

Japanese Studies on the Himalayas and Nepal (Social Sciences and Humanities, 1900-2000)

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1. Introduction

The Japanese have shown considerable interest, both academic and non-academic, in Nepal and the Himalayan region. For example, a bibliography on Nepal edited by the Japan Nepal Society (Nihon Nepaaru Kyokai 1984) contains more than 4000 titles. Their interest continues up to the present day. Authors in Japan tend to write in Japanese, especially in the fields of the humanities and social sciences, though some write or provide summaries in Western languages (usually English).

This is an attempt to introduce Japanese works on Nepal and Himalayan areas related to the above fields—mainly those published in the 1990s, though I will deal briefly with the period before 1950 and with the 1950s and 60s. (For Japanese studies on Nepal from before 1990 see Ishii 1991.)

2. Works before 1990

2.1. Works before 1950

Japanese interest in Asian countries other than Korea and China grew stronger from the end of the 19th century, especially after the Sino-Japanese war (1894-5) and the Russo-Japanese war (1904-5). Tibet, with its Buddhism, its geo-political situation, and its very inaccessibility, attracted religious, political, or other adventurers, who competed with each other to attain their goals. Some, including Buddhist monks such as Kawaguchi, Aoki, and Tada, spent a considerable length of time in the Himalayas or surrounding areas before they surreptitiously entered Tibet. They left many valuable descriptions of the Himalayan region, although they were not trained as fieldworkers. The best known are Kawaguchi's travelogues (1909, 1966). (I will not deal with Tibet in this article except when it is related to the present topic.) There are few academic studies of the region from before the 1950s. Ishida's historical work on Aniko (1941) using Chinese materials is exceptional for its reliability.

2.2. Works from the 1950s and 1960s

After the Second World War Nepal opened its doors, and the Japanese were among those who early on tried to take advantage of the new possibilities. Research expeditions were sometimes combined with mountaineering, and aspiring individuals made efforts to explore new fields. Notable examples are: Kawakita and Nakao's field trip encircling the Manaslu and Annapurna ranges in 1953, which clarified the correlation between altitude, ecology, and culture (Kawakita 1957, Nakao 1957); Nakao's travels in Bhutan in 1957 which gave rise to his idea of a specific culture area extending from eastern Nepal to southern Japan (Nakao 1959); and a scientific expedition to northwest Nepal in 1958 led by Kawakita which mainly studied a Tibetan village in Dolpo but also included the Thakalis within its scope. Members of the latter expeditions later returned to conduct fieldwork: Iijima's study of the Hinduization of the Thakalis (Iijima 1963, 1982) and Takayama's book on Kawaguchi's life and works (Takayama 1999) are noteworthy.

In 1963 Kawakita began working in the Sikha Valley in central Nepal which resulted not only in his monograph on a Magar village (1974) but also led to his active and long-term participation in and writing on local development and nature conservation (Kawakita ed. 1995). Kawakita's works were recently published in a set of 14 volumes. Another important work from this period is Suzuki's historical study (1962) of relations between Ch'ing China, Tibet, and British India, which emphasizes the Gurkha dynasty's role. In the 1970s and 1980s it became much easier for Japanese to visit Nepal, and this led to an increase in the number of schol-

ars carrying out fieldwork or other kinds of study there (see Ishii 1991). However, few dealt with other Himalayan countries.

3. Works after 1990

Research groups and individuals have been engaged in various fields, as I detail below.¹ The period of stay of research groups tends to be comparatively short, though some repeat their visit. Individual studies are diverse in terms of both topic and research period. It is encouraging that studies on Bhutan have been conducted to some extent, and that there are a number of young scholars actively carrying out research. Needless to say, there are scholars continuing their studies from the preceding period.

3.1. Nepal

In the Himalayan region, Japanese have made more studies in Nepal than in other areas, and more in anthropology than in other disciplines. Many other fields are also covered though the arts are not well studied in this period.

3.1.1. Anthropological (and some related) studies

Reflecting the recent socio-political movement and changes as well as academic trends, there have been studies of topics such as ethnicity, development, social change, environment, and urban life as well as ethnographical and comparative studies. In this period, gender seems to have attracted the attention of scholars other than anthropologists.

Ethnographies and studies of ethnicity

There are substantial ethnographies (some for PhD dissertations) based on long-term observation and collection of data. Religion, ritual, and ethnicity, as well as ordinary life, comprise their focus, which the authors try to analyse with a theoretical orientation. (In what follows I will give author-year citations only where it would otherwise be unclear which item I am referring to.)

Yasuno studies the Masta cult in west Nepal on the basis of detailed fieldwork

¹ I am grateful to the following authors who have supplied me with information about their research in the course of the preparation of this article: T. Fujikura, I. Honda, Y. Ito, S. Iwata, Y. Kamata, K. Kano, K. Kiryu, M. Kobayashi, S. Kobayashi, I. Matsuse, M. Minami, I. Morimoto, K. Nawa, S. Sato, M. Sekiguchi, K. Tanaka, S. Toba, T. Uesugi, E. Yamamoto, M. Yamamoto, K. Yoshizaki, K. Watanabe, T. Watanabe. However, I bear full responsibility for what is written here as I have modified most of what they have sent me.

carried out mainly in a Brahman village in the Jumla area. She interprets the cult as a form of popular Hinduism and analyses the way in which people resort to the power of gods in order to resolve disputes and escape from misfortune. She makes a point of describing the people's belief in the gods' power to maintain moral order which lies behind their practice. She analyses disputes over women and land, people's ways of explaining misfortune, myths and rituals of Masta and other deities, and notions of *pāp* (sin) and *doṣ* (moral violation), and shows that it is with regard to *doṣ* that people come into disputes and try to settle them, and that Masta deities function as agents of *doṣ*.

Nawa conducted his fieldwork in far western Nepal among the people who are often called 'Byansi' but whose ethnonym is 'Rang' in their mother tongue. His PhD dissertation (1998b) is an ethnography of the Rang, focusing mainly on their social categories (including ethnic categories) and rituals. First he shows the multilayered nature of the Rangs' rituals and social categories by analysing relations between the observed social and ritual processes and the more or less fixed explanations of them given by Rangs. He then describes changes and transformations of these rituals as a dialectic process between a series of attempts for change (or in some cases accidental omissions or additions) often analysed as 'Hinduization' or 'modernization' on the one hand, and the persistent half-conscious ritual practices carried on by the villagers on the other (see also Nawa 2000).

Sato carried out her first anthropological fieldwork among the Yolmo people of Helambu, both in Yolmo and Kathmandu, from mid-1994 to early 1997. Her research has focused on the ways in which their social identities were constructed in the context of Nepal after the restoration of democracy. She looks at day-to-day activities, language and concepts, kinship, rituals, conflicts, and the Yolmos' own 'ethnic activities', and she explains that the ethnic category 'Yolmo' has been ambiguous and has varied depending upon context, but that it has tended to be taken as a more solid category in recent years under the influence of active movements to organize and integrate Yolmos in the capital.

Uesugi studies Gurkha soldiers, taking the perspective that they are one example among various collaborators under colonial regimes, but that they possess their own uniqueness, part of which is the fact that they are not the people of a colonized country. Her main concern is the ways in which such uniqueness has influenced the British Army's management policy. She approaches the question through an analysis of its policy on religion. The Gurkhas are a multi-ethnic group, including Hindus, Buddhists, and followers of other religions. But the Gurkha Brigade has adopted a policy of encouraging Hinduism, which is an outcome of the political

judgement of the British. Uesugi asserts that international strategies and domestic politics inevitably influence the management policy. Her analysis of the Dasain festival of the Gurkhas in the British army demonstrates that it is organized to unite various ethnic cultures, while fully utilizing the regimental rank system.

Studies of socio-cultural change and comparative studies

Nearly half a century has passed since Japanese scholars began fieldwork in the Himalayan region. Some have accumulated considerable experience in their research fields and have produced works which reflect this.

Kano has been studying Sherpa society and livelihoods since the 1970s, and his work has included a detailed analysis of the Rolwaling Sherpas and studies in Khumbu, Solu, Kathmandu, etc. In his most recent book, he presents a consolidated picture of the Sherpas, based on his research and mountaineering experiences in the Himalayan giant peaks. It covers their immigration history, the basic structure of agro-pastoralism, the importance of trade, the emergence of the mountaineering 'Sherpas', the development of tourism, Sherpa society in Kathmandu, and a consideration of Sherpa identity and change. With regard to this last point, he points out, along with a warning that ethnic identity is flexible, that the Sherpas have adapted positively and successfully to recent changes by responding strategically to the development of tourism and modernization. These have given rise to socio-economic fragmentation, but this has been redressed by efforts to recover unity. His understanding of mountaineering (which is indispensable for an analysis of the Sherpas) adds greatly to the originality of his work.

Kawakita and others published an anthology on settlements in Nepal. The ethnic/caste groups and/or areas dealt with are: (from the east) Chamlin Rais, Tamangs of the upper Trisuli, Newars and Parbate Hindus (compared), Magars in the Sikha Valley, the upper Kali Gandaki area, and Tibetans in south-western Dolpo. Among the points discussed are the correlations (a) between altitude and living patterns and (b) between social cohesion and settlement types.

Ishii has been working on village societies among the Newars, Parbate Hindus, and Maithils. With regard to the Newars, he analyses one of the 'intermediate' settlements in the Kathmandu Valley, pointing out its difference from 'fringe' settlements and cities, and emphasizing the importance of the former for an understanding of Newar society. He also carries out comparative studies of the above three societies. Comparing patterns of agricultural labour recruitment, he shows that the Newars had depended until recently on intra-caste reciprocal exchanges, the Parbate Hindus depend on inter-ethnic/caste relations, and the Maithils on the caste hierarchy. His study of rituals in the three societies reveals a wide range of differ-

ences as well as similarities. Among the shared phenomena are: the dwindling of the interdependence between castes and the foregrounding of the social aspects of rituals concomitant with the weakening of conscious notions about their meaning.

Environment

N. Yamamoto and Inamura edited a book on the life of Sherpas and environment in Jumbesi village in eastern Nepal (2000). Together with researchers from disciplines such as geology, botany, meteorology, anthropology, agriculture, and animal husbandry they carried out fieldwork in the village and the surrounding area from 1994 to 1996, dealing with the relationship between human life and nature (especially plant and domestic animals) and changes in nature and society. Some notable points discussed are as follows. Sherpas there practise what the authors call the Solu-type transhumance system which (unlike the Khumbu-type) is not organically combined with agriculture. They dry and utilize plants for fodder which are usually classified as weeds. Their system of classifying domestic animals accords well with genetic relations. They have long coexisted with nomadic Gurung shepherds whose sheep graze on and manure their land, but recently there have been difficulties because of increasing government control of forests. There have been changes in many aspects of Sherpa life such as food, work, education, movement, and settlement patterns. Yuki, Inamura, and Furukawa write three chapters in the above book which deal with society, people, and change. They describe the importance that Jumbesi Valley society places on clans: a village is usually occupied by a dominant clan in Solu, and this contrasts sharply with Khumbu. Exposure to the cash economy, especially through the trekking business and the inflow of other ethnic groups, is a notable feature of change.

K. Watanabe, under the guidance of N. Yamamoto, studied the environmental utilization of sheep transhumance in Okhaldhunga district in east Nepal, and clarified the Gurung shepherds' seasonal migrations, their animal husbandry, and their social strategies for the use of pasture. The seasonal migration of Gurung shepherds is more extensive than that of Sherpa herders of yak/hybrid cow (*zom* or *zopkyo*), and there is a social practice by which Gurung shepherds use the Sherpas' pasture in return for providing manure (sheep dung) for the Sherpas' fields along their migration routes (Watanabe 1998).

Various aspects of change have been studied among the Khumbu Sherpas. Kawai (1992) has looked at the impact of trekking/tourism, Imai at occupational and environmental change, and Furukawa at environmental problems.

Studies of urban life / in urban areas

A number of scholars have studied urban areas and life. They are mainly concerned with rapid changes or problems that urban people have been facing. Some analyse more general cultural topics as exemplified by urban residents.

Y. Yamamoto has been studying Pokhara town since the 1980s. One of his studies is a survey of the social and economic condition of all its households. His computer-processed results show that the urban middle class there has not been formed to a satisfactory degree, which, he points out, hinders the growth of a proper ethos for economic competition. At the same time, he carried out participant observation in Pokhara and discovered changes in people's behaviour towards others, and in food habits, smoking and drinking, etc., resulting also in greater consumption. He has been studying *sukumbāsīs* (landless people) in recent years. Plotting and surveying all the *sukumbāsī* settlements in Pokhara, he points out that there has been a marked increase in the number of such settlements since the 1990 democratic movement, although they first began to appear in the late 1970s, that low castes and Gurungs are the largest groups among the settlers, and that there are marked differences in the way different settlements develop, depending upon their history and the kind of leadership that emerges in them.

M. Yamamoto has studied urban and suburban areas of Kathmandu after economic liberalization. A new residential area just outside the ring road, she points out, is inhabited by different castes and ethnic groups and is characterized by weaker social relations, stronger ties with foreign countries, and the existence of a homeless population. Her study of supermarkets reveals a clear change in the consumption patterns of city dwellers.

S. Kobayashi, among other topics, has been studying urban problems in Kathmandu, such as water shortage and garbage increase. He relates the difficulties in garbage disposal to administrative, cultural, and social factors, including the traditional division of labour by caste (Kobayashi, S. 1994).

M. Tanaka, conducting a study of waste collection in Kathmandu, finds it encouraging that new organizations have been emerging to cope with it. She discusses three contrasting cases in which people have been tackling the problem: a club of young people in the old city, a CBO (community-based organization) in the suburbs, and an NGO in an old suburban area. As a background remark, she points out that the traditional system in which urban households depended upon the services of sweeper castes has changed as the latter became employed by the municipal government and lost interest in working for individual households.

Mikame investigates customs concerning impurity (especially that regarding the notion of *biṭulo*) in Nepalese Brahman families in Kathmandu. He maintains that the customs reflect social structure and that, consequently, the more people are wedded to such customs the more the social structure is reinforced for the persons involved. He also studies the relationship between language and social structure with reference to Nepalese pronouns and kinship terms, and shows that principles of hierarchy by age and male dominance prevail in their use.

Yamagami studies notions of impurity/pollution among Bahuns (Nepalese Brahmins) in the Kathmandu Valley. She selects five words as important and divides them into three groups, namely (i) *aśuddha* and *biṭulo*, (ii) *juṭho*, and (iii) *phohor* and *mailo*. She connects the first set of concepts to the impurity of substances which come out of bodily orifices, to anything or anyone connected to such impure substances, and to impurity caused by the infractions of taboos. The second, *juṭho*, is the impurity caused by the adhesion of saliva and the impurity of death and mourning. The third category is said to be the impurity of materials related to the body and of excreta from the body surface or of matter from the body.

Development

Publications on development have been issued most extensively by JICA (Japan International Cooperation Agency) and to some extent by other organizations, which I will not deal with here.² Aside from these, there are some who discuss development from an academic perspective. Several authors are themselves involved in the development activities of NGOs.

Fujikura's research concerns relations between development discourses and processes of cultural change. Specifically, it explores how the ideas and practices associated with 'development' and 'progress' contribute to the ongoing construction of subjectivity and social projects in rural Nepal. He examines closely the discourse of 'community development', tracing its conceptual permutations during the inter-war period in America and implementation in Nepal after 1950, finding the paradoxical effects that populist development discourse apparently had in facilitating the bureaucratization of the state and the governmentalization of social life. He concludes that a peculiar blindness towards history, culture, and political processes characteristic of the community development discourses of the 1950s still typifies much of the development discourse in Nepal today (Fujikura 1996). From 1996

² JICA's activity in Nepal covers a wide range and its publications (which sometimes exceed thirty volumes a year) deal with many topics, including education, mass communication, and general studies on development which aim to give an overview of its activities in Nepal (e.g. JICA 1993). I list only a few publications per author because of limitations of space.

to 1999 Fujikura conducted ethnographic fieldwork in Salyan district villages and Kathmandu development circles, exploring local articulations of the discourses and practices of modernity in formal and non-formal education, family planning, agriculture, electoral politics, and so on.

Kamata, an NGO-worker, tries to theorize his experience in Nepal and Ladakh from the perspective of development anthropology. His main theme is how to materialize “development by the people based on traditional culture”. He considers it by examining critically the process and the complex socio-cultural, political, and natural factors which affect it.

Minami, dealing with modernization and development in Nepal from an historical perspective, discusses how anthropologists can make a sharp distinction between Euro-centric/modern ideas and material ‘affluence’ in order to seek an alternative way for development which is independent of modern European values (1997). Further, he argues that the advancement of the development process in Nepal has given rise to a new self-image of the Nepalese as an inferior nation, and to a new criterion by which others are not classified through recourse to the caste hierarchy but according to the degree to which they have absorbed development or modernization (1999). He has also studied collective fishing in Nawal-Parasi district using poisonous plants grown in the fallow bush by shifting cultivation; he has also written on the typology of water jugs (see below 3.1.3).

Recently a Nagoya University team, commissioned by JICA, carried out an evaluation of its activity in Nepal in the areas of agriculture, forestry, and fishery, paying special attention to poverty alleviation and gender problems. In brief, they made the following recommendations: 1. technology transfer should reach grassroots farmers directly, 2. agricultural projects should be planned to change communities, 3. it should influence other areas so as to initiate a virtuous circle, 4. education for farmers should include biology, science, and mathematics related to agriculture (Nagoya Univ. 2000). A research group of the Department of Agriculture, Hokkaido University, conducted fieldwork in Janakpur in the Tarai (where JICA had carried out one of its agricultural cooperation activities) and in Sankhu in the Kathmandu Valley in collaboration with Nepalese scholars with a focus on issues of technology transfer (especially in the field of irrigation) (Osanami *et al.* 2001).

3.1.2. Geographical and other studies

Comparative geographical studies

Tsukihara and Furukawa, comparing the composition of domestic animals in Khumbu, north-eastern Nepal, and Dingri in Tibet, maintain that in contrast to the ‘dry Tibet’ area to which Dingri belongs, there is no dichotomy between agricul-

tural villages and pastoral high plateau in the 'wet Tibet' area to which Khumbu belongs, and that it is characteristic of the latter that agriculture is closely combined with pastoralism.

Tsukihara (1992) considers the migration of Tibetans across the Himalayas, comparing Bhutan and Solu-Khumbu in Nepal. Pointing out the ecological similarity between the two areas, he asserts that the 'Tibetans' who migrated to the southern flanks of the eastern Himalayas first settled below the coniferous forest area (2900-3500m), and subsequently above it. The core areas of Bhutan and Solu in Nepal are examples of the former pattern, and preserve more traditional social systems than the latter. Thus, Tsukihara asserts that Khumbu, especially Namche, is not typical of other Sherpa societies.

Agriculture and local economy

M. Kobayashi conducted field studies in Gorkha district in Nepal. Combining these with an analysis of population statistics, he shows that inhabitants of the rural hill region have moved from an agriculture- and village-based economy to one based on service industries dependant on urban areas. Mountainous geography, underdeveloped transportation networks, and other social and economic infrastructures limit the life strategies of rural people. As a result, the analysis shows, the gap between rural and urban areas has been growing, as has that between upper and lower classes.

S. Kobayashi (1993) shows that common field systems are found extensively in midland villages in Nepal (1500-2400m in altitude), where cropping is possible in both summer and winter. He also studied the diffusion of winter rice-cropping in the Kathmandu Valley as initiated by the peasants of Tokha in 1977, who showed how it could be done by procuring the seedlings from low elevations outside the Valley (S. Kobayashi 1992).

Fukuda (an ethno-botanist) and E. Yamamoto have written about Nepalese (and southern Chinese) rural life, paying attention to food habits, to ethnic differences, to (low) agricultural productivity, and to people's strong religious orientations (especially where rice cultivation is concerned).

Shinoda has studied the history and organization of an irrigation association in Rupandehi district. He points out that, despite the fact that the canals there had originally been constructed and utilized by the Tharus, they have been put in an unfavourable position vis-à-vis the immigrant population from the hills, which was supported by government policy. He also analyses changes in the water distribution system which accompanied a shift in the focus of agricultural problems (i.e.

from labour recruitment to water sharing) in the late 1970s.

Mizuno studies the agricultural credit system in relation to the economic development of Nepal, and establishes the importance of indigenous and autonomous savings/credit associations (called *dhikuri*, *dhikur*, etc.) in contrast to the insufficient and inefficient operation of public finance. Dealing with *dhikuris* in various places, paying particular attention to internal mechanisms and the actual amounts of money involved, he points out that the *dhikuri* institution has spread far beyond its origin in Thakali society and that it has grown to take various forms such as those found in Kathmandu in which the financial, rather than the social, function is prominent.

Urban tourism

Morimoto has studied the process of tourism development in Damside, a tourist area of Pokhara, focusing on the activities of entrepreneurs. Since the 1970s a hotel industry in Damside has been developed by local entrepreneurs. Starting at the end of the 1980s outside investors established high-quality hotels to attract more affluent tourists. As a result, hotels in Pokhara are divided into two sectors: those characterized by large capital and those with small capital. During this process some local hotelkeepers left the hotel industry. Morimoto has also been studying Thamel, a tourist and commercial area in Kathmandu.

Eco-tourism

A research group of the Hokkaido University headed by T. Watanabe, a geo-ecologist, sent expeditions to the Kanchanjunga area from 1997 to 1999 in collaboration with Tribhuvan University and some NGOs. Taking the promotion of eco-tourism in the area as their ultimate aim, they have carried out basic research on the natural and social environment, geological issues, and eco-tourism. One of the team, Sadakane, studied the socio-economic conditions of the Gunsu valley. Grouping the people, whom she calls Khambachenda (or -pa), with other Tibetan border populations, she points out that their ethnic boundaries are fluid and that they consist of descendants of immigrants from various places. Their economy is said to combine agriculture (potato and barley), animal husbandry, and trade in which butter and animals (yaks and their hybrids) are sold and Chinese industrial and other commodities are purchased. She also pays attention to the religious (Tibetan Buddhist) characteristics of the area. N. Ikeda and T. Watanabe consider the factors which decide the altitude at which yaks and their hybrids are grazed in the Gunsu valley. They find that there is a high concentration of herds in a narrow altitudinal belt in summer, and relate it to the availability of pasture and hence to the specific air temperature. In other seasons the herds tend to scatter more, which they find difficult

to explain in the same way. As regards eco-tourism, T. Watanabe and Ikeda found the proportion of pack animals (yaks and male hybrids) to be still low (18.8-21.8%), which, they think, indicates that pastoralism there is not yet disturbed by tourism. But they anticipate that changes might occur as in the Sagarmatha National Park, where the increase in the number of pack animals has caused soil erosion and a decrease in vegetation cover along the trails, as well as an increase in the number of people becoming porters (and hence being unavailable for pastoralism).

Deforestation

Iwata has found evidence of deforestation in the Himalayan region by examining the charcoal left by forest fires and humic materials in the soil. He considers the remains in central Nepal to be from the 14th-15th centuries and relates them to population growth and cultural change in the Kathmandu Valley and the active cultural exchanges between Nepal and India. He attributes the evidence of deforestation in Khumbu, eastern Nepal, to the Sherpa immigration from Tibet in the mid-16th century. He has also found evidence of intensive outbreaks of fire between the late 8th and 12th centuries in south-eastern Tibet, corresponding with the territorial and ethnic expansion of Tibet, and evidence of forest fires over the millennia. He interprets this as demonstrating that hunting and grazing started several thousand years ago.

3.1.3. Small-scale industry, economy, and material culture

The Japan-Nepal Society sent several members to Nepal to investigate small industries and enterprises at the beginning of the 1990s. They dealt with industries relating to forest products (paper making, the silk industry, etc.), the iron industry, construction, distribution and commerce, tourism, metalwork, and commerce in east Nepal, local industries in the inner Terai, and industries in Kathmandu. In the 'General Discussion' section of their research report, Nishizawa argues that many aspects of Nepalese small industries cannot be explained by modern economic theories: other approaches are needed to grasp people's life as a whole and to understand the Nepalese situation. An example is given by F. Kobayashi, who points out the difference between Japanese and Newar merchants' manner of dealing with customers in her chapter on commerce.

A research group headed by Niitsu (who was also a member of the above team) carried out fieldwork on the techniques and cultures of Blacksmiths (Nakarmis and Kamis) in the latter half of the 1990s, mainly in Kathmandu, Lalitpur, Pokhara, and villages in west-central Nepal (see AKK). One of the group, Asaoka, who studied recent technological changes among blacksmiths, especially in Pokhara and surrounding rural areas, points out that urban Kamis who have access to electricity or

gas, and hence use welding techniques, can use second-hand spring steel as their material, whereas rural Kamis, who can only resort to forging when they need to join iron and steel, have to use second-hand railway steel although it is more expensive than the spring steel. He also points out that many urban Nakarmis (Newar Blacksmiths by caste) have built up small firms dealing with car repairing, the steel industry, etc. in which they sometimes hire Kamis (Parbate Hindu Blacksmiths by caste) from rural areas. Koido describes in detail the image-casting techniques of the Shakyas in Lalitpur. A detailed description of the Blacksmiths' culture in Nepal is provided by Tamura, Katsuki, and Shiozaki. They study a village in Palpa district, a street in Pokhara, Tansen, and Lalitpur (Patan), and give an illustrated and highly informative account of the material culture of these areas, especially concerning tools, products, and work places. Minami, drawing on his fieldwork in Dhading district, suggests a typology of different shapes of water jugs (*gāgrī*) and their methods of manufacture, and points out that the techniques and economy of the Parbate Hindu smiths there has been changing under the influence of Newar coppersmiths (Tamrakar) (Minami 1998).

3.1.4. Political movements and law

Thanks to technological developments, it has become increasingly easy to gain access to newspapers and magazines published abroad and to know about political movements and changes. On the other hand, it remains the case that only a few Japanese deal with political and judicial aspects of the Himalayan countries. However, some unusual and painstaking studies have been carried out.

M. Yamamoto (1993) tries to grasp the political consciousness of Nepalese people in the 1980s by analysing short satirical plays by two comedians who have become popular among the new urban middle class from which they have emerged. The main targets of their criticism are politicians, bureaucrats, and Indians. The fact that they have not treated the king as an object of satire, she maintains, is the reason for their success in comparison with their Newari-speaking predecessors.

Inoue analyses the Nepali political system after the 1990 democratic movement, focusing on points of contrast between the old and new constitutions and the results of the 1991 national election. She lists the following points as possible threats to multi-party democracy: the existence of powerful economic monopolies, the indebtedness of politicians to outside forces, heavy dependence on foreign aid, and corruption. She also analyses the new local administrative system and the result of the local elections held in 1992. Pointing out the emergence of political multi-polarization, she thinks it is necessary for there to be constructive supervision over local administration.

Ogura, a journalist, wrote a factual document of Nepal's democratic movement. Stimulated by her ten-day encounter with the movement in 1990, she returned to Nepal in 1993 for a two-year stay and interviewed 1050 people, taking in ordinary citizens (including the families of those who died in the movement), party activists, and Panchayat politicians. She tried to reconstruct the movement by describing how individuals acted during the period from February 6 to April 9 1990. The Kathmandu Valley and Janakpur are the places she chose for description, although she carried out interviews in other places also. Describing incidents of arrest, demonstration, injury, and death as well as leaders' negotiation with the government and people's reactions to it, she successfully conveys the heated atmosphere of the movement. An abridged English translation of her work has been published recently.

Tanigawa traces the change of constitutions and political structure of modern Nepal from a comparative viewpoint. According to him, the constitution of 1990 is democratic in that it approves of the people's sovereignty, but not fully so because it also includes provisions bestowing certain powers upon the king. He also refers to its judicially ambiguous status and internal contradictions, which he ascribes to the political process of the democracy movement ending in compromise. The most noteworthy contradiction, he points out, lies in the clauses which refer to political parties: the constitution does not allow the establishment of parties based on religion, community, caste, tribe, or region, while at the same time negating the non-party system and single-party dictatorship.

3.1.5. Education

Though education is an urgent issue in Nepal, not many serious studies of it have been published in Japan. In this sense, the research work made by the Yamashitas' group is noteworthy.

Isono has studied education in Nepal, looking at statistical data, the government's education plan, and the activities of two NGOs. Pointing out various problems, including the low female literacy rate, she thinks it is necessary for conditions to prevail under which NGOs and CBOs can carry out their work on their own initiative, especially in the field of informal education.

Y. Yamashita, T. Yamashita, and several other scholars have conducted field research on education in Nepal, visiting schools, university campuses, training centres, hostels, and offices in five development regions. Their primary concern was the enhancement of the self-reliance and life standards of Nepalese women, which (they think) cannot be accomplished without improving education for girls and increasing the number of female teachers. With this in mind, they carried out

research mainly in remote places, interviewing teachers, officials, and others, using questionnaires, making observations, and also analysing statistical data. Among their findings are: a large rural-urban difference in the proportion of female teachers (higher in urban areas), an overall low quality and reputation of teachers, and the difficult position of female teachers due to social, religious, and familial factors. Their suggestions include the introduction of a teacher's license and systematic training for teachers, and especially the establishment of schools to educate girls for the teaching profession (with feeder hostels in remote places).

Murakami identifies educational problems at Phortse primary school in Khumbu, eastern Nepal. Nagaoka considers the roles of INGO and foreign aid on the basis of her short observations of two cases of non-formal education in Kathmandu and Lalitpur.

3.1.6. Studies on classics, religion, and rituals

There are well-qualified scholars of Indology in Japan, most of whom deal with Buddhist texts. Some among them have become more aware of the importance of the manuscripts kept in Nepal, though the number of competent scholars remains small. There are also a few scholars who study religion and rituals by combining textual study and fieldwork. In this period, the Kathmandu Valley has been their main arena of study.

Fujita scrutinized two Buddhist manuscripts in Kathmandu and found that they were made in recent years by copying a published version. They both contain the shorter *Sukhāvativyūha* written in “new Newar” (i.e. Pracalit) script; one is on paper and kept in the Asha Archives, and the other on palm leaves, kept privately but catalogued by the Nepal German Manuscript Preservation Project. Comparing these with Max Müller's and P.L. Vaidya's published versions, he concludes that both manuscripts were written utilizing Vaidya's version, and hence after 1964. He points out that there is a custom of making manuscripts for religious use among the Newars, and that they may not have been made for the purpose of making fake ones, but he points out regretfully that the palm-leaf version contains a colophon dating it to the 10th century which, he presumes, was added later.

The Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies for UNESCO under the Toyo Bunko (Oriental Library) at Tokyo published some materials preserved at the National Archive in Kathmandu under the editorship of Tachikawa. One volume is by M. Mori and Y. Mori: this contains (in colour photos) a set of 125 water-colour paintings of the Devīmāhātmya story which was produced in 1863 in Pokhara. They give introductory remarks on the present state of the paintings, their background, the correlation between the paintings and the Devīmāhātmya, drawing methods, and

the principal features and iconographic characteristics of the deities. They also give a comparative table of the plates and five versions of the Devīmāhātmya as well as descriptions of all the paintings.

Another volume is by Matsuda in which he presents pictures of all the existing palm leaf folios of two Sanskrit manuscripts of the *Daśabhūmikāsūtra*, a representative Mahayana Buddhist classic. Matsuda points out that the older of the two ('Manuscript A') was the one found by Bendall who was most excited by his discovery but was never able to publish it. Manuscript B is Matsuda's new finding. He states that Manuscript A, written in Nepalese Gupta script, may date from the 7th century; that contrary to what is often thought it does not contain the verse portion (as is also the case with Manuscript B); and that the content of the prose portion is basically the same as in modern manuscripts, though there are some differences.

Tachikawa edited a book on Buddhism in Tibet and Nepal as the third volume in a series titled *Reception and Change of Buddhism*. All contributors are acquainted with Sanskrit and/or Tibetan, and many of them practise fieldwork too. As an introduction to the second part of the volume, which deals with Nepal (the Kathmandu Valley), Tachikawa presents a view that Newar culture with Buddhism should be located as part of a 'Tibeto-Burman Culture Area'. Shima gives an account of the role of temples, monasteries, and *guthīs* in Newar Buddhism, and looks especially at the structure of the *guru maṇḍala pūjā*. Hattori describes and analyses the *bali pūjā* in the Gatha Muga ritual and includes an analysis of its mantras. Sakuma deals with the 108 Avalokiteśvaras in Jana Bahā in Kathmandu, giving descriptions of fourteen of the images with reference to Sādhanaṁālā. M. Mori has studied the images of the Daśa Krodha in India, Tibet, and Nepal. First, he analyses related Tantras and puts forward four different sets of Daśa Krodha, according to which Tibetan and Nepalese images are classified. In Kathmandu he investigates the Daśa Krodha images in Chusyā Bahā and Jana Bahā, and concludes that the images have lost their individuality except for instruments they hold; but for that very reason they have been accepted into the Buddhist pantheon.

K. Tanaka and Yoshizaki jointly published a book entitled *Nepalese Buddhism* (1998), the first general introduction to the topic in book form written by scholars acquainted with Sanskrit and Newari. The book deals mainly with Newar Buddhism and is divided into the following sections: 1. History and Noted Places, 2. Manuscripts and Texts, 3. Art and Iconography, and 4. Rituals and Feasts. Seven appendices cover other forms of Nepalese Buddhism and other matters: 1. Tibetan Buddhism in Nepal, 2. Theravada Buddhism in Nepal, 3. Transcription of Sanskrit and Newari terms, 4. How to decipher Newari colophon of manuscripts, 5. Chrono-

logical table, 6. Bibliography, and 7. Maps.

In addition Tanaka has made a study of Buddhist (particularly Tantric) Sanskrit manuscripts of Nepal and has discovered several important Sanskrit manuscripts in the microfilms of the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project. These incomplete or fragmental manuscripts had not been properly identified, or had been wrongly registered by NGMPP. He is now planning to publish romanized editions of several of them. The manuscripts in question are

a commentary on *Samantabhadra-nāma-sādhana* by Buddhajñānapāda;

Guhyasamājamaṇḍalopāyika-viṃśatividhi by Nāgabuddhi/Nāgabodhi;

Samājasādhanaavyāvasthāna by Nāgabuddhi/Nāgabodhi;

Dakṣiṇvajrapañjarapañjikā-tattvaviśadā by Mahāmati.

About 90% of the second and two thirds of the fourth manuscript were recovered. There are only several folios of the third remaining.

Yoshizaki emphasizes the ritual idea for the *kalaśa pūjā* based on the cosmology of the Saṃvara-Mandala, which propounds that *kalaśa* (pot) is the vessel for inviting deities. He asserts that *kalaśa* takes various forms such as the Kathmandu Valley itself, cities, *bahās* (Buddhist monasteries), houses with eyes on the doors, caityas, and pinnacles, and so on, as well as the bodies of Buddhist priest, Kumari, traditional *pyākhā* (dance-play) dancers, and *dyaḥ māju* (literally ‘god mother’ or women who can be possessed; Yoshizaki reports the term as *dyaḥ māju* rather than *dyaḥ maiju* or *dyaḥmā*).

Terada has been studying Indra Jātrā in Kathmandu. Paying special attention to Indra’s pole, she describes the festival from the ritual of cutting the pine tree for the pole to the finishing ritual and compares it with other festivals that also include the erection of pole(s). She maintains that it is the festival of the state of Nepal to show the power of the ancient Aryan god combined with indigenous deity of fertility as well as to attain the spiritual power of the former dynasty. She sees a profound connection to the ritual erection of similar sacred poles in South-east Asia and Japan.

Kaneda analyses Hindu festivals and feasts in Nepal from the viewpoint of the anthropology of sport and fitness, and she maintains that some rituals contain elements which enable the participants to keep healthy. She also deals with gambling with dice, kite-flying, and swinging in Nepal and traces their connections to religion.

3.1.7. Architecture

A group of architects from the Nippon Institute of Technology carried out studies on royal buildings and Buddhist monasteries in the Kathmandu Valley from 1978. They then embarked on the project of restoring the I Bahā-Bahi monastery in Lalitpur (Patan) in 1990, which was completed in 1995. They published a book on the restoration project and its results that also contains chapters dealing with the classification, description, and history of Buddhist monasteries in Nepal. The book is highly professional and contains many pictures and diagrams as well as a chapter on architectural measurement (K. Watanabe 1998).

Kurotsu, one of the members of the above group, wrote a dissertation on the Choks (*coks*) of the royal buildings. Considering Mul Chok and Sundara Chok as main components of the royal building, he gives a detailed description and analysis of the Choks in the Kathmandu, Lalitpur, and Bhaktapur palaces from the aspects of function, structure, planning idea, and the relation between religious images and special design. He maintains that their quadrangle structure reached its perfection in the mid-17th century but underwent changes during the period of Shah rule.

3.1.8. Linguistic studies

Kiryu has been analysing the usage of Newari verbs mainly using materials he collected from Lalitpur Newari speakers. The verbs *cwane*, *taye*, and an auxiliary *dhune* have been discussed in detail. He has published examples of the usage of about 350 Newari verbs with grammatical notations, translations, and explanations. This is accompanied with a brief introduction to Newari grammar.

Matsuse studies the structure of adverbial clauses in Newari and claims that the clauses show a gradient behaviour concerning the acceptability of tense elements. They range from a strictly phrase-based level, in which the tense element cannot be inserted, to a full-fledged level. She also studies the motion event and its lexicalization system in Newari and maintains that deictic verbs such as *wane* (go) and *waye* (come) that constitute most of motion expressions have also developed various subsidiary meanings.

Toba has been continuing his research in linguistics and related fields among the Khaling Rais of East Nepal. He also describes Khaling myths to show their worldview. Recently he published a wordlist of the Dhimal language in Roman script, which contains two thousand words with English equivalents.

Honda conducted linguistic fieldwork in the upper Kaligandaki studying some dialects of Seke and Thakali languages, especially Tangbe in lower Baragaun.

Nishi reviews recent worldwide trends in the study of 'the Himalayan languages',

or the Tibeto-Burman languages in the Himalayan region, paying special attention to important advances after 1992; he points out that more studies are necessary in typology and socio-linguistics. He refers to studies before 1991 only briefly as he has written many entries in the *Sanseido Encyclopaedia of Linguistics* using his own and previous works; they include those on individual Himalayan languages and those on this language category dealing with distribution, genetic classification, and linguistic features, as well as with researchers and their work.

3.1.9. History

Sahegi has written about some of the controversial points in the ancient history of Nepal such as Narendradeva's coronation year, the date of Aṃśuvarma's death, the antiquity of the Cābahil inscription, the extent of Licchavi Nepal territory, origin of the Nepal Licchavis, re-interpretation of 'Kīrata', and similar topics. His strict analysis and knowledge of classical Chinese make his work dependable though it is beyond his scope to examine the texts of the original inscriptions. His translation of Dhanavajra Vajracharya's book on Licchavi inscriptions, to which he has attached his original articles mentioned above, has made Licchavi history accessible for Japanese readers. He has also been writing a synoptic history of Nepal.

Sekiguchi studies modern Nepalese history, especially the relation with (British) India. She examines major political issues in early modern history, from the Gorkha conquest to the Rana regime, taking into consideration international relations in the area and British India's Himalayan policy. She also deals with Nepalīs in India (especially in Darjeeling, West Bengal, and Sikkim) analysing their political development and social dynamics.

3.1.10. Other studies

S. Kobayashi (1996) has recently studied the adaptation to malaria. Reviewing the records of Western visitors to Kathmandu since the 18th century, he points out two kinds of adaptation to malaria in Nepal, namely cultural and biological (genetic). The former is realized by seasonal or diurnal migration to lowland from the altitude higher than 1200m. The latter is found among lowlanders who have abnormal haemoglobin, thalassemia, and glucose-6-phosphate dehydrogenase (G6PD) deficiency, which accompany anaemia (Kobayashi 1996). With medical researchers, he studied Tamangs and Danuwars as examples of the two types and found that the prevalence of alpha-thalassemia is low among the former (5%), and quite high (63%) among the latter, though they live in adjacent areas (Sakai *et al.* 2000).

Ito has been studying Nepal from various aspects. Beginning with a concern for the status of women, she compares the various constitutions and family laws of 1854,

1964, and 1975, and she studies the legal precedents for the proposed bill outlawing female discrimination. She has also conducted fieldwork on dowry practices in the plains. Ito's second study concerns Biratnagar, where she studies Marwaris' industrial and business activities and their competition with Brahman landowners in the context of an expanding market economy and globalization. She also studies Mustang and the Thakalis, tracing their integration into wider Nepalese society and the world.

3.2. Bhutan

3.2.1. Studies by Kyoto-based research groups

In 1988 Kyoto University fieldworkers from various disciplines--including medicine, agriculture, primatology, geography, sociology, and cultural anthropology--formed 'The Association for the Study of Himalaya' (as it is called in English) and set out for expeditions in which they combined academic research and mountaineering. Supported by AACK (Academic Alpine Club of Kyoto) and cooperating (for the first five years) with a Chiba University team, they sent research expeditions from 1988 to 1995 to the following areas: Karakorum, Hunza (in Pakistan), Pamir, Tibet, Yunnan (in China), Nepal, Bhutan, Mongolia, Guam, Myanmar, and India. In 1990 they began publishing a journal-like series called 'Himalayan Study Monographs' written in Japanese (some articles have English summaries). Many articles are in the field of medicine, including a few which pay attention to such aspects as psychology, the notion of health, and the perception of smells. There are works on other fields, some of which I will deal with in this article.

Tsukihara examined the vertical structure of the subsistence economy in Bhutan and found that it differs from Nepal as analysed by Kawakita in that its vertical ecological spectrum does not correlate with ethnic differences because of the dominance of the Tibetan population. He finds the seasonal migration of the people (mostly farmers accompanying cattle) of the 'Central Valleys' to be the most characteristic feature of the Bhutanese situation. He also points out that the degree of specialization in commerce is low and that cultural differences are found on the east-west axis.

Kurita analyses Bhutan's ethnic linguistic and religious composition, costumes, food, and domestic animals, and he suggests that Bhutanese culture derives principally from Tibet but it is unique in that it has integrated east Himalayan elements. He also analyses the relationship between development and nature conservation in Bhutan and asserts that it has not faced the problem of rural poverty, unlike many developing countries, and that it has been successful in keeping the problems accompanying foreign aid to a minimum. He ascribes Bhutan's skilful utiliza-

tion of foreign aid to the lessons drawn from Nepalese experiences, to its policy of decentralization, and to its socio-cultural background.

Yonemoto considers Bhutan to be an 'experimental nation' trying to make itself sustainable by resorting to abstinence in the face of modernization. Adopting a similar perspective, Kawai analyses the local administration systems and development problems in Bhutan (1994), as well as its centre-periphery relationships (1995), and maintains that Bhutanese people have taken the preservation of natural environment to be their common target and have made this aim part of their political culture.

From 1997 to 1999, a research group from Kyoto University carried out field studies on education in Bhutan; the results were published in No.7 (2000) of the Himalayan Study Monographs in several articles under the general title of 'Kyoto University Educational Research on Bhutan 1997-99'. Tsujimoto, the research-group leader, outlines their aim of studying the role of education in Bhutan at a time of rapid modernization and in view of Bhutan's position as 'an experimental nation'. Sugimoto traces the history, the present condition, and future direction of education from the primary to college levels and discusses young people's concepts of tradition and modernity on the basis of observation and a questionnaire survey in three college-level institutions. His conclusion is that the government's policy to preserve traditional culture and religion has penetrated deep into students' minds: they evince a high regard for modern technology but are more cautious towards Western culture. Maehira, aiming to throw light on non-formal education, presents the transcripts of interviews with the head of a youth centre, people in Bumthang, and two Bhutanese refugee activists in Nepal. Yoshida writes on the recent policies and organizations of non-formal education and empowerment of women and calls for the need for the grassroots democracy to realize them. Yasui reports research on customs associated with, and views on, childbirth, based on interviews and observations in hospitals and other places and points out the relevance of the notion of pollution and evil spirits for understanding birth and illness. Tsukihara traces the history of linguistic and educational policies among the 'Cultural Tibetans' and points out that Bhutan is unique in that it has been coping with modern changes towards secularization successfully. Nomura presents an overview of the linguistic situation as well as of the present state of journalism and linguistic policy in Bhutan.

3.2.2. Studies by scholars outside Kyoto

M. Yamashita compares the land tax systems of Bhutan and Meiji Japan and points out that they are similar in that they both chose land tax as the basis of their tax systems and set down the household as the unit on which tax was levied. As one

of the differences, he points out that Bhutan has retained the land tax as the core of taxation whereas various other forms of taxation have evolved in Japan.

Imaeda, who worked as an adviser to Bhutan's National Library for ten years from 1981, gives a general picture of Bhutan covering environment, ethnic groups, language, history, state mechanism, society, ethnic problems, Buddhism, Buddhist art, life, and Bhutanese characteristics. In the last chapter of his book he expresses his sympathy with the Bhutanese policy of preserving her culture and traditions by reducing the pace of modernization. Imaeda also wrote a book with Nagahashi on the Tshecu festival celebrated in the name of Padmasambhava on the tenth day of every month in Bhutan (Nagahashi and Imaeda 1994).

Itonaga, who had analysed traditional Bhutanese love songs in the 1980s, traces the Bhutan-Japan relationship, with particular attention to Bhutan's foreign relations, especially with Britain. He is also a co-author of a research paper on traditional architecture in Bhutan written by a group from the Japanese Agency for Cultural Affairs (Miyazawa *et al.* 1994). This research was carried out in order to explore the possibilities of technical cooperation in renovating Bhutanese historical architecture.

Sasano, studying Bhutanese monuments, considers the historical development of Bhutanese architecture. He puts forward a hypothesis that the architectural style employed in the *dzong* (architectural complexes with religious and administrative functions) evolved when two other traditional styles namely *lhakang* (Buddhist temple) and *gompa* (Buddhist monastery) were amalgamated. He emphasizes the need for an appropriate programme for the preservation of historical monuments in Bhutan.

K. Yamamoto has written a finely illustrated book on textiles of Bhutan dealing mainly with women's costume *kira*, secondarily with the men's *go*, and then with other kinds of costume. She classifies textiles according to the ways they are woven, lists the names of the parts of the *kira*, and describes the types of threads, the ways of dyeing, kinds of weaving machines, the warping, design, and weaving techniques. She extends her perspective also to the textiles of the Lepchas, to Tibet, and to some areas in north-eastern India such as Nagaland, Manipur, and Arunachal Pradesh. Her previous book (1991) provides basic information on Bhutan including a guide to books and articles on Bhutan written in Japanese.

Kidokoro studies the costumes of Bhutan focusing on the male costume, *go*. Comparing its structure and manner of sewing with those of the Japanese kimono, she points out that despite apparent similarities there are basic differences between

them. She also deals briefly with women's costume (*kira*), belts, and ornaments.

Warashina gives an account of local institutions and administration in Bhutan.

3.3. Other Himalayan areas

Yoshizumi studied the Gujars in the Indian Himalayas, collecting information on the livelihood of several families in Uttarkashi in Uttar Pradesh and in Kulu in Himachal Pradesh. He concludes that Gujars who had been water buffalo pastoralists have been changing under the pressures of government policies and other modern factors towards becoming sedentary farmers, either directly or after practising transhumance. He also deals with the struggles of pastoralists in the western Himalayas against restrictive forest policies under the British rule, which, he maintains, were not based on scientific principles and destroyed organic linkages and diversity in the area.

Tsukihara (1993) surveyed the Hunza and Gojal areas in Karakorum, northern Pakistan, and gives a concise account of ethnic, religious, and agricultural distributions, recent changes brought about by the opening of the Karakorum Highway, and the activities of the (Ismaili) Aga Khan Rural Support Programme. He studied Gulmit village in Gojal inhabited by Wakhis with a focus on agriculture and its change. He characterizes the landscape of the area as the 'mountain oasis' where small-scale irrigation is indispensable. Besides the irrigated village land, there is a pasture land on top of the hill where there is more precipitation. This kind of bipolar structure, he points out, is characteristic of the dry or semi-dry mountain areas in south-east Tibet, central Tibet, and Ladakh.

Tsujimoto, in the same research group, surveyed school education in Hunza villages, northern Pakistan, and found the level of education there to be surprisingly high due to the activities and financial support of the Aga Khan Foundation. He also points out that school education there inevitably assumes the characteristic of learning other culture(s) because people have to use Urdu in schools, which is different from their mother tongue.

Nejima studied the changes among the Ismaili community in Karakorum, northern Pakistan. Focusing on development activities, as well as dealing with historical background on the basis of colonial documents, he points out that the Ismailis there who were thought to be closed in on themselves have been changing toward an open community as part of the recent trend for development; they have been prominent in such activities as school education, public health, rural development, and the reconstruction of historical monuments. He emphasizes that it was leading Ismaili Imams, rather than traditional local religious leaders (Pirs), who motivated such

changes and argues that this movement is related to the creation of a new Ismaili identity.

Takahashi, studying the Kinnauri language in Kinnaur district, Himachal Pradesh, India, presents a list of basic vocabulary (200 words) of three dialects and the paradigms of several verbs. His next paper presents a phonological analysis and morphosyntactic phenomena of the Pangi dialect of Kinnauri. Some of the notable points are: the existence of an object affix in verb inflection, split ergative, and inalienability in the possessive construction.

3.4. General works on the Himalayas and Nepal

3.4.1. Ethnomusicology

Fujii has been carrying out ethnomusicological fieldwork in many places of the world including the Himalayan areas. His book *Musicians of the Himalayas* (1991) deals with Tibetan, Nepalese, Bhutanese, and Ladakhi music and musicians. He points out that Tibetan music, which is highly religious, generally consists of a single melody sung in unison with accompanying instruments. He divides music in Nepal into: urban-Indic music; music of the Gaines and Damais; music of the Tibeto-Burman groups of the hill region; religious music; and other music. Urban-Indic music is said to be spreading swiftly even among the Tibeto-Burman groups. Some Tibeto-Burman groups have the custom of collective singing and dancing by young men and women whose songs are characterized by a repeated monotonous melody. Among the 'others', he points out that Newar music is mixed but considerably Indianized and that Tharu music is characterized by melodies with a small number of notes. In the main, Bhutanese music is similar to Tibetan but the Sharchop people in the east have a pentatonic scale that is also found among the Tamangs in Nepal, the Pes in South China, and in Ryukyu in Japan. Ladakhi music is mainly Tibetan but Islamic and Christian music can be found also. Fujii led a research party to Bhutan in the late 1980s and published papers, together with other authors, dealing with culture, rituals (especially of house building), performing arts (including the analysis of body movements), and beliefs concerning the story of Gesar (Fujii 1990).

3.4.2. Reviews

Tsukihara (1999) reviews the Himalayan studies of the world from the 'human geo-ecological' perspective and emphasizes the importance of comparison, ecological studies, and socio-political studies concerning development.

3.4.3. Dictionary

Saigusa has published a Nepali-Japanese Dictionary that contains more than 20,000 entries in 1,010 pages. Entries are followed by transliterations with diacritical marks and in some cases include synonyms, antonyms, and examples written in Devanagari accompanied by Japanese translations.

3.4.4. Bibliographical works

Yakushi published a revised and enlarged bibliography of the Himalayan areas. It contains books in European languages and in Japanese (with English translations of the titles and other information), translated books into Japanese, and books on mountaineering and expeditions in Russian. The total number of titles amounts to 9,398. It includes four indices.

4. Conclusion

Nowadays Japanese scholars of the Himalayan areas and Nepal take an interest in these areas for their own sakes unlike those pioneer scholars whose primary interest was in Tibet. A wide variety of topics have been studied but at the same time there has also been a convergence on certain key areas. Studies on ethnicity, environment, and development are typical examples. No doubt this reflects worldwide trends in academic and practical interest.

In general, Japanese scholars are conscious of academic trends abroad (mainly through works in English). Natural scientists tend to write in English but it is different in the case of humanities and social sciences, as can be seen by the examples I have cited. True, there are some scholars who are more inclined to gear their analyses directly to an overseas audience. Anthropologists studying ethnicity and development, some of the geographers, linguists, and those who study religion and classics are examples. They sometimes write in English (as indicated in the bibliography), but often in publications with limited circulation. It is normal even for them and more so for other scholars to write in Japanese as this is the language of academic debate for them. (Unlike South Asian countries, it is rare for Japanese scholars to carry out academic discussions in English.) Foreign-derived concepts and theories tend to be discussed in Japanese using translated or untranslated specialist terms. Thus Japanese scholars tend to stand in an indirect or one-sided relation to foreign scholars. Japanese scholarship (in the fields we are dealing with) is in a way semi-secluded because scholars are not much exposed to direct criticism from abroad. Hence there arises the danger of complacency, though there may at the same time be scope for original perspectives to be worked out.

The accumulation of knowledge in Buddhology and Indology in Japan gives a

special character to Japanese works in these genres that deal with the Himalayas. Strongly stimulated by Western scholarship, but also reflecting a traditional Japanese concern for Mahayana Buddhism backed up by knowledge of classical Chinese, Sanskrit, and/or Tibetan, the methods of Japanese Buddhologists and Indologists are usually rigorous and solid. Some have restricted themselves to purely textual studies, but others have combined them with fieldwork. The most striking characteristic is that many of the proper names, especially names of deities and Buddhist sutras, have their established translations in Kanji (Chinese characters) and these (rather than the Sanskrit or local equivalents) are used rather extensively by scholars. Failure to follow this convention may be criticized as unprofessional in their own circle. However it should be pointed out that such usage always carries with it a risk that the terms used are understood with Japanese connotations that may be misleading in some cases. We should also add that there is a certain degree of religious sympathy for Buddhism in their works. There is nothing blameworthy in this phenomenon in itself but it has certainly created an imbalance in the selection of objects of study. Thus there are far fewer Japanese scholars dealing with Hinduism.

As an example of the semi-secluded character of Japanese scholarship on the Himalayas we may take the Kyoto groups' works on Bhutan. They have developed new perspectives especially around Yonemoto's brief paper viewing Bhutan as an 'experimental nation'. Some have tried to make use of this concept in their research on particular aspects of Bhutanese society. This approach of making a hypothesis into a theory is quite appropriate. But the way they handle the matter is not rigorous enough as they tend to pay attention to positive aspects only and draw rather optimistic pictures of Bhutan's development (some of the studies are not deep enough either). Alternative interpretations might have been made if they had taken other elements into consideration. For example, they have not dealt with the problem of the Bhutanese refugees in a satisfactory way. If they had considered it as an important part of the 'experimental nation', the rosy picture they have presented might have been modified considerably.

This said, we have to acknowledge the efforts of the Kyoto groups in widening the scope of Japanese scholarship to include Bhutan and other Himalayan areas. Noteworthy among them is Tsukihara's contribution. As he states, he has been stimulated by Kawakita's way of grasping the phenomena. His broad comparative perspective combining his own research results with others' works leads one to hope that he will construct a comprehensive theory of the Himalayan area as a whole, a theory which would be different but complementary to Kawakita's theory of vertical structure. Furthermore, the comparison between Nepal and Bhutan

Tsukihara has been making is stimulating and will become more interesting if developed further. This is a further reason for studies of Bhutan to be continued and strengthened.

It is noted here that works attempting to achieve a synthesis have appeared in this period. Kano's book on the Sherpas and Tanaka and Yoshizaki's book on Newar Buddhism are examples. As for other studies, it would be very fruitful if other serious efforts could be made in the field of historical studies using Chinese documents in addition to Nepalese and Western sources. Not much has been done in this sphere though Japanese scholars are in an advantageous position as far as the handling of materials is concerned.

If we look at the organizational aspect, we notice that there is virtually no established school or systematic university-level education concerning the Himalayas and Nepal in Japan; there are only sporadic lectures on these areas as part of courses in anthropology, geography, linguistics, etc. As a result, most of the scholars are self-educated as far as Himalayan studies are concerned. This seems to lead to a divergence of interests, rather than convergence, and hence to the juxtaposition of diverse themes, approaches, and methods. Academic research groups are sometimes organized to attract funds from government or other institutions but as those sources are competitive, and the organization of the groups is temporary, the scope for the stable continuation of study is limited. Thus 'sustainable development' is an issue for the promotion of scholarship also.

Bibliography

Works without '(in English)' at the end are written in Japanese. Where authors and/or publishers have supplied English translations of titles, I have included them as given, and the English glosses are included inside quotation marks (for articles) or in italics (for book and journal titles). Where such translations are not supplied by the authors, I have supplied glosses which are placed, respectively, outside the quotation marks or in roman.

Abbreviations:

AKK: *Ajia no Kinzoku-Shokunin-Bunka to Kindaika* [Modernization and the Culture of Metalworkers in Asia] (*Ajia Bunka Kenkyuu Bessatsu* 8 [Asian Cultural Studies: Special Issue 8]), Tokyo: International Christian Univ.

HG: *Himaraya Gakushi* [Himalayan Study Monographs]

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