँ।

यहि मन्दा उनमा महत्वपूर्ण ठूँको यो दुर्दा हुने कि खेता रल्चानी राजालाई धारी उनको पदवाट हटाउँ बल्यानु राज्य उर्जा भएर भएर भएर दिन्छ। त्यस्तै विपरीत उनीहरू खेताई फडकी कामाडीलाई स्वनिर्मित नेपाल केन्द्र व दोहरकी खेताई खोज्ने गरे गरे सल्यानी लागि लागु रूपानिक दुम्मी खालीलाई खिलाउ गरे बल्यानु राज्यकी अस्तित्वलाई भए क्षण परिकी थियो।

बारुदाम आफूँहरू नाम हुनु अनुसार त विक्रमशुभारीलाई पहिलो दागिनको रूपानि खिलाउ पनि जमु गरेको थियो। यो हुन्छ तात्कालिक पनि पनि प्राप्तरी गरिन्छ। चौथाइ वर्ष प्रवास (मृ. लैप्सै) विक्रमशुभारीका नाममा जसले विट्ठलबाट लाग्नेहरु उनको स्थापना माध्यम साधारण लागि खेता रह्यो र नेपाललाई उनले खेताई दोहो।

अलग प्रवास उद्देश्य कि आफूँको नेपाल सरकारकी राज्य प्रति यो खेता नीति निर्दिष्ट अन्नहरु के। यो होरकी रणगीम शाह र उनका परिवार नेपाल विक्रमशुभारीको भ्रेलय थप्न थियो वा तात्कालिक नेपालको शक्तिहरु शाखकी नीमसिन्थ धाराले आफूँ राज्यकी स्थापना पूर्णिकी लागि सल्यानु राज्यकी अस्तित्वलाई भएर?

यहाँ निर विवारणीय ठूँका यो दुर्दा हुने कि रणगीम शाहा माध्यम स्तर भारतीय लाग्नेहरु पक्षरूँ। चूैकी खेताई नेपाल विक्रमशुभारीको तल्ल खान हार्शी (पिङस) सल उनको भिडिता। यी खान हार्शी को थियो, रहे हो काको नेपाल विक्रमशुभारीको भ्रेलय थप्न थियो र उनकाइ नेपाल सरकार हार्शीको खिलाउ नेपाल सरकारले हार्शी जस्तै लोकको रहे हो। यी प्रमहनकी स्थापना तात्कालिक दसत्रेको हार्शीलाई गरेको पाइन्छ। त्यसको खान हार्शीको र आफूँहरू भाषासमग्रीमा भिडिता तात्कालिक रूपमा गौराहरू न्यायकी धारी माध्यम लाग्नेहरु थियो; रणगीम शाहा माध्यम स्थित। यसली साधारण हुन्छ, खेताई आफूँहरू वाकानी राजालाई पढूँ गरी राज्यको अस्तित्व भए उनको खेता खोज फिन्छ।

वास्तविक कुरा के देशमा उल्लेख भएको रणवाहदृढ शाहकी लिपिबद्ध थापाको प्रस्तुत थप्न हार्श्य नम क्षण आफूँयो यस लिपिबद्ध थापाको उनी अभिक्रिया थप्न थिन्छ यसको दुरा तात्कालिक दोहरको लागि र रहेको हुन। यस उपाधिराम माध्यम (रणवाहालीर शाह) को लिपि प्रति विक्रमशुभारी चिन्तन दुर लागेको थियो र रहेको यस लिपिबद्धको लागि भीमसेन थापाको आवेदन गर्ने। अव भीमसेन थापाले सल्यानु तर्कवाद
उस पुराण सत्यनी राजाकी फद्युति वैरे क्रांतिकाल द्वारा मिल्लियं तथा करीबी चीज़ पूछको क्। तर मानिस उलटित बूढ़ी यी दुःखको मनाळाई कैही हदसम्म सहन पनि गरेको क्। पहिली दुःख तर राजवंशावर शाहको हत्याको दुररक परि नेपाल दल वर्णा गरेको दुरा दुःखको रमण बनु। तर मौत खियेलर्हि प्रशासित गर्दै अनुसार यी दुरा राजवंशावर शाहको हत्याकी पूरा तीन वर्ष परि मानि पटेको थियो। बौद्धिक निर्माणी प्रति नेपाल राष्ट्रिय व्यवहारको यी हुँ दुःखको निन्ता मनि मान घने गरे बनु। समेतको भाषा अनुसार निर्माणिको र उन्नत साहित्य और एको लागि शैक्षिक र अध्ययनको भीतर गृह बने र दिखी राज्यको तर अस्थायी वने दुःखी लाई राज्यको मान्यता र विश्वास्त्त्थानी राजकी बीच सह स्वयं भक्ति रहे दिखी दीत फलवाडो अनुशासन कुरा उलेख गरे बनु। वातावरणिक काहाँको यह वर्ष लुभ्या विवरण दिखिएको तैन ता जन जन जन मान्यको ठूलोवहार भए। निरक्त। तर यस रायको लागि भीमप्रेमी थपाकी आलोचना भए र फलस्वरूप तीन वर्ष परि (दिनहरू) ने निर्माणिको संपत्ति पिताको यह भीमप्रेमी थपाको भए।

राज्यको निर्माणको फद्युति परियो अस्थायी महिला सम्म त्यहाँकी नारायण चर्चा संतर जाएत मान्यताको सम्महरू र त्यह वर्ष परि सुने खुज्दी शाही गर्दै त्यहाँकी निर्माण आयोजना हाल भए भि। खज्दी शाही जी मानिसम पाल्यको हासिको अविलम्बितो रहे सत्यनीको समयको श्रीरक र विभिन्न जारी गरेको कैही फलस्वरूप आदेश तथा फलस्वरूप पनि पाशका बनौ।

उन्नत वर्ष परि अवधिक दिनहरू १८५४ मा मानि तेजशाहुर शाह देखि परेको बनु त्यही पनि राजाको हम्मा होइन। यसको पनि यस वर्ष परि अवधिक दिनहरू १८५५ मा मानि (भीम-प्रेमी थपाकी पनि परि) विचार भक्ति सह राजाको उपाध्यको पाको देखिन। सत्यनी राजाको दवा दिखी दापन तेजशाहुरको राज्य फलवाडोमा ने सीमित रहौ। सहमान दवी र देखियो, उनको कैही अधिकार रहेन।

राज्यको लेखकल राजा तेजशाहुर शाहाको रामभीम शाह र निर्माणिकाको होरा हुन पर्छ लेखको बनु। तर यस पनि राजपत्रको यी दुःखको पुष्टि गरेको हुन। यसको विश्वासको रामभीम शाहको पार्श्व कथा बिघोषराहको नाम उलेख गरेको क्। ती हुन - गुनाह, गुनाह, पत्रवार, शासन, र नक्षत्र। बी मानिने स्वदेश दुःख, जनमा (रुपाय र रुपाय) राज्यभूमि कुरा दुरस्वरूपिका काहाँको समेत उलेखका पाइन। यसही शाह शाहाको पाको देखि होलोहो। सम्मत उनको रामभीम शाहको पतिता का कूचको नाविक बनाउ। कृ उनको फौरि सहमानको राजा बनाउने कुरा भिजाउ।
सल्यानी राजा उणपीठ शासक पद्मपुर्ण ६५

पाद-टिप्पणी

१. योगी नरहरिनाथ, इतिहास प्राकृतिक संस्कृत सहस, कामाडाड़, बाग आयुर्विज्ञानिक समीक्षा, वि. सं. २०२२, पृष्ठ ४०८-४०।

२. वि. पृष्ठ ५४४।

३. श्री ५ को वर्तमान, संवत मान्यमान, प्रभुदेविनी महाशाली, मामन ५, कामाडाड़, वि. सं. २०२२, पृष्ठ ५६२।

४. नरहरिनाथ, टिप्पणी नं. १, पृष्ठ ५०४।

५. वि. पृष्ठ ४५५-५६ यहाँ उल्लिखित विद्वान सल्यानी राजारू र रोज माता मात्रे विभुजित मात्रा विश्वास।

६. वि. पृष्ठ ४०८-४०।

७. फ्राँसिस्को द्वामिल्ला, द्रव रचनाएँ अंक द्रव तीत्तिक एक नेहर, न्यू दिल्ली: पुंजपुर प्रकाशन हाउस, सन् १६६९ (रिप्रिंट) पृष्ठ २७३।

८. बाणीराम आचार्य, महाली ब्राह्मण व्यास, कामाडाड़, पुरातत्त्व र शिल्पिका मप्रिय, वि. सं. २०२२, पृष्ठ २२६।

९. बुधवार राजा कारीगर का - वि. सं. १६६६ वेशक वदी ५ रोज ५, परारायण मन्त्रालय कामाडाड़, पोका नं. २१।

१०. काजी अमरंकुंड धामागार का - वि. सं. १६६६ वेशक वदी ५ रोज ५, परारायण मन्त्रालय, पोका नं. २१।

११. सदार काजी कंदारिलाल का - वि. सं. १६६६ वेशक सुदी ७ रोज ७, परारायण मन्त्रालय, पोका नं. २१।

१२. काजी अमरसिंह धामागार का - वि. सं. १६६६ वेशक सुदी ८ रोज १, परारायण मन्त्रालय, पोका नं. २१।

१३. सदार काजी कंदारिलाल का - वि. सं. १६६६ वेशक सुदी ७ रोज ७, परारायण मन्त्रालय, पोका नं. २१।

१४. काजी अमरसिंह धामागार का - वि. सं. १६६६ वेशक सुदी ८ रोज १ - परारायण मन्त्रालय, पोका नं. २१।

१५. वि. सं. १६६६ वेशक सुदी ७ रोज ७ मा माशा पहाड़ रैखिक नामा जारी गमिनी लालसहर - परारायण मन्त्रालय, पोका नं. २१।

१६. वि. सं. १६६६ वेशक सुदी ७ रोज ७ मा जारी गमिनी अदीश - परारायण मन्त्रालय, पोका नं. २१।
62. दि. २ एस जैन, मीला ६९, नं. २ (अप्रैल १६५४)

64. वि. १६५६ वेशाक पुक्ती २० रोज १ मा जारी गरिएको लामोहर, पररान्यू नामालु, पोका नं. २५।

70. अनारह धामा र जादिम मंडारीलाई फलहुँ - वि. १६५६ वेशाक पुक्ती २० रोज १
- पररान्यू नामालु, पोका नं. २५।

71. ह्मामल्टन, तिप्पणी नं. ३, पृष्ठ २१०।

72. आचार्य, तिप्पणी नं. ५, पृष्ठ २२६।

73. नरहरिनाथ, तिप्पणी नं. ६, पृष्ठ ४१९।

74. ऊजबी की "भौमेश्वर धामाको ग्राममन्त्री, प्रारम्भा, पृष्ठ १९, पृष्ठ २५-२६।

75. नरहरिनाथ, तिप्पणी नं. ५, पृष्ठ ४६१-४६२।

76. दि. पृष्ठ ४१२; मैलेहिट महाराणी (तिप्पणी नं. २, पृष्ठ ४६२) मा वि. १६५६ मा फौरैर स्थान राजस्वको अस्तित्व नेपाल दर्शाउने स्वीकार गरेको भएका हुन स्थानको नामक आउदेन। वि. १६५५ ज्युन पाहारी छाँदीर स्थानको हासिका लेखा लेखा फेलहुक (नरहरिनाथ, पृष्ठ ४६३) पाहारिको कबु जस्ता स्थानको राजस्वको दुबै उस्तेल भएन। फौरैर वि. १६५६ मा की ५ राजनिवार फकेरी लामोहर (नरहरिनाथ, पृष्ठ ४६२) मा "अधि स्थान्
का राजस्वको वर्तमान भएको मनोरम परेका भएन। यस्तै ल्याउँदै सभबनी सभा पनि
स्थान राजस्वको अस्तित्व फौरैर कामय नहुने कुरा स्पष्ट हुँ।

77. महाकाल रैभिन, रिष्य हन नेपाली नैवनोमिशक हिली, वाराणसी प्रेत्त्र किमानिक
विपा सिक्कङ, लून १६५३, पृष्ठ ५३।

78. रामनिवार पाघिन, "राजस्व रोज बैलमेंट अवे दी वाली स्टेटूरी, प्रारम्भा, पृष्ठ १७, पृष्ठ ५५।

79. नरहरिनाथ, तिप्पणी नं. २, पृष्ठ ६०५-६६।

80. दि. पृष्ठ ४०२, ४०४।
Book Review


Last decade has seen a proliferation of seminars in Nepal relating to developmental issues. But none of them was specifically organised to address, in sufficient details and depth, the role of foreign aid in Nepalese development in spite of the fact that foreign aid has had pervasive effect on all aspects of the Nepalese society and the economy. The seminar organised by Integrated Development Systems (IDS), a private non-profit institute for research in management and development, last October on "Foreign Aid and Development in Nepal" and participated by top government policy makers and planners including those responsible in the past and present for negotiation and management of foreign aid, prominent intellectuals, and representatives of donor communities has filled up this important gap. IDS has been prompt in publishing the proceedings of the seminar. It is one of the publications that provide clear insights into the ramification of foreign aid and the basic issues relating to Nepalese Development (or underdevelopment).

The publication contains six papers on the impacts of Foreign Aid on the Nepalese Social Structure, the Poor, Women, Agricultural Development, Administrative Capability, and Development in general including the comments and discussions thereof during the seminar; the main contributors are Chaitanya Misra and Pitamber Sharma, Mahesh Banskota, Bina Pradhan and Indira Shrestha, Thakur Nath Pant, Bihari K. Shrestha, and Devendra Raj Pandey, respectively. It also includes an illuminating "letter from a 'silent' participant" which points out the crux of the problem of development in Nepal in a language unusually clear and straightforward.

The papers range in quality, content of analysis and sufficient relevant information in support of the respective contentions but are unanimous in concluding that foreign aid in Nepal has not contributed to the real "development", defined in terms of benefits to the poor and disadvantaged groups, positive changes in the productivity and structure of the economy, transformation of the institutional structure, and improvement in the managerial and administrative efficiency of the bureaucracy. All writers, however, concede that foreign aid has positively contributed to the creation of economic infrastructure and in training capable manpower although the beneficiaries have been mainly the members of the elite group.

The first paper by Misra and Sharma analyses the issue from the perspective of social class structure and argues that in a country like Nepal, which is neither egalitarian nor politically and economically diversified, foreign aid essentially helps to maintain and strengthen the "traditional native power structure" under which the "upper social
classes" derive the major benefits while the political dependence of the "under class" increases, thus sharpening the basic contradiction in the social structure. To substantiate this argument the role of foreign aid in the production and distribution system, the power structure, and the ideological framework are examined in general terms. The paper is very well written and has succeeded in highlighting the basic problem of development facing not only the contemporary Nepali society but all developing countries in general.

The specifics, relevant facts and examples generally lacking in Misra and Sharma's paper are, to a certain extent, provided in the outstanding paper by Banskota which addresses the specific issue of the beneficiaries of foreign aid. Banskota shows a very strong physical infrastructure bias of foreign aided projects and argues that: "Most of the infrastructure benefits are based on the ability to pay while access to the other services are directly related to one's overall socio-economic status. The bulk of the poor is therefore at a great disadvantage to either participate or benefit from most of the development projects..." The argument is convincingly justified from the review of the sectoral programmes of several recently implemented integrated rural development projects (IRDPs) under foreign aid -- specifically with reference to education, health, drinking water, cottage industry, employment, and extension and training system, all of which are expected to benefit mostly the poor. The author suggests, with an ingenious model of the rise and fall of major foreign aided projects, that "group interest and group interactions" among opposing elites have dominated success and failure of development projects, "including where and how the benefits are shared."

The central argument of the next paper by Pradhan and Shrestha is that women, an underprivileged and disadvantaged group in Nepal whose economic contribution is immense, have been neglected in the national development programmes and projects undertaken through foreign aid. Targeting the poor alone will not automatically benefit the women. They illustrate their contention through a general, but often repetitve, review of the IRDPs and several women specific projects. In projects that have specific provision for women's involvement the emphasis is primarily on enhancing the traditional "housewifely" role and most of them are either ineffective or too restrictive in scale to have any significant impact.

Pant makes a general assessment of foreign aid to agriculture through a review of several facts and figures, although not all of them are very relevant to make his point, and concludes that "the achievement of the foreign aided agricultural projects has not been particularly satisfactory." He attributes it mainly to the ineffectiveness of "external assistance in transferring appropriate technology so vitally required for agricultural development." Two case studies are presented -- one of Chitwan Irrigation Project, a failure due to complex technology involved and Integrated Cereal Project, a success (which is yet premature to be assessed so) because of flexible technological element that could be adapted to suit local realities. The failure of foreign aid in increas-
ing agricultural productivity, as per Pant, is attributable both to the
IMG and the donors — IMG, because of the "absence of clear and consistent
national policies on the role of external assistance" and donors, for their
emphasis on physical facilities without considering the "institutional
base" that use such facilities.

Bihari Shrestha is extremely, and perhaps unduly, critical of foreign
consultants in his paper entitled "Technical Assistance and the Growth of
Administrative Capability in Nepal." Although it is difficult to agree
with him on all his criticisms as general characteristics of expatriate
consultants, they cannot also be dismissed as irrelevant outright. Per-
haps because of his "subjective" and "emotional" approach to the issue,
as some participants in the seminar alleged, the paper lacks a clear-cut
focus. Nonetheless, the main theme that could be discerned from careful
reading of the paper is that Nepalese administration is non-functional
and inefficient principally because of the "existing rules of civil ser-
tice" under which promotion criteria have no bearing on quality of per-
formance and consequently officials lack motivation for hard work. (It
is difficult to understand how the author can believe "the civil service
rules" to be as the root cause of administrative inefficiency which is
rather one of the manifestations of the overall socio-political and eco-
nomic situation of the country). So the donor's palliative is "to take
control of the project and do things that Nepalese should have been doing"
and as a result the stated purpose of expatriate inputs to strengthen
national project or programme management capability is rarely achieved.
Nonetheless, the author concedes the "unavoidable need for greater and
continuous infusion of technical and managerial knowhow into development
efforts of Nepal."

The concluding paper by Pandey is excellent in its analysis and ex-
position of the role of foreign aid in the Nepalese development. While
basically agreeing with main conclusions of the foregoing papers he con-
tends that the crucial problem is the "void in Nepal's development strat-
 egy". Nepal's objectives of development, strategies, policies and pro-
jects are determined by foreign aid, as per the prevailing international
'fashion' at the point in time, because the government is overtly depen-
dent on aid. "Development strategy has tended to follow aid rather than
vice versa." Only for a period in the early sixties, the author contends,
Nepal had its own strategy but more recently there is no sense of direc-
tion. Therefore, "it is in its role as the purveyor of changing concepts
that foreign aid has been most counter-productive in Nepal." The whole-
sale acceptance by IMG of the "basic needs" strategy discovered for the
third world by donor countries and international agencies is unsuitable
in a situation of generalized poverty because to cater the basic needs
of people Nepal will have to be permanently dependent on external sub-
sidy. Thus, the author calls for reverting to the strategy of the early
sixties, i.e. emphasis on production through and along with suitable
institutional reforms. The donors are called upon to play a major role
towards this through a "hard-nosed dialogue with the government." Oth-
wise foreign aid would only help support the status quo and donors can-
not deny the charge of "collusion" or floundering along with the govern-
ment: it would be best for Nepali people for such aid to be stopped al-
together. "The advantage would be that the contradictions can be settled internally, howsoever painful a process that might be for some of us."

If one ignores the details of analysis there could be no dissension on the basic conclusion of the papers. But after reading the generally excellent diagnosis contained in the papers, the prescriptions put forward by the writers are not even "old wine in the new bottle" and therefore likely to be unattainable. Banskota recommends promotion of equality, self-help, and cooperation; among the "bottom-line policies" recommended by Shrestha are participatory planning and implementation, inter-regional and interpersonal equity, and developing a more responsive bureaucracy; and Pandey suggests the need for a design of strategy tantamount to "growth with redistribution" or else, in the extreme, stopping aid altogether on the part of the donor which is not a tenable option at all. They are putting the "cart before the horse" knowing well that it would not work but as Banskota writes, about foreign aid dancing to the tunes of the elites in recipient countries, "probably rightly so because even they would not really know what else to do!"

Misra and Sharma provide no recommendations, perhaps because given the basic socio-political institution and the class interests there could be no solution to the contradiction, save for the extreme alternative of a painful resolution through major transformation of the whole socio-political structure. It would be premature to expect the leadership and organization in the present context of Nepal to bring about such a revolutionary change that can have a sustained base. Therefore, I tend to agree with the "silent" participant's view only to the extent that the problem is political but differ with his opinion that "a demand for change in our situation can only be done with a straight demand for political change." I am afraid, for a long time to come, there is really no option but to live with the evolutionary change in our socio-economic system.

It is, thus, very unlikely that insights brought about by the deliberation in the seminar and this publication of the proceedings will affect any substantial change in practice, either on the part of Nepalese policy makers or the donor community. Nonetheless, the awareness of the real problem generated is of immense value in itself and an important contribution to the limited literature pertaining to the role of foreign aid in Nepalese development. This publication must be in the priority reading list of development practitioners and intellectuals both within Nepal and outside. IDS would have contributed better if this publication were brought forth in a cheaper edition so that it could be accessible to the Nepalese audience, particularly the student community.

- Durga P. Ojha
Notes to Contributors

Manuscripts should be typed double-spaced on A4 paper with a 4 cm margin on all four sides. The top copy should be submitted and photo/carbon copy retained by the author. The author should underline nothing except words which are to be italicised. Notes and references should be typed double-spaced on separate pages and will be included at the end of the article. The text should refer to notes numbered consecutively throughout the article, using raised numbers; bibliographical references should be cited in the text by the author's last name, date of publication, and page number, e.g., (Bista 1965: 105) or if the author's name is mentioned in the text, by the date and page reference only, e.g., (1965: 105). Entries in the references should be in alphabetical and chronological order of authors. They should include the details in the following order: name of the author(s) - surname first, date, title name of the periodical, volume number (Arabic numerals to be used throughout), pagination (for articles in periodicals and books with several authors), place of publication (and name of the publisher for a book). Examples of the style to be used are as follows:


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