

GURUNGS, GOORKHALIS, GURKHAS: SPECULATIONS ON A NEPALESE ETHNO-HISTORY

Tod A. Ragsdale

Gurungs

The Gurungs are a Tibeto-Burman people who have for centuries inhabited the southern slopes of the Himalaya in Central Nepal. Outside Nepal they have gained recognition-along with Magar, Limbu and Rai peoples-as tough soldiers in Gurkha regiments of the Indian and British armies.¹ Their homeland is a contact zone between Indian Hinduism and Tibetan Buddhism, and both these have overlaid an ancient shamanistic religion, to become part of Gurung culture.

The Gurung economy is diverse. Military service and sedentary agriculture (including wet rice cultivation and various dry crops such as maize and millet) have become the main pillars of their economy, replacing once exclusive reliance on highland herding, hunting and swidden agriculture. Long distance trade has always played a major part in the Gurung economy. Though their role as middle men in Nepal's Tibet trade is no longer prominent, new avenues have opened through military service outside Nepal.

Gurungs are found in Kaski, Parbat, Syangja, Lamjung, Tanahu, Manang, and Gorkha districts. Secondary centers of Gurung concentration are in Kathmandu Valley and the Nepal's far east. The map on page --- indicates Gurung distribution nationally by district. Within their historic homeland, the Gurung community may be sub-divided into Western, Central and Eastern sections, or they may be classified as highlander *Lekhalis* and lowlanders. (Messerschmidt 1974:2) Though in the "low lands", the latter are found

principally along the top of 4–5,000' ridges.

The Nepali term for Tibetan, *Bhote*, has long had pejorative connotations, and some Tibetan populations adjoining the Gurung area have taken to calling themselves "Gurung". What sets Gurungs apart from neighboring *Bhotes* appears to be not so much language or custom but a clan system that embraces the whole community, more particularly that of so called *Char Jat* Gurungs, which is universally found. Tibetans claiming to be Gurungs have been disbelieved on account of their ignorance of the Gurung clan system (Furer-Haimendorf 1977:156). Nevertheless, the Gurung language is one of the most closely related to Tibetan of all himalayan languages and some Gurung populations exist north of the Himalayan range whose dress and customs differ little from Tibetans. (Grierson 1909:182).

The distinctive structural feature of Gurung society is its dual organization into two heirarchical and endogamous strata or sub-tribes called the *Char Jat* (Nep: four clans) and the *Sora Jat* (Nep: sixteen clans). Each strata incorporates a number of named exogamous patrilineal clans which in turn are segmented into local lineages.²

Sora Jat is an inclusive term for all Gurung clans not included among the higher ranked *Char Jat*. The actual number of clans included under the term *Sora Jat* is unknown. Citations exist listing them from twenty-eight to as many as ninety-seven (Pignede 1966:178; Vansittart 1915:79-80). As many *Sora Jat* clan names are the same as Magar ones, it is possible that the *Sora Jat* includes originally non-Gurung lineages who for one reason or another became subordinate to the Gurung *Char Jat*.

The *Char Jat* is an accurate term reflecting the existence of four pan-tribal categories called "Jat" or, in English, "Caste". *The Char Jat* as a whole is endogamous, while each of the four categories is exogamous. Within each category are several patrilineal clans sometimes indentifying a common ancestor but not necessarily doing so. The *Char Jat* categories are named as though they were governmental positions in a Tibetan polity, viz, their Nepali names: 1) *Ghale*, "King; 2) *Ghodane*, "Minister"; 3) *Lama*, "Priest"; and 4) *lamichane*, "Councillor".³

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, previous to the consolidation of *Khas* principalities, Gurung states existed in which locally powerful lineages assumed Tibetan titles. Or, possibly, later Tibetan immigrants imposed political organization upon already established tribes, in the same

way as Rajput did over Khas later on in the consolidation of Indo-Nepalese political units.

The Origin of Gurungs

Lamnasa's Gurungs:

Pressed on the question of their origins, Gurung elders in the village panchayat where I did research, could not go further back to origins beyond the arrival of their own eighteenth century ancestors to the at that time forested lowland region nearby Pokhara Valley.

This village panchayat, I call *Lamnasa* elsewhere, in 1974 had 1,286 Gurungs -- 1076 Char Jat and 210 Sorah Jat (Ragsdale, 1989). Among the Char Jat Gurungs were *Lama*, *Ghotane*, *Lamichane*, in that order numerically. *Ghale* Gurungs were represented only by an old couple running a small tea shop well below the main settlements. It was possible to distinguish some twenty-two separate lineages within these categories. Each lineage could trace a migration to Lamnasa Village Panchayat from some other part of Kaski or from Lamjung district to the East. Most came from highland villages of greater antiquity sometime during the late eighteenth century or after. Gurungs would say that they brought low-caste Hindu artisan families along with them to provide services in the new settlements, and upon questioning the artisans agreed with this account.

The late eighteenth century was a time of political instability at the local level, and forests were protected by sovereign edict, on account of the cover they provided for the strategic hill forts established by the ruling lineages.⁴ Two such fortresses were established on two of the highest ridges, some distance above present settlements, and their ruins can still be seen. Villages lower down were established by different lineages as small forest settlements. Gurungs say that before they arrived in the area, only a few Indo-Nepali families who, it is said, had no fixed settlements, were in the forests.

Two brothers from the presently most influential lineage (*Pange-Lamas*) came from neighboring Lamjung to Kaski District, where Lamnasa is located, and established a fort about 1790. At the time Pokhara, Kaski's premier town, was the military centre for Nepal's westward expansion. Two kinsmen of the *Pange-Lama* Lineage gained special prominence in this campaign--Natu and prahlad of Riban village, north of Pokhara⁵ -- and it was through their influence as military officers that others of their lineage were strategically placed throughout Kaski and western Lamjung. Their influence

gave officers such as Natu and Prahlad the right to assign unclaimed forest land to military personnel for conversion to paddy lands. Their close kinsmen, in turn, were charged with attracting settlers and further allotting lands and homesteads to fellow Gurungs lower in military rank (Regmi 1965:20-25).

Official Explanation of Gurung Origins:

To explain their origins earlier than their arrival in Lamnasa, Gurungs would tend to rely on dynastic chronologies called *Gurung Vamsavali*.⁶ Different versions of these vamsavali exist, and parallel stories are absorbed into the folklore of Lamjung. (Messerschmidt 1974:21-23), but the authorship appears to originate with a seventeenth century Brahmin advisor to the Shah king of Kaski (Messerschmidt 1974:17). These documents are in the Sanskrit tradition of Nepal's Hindu ruling classes, and they explain that the ancestors of *Char Jat* Gurungs included a Chetri prince and a Brahmin priest, both of whom lost their caste standing through an unfortunate incidence, involving the ingestion of alcohol, that led to their ritual pollution. *Sorah Jat* Gurungs, according to these sources, descended from a servant accompanying their overlords on the journey in which the incident occurred.

The Vamsavali chronicals explained that the title "Gurung" evolved from one ancestor's ability to meditate. Because of this ability, and his status as a teacher, he was called "Guru", or "Gurung", and this became a title for all *Char Jat* Gurungs when the first Shah king of Lamjung deposed the Gurung dynasty of that principality about 1500 and rewarded those Gurung families who had sided with him with powers of local administration (Messerschmidt 1974:13-20). This Brahmanical construction rationalized Gurung history and social structure to fit caste-hierarchical norms, and it was used in the nineteenth century by Rana Prime ministers to adjudicate social conflict between the *Char Jat* and The *Sorah Jat* Gurungs (Messerschmidt 1974:19; Vansittart 1915:77).

Gurung clans who benefited most from the shah kings' assumption of power, and later from appointments made by the Rana prime ministers, seem to have found it convenient to take the *Gurung Vamsavali* at face value. Those who did adopt these explanations of the Gurung origins adopted dress and commensal rules more in keeping with the new Hindu ruling classes.

Records of former Gurung states in the Lamjung and Kaski areas were suppressed and finally eradicated over a period of several hundred years. These

measures are documented in eastern Nepal, where during the nineteenth century Limbus were forbidden to keep the dynastic chronologies of their Limbu kings, and these chronicles were destroyed whenever found by officials (Grierson, 1909:283).

A Tibetan past:

Despite these official explanations of the Gurung past, most Gurungs recognized affinities with Tibet. One elder, for instance, explained to me that Gurungs had once been Tibetan but had given up eating beef when serving as soldiers in the armies of the Shah kings. Thus, according to this source, they had earned the appellation of *Go-Rom*, Sanskrit for "cow's hide".⁷

Gurung do use "Gurung" to refer to themselves when they speak Nepali. However in their own Tibeto-Burman language, *Tamu-kwi*, they refer to themselves as *Tamu* or *Tamme*. At first glance, this gives little clue of the Gurung past, except as Dr. Harka Gurung has suggested, in an informal communication, that it could be a term meaning "highlander".⁸

Iman Sing Chemjong, a Limbu historian and proponent of Limbu ethnicity, presents Nepalese history from a Tibeto-Burman perspective. He gives an account of Gurung origins from this Tibeto-Burman perspective (Chemjong, 1967). Chemjong's account of Gurung history is based on Limbu chronicles that, unlike documentation from Gurung kingdoms, somehow escaped destruction, and are, according to Chemjong, in the Brian Hodgson collection at the India Office Library in London.⁹

Chemjong dates the Gurung arrival in the Gandaki region (Kaski and Lamjung) in mid-western Nepal in the seventh century, when Tibet's first historical king, Songtsen Gampo, was forming a great central Asian empire that at the time threatened China. Songtsen Gampo occupied "Nepal", or Kathmandu Valley, and engaged cavalry as far south as the Indian plains.¹⁰

A diaspora of Tibeto-Burman tribes occurred during the seventh century, when swift cavalry were able to knit together an empire of great proportions within a matter of a hundred years, and Nepal was the scene of Tibetan military engagements several times, until the fragmentation of the Tibetan empire during the ninth century (Stein, 1972:58-59, 64).

Chemjong's account has the Gurungs in a long migration from northern Tibet, eastward through the Sino-Tibetan frontier region, southward along the river systems of the Mekong, Salween and Yangtze, through the

Chinese province of Yunnan, westward across Burma to follow the course of the Tsangpo River, finally to where the Tsangpo meets the Kali Gandaki River, which cuts a deep gorge southwards through the Himalayas into Nepal's Gandaki region, the present Gurung homeland.

According to Chemjong, the Gurungs are one of the "seven tribes" of northern Tibet. They appear in central Nepal as mercenary troops (already having the name "Gyarung") under Shah leaders from Yunnan. Nine *Gyarung* officers established a federation of small village-centered states in the Gandaki region, thereafter named *Gya-Rong*, or "nine chiefs" 11

This account is, of course, purely hypothetical. Nevertheless, the account presented by Chemjong of the Gurung migration from northern Tibet, along the Sino-Tibetan border regions, and ultimately across southern Tibet to central Nepal seems corroborated by other histories. Songtsen Gampo, Tibet's first historic king, first established control from his capital over the nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes in the north, around the giant lake of Koko Nor. (Stein, 1972). He wished to do so because these tribes bred excellent horses and were known for the quality of their iron swords and iron and leather breastplates. Subsequently these tribes became the cavalry vanguard for Tibet's expansion, and many of them were shifted eastward to guard the Chinese frontier (Stein, 1972).

This shift in the seventh century of tribal people from the Koko Nor area to eastern Tibet coincided with the establishment of group of small states in the Sino-Tibetan frontier area called the *Gya-Rong* principalities. These states were founded in an area contiguous with the Tatu River, at what has remained to this day the easternmost boundary of Tibetan ethnicity. 12

The Sino-Tibetan frontier has over the centuries sent waves of migration into Yunnan and northern Burma. Its Many states have never been absorbed, until recently, into either Tibet or China, but have been hotly contested for by both (Aung, 1967:3-4). The migrations have followed trade routes from time immemorial along the three giant rivers whose intervening mountain ranges have, on the other hand, obstructed easy communication between China and Tibet.

In the seventh century, and at different times during the eighth century, Tibet controlled or had suzerainty over Nan Chao, the emergent kingdom of the *Tai-Shan* people (Stein, 1972:60). It is thought that one of the five wives Songtsen Gampo married to ally Tibet to its neighbors was

from Nan-Chao, a seventh century state situated on the plateau that Yunnan and Burma's Shah State today share. Nan-Chao's Shah rulers used Tibeto-Burman mercenaries from the north to assert their hegemony in the region.¹³ Some of these, who settled the highland region of northern Burma, eventually saw service as British mercenaries -- in the same way as have Nepal's northern border as mercenaries of the Shah, who in turn are the Limbus of eastern Nepal.

A Tibetan Origin, Other Considerations:

Although Tibet is seen generally as a wild, snowy, inhospitable country, its latitude is the same as Algeria's, and it contains a host of micro-climates based on the lay of valleys, directional trend of mountain ranges, the particular altitude of a given place, and the amount of annual rainfall. Within the same geographic area one can find communities adapted to a number of ecological zones -- much as in Nepal. In folklore and in spoken language the idea of a 'country' or of a 'district' is expressed by the word for 'valley'. Stein uses the Tibetan work '*lung-pa*' to illustrate this (stein, 1972:22). This word denotes a valley, without implying the features of a 'gorge' or 'defile', as defined by the word *ron (rong)* (Thomas, 1948:5). Northeastern Tibet (the Sino-Tibetan frontier, now within China's Kansu, Tsinghai, Sechzwan, and Yunnan provinces) contains three mountain ranges of Himalayan dimensions. These are closely aligned between the Salween, Mekong, and Yangtze rivers, on their north-west to south-east routes.

The *rong* gorges or defiles among these mountains are well wooded and rather thickly populated. Fortress like houses of several stories climb the steep declivities (Thomas, 1948:7) Though rain is scanty through much of Tibet, here the monsoon penetrates along the major river far north, allowing a mixed variety of agriculture in the lower areas of *rong* valleys. The upper parts of the valleys, unsuitable for settlement, allow for nomadic pasturage. Although a few *rong* areas exist in southern Tibet, where Himalayan passes allow the monsoon passage, the northeast is *rong* country *Par excellence*. (Thomas, 1948:6).

In northeastern Tibet, *rong* regions are set among high plateau, or plains, or among wide valleys of a plains aspect. Tent dwelling nomads, the 'pasture-land people' called '*brona-pa*' stereotypically represent outsiders' notions of the regions. Proper "Tibetans" (*Bod-pa*) of fertile, agricultural regions in the south view '*brog-pa*' as almost foreign (stein, 1972:109), although Sino-Tibet has three times the population of Tibet proper (Han-Seng, 1949:73). Valley dwellers of the *rong* areas are related to the nomadic

tribes, and the transition between their ways of life is gradual, but generally travellers have described the rong populations as distinct, enjoying a more abundant economy (Grenard, 1974:366–367; Thomas, 1948:19; Duncan, 1952: 256).

The rong regions in northeastern Tibet are ecologically very much like the gorges and defiles (rong) of the south-tending Himalayan spurs of central and western Nepal, where the most ancient highland Gurung villages are located. It is not inconceivable, given the above historical and geographical coincidence that related mountain peoples, such as the *Tomi* located southwest of Lake Koko Nor in Northern Tibet, or the *rtsa-me* in the kingdom of Minyak, northeast of the giant salt lake, became eventually the *Tamme* of Nepal, whom we know as Gurung.¹⁵

These northern Tibetan tribes of the Amdo region shifted southeastward in the seventh century to different rong regions along the Sino-Tibetan frontier, such as *Gyo-Rong*, *Tao-Rong*, *Tsa-Rong*, and *Nya-Rong*.¹⁶ In *Gya Rong*, the rong inhabitants are – seemingly in correspondence with Chemjong's account of Gurung antecedents – related to a nomadic people close by called the “Seven Tribes”(Duncan, 1952:163).

Although called “Giarong”, or simply “Rong” (the Tibetan name for Lepchas of Sikkim, close cousins to Gurungs according to Chemjong's account) by outsiders, the rong dwellers of *Gya-Rong* speak of themselves as having originated in Minyak (Menya), the home of the *rtsa-mi*, known as horsebreeders and cavalry (Duncan, 1952:262; Stein, 1972:24).

The Sino-Tibetan frontier has never been so far from Nepal as it might at first appear. Trade, pilgrimage, and military defeat have brought waves of immigrants southwestward toward the northern Nepal borders.¹⁷ Most recently, the *Khampas* have come to the Kali Gandaki region of Nepal, having resisted the Chinese invasion of the 1950s (Mullin, 1975; Peissel, 1967).

More Recent Adaptations of the Gurungs:

Thakalis and Tamangs are close neighbors of the Gurungs, who share much with them both linguistically and in their ethnicity. One Tamang informant explained to me that Ta-Mang came from Tibetan *arta* “horse” and *dmag* “army”, that his ancestors had been cavalry under Songtsen Gampo in the Seventh century, when they arrived in Nepal.¹⁸ Chemjong too gives a similar account for the Tamangs.¹⁹

According to Chemjong, leaders of Tamang division established a league of village-centered states similar to those of the reputed *Gu-Rong* of the Gurungs.²⁰ It may be that because these were not taken over early by *Khas* rulers, Tamangs have retained a Tibetan identity that Gurungs no longer so closely retain. Thakalis, on the other hand, straddled a major trade route, and they became identified by name with their locality, the village of Thak. Imperatives for retaining commercial dominance caused them, much as with Gurungs, to shed their Tibetan identity. In their case this seems to have happened later than with Gurungs, but with much greater determination and suddenness. (Furer-Haimendorf, 1975:140-160).

It seems likely that at one time these three people were more closely identified as having antecedents in the seventh century cavalry of Songtsen Gampo and that their modern "tribal" identity has been the result of differing historical and geographic circumstances from the seventeenth century onwards.

Gurungs as Goorkhalis and Gurkhas:

Until Nepal's unification in the late eighteenth century, Gurungs probably led a life similar to that still led by more isolated Tibetan-speaking agropastoralist in western Nepal. While pursuing agriculture as a major activity, the villagers in the high rong valley of Limi maintain profitable herds of sheep and yak. These are kept apart from the villages by herdsmen living year round in nomadic tents. The animals are valuable, aside from their produce, for transporting salt – a major article of trade which herdsmen obtain during Winter when pasturing their herds on the *byang thang*, the grassy plains region of northern Tibet.²¹ The villages are linked by trails through Tibet, not only to such Tibetan trade centers as Purang, but to other areas of Nepal as well.

The Gurung role as middle men in this trans-Himalayan salt trade, and their involvement in trans-national pastoralism, has been documented by Messerschmidt and Haimendorf (Messerschmidt, 1976:167–185; Furer-Haimendorf, 1975). Involvement of Gurungs in the formation of the Nepalese state, beginning with the expansion of the borders of the principality of Gorkha, changed this role over time. Gurungs served in Gorkha's army, and they were attracted from more northerly, higher altitude settlements – where pastoralism and trade were important – to *jagir* land grants given them for their service to the Gorkha state. Because of their martial reputation, long after *jagir* land grants were restricted almost entirely to the higher officer classes of the Nepalese army, they continued to be

granted to rank and file Gurung soldiers of elite Kali Bahadur regiment (Regmi, 1965:23).

Probably because of their critical importance to the Nepalese army, a Gurung was included, for a time, in the council of four *Kajis* who administered Nepal during its expansionist period. By virtue of his position, he had the right to grant large *jagir* holdings to kinsmen and allies at a time when, in 1805, the army was being greatly enlarged to meet the possibility of war with British India.²²

Service in the Nepalese Army led directly to Gurungs forswearing beef and to their promising to "revere" Brahmins²³ By this they were exempted from a tax on hides from Tibet that was traditionally imposed on nomadic or seminomadic people (Stein, 1972:112). The 1805 Charter establishing these conditions symbolized a new semi-caste standing for the Gurung community within the Hindu fold. It also symbolized the government's success in winning Gurungs away from the Tibetan social and economic orbit.²⁴ This success became all the more important in that Nepal had just sustained a defeat at Chinese hands and was nominally, like Tibet, under Chinese suzerainty. (Bell 1927: 89-92, 241; shakabpa, 1967: 168).

When Gurungs and Magars in Large numbers were recruited to the Indian Army after 1816, the Nepalese government at first imposed severe penalties on those who went and resisted British pressures to legitimize the recruitment.²⁵ These "Gurkhas" were at first recruited as a simple matter of convenience. The Nepal Army that had impressed the British with its fighting ability was disbanded, and suddenly out of work soldiers were simply available. The British also believed that anti-British factions within Nepal would find a way to use these large number of unemployed soldiers returning home to resume hostilities. (Kumar, 1967: 13; Husain, 1970:41).

Gurkhas were still little more than 'irregulars' when, in 1857, they proved their loyalty to the British in the suppression of the rebellion that nearly wrested the whole of northern India from British control.²⁶ The British attitude towards Gurkhas changed dramatically, when both they and the Nepalese government remained firmly on the British side during this conflict. After 1857, the stereotyped qualities of bravery, cheerfulness, simplicity and freedom from over-zealous caste rules made the Gurkhas favored over most other groups for British recruitment into the Indian Army. Also important was that these largely illiterate yeomen from an educationally backward region of the subcontinent were not concerned with Indian politics

(Masters, 1969:71-75; Cohen, 1971:50-51; Vansittart 1915:7-8). Being in many ways as foreign to the Indian plains as the British themselves, Gurkhas could safely be used against unruly mobs or even, if need arose, against rebellious elements of the Indian Army itself (Cohen 1971:93-94, 129; Vansittart 1915:58; Gibbon, 1899:802-815, 804; Masters 1969:16-17; Muni, 1973:168).

By 1885, opposition of the Nepalese government 'illegal' recruitment into the Indian Army, "veiled under professions of co-operation" (Cohen, 1971:44) was finally overcome, and a treaty formally recognizing the hitherto clandestine recruitment of Gurkhas from Nepal was signed (Mojumdar, 1963:148). It was probably no coincidence that the Indian Congress Party began its career of opposition to British rule the same year. By 1914, Gurkhas stood at about ten percent of the Indian Army.²⁷

Pressure in the Indian Army to be at least nominally Hindu continued as it had been in the Nepalese Army. According to a British recruitment officer:

The Gurungs in their own country are really Buddhists, though they will not admit it in India. To this day their priests in their own homes are Lamas and Giabrings, but when serving in our regiments they submit to the Brahmins and employ them for all priestly functions. They say with true philosophy. 'Jaisa des vaisa bhes' which might be translated as, 'do in Rome as the Romans do' (Vansittart, 1915:47-48).

On returning home, Gurungs had to pay a fee to "obtain back all rights and privileges of their caste" (Vansittart, 1915:50). Nepal's Raj Guru (Royal Priest) enforced strict commensal and other caste rules for Gurungs while they were in the Indian Army, rules probably unenforceable in remote Gurung villages.

An illustration of how seriously these rules were taken occurred during the attendance of Gurkha orderlies at King Edward VII's 1910-11 funeral. To attend the funeral, which required the normally forbidden trip across the "dark waters" to Britain, required special dispensation from the Nepalese court, and only eight Gurkhas were allowed to go because - according to the regimental historian, Nepal's ban on overseas voyages was getting stricter every year (Woodyat, 1929:95-96).

A Rudyard Kipling story describes how Honorary Captain Santabir Gurung performed a great personal feat in observing strict Hindu food restrictions during the funeral ceremony, but despite this reputed orthodoxy, Santabir was outcast for obscure reason by the Nepalese authorities and was unable to return home for twenty-five years while regimental representatives appealed for redress. At eighty-four Santabir Gurung was allowed to visit Nepal for purification (Kipling, 1917:219-238; Stevens, 1952:23-25; Philip Mason, 1974:379-383).

Education in the Indian Army became a potent force for assimilation of Gurungs to Hindu caste norms, and Brahmin school masters were recruited from Nepal to run battalion schools. These school masters gave basic instruction in Nepali at time when schools in Nepal were scarce. One recruiting officer notes that. "It may seem strange, but it is an undoubted fact that a number of recruits are yearly obtained who profess to enlist merely for the sake of learning to read, write, and keep accounts." (Vansittart, 1915:59). As Nepali was the medium of communication in the Gurkha regiments, reading Nepali and conversing in it became a mark of prestige in Gurung villages.

According to H.B. Gurung (1965:119-120):

The process of transition from tribe to caste has led to the gradual erosion of the indigenous tribal culture to which the physical isolation of its montane habitat provides the last prop. But pahari culture has made inroads even in the tribal culture areas through the agency of the Gurkha soldiers who lead a stereotyped life in the army. The influence of the Gurkhas that has long provided the only source of external contact is best observed in the progressive "Sanskritization" of the old traditions. In the sphere of language, Nepali, the mother tongue of the ruling castes, has tended to oust all the various disjunct Bodic dialects.

Between 1894 and 1913 Limbu and Rai regiments were formed for the first time. The Nepal government's concern that too many Magars and Gurungs from western Nepal were being recruited forced the British to tap this new source of recruits in eastern Nepal.²⁸ But western Nepal continued to provide the greater bulk of Gurkhas, and Gurungs sent a greater proportion of their male population to the Indian Army than any other group.²⁹

**Gurkha Recruitment in Nepal, 1894–1913, by Ethnic Group,
and as a percent of Adult Male population of
Selected Nepalese Ethnic Groups
in 1913**

| | West | East | Total | Percent | Percent of Males 16–50 Yrs Annually Recruited |
|--|---------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|---|
| Magar | 11,781 | 1,013 | 12,794 | 36.1 | .6 |
| Gurung | 7,548 | 888 | 8,436 | 23.8 | 1.1 |
| Limbu | – | 4,736 | 4,736 | 13.4 | .8 (Limbu & Rai) |
| Rai | – | 5,007 | 5,007 | 14.1 | – |
| Other(Khas, Chetri, Sunwar, etc. | 3,000 | 1,470 | 4,470 | 12.6 | .1 |
| Total | 22,329 | 13,114 | 35,443 | 100.% | |

Probable figures for Gurungs in the Indian Army are over twelve percent of service aged Gurungs living in Nepal in 1913, thirty-three percent in World War I, and as much as fifty-four percent in World War II.³⁰ This does not include Gurungs in quasi-military service outside Gurkha regiments. Between wars and after World War II, Indian Army regiments were at approximately their World War I strength of 50,000. Since Sino-Indian conflict of 1962, they nearly doubled. Counting British regiments, there may have been as many Gurkhas serving in the 1970s as there were in World War II. Gurungs have continued to provide a higher proportion of their total population for military service than other communities (Ragsdale, 1989; Harris, 1964:339).

Gurkha recruitment, and appreciation for support by the Nepalese government during Britain's struggle in the First World War, probably contributed significantly to Nepal's recognition by the British as a sovereign state in 1923 – a status much larger Indian states did not achieve (Mojundar, 1970:599–655; Jha, 1975:23; Husain, 1970). Other states lived under the doctrine of 'paramountcy', by which princely states belonged to a special category of colonial dependent 'allies'. Britain having the right to interpret the alliance as she chose.

Also Gurkha remittances have long been recognized as, until perhaps recently with the greater influx of tourism, Nepal's single greatest earner of convertible foreign exchange. Even as late as the 1970s they were greater than foreign aid and tourist expenditures combined (Ragsdale, 1989).

Gurungs, through their service in the Indian and British armies, have gained a higher literacy standard than many of their neighbors and through their remittances and savings have started many businesses in Pokhara and in the Terai (Ragsdale 1989; Ragsdale 1975:19-23).

Summary

Gurungs are one of Nepal's numerous ethnic communities. Gurung ethno-history, as best as it can be reconstructed with minimal documentation, indicates a previous pattern of agro-pastoralism, trade, and mercenary service that may date back to the seventh century and earlier in northern and eastern Tibet. It seems likely that a Gurung polity existed in the present Gurung homeland, made up of a village-centered league of principalities, possibly called *Gya-Rong*, the origin of the name "Gurung".³¹ A so-called caste distinction between two halves of the Gurung community may reflect the existence, as throughout Tibet, of ruling lineages that inter-married among themselves.

Immigrant high caste Indo-Nepalese rose to power in the *Gyarong* area now the Kali Gandaki Zone, between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries and, by the nineteenth century had created an empire whose eastern and western boundaries far exceeded those of today. Gurungs collaborated with this process of state formation, and in the process underwent profound social and economic change. Whatever historical records they possessed were obliterated, and their past was reinterpreted in Indo-Nepalese terms of hierarchical caste. Concessions brought Gurungs a semi-caste standing within the new Hindu social structure. Collaboration brought land and a measure of local power to the 'higher caste' Gurungs who cooperated with the new rulers. This resulted in a shift of a large proportion of the population southward to lower elevations, a greater commitment to settled agriculture, and over time a lessening of the importance of trans-Tibet pastoralism and trade, which had been perhaps the mainstay of the Gurung economy previously.

Gurungs continued to lead a semi-nomadic lifestyle, but rather than far-ranging trade and pastoralism, professional soldiery assumed a new and greater importance – though it seems likely it was in the role of professional

soldiers that Gurungs first arrived in Nepal in the seventh century. Large sheep and goat herds remain, but are no longer used to transport salt, and are confined to high mountain valleys above present Gurung settlements.

From 1816 onward, a process of 'Sanskritization' has continued as the focus of Gurung military service shifted from the Nepal to the Indian, and later British, armies. Since 1947, Gurungs have continued to serve in great numbers in the Indian Army, where the Kashmir question and the Chinese entry into Tibet have made Nepalese Gurkhas highly valued for their professionalism and their ruggedness as highlanders. Gurungs continue to play a diminished role in the remnants of the British empire as well. Recently, these people have become an economic force in their homeland, as they have used their remittances to enter into business. In many respects, what remains remarkable about these people is their ability throughout their traceable history to adapt to new situations and to maintain an economy that has been reliant on many rather than just a few sources of income.

Notes

1. The Nepalese *Chetri*, or warrior, Hindu caste has also been recruited to Gurkha regiments and share in this reputation. Unlike the others mentioned here, they are not a 'tribal' grouping of Tibeto-Burman Peoples, but of the Indo-Nepalese caste hierarchy.
2. For a full discussion of Gurung social organization, cf. Messerschmidt 1974.
Pignede 1966, 178; Vansittart 1915, 79-80.
3. Messerschmidt 1974, 7-11, for a more complete discussion of these terms and their Gurung equivalents.
4. For instance, see *Regmi Research Series* 1972b, 196-7, "... dense forests and precipices served as forts. Hence the clearing of trees at such places posed a danger to the Kingdom."
5. These two brothers are mentioned briefly in Pignede as legendary Gurung officers in a long list of Colonels who served in the Nepali Army. Pignede 1966, 37. Prahlad is mentioned in an 1805 military dispatch in Garhwal. *Regmi Research Series* 1974, 47.
6. Printed versions are Yogi Narharinath and Krishna Bahadur Gurung, *Gurung Ghale Raja Hamko Vamsavali* (Kathmandu: History Association, 2021 (1956)); and Sher Bahadur Gurung, *Gurungko Vamsavali* (Gurung Welfare Association, 2013 (1957)). These are based on an 1844 manuscript of Man Bahadur Gurung of Matilokot in

- Gorkha based in turn on a 1637 original by Bhoj Raj *Purohit* (Personal priest) Brahmin, told to Kaski Raja Jagdish Khana. This information came from a handwritten copy found in Lamjung by Messerschmidt 1974, 13-20.
7. *Go-Roman* is "cow's hide". Monier-Williams 1899, 363, 889. Interestingly, Brahmins are cited as being of "Gurung" military rank in Hasrat 1970, 147. No further details about this "Gurung" rank are given.
 8. In *Tamu-kwi*, *Ta* is "up" and *Mxi* is "person", so *Ta-Mxi* would seem to be "highlander". This is not confirmed by Gurung informants, but derived from Glover 1972, 2, 15.
 9. This is according to Chemjong's account. These vamsavali are presumably the *Kirat History*, Written in Limbu script, collected by Brian Hodgson in 1843, which Chemjong received as a micro-film copy, from Mr. R.K. Spring, Professor of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London. They could also be any number of unpublished Kirat manuscripts Chemjong cites, with little identification other than that they are in his private collection. Accurate documentation is one of the weaker aspects of his book. See Chemjong 1967, Part 2, Page "E".
 10. Stein 1972, 58-59, 64. Shakabpa 1967, 43-44. Later, in 1792, troops from *Gya-Rong* principalities in eastern Tibet made up the greater part of a Chinese-led army that defeated Nepal and established nominal suzerainty of China over Nepal, lasting until 1908. *Ibid.*, 122. Also see Bell 1927, 42.
 11. "Origin of Gurung and Mangar Tribes," in Chemjong, 1967, 57-70. Also see Hodgson 1972, part II: 67.
 12. A list of these principalities is found in Wylie, 1962, 102-3. The Tatu River was once, in 782, the actual border of Tibet. Shakabpa 1967, 41. The principalities are shown on maps in Bell 1927 and Stein 1972. On modern maps they lie at about 31° by 103° around the town of K'and-Ting, previously known as Tachienu. Modern accounts of the *Gya-Rong* area exist., of, Duncan 1952; Edgar 1932: 27-38; Torrance, 1932; Rockhill, 1891; and David-Neel, 1947.
 13. She was said to come from *Mong*. Stein, 1972: 58. This is the Tai Shan word for "principality". "Shan," *Encyclopedia Britannica* 1971.
 14. "Burma," *Encyclopedia Britannica* 1971; Leach, 1954: 239-242; Aung 1967: 280-281.
 15. Stein, 1972: 24, 62. Thomas, 1948: 31. The *rtsa-mi* are, literally 'grass-men'. The *rtsa* probably refers to highland pasture, towards the upper parts of rong defiles. A village of this name, *rtsa*, occurs in

such a valley in the Dolpo region of Nepal, and another village in northern Gurung territory (where Gurungs retain Tibetan dress and customs and speak Tibetan as well as Gurung) is *Tsa-me*. Snellgrove 1967, 2; Snellgrove 1961, 254. On *Tamme* see Shin'ichiro, 1972, 95-107.

16. Grenard, 1974, 366-367; "The Taorongpa, a much superior tribe... Their not very large country is comparatively thickly populated and covered with numerous villages; and they are the only one of all the tribes (of the region southeast of Jyekundo [modern Yu-Shu, 33° x 96.8°]) ... that occupies itself with agriculture." Tsa-Rong is at about 28° latitude, on the upper reaches of the Salween. Thomas 1948, 81. Nya-Rong is on the upper reaches of the Yalung, just southwest of Gya-Rong. *Ibid.*, 81-85. The Yalung itself, according to one authority, is a corruption of "*Gya-Rong*". Edgar 1922-23, 62 fm.
17. See Han-Seng 1949, 77-80. Duncan 1952, 96, 129, 199-200. Stein 1972, 34, 114-115. Norbu 1961 describes the long pilgrimage from the Ko Ko Nor region to Lhasa. Chinese tea was a staple trade item from the Sino-Tibetan frontier region, through Lhasa to Nepal, though tea produced by the British in India came to displace much of this trade.
18. According to this informant, Tamangs were originally Mongolian, not Tibetan. They possibly came from the Amdo region of northern Tibet, home of the *rts-mi*, which has an admixture of Mongolian and Tibetan peoples.
19. See Furer-haimendorf, 1966, 142. Chemjong 1967, pages "B-D". Also, Bista, 1967, 48, says "Ta-mang" means "horse trader" though this would not seem to be confirmed by Jaschke 1968. Thakalis refer to themselves as "*tamang*" as well, in their own language. The Nepalese government forbade the recruitment of Tamangs by the British, because they inhabited the hills around Kathmandu Valley, and area Nepal's rulers wanted to restrict geographic knowledge of. Undoubtedly this has much to do with the different lesser degree of Sanskritization of this group, compared to Gurungs.
20. The pass of Tichurong, leading into the region of Dolpo is a case in point of *rong* used as a place name. Snellgrove translates this as *dri-chu-rong*, "valley of fragrant water". Snellgrove, 1961, 33. Also Furer-Haimendorf, 1975, 204-222. To this day, even in lowland Lamnasa Village panchayat each Nepali place name has a Gurung counterpart.
21. Goldstein, 1974, 259-266. The Limi valley dwellers apparently maintain a precarious foothold in Tibetan pastures, despite Chinese

- restrictions against Nepalese entering Tibet. Access to these pastures is essential for their way of life.
22. Kumar 1967, 43; *Regmi Research Series* 1975, 140 (34-140); *ibid.* 1971a, 101-116. Two legendary Gurung officers (Natu and Prahlad) received inheritable, tax-exempt *Birta* landgrants for their services in organizing the Gurung contingent of the Gorkhali army raised in and around Pokhara. I visited their heirs in the village of Gaur, north of Pokhara surrounded by rich valley bottom land, in 1974. See also Regmi 1965, 23-25.
 23. *Regmi Research Series* 1971b, 31; *Ibid.* 1972a, 42-43; *Ibid.* 1975b, 53-54.
 24. Messerschmidt and Gurung describe how the gurung Subbha man Lal unadvisedly dressed to look his best, as a Tibetan, when he first met the Rana Prime Minister to establish his monopoly over the Nepal-Tibet salt trade through the Kali-Gandaki passes. Messerschmidt and Gurung 1974, 209.
 25. Mojumdar 1963, 43-153,148; Muni 1973, Chapter IX; Husain 1970, Chapter 8.
 26. It is well known that Gurkhas were placed in front of British artillery in the seige of Lucknow, in case they attempted to side with the rebels, but less well known that an entire Gurung regiment of the Nepalese Army was similarly placed when some of its officers were discovered plotting to assassinate the Prime Minister for offering their use to the British. Husain 1970, 72-76; Hasrat 1970, 334; Oldfield 1880,19-20.
 27. The increase in Gurkha infantry units compared with different regions to India between 1862 and 1914 was as below:

| | <u>1862</u> | <u>1914</u> | <u>Change</u> |
|----------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|
| Punjab | 28 | 57 | +29 |
| Gurkha (Nepal) | 5 | 20 | +15 |
| East of Yamuna | 28 | 15 | -13 |
| Bombay | 30 | 18 | -12 |
| Madras | 40 | 11 | -29 |

Source: Muni 1973; Mojumbdar 1963.

28. That the Nepalese were concerned about the alienation of Gurungs and Magars from Nepal is shown in their resistance to pressures from the British to resettle Gurungs and Magars in mountain colonies in India and their stipulation that neither of these tribes could be hired as

- laborers in India or Burma lest they stay on. Rose and Fisher 1970, 147-148; Hussain 1970, Chapter 8.
29. Tables created from date found in Vansittart 1915, 170, 174-177.
30. This is based on the assumption of 23% of Gurkhas being Gurung, the proportion over twenty years up to World War I. See Ragsdale 1989 for sources.
31. Possibly, Ghandrung, a large Gurung village visited by many tourists annually is a corruption of this name. As seen earlier, "Gurung" may possibly reach back farther to another league of principalities, also *Gyarong* in the Sino-Tibetan frontier region, and in fact the Yalung River may be a corruption of this name.

Reference

- Aryal, Krishna Raj, 1970 *Education for the Development of Nepal*. Patna: Shree Himalaya Press.
- Aung, Maung Htin., 1967. *A History of Burma*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Bell, Sir Charles, 1927. *Tibet: Past and Present*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Bista, Dor Bahadur, 1967. *People of Nepal*. Kathmandu: Department of Publicity, HMG Ministry of Information and Broadcasting.
- Chemjong, Iman Singh, 1967. *History and culture of the Kirat People*, Kathmandu, Pushpa Ratna Sagar.
- Cohen, Stephen P., 1971. *The Indian Army: Its Contribution to the Development of a Nation*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- David-Neel, Alexandra, 1947. *A L'ouest Barbare de la Vaste China* (Paris: Librairies Plon).
- Duncan, Marion H., 1952. *The Yangtze and the Yak: Adventurous Trails In and Out of Tibet*. Alexandria, Virginia: privately published.
- Edgar, J. Huston, 1922-23. "The Story of the Nya-Rong (Chantui)." *The Journal of the West China Research Society*. I, 60-62.

- _____, 1932. "The Racial Factor in the Kin Ch'wan Grouping." *Journal of West China Border Research Society*. V, 27-38.
- Encyclopedia Britannica*. 1971. "Shah," "Burma." Chicago: William Benton.
- Forbes, Duncan, 1965. *Johnny Gurkha*. London: Robert Hale.
- Furer-Haimendorf, Christoph von., 1966. "Caste Concepts and Status Distinctions in Buddhist Communities of Western Nepal." in *Caste and Kin in Nepal, India and Ceylon*, ed. by the author. Bombay Asia Publishing House.
- _____, 1975. *Himalayan Traders: Life in Highland Nepal*. London: John Murray.
- Gaige, Frederick H., 1975. *Regionalism and National Unity in Nepal* Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Gibbon, F.P., 1899. "Gurkha Scouts" *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 165, May, 802-815.
- Glover, Warren W., 1972. "A Vocabulary of the Gurung Language." Kirtipur: Summer Institute of Linguistics. Institute of Nepal Studies, Tribhuvan University. April 17 (mimeographed).
- Goldestein, Melvyn C., 1974. "Tibetan Speaking Agro-Pastoralists of Limi: A Cultural Ecological Overview of High Latitude Adaptation in the Northwest Himalaya" *Object et Mondes*, XIV: 4 (Winter), 259-268.
- Grenard, Fernand, 1974. *Tibet: The Country and Its Inhabitants*, Translator, A. Terxeira De Mattos. New Delhi: Cosmo Publications (reprint).
- Grierson, G.A., 1909. *Linguistic Survey of India* (Tibeto-Burman Family Himalayan Dialects, North Assam Groups), III:I. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1967. (reprint of 1909 edition).
- Gurung, Harka Bahadur, 1965. "Pokhara Valley: Nepal Himalayas: A Field Study in Regional Geography." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Edinburgh.

- Han-Seng, Chen, 1949. *Frontier Land Systems in Southernmost China: A Comparative Study of Agrarian Problems and Social Organization Among the pai Yi People of Yunnan and the Kamba People of Sikang*. New York: Institute of Pacific Relations.
- Harris, George L., 1964. *Area Handbook for Nepal, Bhutan, and Sikkim*, 1st ed. Washington, DC: Foreign Area Studies, The American University.
- Hasrat, Bikram Jit, ed. 1970. *History of Nepal: As Told by Its Own and Contemporary Chronicles*. Hoshiarpur, Punjab: privately published.
- Hodgson, Brian H., 1972. *Essays on the Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepal and Tibet*. New Delhi: Manjusri Publishing House.
- Hoffmann, Helmut, 1973. *Tibet: A Handbook*. Bloomington, Indiana: Research Center for the Language Sciences, Indiana University.
- Husain, Asad, 1970. *British India's Relations with the Kingdom of Nepal: A Diplomatic History of Nepal*. London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd.
- Jaschke, H.A., 1968. *A Tibetan-English Dictionary*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd.
- Jha, Shree Krishna, 1975. *Uneasy Partners: India and Nepal in the Post-Colonial Era*. New Delhi: Manas Publications.
- Kipling, Rudyard, 1917. "In the Presence," in *A Diversity of Creatures* New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 219-238.
- Kumar, Satish, 1967. *Rana Polity in Nepal: Origin and Growth*. Bombay: Asia Publishing House.
- Leach, E.R., 1954. *Political Systems of Highland Burma: A Study of Kachin Social Structure*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
- Macfarlane, Alan, 1976. *Resources and Population: A Study of the Gurungs of Nepal*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mason, Philip, 1974. *A Matter of Honour*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Master, John, 1969. *Bugles and a Tiger*. Survey, England: New English Library.

Messerchmidt, Donald A., 1974. "Social Status, Conflict and Change in a Gurung Community of Nepal," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation). University of Oregon.

_____, 1976. "Ecological Change and Adaptation Among the Guirungs of the Nepal Himalaya," *Human Ecology*. 4:2, 167-185.

_____ and Nareshwar Jang Gurung, 1974. "Parallel Trade and Innovation in Central Nepal: The Cases of the Gurung and Thakali Subbas Compared, in *Contributions to the Anthropology of Nepal*, 197-221. Edited by Christoph von Furer-Haimendorf. Warminster, England: Aris and Philips.

Mojumbdar, Kanchanmoy, 1963. "Recruitment of the Gurkhas in the Indian Army 1814-1877," *Journal of the United Service Institution of India* (April-June), 143-153.

_____, 1970. "Background to Anglo-Nepalese Treaty, 1923," *Journal of Indian History*, XLVIII: III (December), 599-655.

Monier-Williams, Sr. M., 1899. *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Mullin, Chris, 1975. "The CIA Tibetan Conspiracy." *Far Eastern Economic Review*. 89 (5 September), 30-34.

Muni, S.D., 1973. *Anglo-Nepalese Relations in the Nineteenth Century* Calcutta: Firma K.L. Mukhoopadhyay, 1973.

Norbu, Thubten Jigme, 1961. *Tibet is My Country*, translated by Edward Fitzgerald. New York: E.P. Dutton & Company.

Oldfield, H. Ambrose, 1880. *Sketches from Nepal*. Delhi: Cosmos Publications, 1974. (reprint of 1880 edition), Vol. II.

Peissel, Michel Peissel, d.n. *Mustang, The Forbidden Kingdom: Exploring a Lost Himalayan Land*. New York: Dutton.

- Pignede, Bernard, 1966. *Les Gurungs*. Paris: Mouton & Company.
- Ragsdale, Tod, 1975. "Patterns of Education and Literacy in a Village Panchayat of Central Nepal," *Contributions to Nepalese Studies* 2 (February), 19-23.
- _____, 1989. *Once a Hermit Kingdom: Ethnicity, Education and National Integration in Nepal*. New Delhi: Manohar Publishers.
- Regmi, Mahesh C. 1965. *Land Tenure and Taxation in Nepal*, Vol. III Berkeley: Institute of International Studies, University of California.
- Regmi Research Series*, 1971a. "The Assassination of Rana Bahadur Shah," 3:5 (May 1), 101-116, Baburam Acharya.
- _____, 1971b. "Regulations on Taking the Flesh of Dead Cattle, 1805," 3:2 (February 1) 31.
- _____, 1972a. "Imposition of Fine on Gurungs and Lamas, 1810 A.D.," 4:3 (March 1), 42-43.
- _____, 1972b. "An Order of King Damodar Shah of Gorkha, June 1651 A.D.," translated by Mohan Prasad Khanal, 4:10 (October 1), 196-7.
- _____, 1974. "Gorkhali Rule in Garhwal," 3:2 (February 1), 47.
- _____, 1975a. "King Rana Bahadur Shah," 7:7 (July 1), 140 (p. 34-140), Baburam Acharya.
- _____, 1975b. "Supply of Hides and Skins, 1830," 7:3 (March 1), 53-54.
- Richardson, H.E., 1962. *Tibet and Its History*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Rockhill, William Woodville, 1891. *The Land of the lamas: Notes of a Journey Through China, Mongolia and Tibet*. New Delhi: Asian Publication Services, 1975 (reprint of 1891 edition).
- Rose, Leo E. and Margaret W. Fisher, 1970. *The Politics of Nepal: Persistence and Change in an Asian Monarchy*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

- Shakabpa, Tsepon W.D., 1967. *Tibet: A Political History*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Shinichiro, Kuroda, 1972. "On the So-called Charjat-Solahjat Hierarchy of the Gurungs," in *Minzokugaku-kenkyu; The Japanese Journal of Ethnology* (37:2), 95-107.
- Snellgrove, David L., editor and translator, 1967. *Four Lamans of Dolpo: Tibetan Biographies*, Vol. 1. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
- _____, 1961. *Himalayan Pilgrimage: A Study of Tibetan Religion by a Traveller Through Western Nepal*. Oxford: Bruno cassirer.
- Stein, R.A., 1972. *Tibetan Civilization*. J.E. Stapleton Driver, translator. Stanford: Stanford Unviersity Press.
- Stevens, G.R., 1952. *History of the 2nd Edward VIII's Own Goorkha Rifles (The Sirmoor Rifles)* Vol. III, 1921-1948. Aldershot: Gale & Polden, Ltd.
- Thomas, F.W., 1948. *Nam: An Ancient Language of the Sino-Tibetan Borderland*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Torrance, T., 1932. "Notes on the West China Aboriginal Tribes," *Journal of West China Border Research Society*, V, 10-25.
- Vansittart, Eden., 1915. *Gurkhas*. Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing.
- White, A.C.T., 1963. *The Story of Army Education, 1943-1963*. London: George G. Harrap & Co, Ltd.
- Woodyat, Nigel. G., 1929. *The Regimental History of the 3rd Queen Alexandra's Own Gurkha Rifles (From April 1815 to December 1927)*. London: Philip Allant Company, Ltd.
- Wylie, Turrell V., 1962. *The Geography of Tibet According to the 'Dzam-Gling-Rgyas-Bshad'*. Rome: Istituto Italiono Per II Medio Ed Estremo Oriente.