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NATIONAL SEMINAR ON POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN NEPAL

On the occasion of the silver jubilee of the Panchayat System Tribhuvan University/CNAS held a 5-day national seminar on "Political Development and Social Change in Nepal" on December 7-11, 1986 at Hotel De L'Annapurna. The seminar was sponsored by Panchayat Policy and Evaluation Committee. Sixteen papers were presented at the seminar. They highlighted the following themes: Role of Leadership; People's Participation; Political Dissent; Political Development and Culture; Social Institutions, Social Dynamics and Values; Socio-economic Foundations; National Integration; National Identity.

GEMEINSAME TAGUNG DER DEUTSCHEN GESELLSCHAFT FÜR VÖLKERKUNDE, DER ÖSTERREICHISCHEN ETHNOLOGISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT UND DER ANTHROPOLOGISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT IN WIEN

A conference held at the Institut für Völkerkunde der Universität zu Köln und dem Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museum Für Völkerkunde, October 5th - 9th, 1987, featured a session on Südasien organized by Professor Georg Pfeffer (Berlin) and Susanne von der Heide, M.A. (Freiburg). The following papers on Nepal were presented:

D. Schuh (Bonn).
"Probleme der Bevölkerungsstatistik im Nördlichen Nepal."

S. von der Heide (Freiburg).
"Migration und Mobilität der Thakali in Nepal."

H. Schrader (Bielefeld).
"Die 'Walongchung' aus Ostnepal."

J. Pfaff (Zürich).
"Die autonome 'village community' in Nepal."

C. Euler (Zürich).
"Warenabfluss und Arbeitskräftemigration aus einem Tamang-Dorf im Einzugsgebiet der Hauptstadt Kathmandu."

G. Hanssen (Kiel).
"Sprachliche Minderheiten in Nepal: Mobilität und Nepalisierung."

N. Kishore Rai (Kathmandu).
"The Rai Minorities in the Limbu Area."

R. Greve (Hamburg).
"Zur Problematik des Begriffs 'Schamane' im Himalayaraum."
Naomi H. Bishop (University of Massachusetts-Boston).
"From Zomo to Yak: Change in a Sherpa Village."

Traditionally, Sherpas in this middle altitude village in Helambu, Central Nepal maintained herds of zomo which they moved from pasture to pasture throughout the year. Zomo are the female hybrid offspring of a cow and a yak, and are kept for milk production in a herd which consists of several zomo and a bull. The zomo pastoral strategy is unique: a hybrid dairy animal must produce mild, yet their offspring (F2 crosses) are themselves undesirable. There is no option to recruit stock from within the herd, so cash is necessary to purchase new hybrid stock from breeders. Fieldwork in 1986 indicated that this traditional pattern is shifting: now instead of herding zomo, some people are producing zomo. Instead of zomo and a bull, their herds consist of cows and a yak. This shift involves new techniques of animal husbandry, new patterns of transhumence, new economic considerations, and even implications for the traditional patterns of inheritance. This paper will explore the reasons for this shift and its implications for the lifestyle of the people of this village.

Charles W. Brown (Lund, Sweden).
"Outline of a Dynamic Model of Caste and Power in Kumaon, U.P. Himalaya."

The proposed paper is a condensed version of theoretical issues that have appeared in research carried out in the Kumaon region of the Uttar Pradesh Himalayas by my associate M.P. Joshi of Almora, U.P., India, and myself. The basic problem raised is the consolidation of an operative model that will explain the historical development of the Kumaon society between ca 1300 and 1900 A.D. An attempt is made to combine the archaeological and anthropological perspectives in a unified reconstruction of a society analyzed in terms of a dynamic socio-cultural model. An initial framework is the work of Louis Dumont. But a critical approach to Dumont is taken, in a post-structuralist spirit, in shifting the focus of analysis away from inflexible principles of organization and a priori meanings towards the ideas of power, "cultural shifts", and praxis. The result identifies a stable socio-cultural core through time based on "caste" as well as an extreme fluidity in socio-cultural exegesis that brings out the dynamic side of Indian society. The practical side of this model is emphasized in its ability to account for the on-going processes of Indian society, especially in the transition period between kingdom and British administration, which make up the bedrock of Indian (at least hill) society today.

Martha L. Carter (Madison, WI).
"The Early Evolution of the Gandharan Buddha Image."

In order to investigate the style of the earliest Gandharan Buddha images, we must move from what is known and datable, to what may be reconstructed of an earlier style. It is evident from DODDO coin reserves of Kanishka I that a fully recognizable Gandharan Buddha image had been created by that time. From an analysis of this coin imagery, the Buddha images of the Bimaran and Kanishka reliquaries, and a variety of sculptures from Swat, evidence may be collected as to the constituents of the earlier style, its evolution and the rationale behind its creation. The findings of Mme. van Loohuizen-de Leeuw's article, "New Evidence with regard to the Origin of the Buddha Image" will be discussed,
particularly in relation to Mathura. Additionally, the influences of Oriental Hellenism and Imperial will be set in chronological perspective.

James F. Fisher (Carleton College).
"Brahmin Revolutionaries: The Stories of Mr. and Mrs. Tanka Prasad Acharya."

This life-history project focuses on two individuals: Tanka Prasad, who founded the first political party in Nepal 51 years ago, and his wife, who assisted him throughout his career, including the ten years he spent in prison and his later years as Prime Minister. The attempt is made 1) to show how a fundamentally radical political philosophy can arise out of a traditional Hindu background, and 2) how a common body of experience—their married life over almost 60 years—is differently defined and evaluated along gender dimensions. But rather than sketching two separate lives, the objective is to draw a sexually stereoscopic portrait.

George Hibbard (The Asian Art Society of St. Louis).
"A Tshogs Zhing of the Thirty-five Buddhas of Confession."

A rarely met with design of a Refuge Tree or Assembly Field (Tshogs Zhing) is described and the text for its use is discussed. The primary iconography is the thirty-five confession Buddhas, with additional images Manjusri, Amitabha, and Tsong-kha-pa. It also contains an image of Suvarna Vaisravana, a variant subgroup of the eight Stupas of Sakyamuni, and the seven treasures of the Cakravartin. On the basis of comparison to other dGe lugs pa Tshogs Zhing it will be found that the basic iconography is radically different as is the principle method of meditation.

John C. Huntington (Ohio State University).
"The 'Shar mT'nun bris' School of Tibetan Painting."

Recent works on Tibetan Painting, (Pal:1986; Singer:1986) have brought to public attention early Tibetan paintings that reflect the school(s) of Eastern Indian painting. However, these early paintings have neither been placed in their traditional Tibetan context (Pal's "bKa' gdams pa school" is a blatant error) nor analyzed against the appropriate stylistic background of Indic and Nepali Painting. The total group of these paintings now known (about eighteen) is actually best understood if seen as an extension of the Bihari and Vangi schools of eastern Indian Painting known in Tibetan "Shar mthun bri", literally, style agreeing with the east". On the basis of these comparisons it becomes obvious that the early paintings, while identifiably Tibetan (various minor elements in the such as Chinese lokapala vitures, Tibetan monks etc. make this absolutely certain) are very close approximations of the Eastern Indian schools. Moreover, by further comparison to such documented paintings "in situ" as the murals in the Serai mound at Nalanda, the murals in the Lha-khang som-am at Alchi, the Gomba Lhakhang above Alchi, and the many palm leaf manuscripts with illustrations from eastern India and Nepal, it becomes obvious that the paints are actually the product of a number of regional sub-styles.

Anning Jing (Ohio State University).
"Aniko (1244-1306): A Newari Artist in China."

Aniko was a leading artist and high ranking art official among the others who were responsible for many Buddhist, Taoist, Confucius and imperial monuments and images at the court of Yuan Dynasty of China. He established himself at Yuan court by his successful
restoration of a Song Dynasty bronze human figure. Since then the Yuan Emperors always entrusted him with responsibility for important imperial projects. His major accomplishments include nine great Buddhist temples, three stupas, one Taoist temple and two shrines. It is important to realize that he was not working individually in Yuan court but was a first grade high ranking official in charge of two large ministries with hundreds of officials. It is also important to note that Aniko's career did not stop after his forty years of service at Yuan court. His son Ashengge continued his fathers career as a leading artist and art official. Aniko's most important Chinese student is Liu Yuan.

Ralph Magnus (Naval Post Graduate School).

"Pakistan's Long Term Views on the Future of Afghanistan."

Pakistan's views on the current conflict in Afghanistan are reasonably well known, and have not changed significantly since being adopted in the immediate aftermath of the Soviet invasion. Since the beginning of indirect talks under United Nations auspices in 1982, the structural elements to secure these views have been largely unchanged as well. These involve, aside from the Geneva talks, practical and moral support for the Afghan refugees and mujahidin and co-ordination with Pakistan's friends and allies. Similarly, the domestic, regional and superpower elements influencing Pakistan's assessments have remained constant, although their relative weights have undoubtably shifted over time. A largely neglected aspect of Pakistan's Afghanistan policy has been its longer range views of the future of Afghanistan, a natural enough neglect given the intractability of the immediate conflict there. Yet, such views are bound to be an important element of any settlement and they may well prove to be either an obstacle or a vacillating factor in the achievement of a negotiated settlement. This study will evaluate Pakistan's long term views on Afghanistan and the future of Pakistan-Afghanistan relations in terms of: 1) Historical continuities, 2) The dynamics of the current conflict, 3) Future Afghan regimes as desirable, acceptable, or unacceptable to Pakistan.

Gregory Maskarinec (East-West Center, Honolulu, HA)


Two different traditions of controlled spirit possession are currently practiced in Jajarkot District of Western Nepal: Dhamis - comparable to those found throughout the Bheri/Karnali Basin, and - identical to those among the Kamis & Magars of Eastern Rukum and the Bhujel Valley. These district practitioners frequently treat the same clients and often claim the authority of the same agents of possession; otherwise they show extremely little borrowing from each other's traditions. The distinctiveness of the two practices is first ethnographically examined, drawing upon my six years of research in that district. I then examine details of the language used in states of possession to further contrast Dhamis with Jhakris, concentrating in particular on how each uses language differently to authenticate the practitioner as the vehicle of a particular spirit. In particular, two oral texts, each used at the beginning of a trance state curing ceremony, each a spirit's life history, are compared. The relationship between the spirit and the spirit intercessor calling it are demonstrated to differ considerably in the two traditions, calling for different uses of ritual language.

Stephen L. Mikesell (Kathmandu, Nepal).

"Newar Community, Caste Relations, and the State in West-Central Nepal."

This paper presents the historical development of a Newar Bazaar town in Nepal in terms of the development of particular interests represented in various caste groups in their
relationship to the state and to each other. It argues that while caste is the framework in which state hegemony is exerted, and lends an appearance of unity of interests within the town, the community actually consists of a plurality of interests. Although such towns have been called "Newar" towns, their form and character are created in the process of alienation of other groups by the Newars as merchants.

Warren Moon (Madison, WI).
"Gandhara From a Classical Art Historian’s Perspective."

Complex iconographic and stylistic problems related to the Buddhist art of Gandhara will be discussed from the perspective of a classic art historian.

Paul E. Muller-Ortega (Michigan State University).
"Esoteric Dimensions of the Shaiva Tantra of Kashmir."

In his masterful and encyclopedic work, the Tantraloka, Abhinavagupta (10th cent. C.E.) often draws a veil over certain considerations claiming that they are too secret (rahasya, guhya) to be discussed in a text and should only be imparted by means of direct initiation. One of the puzzles that faces scholars of this and other such exoteric traditions is how to deal with such tantalizing statements. Is it possible to compensate for the lack of closure introduced into the almost exclusively textual study of these traditions by such reservations on the part of the author? This paper will address itself to this problem in two ways. The first part of the paper will attempt to describe the basic features that constitute the esoteric nature of the Shaiva Tantra of Kashmir including: 1) the essentially initiatory character of the tradition; 2) the consequent secondary or accessory nature of any texts associated with the tradition; 3) the use of a multivalent symbolic language in the texts often made to be deliberately non-disclosive to the use of the uninitiated; 4) the "transgressive" character of one of the central rituals of the tradition; 5) the spiritual "elitism" predominant in the tradition based on a gradation of practitioners linked to the reception of varying levels of saktipata; 6) the essentially experiential rather than "philosophical" character of the tradition. In the light of these concrete facets of the esoteric nature of the tradition, the second part of the paper will explore some of the methodological problems inherent in the study of this or other, similarly esoteric, religious traditions.

Anup Pahari (University of Wisconsin-Madison).
"A Study on the Peasantry of Kathmandu Valley."

It has been said that the peasants of the Kathmandu Valley are among the most productive agriculturists in Asia, their organization of production almost akin to horticulture or gardening. These are the Newar, or more accurately, the Jyapu people of Kathmandu who have farmed the fertile soils of the valley from antiquity and whose labor continues to be expended even today in meeting some of the cereal and most of the legume demands of a growing metropole in addition to subsistence production. Yet, in both the history of the inhabitants of the Kathmandu Valley, as well as in the history of the peasant populations of Nepal the Jyapus have been by and large relegated to footnote status. In most studies they are treated as a small section of the Newar people and their social, economic and cultural lives are assigned a marginal place within the larger elite Newar culture, art and religion. In this paper we take as our starting point the simple fact that populations have to produce their conditions of material existence and that for the longest period this has meant, within the Valley of Kathmandu, agricultural production. Control over and the surplus thereby generated formed the core mechanisms through which the social and political systems
ensured continuity. It was on the basis of the surplus generated from the land that the historic monuments, palaces and artistic splendor of the ancient and medieval kingdoms of Kathmandu were constructed and maintained. The socio-economic structures and processes that were historically mobilized to organize agriculture and agricultural labor are therefore of fundamental importance to any understanding of the history of the Valley in general. The focus of the paper will be on the changing nature of these mechanisms of social organization of production and the modes in which the Jyapu peasantry has sought to accommodate or resist these historically. These will be traced to the current period and the fundamental alterations in social and economic relations ushered in by the Gorkha conquest and the opening up of the Valley to the external world will be analyzed as it has affected the Jyapu peasantry. Some unique historical combinations like the "urban peasant" will be analyzed in light of the debates on the development of capitalism and the transformation of the peasantry in other parts of the world. Also, the effects on the peasant socio-demographic structure, of the growth of educational, public health and medical facilities, non-agricultural urban jobs and the rising value of real estate in Kathmandu will be examined and compared to other models of peasant transitions.

Joan Raducha (University of Wisconsin-Madison).
"Problems Related to the Study of the Buddhist Art of Nimogram."

New research results related to sculptural traditions of the Swat Valley Buddhist site of Nimogram will be presented. While most Buddhist sites typically have a single main stupa, Nimogram is interesting in that it has three main stupas, one for the Buddha, one for the Dharma and one for the Sangha. Much of the superb sculpture found at the site has now been removed to the Swat museum in Saidu Sharif. The Nimogram material has been studied for several years.

Deva B. Eswara Reddy (Andhra Pradesh Agricultural University, India).
"Sharing of Information Resources in South Asia: Problems and Perspectives."

The availability and access to information generated in any country in South Asia will be more appropriate and adoptable by other countries in the Region than the sophisticated information from technologically advanced countries. Smaller the country smaller the resources and greater the constraints of keeping the scientific and technical personnel abreast of foreign developments. Therefore there is greater scope for sharing of information resources without duplicating the services. This paper describes the existing mechanism of bibliographical control; the national information and documentation services emanating from the region and effort of these countries as input agencies towards the international information services. Points out variety of non-conventional documents not being covered by any of the centers in the region. Discusses the economic viability and feasibility of extending the scope of mission/commodity oriented national information centers particularly in India to other countries, backed up with an effective document delivery system.

Carolyn W. Schmidt (Columbus, Ohio).
"Compassion Bodhisattva Hairstyles in Gandharan Buddhist Art."

Gandharan Bodhisattva images may be separated typologically into two groups, those of compassion and those of wisdom. Figures which are placed in the compassion bodhisattva grouping are related to early conceptions of Maitreya Bodhisattva and are shown without the traditional Indian turban which adorns the head of Siddhartha in Gandharan imagery. The purpose of the presentation will be to demonstrate a system for separating compassion-type
Bodhisattva images into three distinct categories based primarily on hair fashion. In accordance with the conceptions formulated as a part of my dissertation research effort, these categories have been designated as Hairstyles I-III. The system offers one method for bringing order to the enormous confusion of known sculptural holding widely dispersed in museums and private collections throughout the world; it allows for the grouping together of such figures as belong together typologically and stylistically, for clarifying the relative position of pieces placed in each category, and for the identification ichnographic differences. Additionally, it allows for the proposal of a relative chronology based on three primary and overlapping stylistic phases of development.

Linda Stone (Washington State University).

"Cultural Crossroads of Community Participation: An Examination of Medical Development Programs in Nepal."

"Community participation" in development is by now an established, even revered, strategy in development programs around the world. It has clearly dominated and outlasted many other development "fads". Yet, as with other fads, enthusiasm for it has blocked critical evaluation of it, and in particular has prevented the raising of fundamental questions about its cross-cultural viability. This paper raises some of these questions and explores problems with community participation through a discussion of its application to medical development programs in the country of Nepal. The paper argues that community participation is a development strategy that sharply reflects Western, and especially American, values of individualism and equality. Discussing the application of community participation in the medical development of Nepal, I suggest that an unreflective imposition of this strategy in the Nepalese context is in fact hampering medical programs.

Raju G.C. Thomas

"Prospects for Peace in Afghanistan."

Prospects for peace in Afghanistan have improved significantly since early 1987. This is due both to the Soviet's expressed willingness to withdraw their forces in a much reduced time (sixteen months), once a peace settlement is achieved, and the Kabul government's proposal for a national coalition government, comprising the communists and opposition parties, including the resistance. The promised time-bound withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan should satisfy the security concerns of regional and international powers such as Pakistan, China, Iran, Saudi Arabia, and the United States. Similarly, a coalition government that is not dominated by the communists is likely to be supported by many Afghans, including some groups within the Afghan resistance. Although, the fundamentalists resistance groups have rejected the idea of a coalition government with the communists, if the proposal receives the blessing of regional and international powers supporting the Afghan resistance, the fundamentalists will not be able to prevent the realization of such a proposal and its effectiveness. However, a coalition government that is dominated by the communists is less likely to be supported by the Afghans and their international supporters. Thus, the important issue is the nature of the proposed coalition government which neither the Soviets nor the Afghan government have clarified. However, it seems that now the Soviets are genuinely interested in seeking peace in Afghanistan, and thus, might be willing to accept an Afghan regime that is friendly to the Soviets, but is not necessarily dominated by the Communists.
Bradley L. Tindall (Ohio State University).
"Iconometrics of the Mahabodhi Stupa in the Sino-Tibetan Tradition."

Recently, the Da cheng dao mi ji (Secret collection of works on the quintessential path of the Mahayana), a Yuan period collection attributed to 'Phags-pa, was brought to light and published (Taipei, 1981). One of the texts in the collection describes in detail a set of proportional measurements to be applied in the planning and construction of mahabodhi stupas. Specifically, the text describes a Tibetan-style structure of the type imported into China during the Yuan period. This text, or one similar to it, may have served as an iconometric manual for the construction of actual stupas in China. Therefore, a full English translation of the text is considered followed by a comparative iconometric study of remaining Yuan structures. These include the podium of the Juyong Guan at the pass of the Great Wall northwest of Beijing, and the Baita at the Miaoying Si in Beijing. Because of its importance in the transmission of iconometric conventions to China, the central Asian stupa “Cuburgan A” in the ruins of Kharakhoto will also be considered. Through the treatment of such structures, it is hoped that some conclusions may be reached concerning Tibetan-style stupas in China during the Yuan. The study may also have implications for the continuation of the Sino-Tibetan mahabodhi stupa tradition in the Ming and Qing periods.

Dwight A. Tkatschow (Syracuse University).
"The Rite of the Langali Wood; Observations on an Unusual Indian Tantric Ritual Belonging to the Vajrayogini-Cakrasamvara Tradition."

One of the more esoteric and unusual rituals of the Indian Tantric tradition is the rite of the Langali wood. It is a Buddhist ritual belonging to the esoteric cycles of a Vajrayogini and Cakrasamvara. Specifically, it is a ritual adjunct to the eleven yogas concerned with the form of the Vajrayogini referred to as Khecari (Tib. Na-ro Mkha'-phyod-ma) or Sarvabhddhadakini. This is the special form of Vajrayogini which was envisioned by the great Indian pandit and siddha, Naropa (A.D. 10-16-110). It was transmitted to the Phamthing brothers of Nepal, eventually passing into Tibet, where it survives as part of the tradition of the “Thirteen Golden Teachings” (Tib. gSer-chos bCu-gsum lugs) belonging to the Sa-skya-pa sect. The rite is unusual in that it describes an elaborate method of ceremony and pilgrimage disclosing the procedures whereby a practitioner of the middling grade who has not attained liberation through the normal means of retreat and the practices of the yogas of Vajrayogini is able to come into direct contact with Vajrayogini while still in the flesh. Through the various procedures divulged in the text of the rite, the practitioner embarks on a journey wandering through various regions in the Indian sub-continent in order to find Vajrayogini in the guise of an ordinary woman. Upon the ascertainment of her location, through adjuration, etc. the practitioner is physically transported to the realm of Vajrayogini and through a process of transmogrification, his body is transformed into that of a sixteen year old youth, in turn becoming a vidyadhara. In this paper, I will discuss the details of the rite of the Langali wood together with the pertinent details relating to its history, tradition, and its relationship to the yogas and other rituals of Vajrayogini. The materials and the basis of the discussion are based upon the extant literature surviving in the Tibetan language.

Aditya K. Tyagi (Syracuse University).
"Tourism and the Changing Image of Leh (Ladakh)."

Leh (Ladakh), the land of the Buddhist monasteries and Gompas, more commonly known as the moon-land or the roof-top of the world, was opened to the outside world in 1974. During 1974-85, tourist influx to this area has registered a twenty-six fold increase (600 tourists in 1974 and 16,000 in 1985). The place and its people are now witnessing changes
particularly in the cultural domain. This paper focuses on some of the changes in the core values of Ladakhi culture as a result of its interactions with the outside world on a regular basis. This paper analyzes the process of culture change influenced from outside, in a society that had been far removed from the outside world. It raises some issues that are pertinent to inter-cultural communication and development planning from an anthropological perspective. The paper is based on data from field research in India during 1984-85.

**URBAN FORM AND MEANING IN SOUTH ASIA**

A symposium titled "Urban Form and Meaning in South Asia: The Shaping of Cities from Prehistoric to Precolonial Times," sponsored by the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, and the American Institute of Indian Studies, was held at the National Gallery of Art on December 3-5, 1987. The following paper dealt with Nepal:

Niels Gutschow (Universität Kiel).

"Bhaktapur: The New Year (bisketjatra)- Recreation of an Urban Space in the Kathmandu Valley, Nepal."