

NEPALESE CULTURE

VOL. 5

1985

Nepalese History, Culture & Archaeology
T U Kirtipur



Nepalese Culture

Vol. V

1985

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Published by:

Nepalese History, Culture and Archaeology Instruction Committee
Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur
Kathmandu, Nepal.

Published by :

**Nepalese History, Culture and Archaeology Instruction Committee
Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur
Kathmandu, Nepal**

Price : Rs. 10

Printed at :

**Lusha Press
Baneshwor
Kha. 1-373 Kathmandu-1**

Editorial Note

It has been a matter of great pleasure to bring the fifth volume of 'Nepalese Culture' out. Despite all attempts to bring it out on the occasion of the Nepali New Year, 2042, we are slightly behind and feel sorry about it. But keeping it a continual feature of NeHCA Instruction Committee is our major concern and this is where our real pleasure lies.

Although our plea and search for research articles for this journal continues, we have not been lucky to have many here in this issue. But we feel each one, no matter its size and nature, is thought-provoking and inquisitive. It is up to the readers, however, to say more about it. It should be noted that we have tried to provide a variety in terms of subject matter. We are happy to know that our earlier volumes with equally varied subject matters were well received by the readers.

While the writers themselves are responsible for the ideas expressed in their articles, the managing editor is solely responsible for any kind of mistakes visible in the journal.

We thank the Asst. Dean, Kirtipur Multiple Campus, for the fund made available for the publication of this journal. Thanks are also due to the contributors for their cooperation.

We express a delayed but heartfelt Happy New Year greetings to all our readers !

Kirtipur,
May, 1985

Contents

1. Childrearing and socialization in two Jatis :
A case study of India *Prem K. Khattry* 1
2. Ancient Inhabitants of Kathmandu Valley *Dinesh C. Regmi* 28
3. Diffusion or Parallelism ? A thought on
cultural similarities *Mukunda R. Aryal* 37
4. Bisket Jatra *Ranjana Bajracharya* 43
5. Four Saraswati Images of
Kathmandu Valley *Puskar Pd. Rajbhandari* 56
6. Bronze Art of Nepal *Rajya Laxmi Khadka* 61
7. बादी जाति : एक परिचय *डिल्ली बहादुर ओली* 66
8. श्री ३ महाराज चन्द्र शमशेरका तीन भाषण *तीर्थ प्रसाद मिश्र* 73

Note:— We are sorry to note that four pages after p. 44 are discontinued.

Childrearing and socialization in two Jatis: A Case study of India

Prem K. Khatri

Introduction

Human groups organize their activities and display their behavior patterns in solving the basic problems concerning aspects of the group life such as subsistence, unity of kinship, sex control, childrearing and social control, among others (Davis, 1955:208). The social setting or the reality, however, differs from one social-economic stratum to another and individuals always make attempts to adjust to this reality. A person's major activities are then limited to the stratum or category which becomes his frame of reference. Similarly, a growing child's training and learning also takes place within that given frame of reference and meeting the demands of the society becomes the primary function of the process of childrearing and socialization. One of the major contributions of psychoanalysis in this respect was to hold that infancy and childhood taken as the formative and most crucial stages of a person's life and patterns of childrearing and socialization practices account for the development of personality attributes in a person. This, however, is a gross and rather general proposition and precisely what aspects of childrearing remain influential in a person's adult life is still a topic of controversy. Also, several research projects carried out in the recent decades do not support the hypothesis that childhood training leaves a permanent impact on all aspects of a person's personality (DiRenzo, 1977: 276).

It has commonly been noted that childrearing and socialization emphases differ from one culture and class to another as the society expects its members to develop particular characteristics and behavior patterns

that are widely shared and approved of by a particular society. Such behavior patterns in the first place, emerge from the environment-conditioned pattern of life and acquire additional attributes in the course of time. Thus a complex society with different hierarchical statuses and roles would set certain demands that are not found in simple egalitarian societies and would follow certain behavior patterns and vice-versa. Finding a valid explanation as to why and where the individual and group behavior patterns are different or how behavior choices are made is not easy. Hindu society in South Asia is hierarchically organized and complex and attempts will be made in this paper to see whether childrearing and socialization practices differ across different caste (or jati) groups. Broadly defined, the caste (hence forward used interchangeably with jati) system in South Asia more specifically in Nepal and India is functionally interdependent (yet socially and ritually complex) segregated multitiered, hierarchical division of population. It is one dimension of Hindu identity in the traditional Hindu society (Kakar, 1978: 120). In the traditional South Asian society, jati membership is based on birth. A person develops and confirms to the sense of identity as he or she grows up. As Kakar (p. 125) says, values, beliefs, prejudices as well as the distortions of reality become parts of human psyche and affect one's conscience, perception and belief. The jati system encourages the internalization of such values as outlined for each jati by the tradition, and these values are regarded as jati-dharma or proper actions, and attributes of the jati. The Hindu adult's perception of the world is distinct jatiwise and individual gives top priority to jatidharma. It is within the jati norms that the child sets or is made to set the goals of his life. Kakar calls family and jati the parameters of Indian childhood as the child's experience are carefully channeled within the family along the jati principles.

One of the several features of the South Asian jati system is the lack of social mobility between the high and the low jatis. It is manifest in the idea of purity and pollution in terms of commensality, intercaste marriage, untouchability and officiating as well as participating in rites and other ceremonial activities. The segregation becomes highly pronounced in the relationship between the uppermost and the lowest of the hierarchical system. It is a system where inequality and polarity have been institutionalized

for centuries. Because of the lack of ritual and social mobility along the vertical order, and the repetition of the hereditary occupations, a stereotyped lifestyle in each jati has emerged. It is true the roughly similar cultural norms and religious-cultural practices are often shared by many localized groups belonging to several occupational jatis. In many cases, several hierarchically placed groups live together and there is much cultural communication among them and understanding of common symbols is necessary to maintain symbiotic relationship. Yet the jati membership, ideas and occupation, ecology, socio-economic status among other facts, lead to the distinct culture pattern to be expressed in several aspects of socio-economic and cultural life of a jati. Because the jati system, with its hierarchical relationship between segregated (ethnic) groups has existed for a long time, the society has taken an ethnically pluralistic form. The jati being based primarily on birth, a Hindu child is thus born into a family and a jati at the same time.

The task of rearing the child becomes the common assignment of the adults who occupy differential position and play definite roles in the family. The child is thus brought up to internalize the different roles and status system prevalent in the family and the jati. His continuous socialization includes further internalization of the a family's status in the overall (jati) structure of the society. Each jati structure is based on its professional pursuits. These pursuits assigned by the traditional religious laws and customs, require the following of a certain ways of life and discardation of others. This feature of the system has made the Indian jati stereotypically distinct from each other. Along with certain commonly shared codes there are jati-specific norms and codes. The Hindu codes and scriptures, at different times in history reinforced the pluralistic and ritually different pattern of society by negatively sanctioning some parctices and encouraging others. The institutionalized segregation of the society has thus led to the development of a paricular style of living despite the common threads that seem to bind them together. The historical segregation and isolation account for the different hierarchically placed jati categories. The jati norms and features are then constantly passed on to the new generation. Because a person's life experience has great impact on his intellectual functioning the experience that an individual accumulates

in the process of growing up shapes his personality.

Another important institution that even transcends the jati category and plays an important role in the childrearing process is the family itself. A family's everyday life is where the interjati distinctness regarding childrearing practices becomes articulated. In fulfilling its normal responsibility of bringing up the children, the family transcends the boundaries set by the jati, the nation or the culture. The cultural content of the family situation has gained significance in the personality studies taken up by sociologists (Bossard, 1960: 113). The childrearing patterns adopted by the family depend on the size, composition, social strata and ideals of the family. In South Asia, where extended family system is still predominant sex and age-based hierarchical relationships among the members of the family are considered ideal; the juniors are always subordinate to the seniors. Children's relationships with elders are a part of the pattern of overall relationship among the adult members of the family. To children, the family is supreme authority. Children are brought to believe that what they see, learn and internalize in interacting with adults is the nature of humanity. From the family, children get their class-culture orientation and see the culture as the family sees it. The growing children being thus fully dependent on the adults cannot detach themselves from the authority of the elders for a considerable amount of time and thus they lack initiative. Taylor (1948: 11) in discussing Hindu culture remarks, "family life tends to develop an acute sense of dependence with a strong sense of security, and a clear sense of responsibility without an accompanying sense of personal initiative or decision". The only choice for the growing individual, then, is to submit to the elderly and comply with the family expectations and demands. This is where the East differs from the West. In the industrialized societies of the West a growing child goes through the process of slow and gradual alienation toward self reliance and independence. Unlike the traditional jati rule in India, western social rules do not expose children to the hereditary occupations and the rules and ethics attached to them (Rosenberg, Pearlin 1978 : 58). By adolescence, a middle class male child in the West will have pursued gratification extrafamilially and will also have experienced a touch of the stress and strain of competitive life ahead of him. His Indian counterpart, on the other hand, attains physical maturity but is still considered a child unable to assume responsibility or make decisions.

His birth at home links him both to the jati and the ancestral home and entitles him to inherit the paternal property. The training is then designed to gradually prepare children for these roles and responsibilities. The most important feeling that is nurtured in them is that group membership is more desirable than individuality (Cormack, 1961 : 15). After childhood and well into youth the family keeps mediating between the child and the larger cultural milieu by gradually encouraging contacts with the outside world. Such family ideals as to when and how a child should assume or share family responsibilities differ among the jatis, yet the primacy of the family and the jati relationships are the two major concerns affecting childrearing and socialization practices in jati societies of India.

As mentioned in an earlier section, one can witness certain similarities in socio-religious activities across the jati, especially if several jatis live contiguously and maintain some form of relationship among themselves. Yet research works to be reviewed in this paper indicate that physical proximity has not narrowed down the social and ritual distances that in most cases are traditionally strengthened by relationships based on political and economic power. So, whether all jati groups live together or apart they all remain socially and culturally segregated; opportunities are always limited for the lower jatis and their mobility is restricted by tradition and environment. One may expect imitation of high class behavior on the part of the lower jatis, but mere imitation of the pattern of life above would not fit one's status either. Several aspects of life including childcare activities then have to be organized within the capacity of the available resources, follow traditional norms and internalize restrictions. So, what is it that causes changes in childrearing patterns and why do they change? And, where can one find differential patterns of childrearing and socialization? These are the major questions to be considered in this paper.

Very broadly, several resources like space in the house, number of caretakers in the family, economic means, availability of and approach to the modern facilities, education, mass-media, and health and medical care are virtually unknown or are highly limited for lower jatis. In the villages of India, such facilities as mentioned above are not easily available even for the higher jatis. Unlike the situation of the lower jatis, the social-economic

condition of these higher jatis is always better and includes several means to utilize the available resources and facilities. Regarding fundamental differences between the two jatis in childrearing practices, our ethnographies will allow us to certain behavior patterns that are culturally shaped and are existing among them.

Compared to the intensive nature of the child development research in the West, South Asia in general and India in particular lacks adequate research literature to facilitate a clear understanding of the issues regarding differential childrearing patterns among the different jati groups. As Thomas Williams rightly says, 'how different castes transmit cultural and social knowledge to children, how they learn the essential features of caste life is not enough described in literature' (1972: 199). Yet modern socio-economic and political changes have changed the situation relatively.

The available works in the field of childrearing and socialization in India can roughly be grouped into two types: 1) detailed, systematic research and, 2) small scale survey type research. Considering the enormous size of the country, regional cultural differences even within the same jati category, and the impact of the growing industrialization of the Indian economy on the traditional social structure and social-cultural life in general, the available ethnographic literature on the comparative pattern of childrearing practices can not be considered sufficient to make any concluding and very specific statements. But it is also true that the history of research in this area is not very long and a complete research encompassing all the ethnic groups and tribes is not a physical possibility at any point in time. The ethnographies to be cited here are all empirically carried out research, and as such they give a fairly clear idea about the problem in question. In this paper ethnographies on two different jatis—the Rajputs and the Chamars will be studied for a comparative analysis of prevalent childrearing practices. The final part of the paper will consist of some suggestions regarding further research in the field.

While considering the childrearing practices in hierarchical societies such as existing in India, one has to determine as to what aspects of socio-cultural behavior can be meaningfully ascribed to the hierarchical (here, the jati)

system. For all societies and cultures, the basic idea behind childrearing and socialization is to prepare the children for the adult roles that they have to play when they grow up. But not all cultures or groups within a culture consciously realize this, nor do they deliberately plan their childrearing pattern with such explicit objective. Especially the socio-economically lower class parents do not necessarily outline the goals or think of the roles children need to attain or play in their adult life. For such parents the goals are to meet the immediate needs. For others, however methods to meet the goals and ideals are already prescribed by tradition. These different patterns need various cultural mechanisms to rear and train children. Hence, there are distinct childrearing practices among various jatis or ethnic groups. Such practices differ basically in the following areas of childtraining: emphasis on ideals and societal values and rules, preparation for future roles, control of aggression and disciplinary methods, formation of socially approved habits and norms and parent-child relationship. All these variables have certain bearing upon the personality of the individual. The differential patterns in the aspects of behaviors just mentioned result from the factors such as socioeconomic status (in terms of income, education, and jati) the size, nature and composition of the family, nature of relationships among the family members, mode of living, religious faiths and values and parental perception of social roles in the total social structure.

As mentioned earlier, there are only a few detailed empirical studies and several short, survey-type works on the comparative childrearing and socialization practices among the several jati groups of India. Most of these research is geographically concentrated in north India whereas other aspects of childrearing studies are done in other parts of the country as well (Chekki: 1975: 646f). For the present purpose, two populous jatis of north India, the Rajput and the Chamars, will be compared. The reason for so doing is that several studies have been done on different aspects of the Rajput and the Chamar life-style. These two jatis also figure prominently in major theoretical works on the jati system of India. Further, these two jatis represent the two major rungs of the jati hierarchical ladder and stand at two opposite poles. Although in several Indian villages these two jatis might be found living within the same geographic boundary and sharing the same ecosystem or even speaking the same language, socio-ritually

they are far apart. while the Rajputs are the patrons, clients, money-lenders and benefactors by virtue of their high status, the Chmars are the lowliest of the low; they can be land laborer or household servants and have always lived lives of degradation and humiliation (Majumdar, 1958: 72). These jatis, then, lead different styles of life, cherish different aspirations and strive for different goals in life. The social distinction between the two has increased cumulatively throughout the history and has led to the present cultural distinction.

By analyzing the available ethnographic research on childrearing in the Rajput and the Chamar jatis of India, the following aspects of adult behavior can be broadly and comparatively examined:

- a) Nurturance: feeding, nursing, cleaning, and weaning of the children;
- b) Training: i) toilet, cleanliness, control of aggression, obedience;
ii) skills in professional works, responsibility, reliability, household chores according to age and sex;
- c) Disciplinary mechanisms: reward and punishment permissiveness and nonpermissiveness

To make this comparison ethnographic works by the following writers will be reviewed; G. Morris Carstairs, L. Minturn and John Hitchcock, G. Steed, G. Briggs, M. Marriott, S. Raz, S. A. Anant, W. H. and Charlotte Wiser, J. Freeman, D. Mandelbaum as well as M. Joshi, J. Tiwari, M. S. Gore, M. Opler and R. D. Singh, B. Coher and M. Mahar.

I. Childrearing among the Rajputs

The term "Rajput" literally means the "prince". This jati belongs to the traditional ruling or the warrior's varna of the Hindu jati system. From the point of view of ritual status, the Rajputs are considered inferior only to the Brahmans. As one of the two dominating jatis of the Hindu jati hierarchy, the Rajputs share several hindu ideals and rituals with the Brahmans who have remained their collaborators throughout the history of the jati.

system. The Rajputs are widely dispersed in north and west India while stories of their valor are spread all over the country. There have been several detailed as well as shorter studies regarding the Rajput personality. Such studies deal with Rajput family life, childrearing and socialization practices and their impact on personality. Major studies were done by G. M. Carstairs on the Rajput of Mewar (1950), by L. Minturn and J. T. Hitchcock on the Rajputs of Khalapur (1954), and by G. Steed on the Rajputs of Gujrat (1949-51). Although the researchers differ in the methods of handling the problems, their basic approach is psychological and more specifically psychoanalytical.

Socio-economically, the Rajputs could be divided into several categories but from status and ritualistic point of view the entire Rajput jati falls into one larger group and constitutes what might be called the Rajput culture or the Kshatri culture although such terminologies are not in use in Indian sociology and ethnography. It is worth mentioning here that while certain basic objectives of childrearing patterns across the SES in the West and across the different jati categories in India might be similar, the methodology and approach to the comparative studies of childrearing practices in India and the West are different. It is because functionally SES and jatis are two different bases of categorizing a population. Western studies have shown that with changes in socio-economic factors, childrearing practices change also. Thus the growing economic advance and social change felt by the working class people after the World War II led to the pre World War II middleclass values in several aspects of their behavior including childrearing practices. In India, however, the jati is the most important and a steady variable to consider while investigating any socio-cultural phenomenon which might show limited variation within any one jati but much more so between different jatis. So one might expect some variations regarding childrearing and other practices within the Rajput jati, such as the Rajput described by Gitel and the ones studied by Minturn and Hitchcock. Yet these variations are not significant so the jati units involved do not constitute separate cultural groups as the different jati categories do. The inter-jati behaviors thus become the criteria for distinguishing between two jatis and seeing them as distinct cultural groups. Childrearing practice is one such behavior that distinguishes the jatis.

1.1 General attitude toward the child

The Rajputs are a highly religious people and Hindu dharma dictates their lifestyle although religious practices might vary from individual to individual (Carstairs 105). They believe the infant to be pure and divine with a predetermined destiny (Minturn-Hitchcock: 105). They attribute their children's poor health to many evil spirits and forces. Hence attempts to cure illness involve resorting to corresponding supernatural methods. Rajput parents are highly cautious of the evil eyes that can harm the children especially while they are young. Every care is taken to protect the infants at this age. These precautions even restrict children's movements when they grow up.

1.2 Feeding and nursing

The Rajput have a joint family and the care of children is shared by other members of the family, especially by the grandparents if they are alive. Carstairs (p. 66) found that in families where grandparents provided extra care for the children, the parents were relatively distant in their relationship with the children. But during the infancy mothers play important role in feeding and general care of the children. This is so at least for the first two or three years of age. Carstairs assumed that Rajput mothers play very important role even after this phase and determine children's goals in life. They place a great deal of emphasis on suckling and think that mother's milk is the best food, so feeding and suckling continues until the child is two or three years of age. Postpartum sex taboo is generally observed during this period. Mothers, however, do not follow any regularized schedule and feeding time varies according to the age of the children. Normally, children are nursed when they cry.

Rajput mothers clean their children regularly, very thoroughly, and often with roughness (Minturn-Hitchcock : 100). As with feeding, mothers take primary responsibility for washing and caressing of children. Their weaning is not very systematic. Generally, weaning of children takes place after about two and a half to three years of continuous suckling. Three reasons could

normally be given for abnormal, premature weaning: illness of the mother, pregnancy and failure of milk supply. In normal cases, however, there is no fixed age limit for weaning, and mothers apply mild force, if necessary, to wean the child but most weanings are natural although there is tendency for the children to remain near and even sleep with the mother for several more years after the weaning.

Carstairs found the mother-child relationship very close in the Rajput community and the concept of protective mother deeply rooted in their mental structure. The mother is the symbol of love and care and she is adored by the Rajputs. Children's proximity with the mother does not end with infancy. In fact Rajput children of both sexes continue to sleep with their mothers. For the growing male children, whose contact with the male adults increases with their age, deprivation of mother in their life creates a vacuum. They need renewed maternal affection and emotional attachment. It is in this context that popularity of the cult of mother-goddess which ensures personal happiness and avoidance of social pressure and tension is seen meaningful (Steed : 141, Carstairs : 65, 160).

1.3 Training and control

For their first two years, Rajput children remain passive observers of the adult life in the family and their movements are restricted. During this time, children are also attended by servants and other relatives. After the second year, children begin to gradually receive training in toilet, cleanliness, and in other important habits such as modesty and obedience (Carstairs: 66). There is no fixed rule for bowel and bladder control. Usually, children are allotted a corner on the courtyard where they eliminate and after about five years of age, they follow the adult pattern. The use of water after elimination is emphasized and so is bathing. Strict training is given on the concept of cleaning, the purity of body and food material, and the proper use of the hands and fingers. Teachings in the form of training of the children begin with children's speech age and are not systematic. Minturn and Hitchcock (p. 114) conceive of the preschool age as the transitional phase in the life of the Rajput children. At this stage they move from the stance of passive observers to that of participants in both family and village lives.

As mentioned elsewhere, Rajput fathers are less concerned about the need of their children. This is so when the grandparents are alive in the family and take care of the children. Rajput fathers are described as remote yet stern disciplinary figures in the family. No close relationship of affection between the fathers and the children (especially male children) is developed (Minturn-Carstairs : 76). This pattern changes slightly when fathers begin to be associated with their male children and discipline them as the children grow up and need direction. The same is true with the mothers and the female children. More will be said about it in a later section.

Obedience, modesty, and honesty are prized qualities in the Rajput children. A good child obeys and pays respect to his elders, especially to the elderly males of the family. As training methods are neither systematic nor consistent, the Rajput children are unsure of parental expectations and demands. So children learn through observation, imitation and disciplinary processes. Their contact with their elders increases after the age of four or so. Children are strictly guarded against contact with low jati persons. These low jatis like the Chamars and other untouchables are often described to children as persons associated with feces and thus to remain away from.

Sex does not enter into parent-child conversation. There is no sex training or sex-education per se until the age of five to seven. Children often go about without clothes and do not arouse adult embarrassment or reprimand. It is during their contact with their playmates that they learn "do's" and "don'ts" of sex (Carstairs : 72).

1.4 Training regarding roles and work skills

Although not all childtraining methods among the Rajputs are systematic and consistent, the Rajput pattern of life in general is well organized, stereotyped. One can, then, predict what roles the children can or will play in future. As previously mentioned, there are class differences among the Rajputs as is true of any jati. High class Rajput children have more choices than low or the middle class Rajputs like those of Khalapur. Boys are preferred to girls and it is the boys who get more training to be physically

fit: Fathers even instruct that the boys know their enemies, avoid contact with them and defend themselves if someone attacks them. So the boys have to grow up to be strong, if not aggressive.

The Rajput authority pattern is very strict and children are made to internalize this. Submission to parental authority is essential and demanded of the children. The Rajput law of primogeniture discriminates between sons – the younger sons receive only 1/20 of the parental estate whereas the eldest gets the rest. The father is, however, described as lenient toward the less fortunate sons while there is a tension between him and his eldest son (Carstairs : 114, 348; Steed: 129). Tension exists between the brothers also. Normally, the ideal sib relation is said to be one of mutual respect and obligation on the part of the younger brothers and sons and guidance and support on the part of the father and/or the elder brother. Older Rajput children are found to help their parents by taking care of their younger siblings.

Rajput ethnographies suggest sex discriminations in the training of children. Girls are given less formal education and status-related training and more household chores. Girls not only differ from boys in terms of their dress, ornaments and hairstyle but also in the training of chores. Girls, more than boys, take care of the younger children. Also, girls' movements are more strictly limited and restricted as they grow up whereas grown up boys move freely.

Normally, Rajput children are not aggressive. Also, there is not strict control over aggressive behavior. Aggression is even encouraged if it is to be directed toward an attacker or the low caste people (Minturn-Hitchcock: 133). Aggression within the family, for example among the siblings, is not tolerated and is well controlled. There is no harsh physical punishment for wrong behavior, nor explicit reward or praise for the children's good works. Parental control mechanisms for the school level children include : scolding, ridiculing, imposing temporary isolation, making derogatory remarks, threatening of physical punishment or supernatural fears and withdrawing of love. Parents expect children to be hardworking but excessive parental control leads to lack of selfreliance. Rajput children are described as least nurturant, most dependent

and dominant. The reason for this is that many Rajput children are attended by servants who comply with their demands and needs. But this is not a universal rule. In families where children are given chores from their early age, they develop nurturance, responsibility and reliability.

Carstairs' approach in this study is psychoanalytical. He argues that Rajput personality takes its roots in the first few years of eventful childlife (p. 151). In his field study, Carstairs tested certain psychological theories of personality development "to account for the course of character formation in a nonwestern society..." (p. 171). His research focussed, in part, on "identifying the means whereby group personality characteristics are transmitted". Steed found bravery, allegiance, sacrifice, and power as the theme of the Baghela Rajput personality. The growing individuals always make a balance between the inner nature and external demands (Steed: 104). Minturn and Hitchcock found that Rajput mothers are more involved in childrearing than Rajput fathers especially in the early stage. The children grow up to follow parental traditional profession and demonstrate willingness and concern over assuming adult roles (p. 15). In all the Rajput groups, religion, ethics, morality, Rajput heredity and tradition and the feeling of dominance play important roles in the process of childrearing and training.

2. Childrearing among the Chamars

Compared to the amount of literature written about the Rajputs or several other jatis, the Chamar studies are few and do not cover many aspects of their life. This is so especially in the field of childrearing and socialization. The Chamars whose name literally means people working with cowhides and its process and products are one of lowest jatis referred to as untouchables in jati hierarchical system of the Hindus of India. The orthodox Hindu consider them as impure, so untouchable (Carstairs : 228). Opler and Singh (1953 : 489) consider the Chamar to be most disadvantaged from the point of view of any status criteria. Because of the demand for their unclean and repugnant yet important work, they are spread all over India. Wherever they are their life is one of humiliation and contempt, yet their service as traditional leather workers and land laborers is crucial to many high caste Hindus. As an ethnic community containing certain regularities in the pattern of life of

its members, the Chamar community is significant and ritually it stands in contrast to the twice-born jatis like the Brahmans, the Rajputs and the Vaishyas. Functionally, the Chamars have a relationship of economic dependency with higher jatis, ritually they are highly segregated and differ from the higher jatis in the style of life in general and social, cultural life in particular. It is a society where organized religions and religious ethics play no part in the setting of the goals and direction of life of its members. In terms of Chamar childrearing and socialization, there are no fixed patterns and rules governing these practices. Life activities and goals are directed toward the fulfilment of immediate needs.

George Brigg's detailed account of the Chamars was published in 1920. There have been several other brief studies on them, either separately or in conjunction with other tribes and jatis. Systematic, detailed studies regarding the Chamar childrearing and personality development are, however, lacking. Hence, the present comparative study of the Chamar personality pattern and that of the high caste, the Rajput, must be based on few available works of : G. Briggs, M. Mahar, Wiser and Wiser, among others. Aspects of Chamar childrearing and socialization practices to be compared with those of the Rajputs include the Chamar family life and child training, Chamar self-identity and self-esteem, goals and objectives of childrearing, concept of roles and statuses.

2.1 The family life and Child training

Like the Rajput parents, Chamar parents prefer a male child and barrenness is cursed (Briggs : 60-61). The family plays an important role in brining up the children in the Chamar society. Every care is taken to protect the pregnant mother, the fetus, and the newly born infant through spiritual practice. Most rites directed to these purposes are conducted by the Chamar holyman, the Bhagat. Several spirits, including the Hindu goddesses Sitala and Kali are invoked. Like the Khalapur Rajput, the Chamars attribute children's deaths to supernatural forces.

The social status of the Chamar reflects in their child training pattern. Children are taught to behave in a certain manner. As they grow up, the

children come to understand the typical jati tradition and the position of their status in relation to other jatis around them. Knowing one's jati status and behaving accordingly is one of the first important lessons a Chamar child is given. Family is the sole educator of the Chamar children. Mandelbaum (1970 : 150) mentions that Chamar children also spend their early years with their maternal relations. Unlike the Rajput children (especially male), who by five or six are exposed to outside world through the school and other media, the Chamar children are not exposed to the outside world for a considerable amount of time. As Briggs (p. 241) points out, there is no education among the Chamar, they are doomed to illiteracy. Things have only slightly changed since Briggs wrote. Hence, their knowledge of the world is restricted. Also, the Chamar parents are not trained or educated themselves to impart the children religious and other trainings. Once the youngsters grow up, their status is not formalized because no higher goals and objectives have been prescribed for their future life. Rajput children of both sexes go through initiatory rituals at this age in order to obtain status in the jati category. Here however there is no clear concept nor any standing rule as to when Chamar children attain their jati status since there are no initiatory rites. Some think the status could be obtained after the natal rites whereas others think it is obtained after marriage only.

As previously mentioned, Chamar childrearing and training is solely the family's affair. Unlike the Rajputs whose families are extended having the child as the focus point of all the members of the family, the Chamar family is basically nuclear. Chamar children are not indulged like the Rajput children because beside the family members the latter have servants to comply with their demands and attend to them most of the time. Mahar (1972 : 23) also mentions that family's first important lesson in course of rearing and socialization of the growing Chamar children is the meaning of the inferior status given their jati. There is no systematic teaching for the children's cognitive development. Instead of religion, ethics, morality etc., the Chamar children get acquainted with such supernatural forces as ghosts and spirits. These forces are also used to threaten the children against disobedience or other forms of undesirable behavior.

2.2 Identity and self-esteem

From their early childhood Chamar children realize the lowly and humiliated status given their jati in the society. While Rajput children are taught to defend themselves and to fight back if some one attacks them. Chamar children can only tolerate the hatred and physical abuses rendered them by high caste children. Majumdar (1959 :72 f.) mentions several incidents when Chamar children were physically attacked by high caste children often in the presence of the latter's parents. Such situations do not allow Chamar children to raise their self-esteem. In a study, Prasad (1976 : 296-300) found caste awareness in both rural and urban school age children of all jati groups. Obviously, this awareness comes during the socialization process. Parents of the Rajput and Chamar jatis constantly remind their children of their jati status from an early age; this fact contributes to high and low self-esteem held by the children of the respective jatis. So, although the low jati children are hard-working, their potential is almost always bound to their inferiority complex, a trait they share with their elders in their relationships with the high jati community. Wiser and Wiser (1970 : 141) mention that in the village, a Chamar has no identity- he is "so and so Chamar." He is identified with the menial job that he performs for his patron and master. It is natural therefore that compared to the Rajput, Chamar self-esteem is too low.

One major difference between the childrearing patterns of the high caste people like the Rajputs and the low caste people is that the former's childrearing practices are future and goal-oriented, while those of low caste peoples are not. Several aspects of Rajput childrearing methods are determined by the status of the family and not the age of the children. This is the impact of the traditional cultural heritage which has laid specific rules to be followed at different stages of life. Children are expected to achieve success in each developmental stage. Rajput boys and girls go through age and status specific training to enable them to assume certain prescribed roles such as running the estate, ancestral property or the family. By age five or six, Rajput male children might be further socialized by school. The mental horizon is considerably widened. For the Chamar children education, health and other modern services remain infeasible,

hence unknown. The Chamar parent's limited behavioral repertoire and the highly restricted pattern of relationships with other jatis and in other situations leads to the children's limited knowledge of the world. Children are brought to experience strong ceilings and negative sanctions on their social mobility and are forced to limit their activities and ambitions within their own jati group. Also, Rajput children grow up in the family of many adults with various statuses and roles and adapt to certain role models, but there is no such role-model for the younger Chamar children nor is there any special training to that effect. As the Chamar children grow up, they assume a low self-identity and make their jati the only reference point.

Santokh Anant (1967: 383-394) did a comparative study of childrearing among several jatis in India. He based his study on the earlier works of Carstairs, Mahar, and Steed. Anant hypothesized that childrearing methods differ across the various jatis and have an impact on the future personality of the children. Regarding the lowest jati, he postulates that they are in constant need of material support from the higher castes and thus their strong dependency needs maintain the jati hierarchy. He further states the low jati children to be dependent upon their parents and later this dependency shifts to their patrons, members of the high jatis. Other studies, however, do not mention the dependent characteristics of the low jati children as mentioned by Anant. Chamar children in fact can not be expected to be dependent considering the hard life of their parents and also considering in general the economic values of the children's work in the less fortunate population of India.

J. M. Mahar conducted a research on the changing lifestyle of the untouchables and their interaction with the other jatis in the village of Khalapur, where Minturn and Hitchcock had previously carried out research on Rajput childrearing practices. Mahar found the Chamars of Khalapur traditionally employed by the higher class Hindus, mostly the Rajputs who form the majority of the village population. The Rajput are said to provide the Chamars with the basic needs such as land on rent, loans and living space or the homestead. This relationship of economic domination between the Chamars and the Rajputs is further strengthened by ritual domination. In

Khalapur, the Chamars are kept in distance spatially. Their attitude of inferiority and association with pollution are inculcated in the young Chamar children through experiences (Mahar, 1972 : 23). Although the Khalapur Chamar have not been associated with traditionally assigned leather working for a century, their low status has not changed. In other words, caste identity has remained tied to the traditional jati craft even when such crafts or occupations are no longer associated with the jati, nor are transmitted to the new generation. In his second investigation, a decade later in 1968-69, Mahar saw few social changes emerging in the pattern of inter jati relationships in Khalapur. Mahar also discovered new child socialization agents such as schools and mass media at work in some Chamar families of Khalapur.

3. Suggestions

The paper did not attempt to answer all the questions regarding the existing differences in childrearing and socialization practices between the Rajput and the Chamar jatis. The idea here is to point out these sources and to put forward certain suggestions. It is my understanding that the empirical evidences are not quite sufficient to elucidate in detail the distinct nature of childrearing patterns across the two jatis.

Whereas several studies mentioned in this paper suggest stereotyped jati characteristics prevalent among the Rajput and the Chamar, some other works note the impact of socio-economic and political changes in the traditional lifestyle of the people in general. Cohn (1955 : 53-77; 1959 : 207-215), for example, mentions the growing concern of the Chamar to link themselves to the Great Hindu Traditions through several cults and observances of Hindu rituals, symbols, and manners. Education and other facilities are becoming available to them. Future anthropological studies then should address questions such as how the lowest jatis like the Chamar, after centuries of suppression and neglect, are developing positive attitude and other personality characteristics required for the effective use of these modern facilities.

Also, a suggestion can be made regarding research methodology. Western sociology and psychology are flooded with literature regarding social class differences in childrearing practices. Studies on any aspect of Indian jatis

should not be carried away by the notions of socio-economic class differences of the West. The jati system is not just another form of social-economic class distinction. Its features and attributes have made it distinct from any other classification of human societies and it requires special research methodology. Within comparative studies of childrearing and socialization among different jatis special focus should be given to the problem of how the varying experiences and backgrounds of the parents continue to influence the children over generations and how children of one jati explore the world with their full potential whereas others grow up surrounded with restrictions. A picture containing both the sides will demonstrate a phenomenon sociologists often call "cultural deprivation". This term suggests that the lower class culture is dissonant with the mainstream culture of the larger society (Keddoe, 1973 quoted by White, 1977:73).

Third, for any empirical research to be carried out in India study of regional ethnic features becomes crucial. A valid cross-jati studies in childrearing practices can be supplemented by regional comparison. In other words, selection of as many variables as possible is essential. Particularly with childrearing studies, a prolonged observation of parental behavior is needed to collect accurate information. In many cases, the parents have no explanation of their behavior. So for more credible evidence, detailed observation should be complemented by empirical research. General literature on intercaste relationships and several other aspects of the Hindu hierarchical system is extensive. Within the recent past, more research literature on different aspects of family, childrearing and socialization patterns in jati communities has been published. These works can only help to establish general patterns of relationships and interaction between the jatis. What is needed here is intensive, explorative research as well as longitudinal studies across and within the jatis to achieve better patterning and more representative and comparative studies of childrearing variances among and between the culturally distinct jatis of India.

3. Conclusion

Through the ages the compartmentalization of jati status and the

growing religious sanctions have created the Indian jatis as distinct socio-cultural groups. Social status, economic and political power are almost always tied together and a long history of this situation has given the jati system a look of the order of nature. As Briggs noted concerning the fate of the Chamars, "In a real sense the Chamars are the product of the social and religious teachings of their own land. According to the doctrine of Karma a man is what he is because of what has happened, and he finds himself just where in the very nature of things he belongs" (.p. 240) It is not unnatural, therefore, that a Chamar can only reconcile with his Karma for his lot.

Today, growing industrialization and subsequent socio-economic changes have, however, begun to affect the childrearing patterns in the lower jatis including the long repressed Chamars. In the past, they always lived in the outskirts of the Hindus (Briggs: 47). Through the new Sanskritization movement, however, few Chamars have made efforts to raise their ritualistic status and to expand their entrepreneurial behavior considerably. Does this mean that the cultural gap which exists between the high and the low jatis, in this context the Rajputs and untouchable Chamars, is narrowing? This enquiry should be pursued along with the query posed at the beginning of this paper, i. e. the existence of cultural differences in childrearing practices across different jatis.

Finally, the paper has attempted to outline the theoretical aspect of differences in childrearing practices across different socio-economic groups and cultures. In the second part of the paper, childrearing differences among the Rajputs and Chamars of India have been discussed. Because of the lack of detailed ethnographic evidences, not all variable regarding childrearing and training behaviors could be equally compared. Yet several of these behaviors that are distinct from each other and are result of culturally distinct patterns of life have been explained. Rajput children receive more rigorous training and lessons regarding cleanliness, purity-pollution, ethics and morality. Organized Hindu religious tenets guide their over all lifestyle. Rajput childrearing and training is goal-oriented and status and role are major concerns. Chamar adults' major concern is to meet the immediate needs and no concept of status or role shapes their personality. Chamar religion is

basically animistic. The socio-ritually low status of the Chamars is reflected in their childrearing practices in several ways including the low self-esteem of their children. Finally in higher jati like Rajputs family is now receiving more external inputs regarding childrearing methods; whereas, Chamars are only beginning to feel the impact of growing socio-economic changes and the cultural differences that lead to the differential patterns in childrearing practices.

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Ancient Inhabitants of Kathmandu Valley

Dr. Dinesh C. Regmi

Long before the history began the region surrounding the valley of Kathmandu was inhabited by people of different ethnic groups, languages and culture.¹ On the basis of the presence of the Austric characteristics in some of the Tibeto-Burman dialects still spoken in the Himalayan regions attempts have been made to show the presence of people speaking the Austric language during the prehistoric time in Nepal.² In addition, the Dravidians, the Mongoloids and Indo-Aryans are believed to have been living in the hilly region of Nepal since the dawn of the historical period.³

According to the vamsavalis or chronicles the first inhabitants of Kathmandu Valley were the Gopals or cowherds. They were followed by the Mahisapalas or the Buffalo breeders. The Gopals and Mahisapalas are together known, sometimes, as Abhiras. The Brahmanical version of the vamsavalis associates Gopals with Krishna and the Nepali legendary sage called Ne or Nemi.⁴ Some early scholars identify the Abhiras with the descendants of the imperial Guptas of India.⁵ Although the Abhiras have Sanskrit names they seem to be "non-Hindus, unknown beings without personality", according to a noted historian.⁷ This probably indicates that the early settlers of the valley were not the Indo-Aryans.⁸

The Abhiras are said to have been succeeded by the Kiratas. The Kiratas were known to the Aryan of the later Vedic period as cave dwellers.⁹ In the epics the Kiratas are mentioned along with the Chinas. they are described as yellow in complexion. Their country is said to have been situated to the east of the country of the Videhas in the Himalayas.¹⁰ The Kiratas are generally identified as Mongoloids speaking dialects of the Tibeto-Burman.

language family.¹¹ The present inhabitants of the regions around the Koshi river in the eastern Nepal midlands, known collectively as Kirantis, claim themselves to be the descendants of the ancient Kiratas. According to their traditions they migrated from China through Tibet and they once expanded their kingdom towards Mithila. Almost all Mongoloid tribes of present Nepal have traditionally been included among the Kirantis.¹²

A fairly good number of early historical inscriptions written in Sanskrit mention names of different places and administrative offices in a non-Sanskrit language, presumably belonging to the Tibeto-Burman language family¹³. These words and those derived therefrom are believed to have still been prevailing in modern Newari¹⁴.

The Kirantis of eastern Nepal still practise their own religious traditions with the supreme god called Nigwaphuma and a scripture, Mundhum, irrespective of the fact that they have been adopting certain elements of Hinduism and Buddhism. Like the Kirantis, other Mongoloid tribes of Nepal too, who are generally called Hindus or Buddhists have been worshipping certain deities, performing special rites and rituals and observing different festivals unknown to the Hindu and Buddhist world¹⁵.

The Kiratas are also associated with the cult of Siva according to the Kiranti tradition¹⁶. The very origin of Siva has been attributed to a people, non-Aryan by race, living in forests infested with serpents and spirits¹⁷. Siva was worshipped originally by the Kiratas of the Himalayan regions, according to a view¹⁸. Siva is believed to have been accepted as and identified with the Vedic god, Rudra, later by the Aryans¹⁹. The inadequate evidence we possess does not permit us to state decisively whether it was primitive Siva who was popular among the ancient Kiratas of Nepal. Nor do we know for certain whether other aspects of the cult such as the worship of *linga* or the phallus too was incorporated in the faith of the early Nepalis. What we know evidently is that the *linga* cult was more popular than the anthropomorphic form of Siva in the early historical period and that it was then totally Aryanized in nature²⁰.

On the basis of the physical appearance and languages of different

tribes and communities at present, a good number of Nepali people seem to have been well assimilated with each other, particularly in those regions which are easily accessible, fertile and economically prosperous, including Kathmandu Valley. In inaccessible regions, however, the people seem to have preferred to maintain their original racial characteristics of primitive culture, religion and languages to a considerable extent²¹.

The situation was perhaps different in the southern parts of modern Nepal where Hinduism and Buddhism might have been introduced earlier owing to their geo-political situation. The people of southern parts of Lumbini zone, where lies the identified capital city of the Sakyas, witnessed the erection of the commemorative pillars in Lumbini and nearby regions by Emperor Asoka to mark the birth places of three Buddhas including Lord Buddha. But how far Buddhism could expand its influence toward the Nepal midlands in the pre-Christian era remains a question still unanswered. The Vamsavalis however record the story of the visits of the Buddha and Asoka, the zealous Buddhist king, to the valley of Kathmandu²².

The documented history of the territory comprising the considerably expanded regions including Kathmandu Valley began in 464 A. D. with the discovery of Changu pillar of Mandera I the famous Lichchhavi ruler²³. The Lichchhavis ushered in a new culture and religions which were prevalent in India during the fourth and early fifth centuries A. D. Thus a new culture characterized by the institute of Hindu monarchy, and the four-fold Brahmanical religio-cultural system of Varnas and Asramas²⁴ were introduced to Nepal, a country whose people most probably spoke dialects of Tibeto-Burman family of language and believed in a tribal system of government.²⁵

The four-fold division of the society consisting of Brahmans, Katriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras, made on the basis of dharma or personal occupation, guna or virtues and karma or personal deeds, and the division of the human life into four stages or Asramas viz. Brahmacharya, Garhasthya, Vanaprastha and Sannyasa, each consisting of 25 years, are believed to have been developed during the later Vedic period. The fact that the Brahmanas and Ksatriyas usually play the most important political and economical role in such a Hindu society is well known to the readers of the socio-political history of India. The

Sudras naturally were deprived of various religious and social rites and rituals including the eligibility for the four stages of life of Asramas. The Varna system, which appears to have been more flexible in early periods became more rigid and gradually gave birth to the jati or the caste system by the early Christian centuries²⁶. Since most of the aspects of Hinduism of early Nepal appear almost similar to what were developed in India by the early fifth century, one should not be surprised if the Varna system had already developed into the caste system before it was introduced to the Nepal midlands²⁷. The Asrama system in Nepal, as in India, does not appear to be popular as the Varna system.

It would be interesting to note here that the Brahmanical religion, culture and the Sanskrit language do not appear to have been popular among the Lichchhavis of Vaisali, India, as they preferred Jainism and Buddhism the Pali language and followed an oligarchic or republic system of government²⁸. The Sanskrit language and the Brahmanical religion especially Bhagavatism or Vaisnavism were first adopted by the imperial Guptas in India, who happened to be the relatives of the Lichchhavis²⁹. The Sanskrit language and Brahmanical religion, in fact, appear to have been regarded as mainstays of Hindu monarchy. The Lichchhavis too adopted them after they founded monarchy in Nepal. By doing so they probably tried to distinguish themselves from the indigenous people and show the contemporary Indian rulers that theirs was an independent kingdom and that could stand on equal footing with any other Indian state.

In addition to the Lichchhavis,³⁰ such Ksatriyas or degraded (Vratya) Ksatriyas as Vrijjikas, Sakyas, Mallas and Koliyas were also settling around the valley of Kathmandu in the early historical period. The Lichchhavis, however regard themselves as pure Ksatriyas of Solar line in their inscriptions. The early inscriptions show the presence of the Brahmanas, Vaisyas or the traders, including their leaders known as Sarthavahas, Abhiras³¹ and the Sudras including Chandalas in Kathmandu Valley and its periphery. The socio-economically weak sections of the society mostly among the indigenous inhabitants might have easily been styled as Sudras³².

In spite of being the followers of the Brahmanical religion, the early

rulers contributed considerably to the construction and maintenance of the Buddhist concerns including shrines, monasteries and icons. They also donated, rather liberally, for the maintenance of the order of monks and nuns, the Bhiksu-sangha and Bhiksuni-sangha³³. This fact is generally interpreted as a laudable example of the liberality of the early kings in religious matters. As the number of the Buddhists living in that period was not insignificant the adoption of such an apparently liberal policy by the rulers can also be interpreted as a move geared to their political needs. Examples of such nature can be found in the ancient history of India. It would not be unnatural if the Buddhists around the valley received secondary importance and if they being the non-believers in the systems of Varnas and Asramas got a social status inferior to the Hindus of upper Varnas to which the royalty belonged.

The people of the regions in question adopted the new culture and religion and managed to learn Sanskrit themselves. We do not possess any evidence to suggest the existence of education facility for the lower class people³⁴. Nevertheless it was because of the talent, rich aesthetic quality and skills of the Nepali artists that they learnt in a comparatively shorter period every detail of iconography related to the new religions, Hinduism and Buddhism. They soon commanded mastery in the fields of art and architecture and in course of time, their style proved to be more and more original and novel in character and depiction. It was, in fact, a peculiar characteristic of the Nepali culture that it accepted not only the aspects mentioned above but also the historical tribes including the Lichchavis who suffered a down-fall around the 8th century A. D. never to appear again as a distinct group of people.

Foot-notes

1. Toni Hagen, *Nepal: the Kingdom of the Himalayas* (New Delhi, 1969), p. 75. He prefers to call Nepal as the "ethnic turntable of Asia".
2. S. K Chatterjee, "Kiaratajanakrti the Indo-Mongoloids, their contribution to the History and culture of India", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (JASB)*, vol. 16,2 (1950), pp 169-170, 183.

3. Hagen, *op. cit.* fn 1, p. 75. Hagen believes that in addition to Dravidians and others, the Negroids too "came into conflict with the Mongoloids..."; D. R. Regmi, *Ancient Nepal* (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyaya, 1960), pp 17, 20.
4. The oldest of the known Vamsavalis dates back to the fourteenth century A. D. Various later Vamsavalis appear to have been continued to be compiled till the present century. The Vamsavalis commonly begin with the origin of the valley. Like the geologists they tell that the valley was formerly a lake. See for the geology of the region, *ibid.* P. 69. But the Vamsavalis are rather prejudiced especially in matters of religious legends. The Buddhist version of the vamsavalis give the credit to Manjusri for clearing the waters off the valley and founding settlements therein. Manjusri is often described as a deified historical person who is said to have come from Mahachina, and made a Chinese king, Dharmakara, the king of Nepal. The *Svayambhu purana* also tells a similar story see B. Bhattacharaya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography* (Calcutta; Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyaya, pp. 101-2).
5. The Brahmanical version of the Vamsavalis, however, continues the story with the arrival of an Asura or a demon who used the lake as personal swimming pool. Then came Krishna accompanied by his son, killed the demon, drained the waters off the valley, founded settlements and finally gave the charge of the country to the sage called Ne. The country is said to have received its name from Ne. He made a cowherd, Gopal, the ruler. Mahisapalas are said to be the successors of the Gopals.
6. F. Fleet, ed., *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III, Appendix Iv; K. P. Jayaswal, *Chronology and History of Nepal* (Patna, 1937).
The powerful family of the Lichchhavi period are generally styled as Abhira-guptas. See D. Bajracharya, *Lichchhavi Kalaka Abhilekh* (Kathmandu: T U, 2030), p. 173. If Abhiras of the Vamsavalis and the Abhira-guptas of the historical period are identical, one is led to doubt the validity of the order of dynasties mentioned in the Vamsavalis. The reason why the Vamsavalis place the Abhiras in the prehistorical period is unknown.
7. Sylvain Levi, *Le Nepal*, Vol. I (Paris, 1905), p. 158.
8. In one of the articles of the present writer, "Religion and Culture of the early people of Nepal", *Journal of the Mahendra Campus, Dang*, Vol. 2,

No. 1 (1980), he appears rather prejudiced as he writes:

Whoever the Gopals or Abhiras might have been, their affinity with the cult of Krishna, the great Puranic hero, hinted in the legendary accounts, seems nothing but a prejudiced attempt made by the chroniclers to show that the first inhabitants of Kathmandu were the Indo-Aryans.

9. The Vajasaneyi Samhita of the Sukla Yajurveda 30. 16, (Bombay, 1929), p. 522.

The literal meaning of the word Kirata in Sanskrit is rather vague. It means a tribe or tribes travelling around the forests.

10. The Atharva Veda, 10, 4. 14; the Taittiriya Brahmana, 3, 4. 12 and different contexts of the Ramayana and Mahabharata, as referred to by S. Levi, *op. cit.* fn 7, Vol. II (Paris, 1908), pp. 75 ff.
11. Chatterjee, *op. cit.* fn 2; R. Sankrityayan, *Puratattva Nibandhavali*, Allahabad, 1958) p. 72; Iman Singh Chemjong, ed., *Limbu Nepali Angreji-Shabdakosh* (Kathmandu; R. N. Academy, 1961), pp. 1-2.
12. According to the Kiranti scripture, a Kiranti king, Munapheng Hang came to Tibet from the Suchuwang (sic.) region of China before he arrived in Nepal. Chemjong, *ibid.* pp. 1-2, 10, 12 and the same author *Kirat Mundhum (Kirantko ved)* (Kathmandu, 1961), pp. 87-88.
13. Vajracharya, *op. cit.* fn 66, various pages of Baburam Acharya, "Kirat Nam", *Nepali (Quarterly)*, No. 16. (2020), p. 6.
14. Bajracharya, *ibid.* pp. 19, 139-31, 184, 251, 263-69, 323, 338, 41P and 457.

If so, one is led to believe that the Newars, who have been preserving the linguistic tradition of the prehistoric period, must have been one of the ancient communities of Kathmandu Valley.

15. B. H. Hodgson, *Essays on the Language, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet* (1877) (reprint Varanasi, 1971), pt. II, p. 31 & n. He suggests that some Mongoloid tribes in Nepal practise the Bon-po and shamanism. Also cf. Hagen, *op. cit.* fn 1. p 78.
16. Chemjong, *op. cit.* fn 11, p. 9; V. C. Regmi, *Nepalko Dharmik Itihas* (Kathmandu: R. N. Academy, 2030), pp. 2-3.
17. R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaisnava, Saiva aur Anya Dharmik Mat* (1913) Hindi tr. Varanasi, 1967 pp. 131-32.

18. Yaduvamshi, Saivamat, pp. 15-16, as referred to by J. C Regmi, *op. cit* fn. 16, pp. 2-3.
19. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.* fn 17.
20. The lingas of the early historical period including the inscribed ones appear to have been constructed following the Hindu iconographic discipline.
21. Dinesh C. Regmi "Archaeology of Kathmandu Valley" (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Allahabad, 1981), p. 44.
22. D. R. Regmi *op. cit.* fn 3, p. 205), does not find any ground to back the legend.
23. The Changu Narayan pillar inscription of Manadeva appears so far the first inscription from the valley. Bajracharya, *op. cit.* fn 6, pp 10-13. Later inscriptions describe them as Lichchhavis and Ksatriyas of the solar line. Their original place is believed to have been Vaisali in northern India.
24. *infra.* The Lichchhavi rulers declared themselves as the patrons of the systems. They bear such titles as **Samyak-virachita-sakala-varnas rama-vyavasthah.** They founded an office **Bhattadhikarana** in order to promote the system of the Bajracharya, *ibid* pp.429: 519, 530: Varhas.
25. cf. D. R. Regmi, *op. cit.* fn 3, p. 14, who observes:
The state of Nepal was originally a tribal republic possibly ruled by tribal heads with the help of customary laws.
26. For a detailed study on the systems of Varnas and Asramas see, P. H. Prabhu, **Hindu Social organization** (Bombay; Popular Prakshan, 1981), pp. 75 ff, 284-335.
27. Dinesh C. Regmi, "Nepalma Varna- vyavastha ra Jat", **Gorkhapatra**, Paush 3, 2039.
28. For a detailed study of the Lichchhavis of Vaisali see, Y. Mishra, **An Early History of Vaisali** (Delhi, 1962); H. N. Jha, **The Lichchhavis of Vaisali,** Varanasi, 1970) and U. Thakur, **History of Mithila** (Darbhanga, 1856.
29. It was, however, king Rudradaman of Junagarh, western India, who issued inscriptions in Sanskrit for the first time in the later half of the second century A. D.

Chandra Gupta I is said to have married a Lichchhavi princess, Kumaradevi, and commemorated his marriage by minting coins with a legend Lichchhavavyah.

30. Chatterjee (*op. cit.* fn 2), however, suggests that the Lichchhavis and some others were probably Mongoloids. *Manusmriti* declares them as *vratyas* or degraded *Ksatriyas*. But they are described as *Khattiya* in Buddhist Pali literature. See B. C. Law, *Some Ksatriya Tribes of Ancient India* (Calcutta, 1924), pp. 26 ff; Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha II*, (London, 1911), p. 187; Bajracharya, *op. cit.* pp. 172-73.
31. According to *Manusmriti*, (X, 15), an Abhira is a mixed caste as the son of a Brahmana and an Ambastha (Sudra) woman. But the Abhira-Gupta of the early historical period style themselves as *Ksatriyas* of the Lunar line. See Bajracharya, *op. cit.*, pp. 425, 436.
32. D. Regmi, *op. cit.* fn 27.
33. Bajracharya, *op. cit.* pp. 75, 220, 382, 496-97, 499, 507, 540, 567.
Some of the Viharas are named after the kings names, such as Sri-Mān-avihar, Sivadeva-Vihara, etc.
34. It is suggested that training in different occupational fields, however, was imparted to people through different institutions known as *Gosthis*. But no public school is known to have existed from available documents of the ancient historical period.

Diffusion or Parallelism ? A thought on Cultural Similarities

Mukunda R. Aryal

Since the last few decades, prominent anthropologists have been of different opinions regarding the similarities between two cultures of "opposite poles". Some regard the similarities as consequences of diffusion i. e. first invented by a particular society and then spread to the other. Others believe this to be a parallel evolution. Anthropologists specialized in prehistory are not able to ascertain whether lamp was first invented in Europe or, Asia or Africa. A group of scholars hold that everything from pin to pen and from alphabets to athletics was invented in Greece and then spread over to other countries, while the other group maintains that other cultures already had those things before the Greeks. Many also believe that Egypt was the world's center of civilization. Therefore a debate on invention and diffusion, as it seems today, would continue for many more decades to come.

Any hypothesis supported by scientific research and not influenced by any preconceived notions would certainly enhance knowledge to understand the human being and its culture in a better and broader perspective. We do not intend to argue for or against the above two theories, but will only limit ourselves to the study of similarities of culture and cultural traits between the two great ancient civilizations— the Greek and the Indian.

In spite of the apparent polytheism in their mythologies, there is an astonishing similarity in respect of certain deities in both the cultures. Besides the two the other ancient cultures like Babylonian, Assyrian, Egyptian and Roman also had a belief in polytheism.

What a modern man may regard as a foolish practice of worshipping many gods and goddesses, this may not have been so from the view

point of those people of the past. Naturally, in polytheism such gods and goddesses are regarded as possessors of different powers and different characters. Some of them may be taken as more powerful and benevolent than others. For example, the Greek Zeus, Roman Jupiter and Indian Brahma have the same functions and characters. The Greeks, the Romans and the Indians felt that mighty god, the lord of all Creation must be a possessor of every great and good quality, and hence he must be worshipped. As a consequence of the highest respect bestowed upon his qualities and virtues, he came to be regarded as the only head of all deities.

Minerva, the goddess of wisdom known as Athene by the Greeks is counterpart of Hindu Saraswati. The latter seems to embody all of Minerva's attributes, is seen with a weapon (Vritaghnee) or without it and is also the personification of all nine Muses (the Gopya Viddhyas). Saraswati also has all the characters of the Greek Apollo, she is the goddess of music and fine art. Mars, the young, strong and mighty god is always a winner in the battle and is known as Ares by the Greeks. He is like Skanda or Kumara of Hindu mythology. Rati, known either by the name of Aphrodite or Venus in the West is the goddess of beauty. Mercury or Hermes or Narada have the same character, so is Cupid or Eros or Kamadeva the god of love who carries a golden quiver with five arrows of love (made of flower) and a bow, ever ready to shoot forth his arrows of love into the hearts of gods and mortals alike. It is commonly held that "Cupid's dart" or 'Kamavana' can not be conquered. Cupid is blind in the sense that he himself does not know who is going to be his next victim. For this reason, in Western art he is sculptured with a bandage in his eyes.

The marvels of the world of nature are treated and worshipped as deities. The planet sun as Apollo, or Phoebus or Surya Narayana; the moon as Luna or Chandrama; fire as Vulcan or Agni; the grains as Shree or Ceres. Jupiter the king of Heaven ruled from Mount Olympus, a range of high mountains on the boundary of Macedonia and Thessaly alongwith his queen Juno and a court of other gods and goddesses. Similarly, the Indian epic shows the mountain range between the boundary of Bharatvarsha and Kimpuravarsha (India and China) where Indra rules alongwith his queen Indrani surrounded by other gods and goddesses.

The seas were ruled by Neptune or Varuna, the king of ocean; and the underworld or land of Shades, where the ancients believed that the spirits of men and women dwell after death was ruled by the dreaded god Pluto or Yama, the king of darkness and Death. Similar to the Swarga in the Hindu concept the land of Shades also has a separate way to Elysian field.

All these ruling gods of both the cultures were and are attended by lesser gods; and they also spend much of their time in visiting the earth and used mortals, giants, dwarfs and even wild beasts in order to carry out their plans. Gifted with all magical powers they could take the form of any creature they liked.

Both the cultures have various forms of Nymphs, very fair to look at and occasionally married to mortals and some of them to gods. Hindu mythology is full of the stories of our Apsaras and their enchanting appearance. Besides the nymphs some strange, Satyre like Viradha, Kumbhakarna also find their places in both the cultures. Not only do we find the similarities in gods and goddesses, but also in their iconographic features. The Zeus has long beard like Hindu Brahma and Jupiter is as ornamented and majestic looking as Indra. Goddess Ceres holds on her hand a corn as Shree, the Dhanya Laxmi has an ear of wheat. The Hindu iconography requires an image of Balarama to have intoxicated eyes; Bacchus, the Western counterpart of Balarama, is regarded as the inventor of the use of wine. Many Vedic and Pauranic deities of India are also found in Western civilisation like: -

Usha	as	Aurora
Swaha	-	Vesta
Prithivi	-	Cybele
Vayu	-	Aeolus
Aswini Kumar	-	Castor and Pollux
River Vaitarani	-	River styx
Ganesha	-	Janus
Kubera	-	Plutus
Pavana	-	Pan
Vishwakarma	-	Vulcan

Ram	-	Bacchus
Balarama	-	Bacchus, as the inventor of the use of wine
Durga	-	Juno

The sculptures of the above deities both in the East and the West show an air of majesty on them.

Besides the above similarities between goddesses and their iconography, their ways to reward the good and punish the evil are exactly the same. Apart from the gods and goddesses, the mortal heroes also have the same moral values, be it Bhimasena or Hercules, Duryodhana or Paris. The two great epic battles fought between Rama and Ravana, and Kauravas and Pandavas were caused by two women Sita and Draupadi. Similarly the famous war, the siege of Troy was also due to a woman - Helen. If Mahabharata describes in detail the battle between Kauravas and Pandavas, Illiad does the same about the siege of Troy. If Jaiminibharata narrates the activities of Bhima and Arjuna after the war the Odyssey describes the wandering of Ulysses after the fall of Troy.

Not only are there similarities in culture, gods and goddesses, iconographic features, heroes and Epics but several legends are also of same nature. The story of king Oedipus and Virupaksha represent the same theme and nature. In both the stories the hero unknowingly kills his father and marries the mother. Both discover the fact afterwards and face similar fate later. It is strange to note that the story of king Oedipus written in Greece in pre-Christian era has the same theme in the contemporary story of Virupaksha in the far distant land of Nepal. Moreover, in both the cultures the sad future of the heroes was foretold by the astrologers.

The religious scriptures of the world, the Bible, the Kuran and the Puranas mention the Ark of Noah. The old and the new Testaments prescribe ten commandments and an equal number of attributes are recommended by the Hindus as the characteristics of Dharma, religion. And besides this there does not seem to be any difference between the Bhaktiyoga of Geeta and the New Testament. Both Krishna and Jesus ask their disciples and followers to surrender to their Master with full faith in order to gain heavenly abode or

salvation after death. In ancient days, many rituals and practices in the West were the same, even though some have changed now because of the passage of time. In Europe and western world the bridal dress is white. In ancient India upto the Gupta period the bridal dress was also white. But now white is considered as a sign of mourning and the brides wear coloured clothes usually red both in India and Nepal.

Like the bridal dress, the age of a girl has also changed. The Vedic literature shows that grown up girls used to choose their spouse by themselves but gradually the marriage age was lowered to the age of even six. Some superstitions and historical incidents might have been responsible for these unfortunate changes.

There are people who find similarity between Darwin's theory of evolution and the incarnations of Vishnu beginning with that of the Fish and ending with the emergence of "Full Man". This is very similar to the biological evolution of Man.

Furthermore, similarities can also be found in the languages of the two cultures—Latin and Sanskrit.

It is a well known fact that the Hindu civilization gained momentum after the Aryans settled in the Indus plain. The Aryans are supposed to have imigrated from Central Asia and brought with them the cultural heritage they were practising.

The old cultural traditions of the Aryans must have had at least some effect on the evolution of the new culture that developed later. Looking from this aspect, could not invention and diffusion of culture have taken place both ways? In other words was not there both way exchange of cultural traits?

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Bisket Jatra

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Festivals are deeply rooted in the Nepalese society. Most of these festivals are religious and related with the processions of gods and goddesses venerated in the country. These festivals and Jatras are celebrated by the people with elaborate rituals and feasts. In certain Jatras and festivals, different kinds of music are also played. In other words festivals are important aspects of Nepalese culture.

The Nepalese people observe the largest number of festivals and it is the frequency of their festivals that has given rise to the saying that they celebrate hundreds of festivals and religious fairs or melas throughout the year. Practically every festival has its ceremonies. Kirkpatrick, one of the earliest European historians of Nepal, has remarked in his description of the valley that there are nearly as many idols as inhabitants, there not being a fountain, a river or a hill within its limits that is not consecrated to one or other of the Hindu or Buddhist deities. And just as almost every situation sanctified by its altar or shrine, so almost every day the year is marked by its religious ceremony or festival. Tibor Sekelj writes, "The Nepalese festival calendar has more days in it than the year itself, which is probably true, for often Hindu and Buddhist festivals or even two of each coincide and every day some kind of festival takes place, either in the intimacy of the home or in the sound of noisy drums".¹

For the Nepalese, the continuous flow of interrelated festivals throughout the year is literally a way of life reflecting their joys, fears, dreams and sorrows. Some western writers remark that the Nepalese people know how to

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live pleasantly in this world and their way of life is outstanding. Really not a week passes without some festivals taking place in some part or the whole of kingdom whether of local or national character. Most of them are associated with one or the other of the divinities, held sacred either in the Hindu or Buddhist theology. So the festivals in Nepal are reckoned not only as occasions to indulge in eating, and drinking and merry making but also as occasions when one is to devote some part of one's time to the worship of and meditation upon gods and goddesses in different forms and manifestations of one Supreme Being. Though almost all the festivals of Nepal are religious in character and have religious bearing they preserve in themselves a very fascinating picture of the great historical, cultural, social as well as the economic account of Nepal and the Nepalese people. Even in this modern period, the Nepalese people have been observing all the important festivals throughout the length and breadth of the country with great enthusiasm. That Nepal is rich in its cultural heritage is also shown by several festivals which the Nepalese still observe in their traditional ways.

The purpose of this article is to appraise the readers of one festival which still plays dominating role on the socio-cultural life of the Nepalese people. In the humble opinion of the writer our festivals have collectively and individually contributed much to shaping the thinking, behaviour and outlook of the whole strata and, therefore significant. Hence the attempt to narrate nature and bearings of one such festival.

The Bisket Jatra is a local festival of Bhaktapur. It represents the spirit of Nepalese religion and is related with the god Bhairava, who is regarded as the dreadful manifestation of Lord Shiva. This festival which reminds us of the European Maypole festival of the early times, commences on the last day of Chaitra (March-April) and lasts for four days. The scriptural term used for designating the festival is **Viswa Dwajotathanam** and its commencement coincides with the New Year's day of the Vikram Era. It is the main festival of Bhaktapur and can be compared with the Kumari-jrata of Kathmandu and Machhendranath Jatra of Patan.

It is believed that the Bhadgaon festival is called Bisket in reference

to the Newari words 'bi' for 'Snakes' and Syake for 'slaughter' forming the term which eventually became bisket, a celebration to commemorate the death of two serpent demons.²

On the origin of the Bisket Jatra, fabulous and mythical but interesting stories and legends are narrated but we cannot say which stories carry the truth.

According to one legend the flag pole erected during the festival was meant to display the dead serpents killed by a traveller who had found a poisonous reptile crawling from his bride's nostril to take his life. The story says that no king was destined to rule Bhaktapur for more than a day. As soon as the princess was asleep in the royal apartment the travelling prince kept hiding himself in the room with sword in his hand. At last he saw two dark threads coming out of the princess's nostrils. The threads rapidly expanded into monstrous serpents and tried to bite the new ruler. But this night when they attacked the king he killed them with his sword. Next day the pallbearers and mourners came to carry away the corpse as usual and were greatly surprised to find the ruler with the princess. And this day was celebrated to show the valour of the prince by hanging these two serpents in the huge pole. Many men, women and even the gods came to watch it. One of the famous tantric named Muni Acharya wanted to see as to who else had come to see the exhibition besides human beings. Through the skill of his tantric power he saw Lord Viswanatha from Kasi in extraordinary tall human form. Muni Acharya, by virtue of his tantric power tried to capture him when Visvanatha ran away. When he was about to capture Visvanatha, the latter assumed the form of Bhairab, the powerful and destructive force of Shiva. He attempted to escape by sinking into earth and return to Kasi by the underground route. But just as he was about to disappear, Muni Acharya cut his head off. That is why the people of Bhadgaon say the head of Kala Bhairav in Benares (Kasi) is not the original one. The head is now known as Akasa Bhairab enshrined in the famous temple facing the Taumadhi courtyard from east. The severed head of Bhairav from Benares is kept hidden in the temple, seen and worshipped only by the Tantric priests. But each year, during Bisket festival, mysterious, locked box is brought out to ride in the chariot beside the shining mask of Bhairav. The festival today is

also called as Biswalhowa Yatra i. e. the festival of the face of Biswanath of Kashi.

Later on king Ananda Dev built a temple for Bhairav. In 1634 A. D. Jagat Jyoti Malla built a chariot for Bhairav and Kali to make a round of the town in their respective chariots. Later on when the old temple was dilapidated, king Bhupatindra Malla reconstructed it. King Ranjit Malla kept the golden roof on the western side of the temple. According to Punya Ratna Bajracharya the original name of the Bisket Yatra is the Biswakha-khwala Jatra or the festival of the face of Biswanath of Kashi. According to him this Jatra was prevalent since 39592 yrs.³

Once it so happened that Bhairab of Bhadgaon became angry and created disaster when he was neglected by the people. On the advice of the ministers and court-pandits king Bhuptindra enshrined an idol of one of the Shakti (Mother Goddesses) near his temple. Her towering temple with five tiered roofs is called Nyatapola, where tantric goddess is placed. She can be worshipped only in the dark of night and only by those of the higher priestly castes.

There is yet another version in regard to the origin of this Bisket Jatra. According to this version long ago when Bhadgaon was ruled by a Lichhavi king named Shiva Dev, Kirati king invaded him. When Shiva Dev saw a huge army of the Kirati king he became nervous and sought refuge at Bajrajogini for advice. Bajrajogini advised him not to worry about that and asked to seek the help of his preceptor Shekhar Acharya who knew the art of transformation through his tantric spells. Shekhar Acharya promised to help the king. He assumed the form of a tiger and drove away the Kirati king and his army and saved the ruler from the invasion of Kiratias. One day Shekhar's wife Nararupa obstinantly asked him to change himself to a python. First he denied but later agreed and assumed form of a python. He however taught her how to change him to man later. But when she saw the fearful form of python, she became terrified beyond measure and began to run away instead of throwing the rice upon her husband as instructed by him earlier. Out of fear she took rice herself, and was transformed into a she-python. Thus a great

tragedy befell on the couple of Shekhar. There was still a ray of hope. He thought that the king would know it and would surely restore them in their original form, by recognising the pythons as his preceptor and his wife. With this view, the two pythons waited before the Royal gate every morning and evening while the king was to come out. As they would not harm any one they attracted popular curiosity but nobody recognised them. The king knew only after they disappointedly committed suicide in the outskirt of Bhaktapur. The king knew it only later. He then felt sad and commemorated the event by erecting two poles on the last day of the year. In this way to honor them the festival 'Bisket Yatra' was celebrated.

As the festival was celebrated to honor the death of pythons, the festival is called as Basikayatra i. e. the festival of the death of pythons. Thus the festival is either to remind the people of the great prince who killed the serpents and became their ruler or to honor the great Tantric Shekhar Acharya.

Further, in a different version of this story, Bisket celebrates the marriage of a Bhadgaon princess to prince Bhadra Malla, the first of many royal suitors to remain alive after spending the night in her room, a pre-wedding practice in those days. When Bhadra Malla became ruler he and his descendants were known as the Naga Mallas—the Snake kings of the Malla dynasty in the memory of his heroic deed; the extermination of the serpents.⁴ As regards the origin of this festival, it goes back to the middle ages according to D R. Regmi. In his opinion, the festival is called visket, a corrupt form of Visvaketu meaning literally the banner of the world. The practice of celebrating the New Years day by hoisting Visvaketu goes back to the middle ages.⁵ He gives a statement attributed to Manu in the Gautamitantra to support his view. In this statement it is mentioned that the celebration is ended with the pulling down of the flag poles.⁶

In the scriptures this festival is called as 'Viswadhodayatra'. In the Manu's statement also we find the mention of Visvodhoja. If we go farther back it comes to light that the people observed the Visvadhodaya Yatra from the Vedic period.⁷

The Bisket festival, however, lacks authentic proof to link it to very old past. An inscription of N. S. 808 mentions this festival. The later chronicles which mention the incidents of conflicts on the occasion of Bisket Jatra between the residents of the Bhadgaon city and visitors from other parts of the valley during the time of Bhupatindra Malla and his son might have also given correct accounts. It is unlikely that as Sanskrit chronicle puts it the customary practice of New Year's day celebration had started since the reign of Visvamalla in the 16th century.⁸ The long pole erected on the occasion is to be brought from a special sal forest called as *Yosinvana* after performing religious ceremonies which include the animal sacrifice and a grand feast.

The festival of Bisket Jatra consists of two parts. The first part includes the erection of a huge pole (Linga) on the first day and its pulling down the next day i. e. the first day of Baisakha. The second part consists of drawing the cars of Bhairava to different parts of the town. The Linga is made out of Sal tree cut down for this purpose by a particular caste, the Manandhars.⁹ The Manandhars set a goat free into the forest and the tree against which the goat reeps its back is selected for the Linga. (This fact is said by the local people of Bhaktapur) According to them the goat is sacrificed to the tree before it is cut down. Then they make the tree into a pole of about forty feet. The spot where the pole is set up is called *Lya sikhya* and is located in front of the temple of Indrayani.

According to this ceremony a day before the Mesa Sankranti, two poles representing male and female are brought but only one supposed to be male is raised at *Yasinkhya* in Bhaktapur but two 'Patakas' (banners) representing two deceased snakes one male and another female (i. e. the *Tantrik* and his wife) are tied along the single raised pole.

Goddess Bhadra Kali, female counterpart of the God Bhairav rides in the Bisket procession. Four days before the New Year her eight-inch brass-figurine is carried from her shrine to the open square before Bhairav's temple. Many raths of Gods and Goddesses keep waiting for the Bhadra Kali and Bhairav's chariot. Four solid wooden wheels of Bhairav's chariot are regarded as sacred representations of four vedas. The heavy upward curving

beam extending to the front represents a snake god, while the dwarfed human, metal figure attached to its head is the **Betal** who accompanies Bhairav on his journeys. The massive three tiered chariot is designed in the shape of 'Sri Yantra' the sacred Tantric symbol.

The real Bisket celebration opens when Bhairav and Bhadrakali are enshrined in their respective chariots and pulled by the people. When the Bhairav chariot reaches a sloping open square, the people of the upper and the lower parts of the town pull the ropes tied fore and aft. In this way the towering chariot is yanked until one team finally succeeds in moving it in their direction. And the people guess the omen predicting good fortune for their townsmen during the coming year.

There are celebrations in the streets for several nights. Many people come to offer rice, red ceremonial powder, flower garlands, lighted oil wicks etc. to Bhairav and his consort. The whole of Bhaktapur is overwhelmed with joy in the festival. Worship and yatras of different local deities with special reference to Mahalakshmi and other mother goddesses are performed during the whole period. The chariot of Bhadra Kali, the Bhairavi is also taken in procession to some localities. There are certain occasions when the chariots of Bhairav and Bhadrakali are clashed, symbolising the divine consumation. It is generally believed that in early period there was only the yatra; other features are later additions.¹⁰

The third day of the festival is called **Syako Tyako** when the people sacrifice goats or other animals before the idols and hold great ceremonial family feast. In the feast they have mainly flattened, home-made rice with variety of foods and wine and liquor of finest quality.

On the day before the New Year the chariots are pulled to a large open area where stands the huge timber pole, which is supposed to symbolise the victory of Pandavas over Kauravas. On the same occasion the carts of Ganesh, Mahakali and Mahalaxmi are carried on the shoulders of devotees and are worshipped with great devotion.

The huge pole is decorated with fine arts prepared according to Tantric

books. But the huge pole is decorated with two hands too, which, when first seen by Capuchin Missionary were wrongly taken as Christ.¹¹ There are two banners, the male and female snake which sweep the ground demons killed in ages past.

This huge pole is worshipped by the people with flowers, rice, red ceremonial powder and blood sacrifices to bring protection and prosperity to the people of Bhaktapur.

In the afternoon of New Year's day thousands of people come from far and wide to see the sacred pole crashing back to the earth. This is an exciting moment. When the men pull the towering pole to the ground, a great roar of approval arises, for people believe that only then the New Year actually commences. The old year is dead and so are the evil snake demons, who devoured their rulers every night.

The people celebrate this four more days by carrying gods and goddess through the streets with bands of musicians and crowds of worshippers.

Besides Bhadgaon the village of Thimi celebrates the New Year by gathering all their deities. In this celebration Bal Kumari, another consort of Lord Bhairav is specially honored with rice, fruits, flowers, vegetables, coins. Instead of red ceremonial powder they offer the cup of sacrificial blood. In this way Bisket Jatra was performed by the people specially the people of Bhaktapur, with great pomp and splendor. It is however, only of local importance and the people from the other two towns in the valley do not participate in it actively. Besides symbolising the celebration of the New Year's day of the Vikram Era this festival signifies a kind of propitiation principally designed for the protection of Bhaktapur.

Thus we come to know that this Bisket Jatra is related with Bhairava who is regarded as a manifestation of Shiva. But the above stories and versions are of not much historic value, so the antiquity of this Jatra is obscure. The flags however do not contain in it the python or serpent drawing but contain Tantric symbols and designs. Whatever many be the origin of the festival it is very popular among the inhabitants of Bhaktapur and people from

Kathmandu as well as Patan go to Bhaktapur to see the pole-Yasin, raised and lowered down.

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Four Saraswati Images of Kathmandu Valley

Puskar Pd. Rajbhandari

I. Introduction

Saraswati, the goddess of learning and fine arts is revered by the Hindus, Buddhists and Jains alike. The early Vedic literature describe Saraswati as a river. The scholars of Vedic literature have prepared a long list of rivers of Rig Veda including Saraswati.¹ Max Muller is of the opinion that Vedic Saraswati was a great river and made its way to the sea.² Saraswati was a great river of the period so it was natural for the Vedic seers dwelling along its banks to be impressed by its rhythmic flow, congenial waters and the like. This might have evoked much praise for it. For this reason the Vedic seers describe Saraswati both as a river and as a river goddess.³ This mighty river Saraswati, in Later Vedic age is associated with Vac in the Brahmanas and with Prajapati, the Brahma in the Pauranic age.⁴ This shows that Saraswati as a river was the source of inspiration to the early Vedic seers and they regarded her as a goddess but it was only from the age of Brahmanas that she was associated with Vac, the goddess of speech. This association of Saraswati with Vac of equal antiquity led to the development of Saraswati not only as the goddess of speech but also as the goddess of learning, knowledge and arts and crafts. Various Puranas like Vishnu, Matsya, Agni, Vishnudharmottaram mention her anthropomorphic form.

II. Icons of Saraswati

Vishnudharmottaram Purana requires the image of Saraswati to be seated upon white lotus, of white complexion, clad in white garments along with Yajnopavita, Ratnakundala and Jatamukuta. According to this authority she



1. Itumbahal Sasunani Saraswati (8th-9th Cent.)



2. Lazimpat Saraswati (11th-12th Cent.)



3. Chapagon Saraswati (16th-17th Cent.)



4. Harisiddhi Saraswati (18th Cent.)

should carry on her two right hands a rosary and a lute and on the left a manuscript and an ewer.

Amsumadbhedagama follows the above description of **Vishnudharmottaram** with a slight change and requires that one of the two right hands to carry rosary and one displaying **Vyakhyan mudra** and a manuscript and a lotus in two left hands.

Most of the **Puranas** describe her as seated upon lotus, playing lute and carrying rosary, goad and lotus.

The **Devatamurti Prakarana** of **Sutradhara Mandan** mentions twelve different images of **Saraswati** under various names and arrangements of attributes.⁵ The **Rupamandana** of the same writer mentions two different images of **Saraswati** under the heading of **Mahavidhya** and **Saraswati**. The image of **Mahavidhya** has one head, four arms carrying rosary, lotus, lute and manuscript, a crown over her head and ornaments of precious stones on the ear. The image of **Saraswati**, according to **Rupamandana** has one hand in **Varada** and the rest three carry a lotus, a lute and a manuscript.⁶

The oldest image of **Saraswati** is found in India from **Kushana** period.⁷ It seems from the available data that the **Saraswati** images were carved in hundreds during and after the **Guptas**. Most of the images have four hands and they follow the above description of **Puranas** and **Silpaganthas**.

III. Saraswati images in Kathmandu

So far no authentic **Saraswati** image has been found in **Nepal** from the ancient historical period, but the artistic style of many **Saraswati** sculptures of **Kathmandu Valley** show the **Lichhavi** features on them. The **Jaya Vagiswari** temple being located at **Pashupati** area, a **Lichhavi** site, indicates that the goddess might have been worshipped during the period. Let us hope that further research on **Nepalese iconography** would bring to light some examples of **Saraswati** images of **Lichhavi** period in the future. **Lele**, where people still worship **Saraswati kunda** and **Gyan kunda** was a site of learning as evidenced by the inscriptions; people here might have worshipped **Saraswati** in

the ancient period. Many Saraswati images of Malla period have come to light. The Saraswati image of Patan Balkumari from the time of Yaksha Malla (N. S. 567) is the oldest among them." The writer of these lines on his research trying to find ancient Saraswati images has reached the conclusion that Kathmandu Valley has many ancient and early medieval Saraswati images although unlike the other images, they bear no inscriptions on the pedestals. Let us deal with four Saraswati images of Kathmandu Valley.

III. a. The standing Saraswati of Itumbahal

The Standing Saraswati image of Itumbahal is four armed. Her two upper hands carry a rosary and a manuscript while the lower two hands have a lotus seed (?) and an inkpot. She is adorned with various but limited ornaments like bracelet, armband, necklace and earrings. She has *Jatamukuta* as her head dress, a transparent upper garment covering the well executed round bust, moderately exaggerated hips. The slenderness of waist and the Lichhavi style lower garments, the facial expression undoubtedly show the Lichhavi characteristics. The double petalled lotus is also of the Lichhavi style. Although it bears no inscription it can be dated to eighth/ninth centuries. This figure seems to be the prototype of the standing Saraswati of *Handigaon* dated tenth / eleventh centuries by various scholars.

III. b. The seated Saraswati image of Lazimpat

This image seated upon a double petalled lotus on *Lalitasana* is four armed. Two upper hands carry a rosary and a manuscript while the lower two are engaged on playing the lute. This figure shows an increase in the number of jewellerys. She is decked with various ornaments like bracelet, armband, anklet, waist-band and two necklaces besides big earrings and a tiara over her head. The artist has successfully carved one side of the breast pressed by the lute. The eyes, forehead and other facial features show *Pala* influence on them. All the characteristic features of this image indicate a work of eleventh / twelfth century. Many scholars date this figure to be a work of late Malla period on the ground of a miniature Ganesha carved below her lotus seat. But a close and minute observation of this figure shows that

the miniature Ganesha was sculptured by a different hand later. It is obvious that somebody might have carved this Ganesha later on.

III. c. The Saraswati image of Chapagaon.

In every detail this follows the Saraswati of Lizampat. The only difference is the quality of stone and lacks fineness in execution and the design of tiara. This has no Ganesha but in addition to the Saraswati of Lazimpat it has a nimbus behind the head. The style of representation is as old as Lazimpat one but the art is of later date. This belongs to sixteenth/seventeenth century.

III. d. The Saraswati of Harisiddhi

In style and representation it follows the above two images with further increase of **Paubha**, the rosary is long and twisted. The flat and heavy necklace with attached pendants is noteworthy. Even of eighteenth century this figure shows the continuation of the same style of Saraswati images.

IV. Conclusion

From a detail study of the above four images of Saraswati we can forward certain hypotheses:-

a) That the Saraswatis were not only worshipped in ancient period but the actual images were also built. Further research would yield some inscribed and dated Saraswati images from the Lichhavi period.

b) That both standing and seated variety have been found and they follow the same tradition, there being no change on Saraswati images as we find in the representation of many other gods and goddesses. The **Puranas** allude Hansa, the swan and Mayura, the peacock as the vehicle of Saraswati and both lack in Nepalese Saraswati images. So far we have not come across any Saraswati images in Kathmandu Valley which can be taken as **Hamsavahini**. It is strange that the miniature Saraswati in Nepalese **Paubhas** is depicted mounted upon swan but not in figure. With an exception of one or two most of the Saraswati images after tenth-eleventh century are seated and follow the same iconographic features.

Foot notes

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Bronze Art of Nepal

Rajya Laxmi Khadka*

Introduction

Nepal is an ancient and only Hindu kingdom in the world. Here we can find prime examples of rich traditions, unique and beautiful art and architectures, the creative genius of the Nepalese people. Today Nepal is identified in the world with her art. The art objects contain terracotta, stone, wood, ivory, bronze sculptures and paintings. The tradition of art is very ancient. The excavation of Kapilvastu, Banjarahi, Kudan, Lumbini etc. proves that the antiquity of Nepalese art goes back to 600 B. C. Kathmandu Valley is regarded as a living Museum of art and architecture, painting and sculpture. One can find numerous sculptures and other art objects scattered here and there on the streets and by-lanes, in ruins and monuments and courtyards or water conduit. As our main topic of discussion is the Bronze art considerable light has been shed here on this art form. Lain Singh Bangdel has given images of 1st century B. C. in his book "Nepali Murtikalako Itihas". According to him history of Kathmandu Valley goes back not only to 1st century A. D. but to 1st century B. C. This has already been proved by Walsh in his book of Numismatics that coins of Kushana period were unearthed here. That art history of Kathmandu Valley goes even before 1st century B. C. is again argued by Mr. Ramesh Dhungel, who found Panch-marked coins in the Valley.

The systematic history of art begins from 5th century i. e. from the time of Manadeva. It seems that from this period onwards art history found its solid basis and motion. During the Lichchhavi period majority of arts were

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represented in stone and limited quantities are found in copper and bronze. Thus the antiquity of Nepalese bronze can be traced back to pre-Lichchhavi period. Buddhist text *Mulasarvastivad Vinaya* gives some references of trading between Nepal and India. Similarly, during the time of the Lichchhavis also traders, monks, Brahmins and artists from neighbouring countries visited the Valley. The icons they brought must have influenced Nepalese art. But in spite of various schools, Nepalese art retained its uniqueness, individual character and originality. During the time of Ansuverma, among other occupation, making brass and bronze utensils was one. This is proved by the Tistung inscription of Sambat 31. In the same way the image of Sakyamuni Buddha in the collection of Cleveland Museum of Art proves that Bronze art was in developed form in the reign of Sivadewa and Ansuverma. This image is considered the most ancient among others found so far. One Lokeshvara image comes second in the list of ancient bronze images, which is described by Devimala. The period of the Lichchhavis also saw the organization like *Archagosthi* which was related with image making art.

The high antiquity of Nepalese bronzes is also proved by the account of *Tang Annals*. There it is stated that Nepalese princess brought images like *Akchhovya*, *Maitreya*, *Bodhisattva* and *Arya Tara* to Tibet as her dowry. Thus Buddhism became popular in Tibet. In the seventh century A. D. a Chinese envoy, *Wang Hiuen Tse*, visited Nepal. In his account he has praised the artistic Royal palace of the Lichchhavis. He was greatly fascinated by the crocodile headed bronze water fountain of *Bhadradevas Bhavan*. *Wang Hiuen Tse* praises the astounding art of this palace. *Narendradeva* himself always wore a belt which had the image of Buddha at its buckle. It proves that Bronze Art was at its peak of development during 7th century. Later on King *Jayadeva II* patronized it. His time saw silver and golden art like '*Astadalakamala*' which he presented to lord *Pashupatinath* as mentioned in the *Pashupati Inscription*. Besides the references of *Tang Annals*, there are references of *Raja Vihara*, *Kharjurika Vihara*, *Sivadeva Vihara* in the Lichchhavi inscriptions. Those Viharas were rich store houses of Buddhist images like *Tara*, *Lokeshvaras*, *Buddha* and Hindu divinities like *Shiva*, *Vishnu*, *Ganesh*, *Kartikeya* etc.

Thus day by day bronze art flourished in Nepal. Bronzes were in great

demand in the countries like Tibet and China. Nepalese art also gave its impact in their art. After the Lichchavis came Thakuris in the political horizon of Nepal. The period gained efficiency in the field of arts. Mostly Bronze Art became popular in the 9th century, when Bajrayana got its popularity. Bronze images were produced in great numbers in Kathmandu then.

Medieval Nepal

Medieval period saw the development of bronze art and images were produced by lost wax method. This method was introduced into the Valley through the Pala connection. But in spite of the foreign influence Nepalese images were executed with great delicacy than their Indian counterparts. During 13th century Bronze art made its way to China through the mission of Arniko. In his mission there were eighty technicians. He was such an accomplished artist that Chinese King Kublai Khan praised his work and ordered to renovate many things and make many Bronze images. He also wrote one Art text called 'A canon of proportion', which was translated into Chinese language during seventeenth century. Thus in this period many bronze images, Pauva and Thangka paintings from Nepal were much in demand in Tibet. The simplicity and plastic charm of the images remained till fifteenth century. From fifteenth century onwards tantrism influenced in all the religions of Nepal.

That is why different aspects of Shiva, Sakti appeared in conventional poses. Images were made having multi heads and multi hands and looked vigorous and ferocious. After eighteenth century Rajput-Mogul style appeared in the art of Nepal. This style is clearly seen in the statue of the Malla rulers of the three kingdoms of the Valley. The images of the medieval period were both hollow and solid. Solid images were cast by lost wax process and hollow images were hammered. Sometimes the bronze art were gilded with gold. Malla rulers ruled for about four hundred years and patronized art. The door-frames of Kathmandu Taleju, Golden Gate of Bhaktapur Royal Place, Laxminarayana Image of Tushahiti Royal Bath of Lalitpur palace are the master pieces of art.

Art medium

Majority of metal art objects of Malla period were cast either in copper or brass. Sometimes they were made of Astadhatu, which consists of gold, silver, tin, mercury and lead in addition to brass and copper. Today mostly mixed varieties of brass and bronze art objects are available. Precious stones are embedded according to the taste and business prospects. This tradition of making brass and bronze art still survives in the country. It is necessary to change the traditional outlook of the people according to the need of the changing time. Our artists should also take into account this changing need of time, so that they could accelerate the pace of development and help move the society forward. Nepali art tradition is still preserved and highly appreciated by the visitors. Peace and political stability in country have helped a lot to develop this industry. To preserve the living icons, there is separate Dhatukala Sangrahalaya at Lalitpur Royal Palace. Similarly, there are some rare collections at National Museum like a figure of sun seated on one horse. It is probably an unique image not found anywhere. Recently a new museum of brass and bronzewares has been established by the Bhaktapur Development Project. This museum is a glorious example of Nepal-German Co-operation. Arts which are the precious assets of our country today face the danger of being smuggled out. This type of museums will help to preserve the ancient works of arts. Exhibitions organized by the efforts of government and individuals have contributed a lot to increase popularity for Nepalese arts. But our artists should not be complacent as regards the present trend of its development. Therefore concerted efforts have to be made from the level of public as well as from the side of the government to continue the past legacy of our prestigious cultural heritage.

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बादी जाति: एक परिचय

- डिल्लीबहादुर ओली

परिचय :

नेपाल चारवर्षं छत्तीस जातको साझा फूलवारी हो । यो मुलुक विभिन्न जात जाति भाषा-भाषी संस्कार संस्कृतिका पृष्ठपोषक जातिहरूको सम्मिलनको रूपमा आदिकाल देखि नै रहिआएको छ । पूर्व मेचीदेखि महाकाली सम्मको भू-भागमा विभिन्न रूपमा छरिएर बसेका जातिहरू आफ्नै सामाजिक परम्परा मूल्य, मान्यता र विश्वासमा आबद्ध छन् । यसै प्रसङ्गमा आफ्नै विशेषता, मौलिक परंपरा रहेर नेपाली संस्कृतिको इतिहासमा अनौठो जातिको रूपमा चिनिन थालेको बादी जातिको परिचय दिन थालिएको छ ।

कुनै पनि विषयवस्तुसँग चिनिनको लागि केही सान्दर्भिक वस्तुस्थिति र यथासम्भव तथ्य उपर भर पर्नुपर्ने हुन्छ । यसैगरी बादी जातिको ऐतिहासिकता सम्बन्धमा पनि केही कुरा अध्ययन गर्न थाल्दा यिनीहरू स्वयं आफूलाई ईन्द्रको राज्य स्वर्गमा नाचगान र मनोरञ्जनको साधनको रूपमा बसेका अप्सराका सन्तान हौं भनेर दावी गर्दछन् । उनीहरूकै अनुसार पछि कुनै समयमा त्यहाँ फैलिएको अश्वयस्थाले गर्दा पृथ्वीमा लल्लोटिएका थिए । यसको कारण आपस्तसँगकी अवैध सम्बन्ध थियो । तर यो विश्वास र लोकोक्ति त्यति भरपर्दो लाग्दैन ।

अध्ययनको दृष्टिकोणले बादी जाति धेरै पछि पर्ने गएको छ । यस जातिको उत्पत्ति, मूलयत्तो र नेपालमा प्रवेश सम्बन्धमा यकीन रूपमा भन्न सकिदैन । अध्ययन सामग्री बिल्कुलै अपर्याप्त भए पनि यथासम्भव खोज गरी यस सम्बन्धमा प्रकाश पार्ने कोशिश गर्न थालिएको छ जस अनुसार लिच्छविराज्य वंशालीमा बादीहरू बस्ने गर्दथे । त्यहाँ उनीहरूको सम्पर्क राजदरवारसँग थियो, जो नाचगान र मनोरञ्जनका साधन बनेका थिए । लिच्छविहरूको नेपाल प्रवेश भएपछि बादीहरू पनि उनीहरूसँग नेपालको पश्चिमी भेगमा बसेका थिए । बादी जातिका केटीहरूलाई त्यस सम्बन्धमा नगरवधूको नामले चिनिन्थ्यो । लिच्छवि राज्यमा यिनीहरूलाई 'बोदी' जाति भनिन्थ्यो, जो हासका बादीहरूसँग मिल्दाजुल्दा थिए ।^१ त्यस्तै पन्ध्रौं शताब्दीमा मुस्लिम आक्रमणको बेला बादीहरू भारतको राजस्थान-बाट केही राजपूतहरूसँग नेपालको पश्चिमी भेगमा सुरक्षित हुन पसेका थिए ।^२ वास्तविक रूपले बादीहरू प्राचीन आर्यहरूकै सन्तान कुनै जातिविशेषका सदस्य र भारतीय भूमिका जातिको रूपमा बसेका थिए । मध्यकालतिर भारतीय भूमिमा राज्य लीजुपता र धर्मरक्षार्थ नेपालको पहाडी भू-भागतिर लागेका थिए । भाषा, बोली र सांस्कृतिक विशेषतालाई केलाउँदा भारतीय क्षेत्रबाट नेपाल प्रवेश गरेको लाग्दछ । एउटा किंवदन्तीलाई अगाडि सार्दा दक्षिण भारतको कर्णाटक राज्यमा बादीहरू रहन्थे । साम्राज्यवादको चपेटामा परेकोले कर्णाटक राज्यमा

राज्य गरिरहेको राजा भागेर उत्तरतिर लागि नेपालको पहाडी भेगमा सानो राज्य स्थापना गर्‍यो । सावमा बादीहरू पनि नदीको तिर हुँदै, माछा मार्दै, जीविको पार्जन गर्दै नेपाल पसेको भनिन्छ । शायद यो राज्य सिम्रोनगढ हुनुपर्छ । अर्को कुराअनुसार बादीहरूका पूर्वज महर्गिया जाति थियो । भारतको उत्तरप्रदेशको गाजियापुरका गौरिया जातिका केटीहरूलाई ल्याएर महर्गियाहरू नचाउने गर्दथे । यसबाट नै यिनीहरूको नृत्य र बादनकला फस्टाएको जस्तो लाग्दछ ।^१ नेपाल प्रवेश गरेपछि र त्यसभन्दा पहिलेदेखि नै परम्परागत रूपमा नाचगान यिनीहरूको मुख्य पेशाको रूपमा रहेको थियो । यसको साथै बादनकलामा निपुण बादीहरू मनोरञ्जनका साधन बनेका थिए । दरबारमा गुप्तचरको साथै वेश्यावृत्ति पनि अपनाई आएका थिए । खास गरेर पश्चिम नेपाल यिनीहरूको क्रीडास्थल थियो । जहाँ सामन्त, राजा रजौटा र ठूला बडा रहन्थे र घस्ते सामाजिक क्रियाकलापले फस्टाउने मौका पाएको थियो ।

बादीहरूको सामाजिक परम्परासँग मेल खाने एउटा जाति पश्चिम नेपालको डोटी, डडेलधुरातिर पाइन्छ । कसैको सन्तान नभएमा वा भएमा पनि मर्ने गर्नामा स्थानीय शंलेश्वरीदेवीलाई कन्या चढाइन्थ्यो । कन्याको भरण पोषण कन्या चढाउने व्यक्ति वा मन्दिरको आयस्ता र गाउँघरबाट हुन्थ्यो । यसरी समर्पित कन्याले देवी देवताको आराधना गरी जीवन बिताउनुपर्थ्यो, साथै विहेवारी पनि गर्न पाउदैनथे । यिनीहरू तत्समयदेखि पुजारी र पुगिसरि धाउनेहरूको शिकार भए, यसबाट यिनीहरूमा अलग पेशाको जन्म भयो । यिनीहरू चोखी पातर भनिन थाले । यिनबाट अवैध रूपमा जन्मेका छोरालाई देवका र छोरीलाई देवकी भनिन्थ्यो ।^२ बादी समाजमा बेगपावृत्ति अपनाएर बस्ने गरेकी केटीलाई पत्तुरिया भनिन्छ । जुन पेशागत रूपमा देवकीसँग मिल्दा जुल्दा छन् ।

बसोबासका क्षेत्र र प्रभावः-

माथि प्रस्तुत गरिए ङ्ग नेपाल प्रवेश गरिसकेपछि बादीहरू पश्चिम नेपालतिर आकर्षित भए । हावापानी र वातावरणीय अवस्थाले यिनीहरूलाई त्यति असर पारेन । पेशा फस्टाउने ठाउँ विशेष, खास गरेर जीविकोपार्जन र संस्कारलाई क्रमशः ध्येय र मान्यता दिएर बस्न थाले । कर्णाली प्रदेशको छिन्न भिन्न भएपछि बाईसे राज्यको अशुभद्वय हुन गई त्यस भेगमा अन्य स्वायत्त स-साना राज्यको स्थापना हुन गयो । सामन्त, भूमिपति, पृजोपति र ठला-बडाले स्थान लिएको ठाउँ यिनीहरूको रंगमंच बन्न गयो । यिनीहरूको ऐतिहासिक थलो सल्यानलाई मानिन्छ, तर यहाँबाट अन्यत्र पनि फिजिन पुगेका छन् । हाल बादीहरू सल्यानका केही स्थान साँकोट, सितलपाटी, खलंगा, फलाबङ्ग मालनेटा, स्पूरध, फोटमौला, बनगाउँ, दमचौर; दाङको पातुखोला, घोराही, पकंपा, नयावस्ती, पसेनी बागर खिल्लटपुर, मल्लवार, चिकुंय कंलालीको धनगढी, सति र महेन्द्रनगर, नेपालगंज, जाजरकोट; दैलेखको दुल्लु, रुकुमको चौरजहारि र रुकुमकोट, डोटी, सिलगढी, प्यूठान र रोल्पाका बस्ने गरेका छन् । हात्त सबभन्दा बढी सल्यानक्षेत्र, दाङ र कंलालीमा बसेका छन् । साधारण सर्वेक्षण अनुसार यिनीहरूको संख्या करीव ५००० जति देखिन्छ ।

सामाजिक संगठनः-

बादीहरू खास गरेर ग्रामीण क्षेत्रमा कमै रूपमा बसेका देखिन्छन् । पेशा आकर्षित हुने ठाउँ, सहर, बजार, बाटोघाटोको नजीक पारेर बस्ने गरेका देखिन्छन् । त्यसैले यिनीहरूमा बसाईसराई गर्ने प्रवृत्ति बढ्दो छ । यिनीहरूको

आपनी समुदाय एक ठाउँमा ऊँडको रूपमा बस्छन् । घरहरू सामान्य माटो र ढुङ्गासँग बनेको र खरको छाना हुन्छ । घरहरू एक तल्लाको र साना प्रकारका हुन्छन् ।

बादी जातिमा आपसमा अनुशासनको मात्रा कम पाइन्छ । पारिवारिक जीवनमा मर्यादा धेरै कम पाइने भएकोले यिनीहरूलाई भाँड जातिसँग तुलना गर्नुमा अतिशयोक्ति नहोला । पारिवारिक मेलमिलापको वातावरण त्यति पाईदैन, आपसमा आदरभावको साथ शिष्टता बिलकुल देखिदैन । यिनीहरूको बोलीमा अदलील शब्द-अपशब्दहरूले ठाउँ लिएको हुन्छ । धीन, लाज इज्जतको अनुभूति कम हुन्छ, ऊगडा र तनावको वातावरण छाएको पाइन्छ । सायद यस्तो सामाजिक परम्परा अन्य जातिमा पाइदैन । यस जातिमा उपथर पनि छैन । विहेवारी आफ्नै जातिभित्र चल्ने भएकोले पारिवारिक रक्तसम्बन्धीहरू कम देखिन्छन् । अर्को कुरा इतरजातिसँगको यौन सम्पर्कबाट जन्मेका बच्चा-बच्चो यिनीहरूका रक्त सम्बन्धी हुन् भन्न मिल्दैन । यिनीहरूबाट यस समाजमा अझ विकृति पंथा हुन गएको छ । यस्तोमा नातागत सम्बन्ध पनि देखिदैन । आपनी आमालाई आमा भन्दैनन् भावलीको बाजे ब्रजलाई जेई, बा भनेर बोलाउँछन् जसलाई 'टोके' भनिन्छ ।

सबै बादीहरू शक्तिका उपासक हुन्छन् । नेपालको पश्चिम भेगमा फेलिएर बसिरहेका सबै बादीहरू एउटै शाखाका हुन् । पछि आपसी वैवाहिक सम्बन्धले नातागत सम्बन्धमा फरक देखिन गयो । नत्र सबै जातिको धलो र संगठन एउटै हो ।

आर्थिक स्थिति:-

कुनै पनि जाति या समाजको आर्थिक जीवन त्यहाँको सामाजिक अवस्थामा भर परेको हुन्छ । सामाजिक बनोट, सङ्गठन र संस्कृतिको आधारमा बादीहरूले आफ्नो जीवन यापन गरेका छन् । प्रारम्भदेखि सामन्तप्रभावित क्षेत्र, राजदरवार र पुगिसरि आउनेहरूको संसर्गमा आएर आफ्नो आर्थिक दिशाबोध यिनीहरूले तय गरिसकेका थिए । आपनी पेशा सुरक्षित तुल्याउने हेतुले विभिन्न प्रभावशाली ठाउँहरूमा आफ्नो पहुँच भएको कुरालाई अगाडि सार्न पुग्यन् । माथि भनिएजस्तै लिच्छवि राजदरवार, सिन्धुनगढ राज्य, राजस्थानका राजपूतसँग भएको परम्परागत सम्पर्क र विभिन्न कारणले नेपाल प्रवेश गरेपछि पनि यस्तै अवस्था र संसर्गमा आबद्ध हुन पुगे । त्यस समयदेखि यिनीहरू दरवार र सम्बद्ध ठाउँमा नाचगान गर्न थाले । अर्कोतर्फ बादी पुरवहरू संगीतकलामा प्रवीण थिए । यस आधारबाट यिनीहरूको पेशा फस्टाउन गयो । जो पछि गएर मुख्य आर्थिक आधार बन्यो । हालसम्म पनि यस्तै ठाउँ अवसरहरूमा आर्थिक चाहना राखेर विभिन्न रूपमा आफूलाई नृत्यकलाको माध्यमबाट प्रस्तुत गर्न सफल भएका छन् । बादी केटीहरूको नृत्यकलामा हिन्दी फिल्मी जगतको छााप पर्न गएको छ । आफ्नो पेशा र मूल आर्थिक भएकोले जुनकुनै ठाउँमा पनि आफ्नो कला प्रदर्शन गर्न बाध्य भएका हुन्छन् ।

बादीहरूको जीवनको अर्को प्रमुख आधार वेश्यावृत्ति हो जो परम्परागत रूपमा चलिआएको भनिन्छ । हाल बादीहरू र सबै पक्षको लागि संवेदनशील पेशा देखिन गएको भए तापनि हाँस्रो समाजमा यस्ता किसिमका विकृतिहरू फैलन गइरहेका छन् जुन कुरो समाजको लागि अभिशाप देखिनु स्वाभाविकै छ । हुन त हिन्दू समाजको

लागि नीलो कुरा नभए तापनि यस्ता कुरोति र रुढीबादीलाई फण्टाउने भौका दिइएमा सामाजिक मर्यादा कायम रहन सक्दैन । कहिले कहाँबाट र कसरी बादीहरूको मूल आर्थिक आधार वेश्यावृत्ति हुन गयो यो ज्यादै उन्मुक्तपूर्ण र अनौठो विषयवस्तु बन्न गएको छ । यस जातिमा केही यस्ता परिवार छन्, जस्तै— “वा हेर्नेई हजुर कुरा गदिनाम्न लाज लाग्छ” भन्छन् लुकाउन छोड्छन् । तर कुनै परिवारहरूमा चेलीबेटी हुनेहरूले आफूलाई समृद्ध र उपल्लो स्तरको ठान्ने गर्दछन् । यो पेशा यिनीहरू बीचमा विवादको रूपमा देखिन गइरहेको छ । आमा बाबु, दाइ भाइ स्वयं यौनव्यापारमा आफ्ना चेलीबेटीलाई विवश तुल्याउँछन् । घाईसे राज्यका राजाको दरबार, जमिन्दार र सामन्तको गौदमा पुग्नाएर आफ्नो स्वाधुर्ति गर्न पुगेका थिए । यस्तै किसिमको जाति भारतको उत्तर प्रदेशमा ‘बोदी’ जातिलाई मानिन्छ, जो बादी शब्दको शायद प्रारूप थियो । यस्तै पेशा अपनाएर बसेका मगहिया र गौरीया जातिहरू पनि भारतको उत्तर प्रदेशको भूमिमा यदाकदा पाइने गर्दछन् । भारतीय शहर तथा नेपालका सम्पन्न व्यक्ति र सामन्तहरूमा आश्रित बादी केटीहरूले विवशतावश यो पेशा अपनाएका देखिन्छन् । इतरजातीय सम्पर्क र पेशागत रूप धारण गरेको हुनाले पछि गएर जीवनयापनको अमुविद्या पर्न जान्छ जसले छोरी, बहिनी र बाबु भाइको आधारमा बस्नुपरेको हुन्छ । साथै यौन विकृतिले गर्दा गनारीया, शिपलीस जस्ता रोगहरूले अल्पायु र यस्तै चिकित्सकहरू देखिने गर्छन् । पश्चिमी भेगका कुनै कुनै जिल्लाका स्थानहरूमा प्राथमिक पेशा खेती अपनाएर गौणको रूपमा परम्परागत आर्थिक आधार वेश्यावृत्तिलाई पनि बिसर्न सकेका छन् । सामन्त र यस्तै पक्षको निगाह पाएका हुनाले अन्य पेशा अपनाउनु बेइज्जत समझिन्थे । पुरुषीको पेशा भएकोले हात ऊँचाट्टा आएर अन्य पेशालाई प्राथमिक रूप दिन अठपारो महशुस भइराखेको छ । सञ्जीतप्रवीण बादीहरू आफ्नो उपयोगको लागि र जीविको-पार्जनको आधारको रूपमा मादल, तबलाहरू निर्माण गर्दछन् । यो पेशा समाजमा उपयोगी देखिएकोले यसतर्फ प्रोत्साहन दिनु उचित देखिन्छ । यस्तै पश्चिमी भेगमा खपत हुने भएकोले माटाका राम्रा राम्रा चिलीम बनाउने काममा पनि बादी परिवारहरू तल्लो रहेका देखिन्छन् । यसबाट न्यूनतम आवश्यकता पूरा हुने गर्दछ । साथै खसो मुठी खहाने पनि बादीहरूको परम्परागत पेशा मानिन्छ । हिउँदे वर्षे वाली मिठ्याउने समयमा बिष्ट (आफभन्दा माथिल्ला खोजाजात) को खेतीवारी, घरमा गएर संकलन गर्ने गर्दछन् । साथै उत्सव, चाडपर्वहरूमा घरघरमा गएर आफ्नो बटा (भाग) भागी राख्ने परम्परा छ । माछामार्नु, जाल बुन्नु अर्को मुख्य जीविकोपार्जनको आधार मानिन्छ । बुन यस जातिको परम्परागत पेशा हो । हाल बढ्दो आवश्यकता बढ्दो जनसंख्याको चापलाई महशुस गरेर साथै सीमित पेशाबाट जीवनयापन गर्न अलि मुश्किल पर्न गएको र सामाजिक घातावरणको बदलियो आवश्यकतानुसार नगण्य रूपमा व्यापार र केही प्रतिशत खेतिपाती, पशुपालन गर्न थालेका छन् । यो कदम यिनीहरूको आर्थिक अवस्था लाई हेर्दा सकारात्मक देखिन्छ । संक्षेपमा यिनीहरूको आर्थिक अवस्था जीर्ण, दयनीय, निम्न र असुरक्षित छ भन्न सकिन्छ ।

वेशभूषा र भाषा:—

यिनीहरू वूढावूढीमा सामान्य लवाई खवाई र भेषभूषामा सीमित भएका हुन्छन् । बादी चेलीबेटीहरू नाच गान र वेश्यावृत्तिलाई अगाडि बढाउनको लागि आभूषण, लवाईखवाई भेषभूषाको दृष्टिबाट अतिरिक्त रूपका देखिएका हुन्छन् । यस्तैमाने यिनीहरूको पेशा सुरक्षित भएको मान्नुपर्दछ ।

घनाजर्जनको ध्येयले वर्षको एक पटक भारतीय भूमिमा गरिने ओहोर दोहोरले गर्दा यिनीहरूको भाषाको शैलीको प्रभावको आभास हुन्छ । नाचगान इत्यादिमा फिल्मी जगतको नक्कल उतार्न सफल भएका हुन्छन् । प्रारम्भिक

अवस्थावेधि राजदरवार र यस्तै ठाउँसँगको संसर्गले गर्दा 'हजूर' शब्दको प्रयोगले स्थान ओगटेको देखिन्छ । अन्य जातिसँग कुराकानी गर्दा भावरभाव र शिष्टताको अनुभूति हुन्छ । साथै कुराकानीमा "बा वारे हजूर" को प्रधानता र आपसमा शिष्टता र अश्लीलताले स्थान लिएको हुन्छ । यिनीहरूको भाषाको लयज सुदूर पश्चिमाञ्चलका मध्य पहाडी क्षेत्रमा पाइन्छ ।

अन्य जातिसँग सम्पर्क:-

अनेकतामा एकताको विशेषताले सिगारिएको मुलुक नेपाल मानवशास्त्रीय अध्ययनको दृष्टिले निकै पछाडि परेको छ । नेपालको पश्चिमी भू-भागमा यताउता अल्पसंख्याको रूपमा रहेको बादी एउटा यस्तो जाति छ, अन्य जातिको अपेक्षा जसको सम्पर्क र सत्संग उच्च व्यक्ति, सामन्त पूँजीपति र भूमिपतिसँग बढी भएको देखिन्छ । एकमत अनुसार वंशालीको लिच्छविराज्यबाट नेपाल प्रवेश गरेपछि राजदरवारमा बसेर क्षेत्रादृष्टि नाचगान नृपत्तर जासुसी र मनोरञ्जनका साधनको रूपमा काम गर्न थाले । यिनीहरूले आफ्नो कलाको विकस यस्तै वर्गको सम्पर्कमा आएर गरेको जस्तो लाग्दछ । धेरै पहिले देखि उच्च स्थानसँग सम्पर्क, कला र मनोरञ्जनका साधन प्रवीण भएकोले पनि पश्चिम नेपालमा यिनीहरू स्थायी रूपले बस्नथाले जहाँ यिनीहरूको सहजै रूपमा जीविकोपार्जन हुनगयो साथै व्यवसायले स्थायित्व पाउन गयो । बादी पुरुषहरूपनि वादनकलामा ज्यादै निपुण थिए जसको प्रभाव आजसम्म पनि छ । यिनीहरूको पहुच राजादरवारसम्म पनि भएको भएको कुरा पाइन्छन् । सल्यानको जनमानसमा यस्ता कुरा पाइन्छन् जस अनुसार सल्यानी बादीहरूको वादनकला र बदेनीहरूको सौन्दर्य, नाचगान मनोरञ्जनको साधनको प्रवीणताले नेपाल भाग्न होइन भारतीय क्षेत्रमा पनि प्रभाव पारेको थियो । बदेनी केटीहरूलाई निश्चित समयमा निश्चित पैसा दिएर पानीको रूपमा (भरीटे) राखिरहने प्रथा अहिले पनि पश्चिमी क्षेत्रमा जल्दो बल्दो नै छ ।

बादीहरूका आफ्ना परम्परागत पेशाले नै अन्य तल्ला जातिको अपेक्षाकृत यिनीहरूको पहुँच अन्य जातिमा बढी देखिन्छ । नाचगान हाफ्रो सांस्कृतिक रंगमन्चमा अपरिहार्य मनोरञ्जनको माध्यम हो, संस्कृतिक अंग पनि । मादल, तबला र हर्मोनियम वादन कलामा बादीहरू कुशल हुन्छन् भने अर्कोतर्फ यी वस्तुहरूको निर्माणकला स्वयं बादीहरू नै गर्छन् । साथै उत्सव विवाह सामाजिक संस्कारमा मनोरञ्जन र आकर्षणको दृष्टिले बदेनी केटीहरूको उपस्थितिलाई महत्त्वपूर्ण र वैभवशाली मानिन्छ । माछा मार्ने, जाल बुन्ने पेशा बादीहरूबाट नै अन्य जातिले सिकेका हुन् । प्रत्येक उत्सव अवसरहरूमा अन्य जातिको घर देलोमा पुगेर खलोमुठी, भाग संकलन गर्ने गर्छन् । खेति चारी, पशुपालन नभएका बादीहरूको जीविकोपार्जन अन्य जाति सँगको सम्पर्क र परम्परागत आधार बाट नै सम्भव भएको छ । देह व्यापार प्रवृत्तिले गर्दा यिनीहरू आफ्नो समुदायमा मात्रै सीमित हुन सकेनन् । जनसंख्याको बढ्दो चापले जीविकोपार्जनमा केही अष्टचारो पार्ने भएकोले बसाइसराइ गरिरहनु पर्ने हुन्छ । शहरीकरण भएरहेको ठाउँ, बजार, बाटोघाटो, योजनागत विकास भइरहेको ठाउँ र सम्पन्न मानिसबाट प्रभावित आदि स्थानहरूमा प्रायः यिनीहरूको ङुकाव बढ्दै जान्छ यसमा सामाजिक मर्यादाभन्दा मनोरञ्जन र यौन सम्बन्धको दृष्टिले यिनीहरूको सम्पर्क व्यक्तिगत रूपमा बढि हुन्छ । सामाजिक आवश्यकता पूरा गर्नको लागि समाजमा विभिन्न जातिहरूको एक अर्का सँग सम्पर्क रहेको हुन्छ, हुन पनि पर्छ । एकलै कुनै जाति, समुदाय, परिवार व्यक्तिले मात्र आफ्ना सीमित आवश्यकता पनि पुरा गर्न सक्दैन । यो सामाजिक मर्यादा र नियम पनि हो तर बादीहरूको अन्य जातिसँग खुला सम्पर्क भएको पाइदैन । एकतर्फ उनीहरू सामाजिक मर्यादाअनुसार निम्न स्तरका मानिन्छन् भने अर्कोतर्फ यौन

सम्बन्ध बढाउन खोजेको पनि हुन्छ । स्पष्ट छ यस्तो सीमित स्वायंमा लपेटिएको हुनाले सम्य समाजले यो नियतलाई सकारात्मक रूपले हेर्दैन ।

आधुनिक परिवर्तन:-

परम्परागत विश्वास र मान्यतामा आफ्नो जीवनयापन सञ्चालन गरिरहेको भए तापनि आज भोलि बादी समाजमा कुनै न कुनै रूपमा आधुनिकीकरण र परिवर्तनका संकेत पाइनु थालेका छन् । कुनै व्यक्तिबिरोध र समाजबाट मात्रै यिनीहरूको चासो पुग्न गएको छ । बसाइसराइको बढ्दो प्रवृत्तिले यसमा केही प्रभाव पर्न गएको छ । हाल केलाली, दाङतिरका केही भागमा खेतीपाती र पशुपालन प्रारम्भिक रूपमा बादीहरूले गुरु गर्न थालिसकेका छन् । केही सिकर्मी, ढकर्मो पेशामा आकर्षित भएका छन् भने महिलाहरू बेहृव्यापार तथा नाचगानमा मात्र सीमित नभएर अल्प रूपमा भए पनि कतै नै कुनैतिर चासो देखाउन थालेका छन् । हालसम्म शिक्षाको क्षेत्रमा ज्यादै अर्नाभिन्न रहेको भए तापनि स्कूलमा पढ्न जाने केटाकेटी पनि यदाकदा देखिँदैछन् । बेहृ व्यापारसंगसँग होटेल, पसल राखेर बाटो घाटोमा पनि बस्ने गरेका छन् । विकास र निर्माणको क्षेत्रबाट यो जाति पृथक रहनु ज्यादै अनुपयुक्त कुरा हो । अन्य पेशाको अतिरिक्त सामाजिक गतिविधिअनुसार अवसर पाएमा चल्ने कुराको संकेत पाइनु थालेको छ । यिनीहरूबाट परिवर्तनको केही अनुभूति पाइन्छन् जुन एक सकारात्मक प्रतिक्रिया हो ।

उपसंहार:-

विभिन्न सांस्कृतिक र धार्मिक परम्परा र मान्यतामा आवड भएका जनसमुदायको पुञ्ज नेपाल अनेकतामा एकताको विशेषताद्वारा परिपोषित छ । त्यसैले नेपाल चार वर्ष छतीस जातको सादा थलो मानिन्छ । सांस्कृतिक, वैज्ञानिक र मानवशास्त्रीय दृष्टिकोणले हेर्दा नेपालमा विभिन्न स्थानमा केही यस्ता जनजाति छन् जसको अध्ययन गर्न बाँकी नै छ । सामाजिक विविध विशेषता, अनीठो प्रकृति र रोचक आर्थिक क्रियाकलाप भएका जातिहरूमा नेपालको पश्चिमी भेगमा अस्थायी बसाइसराइ गरिरहने र परोम्मुखी प्रवृत्ति भएको बादी समुदाय छ । वर्तमान समयसम्म पनि यस्तै जातिमा लडोबादी परम्परा, मान्यता, कुरीतिहरू आदि केही समस्या विद्यमान छन्, जसको समाधानको बाटो खोज्न चासो राख्नुपर्ने देखिन्छ ।

इन्द्रको राज्य स्वर्ग, वैशाली गणराज्य, राजपुतहरूसंगको सम्पर्क र अन्य विभिन्न राज्य र राजवंशसँग सम्बन्ध देखाउन प्रयास गर्ने बादी जातिको संस्कृति हाम्रो राष्ट्रिय संस्कृतिको एक गहकिलो अङ्ग हो । यिनीहरूले आफ्नो संस्कृतिलाई वित्तन सकेका छैनन्, शिक्षा दीक्षा, व्यापार, खेती, पशुपालन, उद्योगधन्दाका गहकिलो रुचि राख्न पुगेका छैनन् । आफ्नै परम्परागत पेशामा विश्वस्त छन् । हिन्दू संस्कृतिका उपासक भए पनि आफ्नो संस्कार र संस्कृतिलाई माया मान्न र बदलिँदो परिस्थितिलाई अंगाल्न पुगेका छैनन् । बादीहरूमा अन्य जातिभन्दा केही बेग्लै विशेषता पनि देखिन्छन् । यिनीहरूको वेश्यावृत्ति जस्तो घिनलाग्दो पेशा, माछा मान्ने, चिलिम बनाउने, नाचगान गर्ने, खलोमुठो चहाउँ जीवन चलाउँदै हिँड्ने चरित्र अरु जातिमा पाइँदैन । निर्लज्ज नाचगानको विशेषता र प्रवीणता, त्यसमा आर्थिक आशा राख्नु, खेती व्यापार, उद्योगधन्दा, शिक्षाभाजन आदिबाट अलग रहनु, बराबर घुमफिर गर्नु, स्मरण गर्ने र नक्कल गर्ने प्रवृत्तिको साथै भाषामा बेग्लै पन हुनु, सुन्दरता र सजावट नक्कली किसिमको हुनु बेग्लै विशेषता हुन् ।

त्यसैले यो क्षेत्र गडरहेको जमातलाई राष्ट्रिय विकासमा सरिक गराउनको लागि समयसापेक्ष आधुनिकीकरण-तिर अग्रसर तुल्याउनु सकारात्मक कदम हुनेछ । साथै देहव्यापार जस्तो घिनलाग्दो पेशालाई हटाई रोजगारीका नयाँ अवसर प्रदान गर्नुपर्छ । अनिवार्य शिक्षा, प्रौढ शिक्षा, जनसंख्या शिक्षाको अनिवार्य रूपमा प्रसार गरिनुपर्दछ । परम्परागत पेशा, नाचगान, बजान, चिलिम बनाउने र माछा मानतर्फ प्रोत्साहन दिए समाजले उपयुक्त प्रतिफल पाउने आशा गरिन्छ । त्यसैले प्रत्येक समाजसेवक, दुट्टिजीवी र सम्बद्ध पक्षले यस जातिको उत्थानको लागि समयमै दिलचस्पी दिएर सोचिदिएमा चादी र प्रभावित सामाजिक क्षेत्रको सर्वोच्च हित मुखरित हुनेछ ।

सन्दर्भ-ग्रन्थ

१. आचार्य, चतुरसेन, वैशालीकी नगरवधू ।
२. रेग्मी, रुद्रप्रसाद, शङ्खमूल, सल्यान सोधपूछबाट ।
३. श्रेष्ठ, खड्गबहादुर, सल्यान छाप क्षेत्र, कुराकानी सोधपूछबाट ।
४. बिष्ट, डोरबहादुर, पिपुल अफ नेपाल काठमाडौं १९८२, पृष्ठसंख्या ११ ।
५. आचार्य चतुर सेन, माथि उल्लिखित पुस्तक ।
६. शिक्षक, योगेन्द्र महर्जन, मि. ज. व्या. मा. वि. खलङ्गा सल्यानबाट प्राप्त सङ्कलित टिपोटहरू ।
७. अध्ययन क्षेत्रका चादी बढेनीसँगको प्रत्यक्ष कुराकानी ।

श्री ३ महाराज चन्द्र शमशेरका तीन भाषण*

तीर्थप्रसाद मिश्र*

नेपालको इतिहासमा १०४ वर्षको राणा प्रधानमन्त्रित्वकालीन समय विविध दृष्टिकोणले महत्त्वपूर्ण छ । जंग बहादुर राणाको उदय पछि नेपालको कुटनैतिक इतिहासमा पनि उल्लेखनीय प्रभाव पन्यो — विदेश नीतिमा परिवर्तन आयो । उन्ले विदेशी मुलुकमा स्वदेशी फौज पठाउने परम्पराको थालनी गराए । सन १८५७ ई. मा हिन्दुस्थानमा शुरू भएको 'सिपाही उपद्रव' दबाउन ८००० फौज भारत पठाए, उनले स्वयं नेपाली फौजको नेतृत्व र संचालन गर्दै लखनउ पुगेका थिए ।^१ नेपालको यस सैनिक सहयोगबाट अंग्रेजलाई उभै विद्रोह दबाउन ठूलो सहयोग मिल्यो । १९१३ ई. मा युरोपमा युद्धको कालो बादल देखियो, कालान्तरमा यसले प्रथम विश्वयुद्धको रूप लियो । यस युद्धबाट अंग्रेज सरकार पृथक हुन सकेन । उनीहरूले संकटको यस घडीमा नेपालका नियमित फौजको स्थायी सेनाका सैनिक सेवाको लागि अनुरोध गरे । चन्द्र शमशेरले अंग्रेजलाई प्रसन्न गराउने अवसर पाए— खुला दिलले सहयोग गरे । उनले प्रथम विश्वयुद्धमा अतिका निमित्त जवान पठाई, नियमित फौज पठाई आर्थिक तथा भौतिक सुविधा उपलब्ध गराई र खाहा भए जति अंग्रेज सरकार बिरुद्ध गरिएका घडयन्त्र जानकारी अंग्रेजलाई दिई सहयोग गरेका थिए ।^२ चन्द्र शमशेरले ६ पटक गरी जम्मा १५, ६५८ नियमित फौज अंग्रेज सरकारको सेवामा पठाए ।^३

प्रथम विश्वयुद्धमा चन्द्र शमशेरको भूमिका अंग्रेजलाई सहयोग गर्नको कारण र यसबाट भएका उपलब्धिहरू विषयमा घेरने सामग्रीहरू आईसकेका छन् ।^४ प्रथम विश्वयुद्धमा नेपालबाट हिन्दुस्थान पठाएका फौजलाई चन्द्र शमशेरले विटाई भाषण र विश्वयुद्धबाट फर्कि आएका सैन्यलाई स्वागत भाषण दिएका थिए । यस्तै तीन भाषणहरू यथावत रूपमा तल उल्लेख छन् । यी तीन भाषणहरू नेपालबाट फौज रवाना हुने बेलामा र एक फर्किआएपछि टुण्डी-खेलमा दिइएको थियो । यी भाषणहरूबाट चन्द्र शमशेरले अंग्रेजलाई सहयोग गर्नको कारण र यसबाट हुने र भएका उपलब्धि विषयमा प्रकाश पदछ ।

श्री ३ चन्द्रले पहिलो भाषण वि. सं. १९७१ साल फागुण २० र २१ गते हिन्दुस्थान जाने फौजलाई फागुण १८ गते दिएका थिए । यस भाषण अनुसार नेपालले अंग्रेजलाई सहयोग गर्नका निम्न कारण थिए—

* यी भाषणहरू शाही नेपाली सैनिक जङ्गी अड्डाको अभिलेखालयमा रहेको सि. नं. २११ (१६६) को रेकर्डबाट लिइएको हो ।

* श्री मिश्र इतिहास शिक्षण समिति कीर्तिपुरमा अध्यापनरत हुनुहुन्छ ।

- (i) अंग्रेज सरकार पलियो र ठूलो भएकाले उसलाई दुःख परेको बेलासा सहयोग गरी सम्बन्ध बढाउने, तथा यस बखत नेपाल महुत नगरी बतेमा अंग्रेज सरकार रिसाई नेपालमा छतरा आउन सक्ने संभावना भएकाले;
- (ii) वि. सं. १९१४ (सन १८५७) मा अंग्रेजलाई कालालाई दवाउन सहयोग गरेकाले दुवै देशको राष्ट्र सम्बन्ध भएको र नेपाल स्वतन्त्र रहन सकेको हुनाले ;
- (iii) अंग्रेज सरकारसंग घनिष्ठता भएको कारणबाट हातहतियार नेपालले पाउदै गरेको र भविष्यमा पनि असल हात हतियार पाईरहने हुनाले ;
- (iv) नेपालीहरूको वीरता प्रदर्शन गराई विश्वमा इज्जत बढाउन चन्द्र शमसेरले हिन्दुस्थान जाने फौजलाई अनुशासनमा रहने, कुनै पनि अंवल नखाने, जुथा नखेल्ने जस्ता अति पनि दिएका छन् ।

चन्द्र शमसेरको अर्को भाषण १९७१ साल फागुण २१ गतेको हो र यो पहिलो भाषण कै पुरक रूप हो । यसमा भारत जाने सैनिकका स्यास्नीलाई कसले जारी गर्नु भने वा घरको धनमाल हिनामिना गरेमा सरकार धाडी भै उक्त मुद्दा हेरिदिने; धनमाल हिनामिना गरे गर्नेलाई ऐनमा व्यवस्था भएको भन्दा ४ खण्ड बढी सजाय दिने कुरा उल्लेख छ । हिन्दुस्थानमा जाने सैनिकले घरमा र घरकाले सैनिकलाई पत्र पठाउदा टिकट टास्नु नपर्ने व्यवस्था गरिएको पनि चर्चा छ ।

चन्द्र शमसेरको तेस्रो भाषण ७५ साल फागुण महिनाको हो । प्रथम विश्वयुद्धबाट फकका नेपाली फौजहरू समल यो भाषण दिइएको थियो । यस्मा श्री ३ ले नेपाली फौज भएको कार्य सफल भएको र फौजले देखाएको शूरता वीरताको प्रशंसा गरेका छन् । बृटिश गोरखाका जवानप्रति पनि खुशी प्रकट गरेका छन् । हिन्दुस्थान जाने फौजलाई पुरस्कार स्वरूप घाँडन अढाई लाख रूपैया निकासी गरेको यसबाट प्रत्येक जवानले रु २०१-का दरले पाउने ; घरविदा उपभोग गर्न नपाएका सैनिकले वर्ष एकको एक महिनाको दरले बाटोको म्याद सहित घरविदा दिएको; अर्को सालको पजनी गरी अफिबर र घरविदाबाट नफकने बाहेक सर्वको थमीति गरिएको; हिन्दुस्थान जाने फौजको गयल सर्व माफी दिएको; आदि कुरा यस भाषणमा छन् ।

भाषणको पाठ :-

श्री ३ महाराजवाट ७१ साल फागुण १८ गते रोज २ मा सुनाई वकस्याको स्पीच

अँले तिमिहरूलाई हिन्दुस्थान पठाई वसनाको कारण के हो भने घेरं वर्ष अधि देखि दोस्ती रहेका ठूला अंग्रेज सरकारलाई अँले यस्तो ठूलो लडाओ गर्नु परेका ववत्मा उनलाई हामीले येति भदत पनी नगरी येस भोकामा दोष्ती बढाउन सकेनौ भने पछि अंग्रेज सरकारले इनीहरू भुषका दोस्त मात्रा रहेछन् । हामीलाई परि आयेमा तमासा मात्र हेरि रहे भने रित इबिते तेजा ठूला सरकारले पछि आई लागे भने तिमिहरू सर्वले आपनो मुलुकको निमित्त ज्यां दिन हुन पर्ने आउला भने हेतुले अँले लायीं रूपजा घवं गरी तिमिहरूलाई तयार गरी पठाउनु परेको हो. हेर अधि १४ सालमा जाहा फौजलाई काला संग लडाओ गरि फकि आयेको हुनाले आज ५०।६० वर्ष सम्म पनी दोस्ती कायम रहि बुई सफार मिलिबुलि रहे अँले पनी हामीहरूले उनीहरूलाई परि आयेका ववतमा सक अनुसार काम गरी देघाई

फाँक आये पछि अँले जस्तो हामि स्वतन्त्रतामा छौं पछि छोरा नाती पनि धेरै काल सम्म सोही बमोजिम आनंद साथ रहन पाउने छन्. हेर अंग्रेज सरकार संग दोस्ती गरेको हुनाले हाँचा मुलुकमा २१००० हँद्री मारटेनीर २००० लियेफिल बंधुक राइफल आईसक्यो फेरि तिमोहरू फाँक आउदा ३००० लियेफिल बन्धुक राइफल दिइएन भने लेखि आयाको छ. सो अंग्रेजसंग दोस्ती नगरेको भए घेरता असल बंधुक मुलुकमा रुवन्थ्यो. केहि गरि लडनु परेको भए येन्फील सिई लडनु पर्दथ्यो. यो सबै कुराको विचार गरी मुलुकको र तिमोहरू सबै प्रजा प्राणीको असल निमित्त तिमोहरूलाई अँल्हे हिडुस्थान पठाई बक्सेको हो. घाली आफ्नो फाइदा र नामको निमित्त मात्र पठाइ बक्सेको होइन.

हिडुस्थानमा तिमोहरूले लडनु पन्थो भने. लवनीमा हाँचा फौजले ज्यामर्दी जो नाम कमायो सो भन्दा तिमोहरूले पनि केही काम गर्ने छैनो भने पुरा उमंद गरिबक्सेको छ. तिमोहरूले अँले पाएका हातहतिहारमा र लवनीमा हाँचा फौजले सिई लडेको हात हतियारमा कति फरक छ. सो तिमोहरू सर्वलाई चाहा मालुमं छ. यो सबै कारणले तिमो-हरूले परि आयेका बक्त्मा लवनीमा गोर्बालीले कमाएको नाम भन्दा जखर धेरै बढ्ता नाम इज्जत कमाउने छौं.

तिमोहरूलाई साथमा पठाई बक्सेका जनरलहरूले भने बमोजिम उदि मानि आफ्नो इज्जत राखन हरबषत कोसीस गर्नु.

अफिसर देखि सिपाहि गँहले आफु भन्दा ठुला दर्जाकाले लाया अन्हायाको काम गरि निजहरू संग मुय लाग्ने नचाहिचो बढ्ता कुरा पनि नगर्नु.

तिमोहरूले आफ्ना हात हतियार पजाना आफ्ना लुगा ज्यु आफु बस्ने ठाउँमा समेत सधैँ सफा सुघर राख्नु ठाउमा बाहेक अरु जगामा फोहोर गर्ने नगर्नु.

तिमोहरू फर्सेले पनि कुठपिट, गाली गोफता लुटपिट जोर जोषन हुलदंगा र्छे ळगडा स्मेत् नगर्नु. अरु फर्सेले ळगडा गर्ने लागेका ठाउमा पनि मजानु

बजारवाट केहि माल धरिद गर्दा सुफत मोल दिइ माल लिने गर्नु. देसी परदेसीसित सापट लिने र उघारो माल ल्याउने पनि नगर्नु.

तिमोहरू आपसमा र अरु संग पनि होड बाजी रापी फौर्न घेल जुवा घेलन हुदैन. नपेल्लु.

कुनै किसिमको पनि नसा लागू हुने अँबल नषानु.

अर्काको देव मन्दीरलाई नुच्छ गर्न र वीगारन हुदैन. अर्काको धर्मलाई होच्याई वा अरु फर्सेलाई होच्याउने कुरा गरी अर्काको मन दुषाउन पनि हुदैन नगर्नु.

तिमोहरूले आफ्ना छाउनी देपो बाहीर धीना भाडरले जाने नगर्नु. भाडरले जादा पनि बेकाइदा संग हिड्ने. बेकाइदा पोसाक लगाई जाने नगर्नु.

स्वास्मी मानिस कसै संग हास व्याल ठट्टा रंडीबाजी र अर्कालाई बेइजती हुने कुरा नगर्नु.

बहुत वर्ष लगाई नजा नजा किसिमको कथापेत सिकनु र हिन्दुस्थानमा परी आयो भने जडको काम स्मेत गर्नु निमित्त तीमीहरूलाई हिन्दुस्थान पठाई बसोको हो. यस बसतमा टग अल्छी नभई अफीसर देखी सिपाही तनकाते बहुत चीत ध्यां दिई आफनो काम सिकनु.

परदेसोहरूका अगाडी आफना बाबु वराज्यु र आफना मुलुकको नाम राखनु पदंछ गोर्पालीईरू ... ज्वाभरी र इमानदार असल चालका छुं भने हाँचो नाम र इज्जत छु तिमीहरूले कायै राखने मात्र होइन की छन यस भंदा ज्यावा घडाउनेछौं.

हिन्दुस्थानमा काम बीराई तीमीहरू मध्ये कसैले सजाये पायो वा केहि काम बिराई कसैलाई कालापानी पढाये भने बबर मैले सुन नपरोस. तीमीहरू ज़ाहा आये पछी पनी कसैलाई पनी सजाय गर्न पराइन भने आसा गरिवस्तेको छ.

हिन्दुस्थानको आवहावाले तिमीहरू सबैलाई फाइदा भई ई तिमीहरू कसैको कपाल पनी नदुप्यो सदा सबंदा सुय आनंदमा भई ओ नाम कमाई इज्जत साथ फर्को आउन मनो. थो पसुपतिनाथ संग हाँचो प्रार्थना छ. तिमीहरूलाई सदा सबंदा आफना छोरालाई संके क संकी बक्सनेछौं.

७१ साल फागुन २१ गते हिन्दुस्थान तर्फ पल्टंहरू जादा श्री ३ महाराजवाट हुकुं भएको इस्पीच

हिन्दुस्थान तर्फ पटि जाने अफिसर देखि बानावर तक र निजामती फालवर स्मेत तीमीहरूका जाहां कसैले जारी गन्यो वा धनमाल हीनामीना गन्यो भने अदालत अमालले सर्कार वादी भई. हेरी जारी गर्नेलाई नेल गलफन्दी ठोकी स्वास्नीलाई नेल ठोकी तीमीहरू फकि नआयेसम्म क्लेधानामा राखी तीमीहरू फर्को आये पछी जार काटनु सबंस्व सीनु स्मेत जे गर्दछु भन्दछौं अंनले गर्न पाउने सजाय हुनेछ. धनमाल हीनामीना गरेमा अंनले हुने सजायको चीवर बडाई सजाय हुनेछ भने ईस्तीहार जारी हुनेछ.

तीमीहरूका जाहां छोरा छोरीलाई तीमीहरू गयेपछि कसैले अंयाय थिचोमिचो गर्न पाउने छैन. कसैले गरे मनीचको अदालत अमालवाट हेरी ईसाफ हुनेछ. मनीचका अदालत अमालले हेरिदिएनन् भने हाँसा हजुरमा कराउन आये पछि हामीवाट वुकी ववसी हक इन्साफ बकसन्त्य छ. यो कुरा तीमीहरूले आफना जाहांलाई सुनायेकं होला. नमुनाउनेहरूले लेषीयेको कुरा चीठी लेषी पठाये पनी हुंछ आफना छोरा छोरी जाहांलाई लेषी पठाई राखनु.

तीमीहरूका जाहंले तीमीलाई चीठी लेषी पठाउदा वालो तीमीहरूको नाऊ र जागीर बायाको पल्टंको नाम र हींदुस्थान भन्ने नाम लेषी ठाउ ठाऊका हुलाकमा हाली दीनु. टोकस पनी टांसनु पदेन भनि अह्लाउनु. तीमीहरूले पनी नेपालमा पहाडमा रहेका आफना जाहां बच्चालाई चीठि पठाउदा पनी चीठी लेषी अफीसरद्वारा जनरल बा

पठाउनु. जनरलहरूलाई तीमोहरूको जाहां वच्चा काहां पुन्याई दिने बन्दावस्त गर्नु भनें हामी घाट हुकं बस्सेको छ. तीमोहरूले पठाउने चीठीमा पनी टोकस टांसनु पर्दैन.

ली भाई हो जाओ. तीमोहरूका जहां वच्चाका नीमीत कती फीकी नगरी आफ्नो बाबुको कायमा छोडी गयेको ऊं समझी घुसी दील लीई जाऊ. पसुपथीनाथ गुह्यकालीले सया सर्ववा तीमोहरूलाई रक्षा गरनु ।

७५ साल फागुण ? गते हींदुस्थान गएको पल्टं फर्की नेपाल आई पुगे पछि

श्री ३ महाराजवाट सुनाई बक्सेको इस्पीच

हाओ यो पबोत्र जन्मभूमिका बीचमा तीमोहरूलाई स्वागत गर्न पाउनाको अत्यंत ठूलो हर्ष र सन्तोषमलाई लागेको छ, चारवर्ष अगाडी तीमोहरूलाई यस ठाउवाट विदा गरी पठायेथे श्री परमेश्वरलाई भक्तोपूर्वक नमूनाको साथ घन्यवाद छ कि. उन्का अनुग्रहले पठायाको काम गरी फर्कि आयाको तीमोहरू संग फेरी भेटघाट गर्न पायो हस-चलको त्यो कठिन चार वर्ष सम्म हिंदुस्थानमा रहि हामीवाट पटाई बक्सेकोकाम सिद्ध गरी तीमोहरूले अपना मुलुक र देस देसावरमा पनि यस कीर्ती बडा गरेर आयो. यो बहुत घुसीको कुरा छ. छाउनीमा रही गर्नु पर्ने काम दुदस्त हिसाब गर्दामा होस वा रणभूमि ऐक रति नडगी-दुस्मनसंग सम्बुध हुदामा होस तीमोहरूले राओ हिसाब संग काम पार लगायका छौ. तीमो अफिसर देषी सिपाही सम्मका सबको घालचलन् तालीम तारीफ् सायकको भयाको छ. त्यसमा ऐक दुई जनाले बाहेक तीमोहरू विदा भै जाने बेलामा हामीवाट वि बक्सेको नसिहत अति बमोजिम सबले सन्धी काम गरेका छौ. तीमो छोरा नानी सुप्रदिप्त मान्यवर जनरल सर बबर शम्सेर राणा के सिपस आई' नेपाल प्रताप बर्धक र रंफल महिन्द्र दल पल्टनलाई बजीरीस्थानको लडाईमा जात्राको मौका मिल्दा तेस बयत भारी नाम राखी तीमोहरूले गरेको कामको बयान इन्डिया गभरमेटवाट बेलाईतमा रहेका इन्डियाका सेक्रेटरी अफ स्टेट छेऊ गयाको सन १९१८ जनवरी ११ तारीखको जाहेरीमा लेखियाको छ. तीमो छोरा नानीको बारेमा मेरो दिलमा लागी रहेको सन्धीको सर्व मलेनं अनिरहनु मलाई असजिलो लाग्दछ तापनी म यतित्ता भन्दछु कि तीमोलाई लगाई बक्सेको काम जतिको उम्दा हिसाब संग तीमोले तामेल गरेका छौ त्यसवाट मलाई बहुत सन्तोष लागेको छ सो सिओ लाएकि कामको प्रसम्सा हिन्दुस्थानका जनाय भाईसराय कम्यान्डर इन चीफ् वाट पनी बरावर भै आयाको छ. तीमोहरू गहले गरेको काम तीमोहरूवाट भयाको महत्तको सन्धेप बयान भाईसराय मौलुफवाट तीमोहरू यस तरफ् आउने बेला को बिदाईको रिश्तुमा दिनु भयाको स्वीचमा पनी बोलनु अयाको छ । जस्तो उमेद हामीवाट राषी बक्सेको थियो उस्तै तीमोहरू सबले आफ्नो कर्तव्य काम बेदाग संग पूरा गरी हामी गोर्खालीको रोच रबाफ् घुब-बडाई आयी अहिले हाओ स्वजातिय रोच रबाफको कुरा गर्दा हाओ हुकुम घुसी साथ मानी बूटिस गोर्खा पल्टंमा भर्ना हुन भै सच्चा विरले जसरी लडनु पछं उसं हिसाब संग बहादुरी साथ लडी ठाउ ठाउका रणभूमि उसमा गोर्खालीको नाम कहिल्यै नबिसिने गराउने हाओ मुलुकका बहादुर जवानको कुरा पनी समझना भै आउछ तिनको ठूलो बहादुरी कामको पनी सुपदाको प्रतिबन्धी हाओ दिलमा गडीरहेको छ ।

जनरल अफिसर फौजका जवानहरू तीमोहरूले उठाई गयाका कठिनको काम राओ गरी सफल भै समाप्त भएकोमा म तीमोहरू संग घुसी प्रफाल गरेंछु सो काम निमक संझी पैर लाही साथ तबधन लगाई पार गरी

भाषाकोभा तिमोहरूलाई हाँफो धन्यवाद छ, जनहि सर्वलाई अलग अलग धन्यवाद भनिरहनु निर्वाह नहुने हुनाले तिमोहरू सर्वलाई एकचोटि नै यो भन्दछु "स्वाधास बेस मन्वी, तिमोहरू बेपि हामी गदगद छी ।"

तिमोहरूले गरेको कामको कदरको हिसावले ल्याफत र काम्हेरी वपत् वपत्भा तिमोहरूमा घेरं लाई दर्जा पान्को वडाई दियाको छु तेसमा कसं कसंले आफ्नो असल ल्याफत र काम देपाई चाड् चाडं वडि दर्जा पाउदै गे हुबलदार जमादार सेकेड सेफटेन् सेफटेन सम्म पनि हुन पायाका छी. अब अहिले तिमोहरू गंहुलाई वाडिदिना निमित्त भडाई लाय रुपैया वसेको छ. यसमा सिपाही जयाने पिछेलाई २० रुपैया पाउने भयाका छी. सो दरबन्दी वमोजीम् तिमोहरू सर्वलाई बाडो सके पछि जो बाकी रहन आउला सो दाम जति वजिरीस्तानको सडाईमा जाने जनरल लगायत रंकल र माडिद्र पल्टनका अफिसर र फौजका जवान अरु सह पायाको दरमा थपि पाउने छी अब केही दिन तिमोहरूलाई घर विदा मिल्नेछ तेसमा विदा नपाई रहेको वर्ष १ को एक महिनाको दरले विदा र बाटोको म्याद पनि पाउनेछी. अफिसरहरू र विदा पुगे पछि फेरि सामेल (न) हुने बाहेक तिमोहरू सर्वलाई आउने सालको धर्मोति रनि अहिले भयो सो विदामा जानु घर यती आराम गर विदावाट तिमोहरू फकि आयापछि सेर सिंहनाथ रामदल मंथं भंरवनाथ पमुपती प्रसाद जबरजड पल्टनका सिपाहीहरूको तलब वडाई दि वसने छ. घर बोवा पुगेपछि फेरी सामेल भया पछी तिमोहरूमा कसंलाई असर्थो परि नाम कटाई घर बस्नाको इच्छा हुन गयो भने सो इच्छा पनी पुरा गर्राई बस्तीला तिमोहरू सर्वले आज अधि जुन हिसाब दुरस्त चाल चलनमा रहि हामीवाट सहनी पायाका छी. अब पछि पनी उत्तं हिसाब चालचलनमा रहि हामीवाट सहनी पाउदै रहने छी भन्या हामीलाई पुरा आसा र भर लागेको छ.

सव्ज र वरव पल्टन साविकं ठाड पाल्पामा नं जाने भयाका छी. वरव पल्टनका तिमो जवानहरूलाई साविक तसवमा महिनावारी मो रु १॥ थपी ७ रुपैया तिमोहरूले पान ज्याला पाउने छी पालिमा भर्ना हुनेले महिनाको ६॥ पाउनेछन्.

अधो ७१ सालमा जानेको र पछि द्राफ (?) मा जाने जवानहरूको हिन्दुस्थान जानु भन्दा अगाडीको कट्टा नमं रहेको गदर पनी माफी वसेको छ. १

जनरल थवर शंतेर अब तिम्रो मासेल र कम्पांडर इन चीफ ओ जाहा रहेका जनरलहरूले मानेको कदर चिह्न भनी यो इज्जतको तरवार तिमोलाई वपसदा हामिलाई वडो घुसी हासिल हुन्छ. हिन्दुस्थान गयाका हाँफा फौजका जनरलहरू र पल्टंका कमांडिड अफिसरहरूले तिमोहरूले उनीहरूको निमित्त गरेको मेहनतका पातिर धन्यवादको लेटर ... को मैदानमा तिमोहरूलाई दियाको रहेछन् '... तेसवाट पनि तिमोले जाहा तहि सर्व ठाउमा भारी सहनी पायाका रहेछी भन्थे साफ देपाउछ. तिमोले चार वर्ष सम्म नेपाल सरकारको प्रतिनिधी नै हिन्दुस्थानका आर्मी हेड क्वार्टर्समा रहि लगाई दियाको काम तारिफ लायक संग तामेल गरेकोमा तिमोलाई हाँफो धन्यवाद छ ।

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मकल माफी गरेको विवरण निम्नबमोजिम छ —

१९७१ साल फागुन २०/२१ गते हिन्दुस्थान जानेको ७१ सालको गयल दिन	६९४९ को मोरु	१४०४।२८
७२ साल पौष ६ गते जानेको ७२ सालको गयल दिन	१६७१९ को मोरु	३३४६।६०
७३ साल मार्ग २९ गते जानेको ७३ सालको गयल दिन	६८५४ को मोरु	१३५९।८
७४ साल ज्येष्ठ २८ गते जानेको ७४ सालको गयल दिन	६० को मोरु	१२।
७४ साल फाल्गुण ९ गते जानेको ७४ सालको गयल दिन	७२० को मोरु	१५३।
७४ साल चैत्र २६ गते जानेको ७४ सालको गयल दिन	१७ को मोरु	३।४०
१९६८ साल ज्येष्ठ १६ गते वैश्वि ७४ साल भाद्र तकको बाकी गयल माफिको		२५३०।४४
सि. नं. २११ (२६६) शाही जंगी अड्डाको अभिलेख अनुसार		