

THE NEWAR PEASANTS OF BHAKTAPUR NAGAR, KATHMANDU VALLEY, NEPAL

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Introduction

Although this paper deals with a very small part of Nepal, since the land was ethnographically unknown up to a few decades ago, and still little information the media provide for the public, so I will start with a general introduction to the country. The Kingdom of Nepal (*Nepal Adhiraja*), is today the only Hindu kingdom in the world, with its population of roughly 13,680,000.⁽¹⁾ It has an area of 145,391 km².⁽²⁾ Her borders face the Tibet Region of the People's Republic of China in the north and face India to its south, west and east.⁽³⁾ Nepal is a typical land locked country with the geopolitical conditions which characterize her efforts for maintaining a good balance of favorable relations with her neighbours. This is shown not only in her recent history as one of the founding members of the Non-aligned Movement, but it has been her constant stand to strive for a peaceful environment for the nation.⁽⁴⁾

From the snowy peaks of the Himalayas to the fertile Gangetic plain of the Terai, Nepal exhibits a variety of climates, fauna and culture as her topography is conditioned by the various levels of altitude; from the lowest southern river plain where Lumbini lies, the birth place of Lord Buddha so sacred to Buddhists in and out of Nepal, to the highest northern mountain range among which stands Mount Everest, or *Sagar Matha* (Holy Mother) as Nepalese people call her with respect, for it is the sacred seat of the Hindu gods and goddesses. In-between these two, lies a mountainous land where people cultivate every drape and corner of hills, mountains and valleys forming a typical scene of Nepal's rural landscape of breathtakingly intricate patterns of terraced fields from

the bottom of valleys to the mountain tops.⁽⁵⁾

Nepalese people are mostly farmers⁽⁶⁾ and traders of their agricultural products and handicraft items, and reaching afar in search of the products of the west and the east, and of the north and the south. From the south come dyeing powder, cloth materials, and rice; from the north come rock salt, butter and cheese; from the east come jute, tea, and yak and goats; and from the west come carpets, sheep, and medicinal herbs. From the central Kathmandu Valley, come chili, cardamon, clay pots, wooden and metal crafts, topi, sari and other fabrics. During these recurring trading journeys, they sometimes find their new place to settle which is taken in a casual manner.⁽⁷⁾ Probably this could have been one factor among many to explain the complex historical stratification of Nepalese society.⁽⁸⁾ The settlement pattern of the valley of Solu-Khumbu well illustrates the recurrent immigration of different ethnic groups, the tolerance of the old inhabitants, and the manner of assimilation into the area being of a mosaic array type – i.e. to maintain their own cultural tradition and not of mingling or melting type – but over times to adjust the customs to the old inhabitants to acquire minimum social rank in the hierarchy of prestige – i.e. to adopt the clan names.⁽⁹⁾ Dating back to the Middle Ages, Nepal functioned as a very active trading junction connecting Tibet and India. Her cultural and religious complexity is seen today in various parts of Nepal where people show a generous tolerance. The interaction did not result in a melting pot, but, in both urban and rural settings, it was rather in an array of mosaic patterns of various cultural elements co-existing and seeking an optimum balance of favorable relations among various ethnic groups.⁽¹⁰⁾ This is one reason why Nepal is called an ethnic museum attracting foreigners' interests for cultural tolerance.

During the Rana Regime which started in 1846, Nepal closed her borders to foreigners and forbade the Nepalese to go abroad until 1951.⁽¹¹⁾ This national isolation prevented the country from foreign occupation but also retarded the nation's economic and technical development. After 1961, when the Panchayat system was established and the old land holding system by *Chautariya* (those who had been once *Rajas* of the

local principalities before the unification of Nepal under Pritvi Narayan Shah) became abolished, Nepal started to strive for the modernization and for the development of her national economy, while maintaining its cultural heritage and historical tradition of independence as a nation.⁴² Under the new constitution, replacing the old law code (*Mulki Ain*) which had been introduced by the Ranas, Nepal started to seek the maximum utilization of her limited material resources and man power resources by a "planned economy".⁴³ This year is the last year of the Fifth Five Year Plan, where the main stress has been on agricultural development and providing a basis for strengthening the infrastructure like link roads, highways, suspension bridges, airfields, the local telephone exchanges, and micro- and middle-wave communication systems. The purpose is to integrate distant areas into a national economic network, and to equally distribute all her products to attain a balanced development. To serve this purpose, four zonal centers for developmental tasks have been set up at Surkhet in the far-western region, at Pokhara in the western region, at Kathmandu in the central region, and at Dhankuta in the eastern region, each serving to finance and co-ordinate local panchayat development projects in co-operation with the Agricultural Bank and the Agricultural Co-operatives. Another important aspect of the Fifth Five Year Plan is its emphasis on education and the national language program. Three years of Primary Education was made free from the first year of the Fifth Plan.⁴⁴ As a consequence of this program, Nepali has become the language of instruction and is gaining an importance as a dominant lingua franca of Nepal gradually replacing English.⁴⁵ But many people are bi- or tri-lingual maintaining their identities with their parental ethnic affiliations, and English is still an important means of communication in their heterogenous cultural complex.⁴⁶

I Kathmandu Valley and the Three Towns

Kathmandu Valley is a rich agrarian basin some 1,500m above sea level, where green rice fields surround the *Gaon* (village) or *Nagar* (town). These are residential clusters of red-brown brick-made buildings usually

four or five stories which house a family or several families under one clan name. Most prominent among the numerous temples and shrines is the shiny golden Pashupati Nath (a Hindu temple of Lord Pashupati) by the Baghmata River. The hills and mountain peaks of the Himalayas, the Mahabharatas and the Siwaliks surround the whole valley basin. The annual mean maximum temperature is 25.4°C and the daily minimum is 12.0°C. The total annual rainfall is 1,417.2mm with a heavy monsoon rainfall in July-August.⁹⁷ This gives the valley an excellent condition for cultivation of crops such as paddy, maize, millets, wheat, potato, onion, oilseeds, chili and other vegetables.

There are three main towns adjacent to each other in the valley of Kathmandu; first, the capital city of Kathmandu, with its modern urban outlook and facilities and 299,320 inhabitants,⁹⁸ secondly, Patan (or Lalitpur) about 2km south of Kathmandu, with its fame in craftsmanship and 168,418 inhabitants,⁹⁹ and lastly, Bhaktapur (or Bhadgaon) about 10km east of Kathmandu, which was a main trading post with Tibet with its flourishing economy in the Middle Ages. This now houses 113,692 people.¹⁰⁰ (See Appendix I: Map of the Kathmandu Valley Towns).

In Kathmandu, 46.7% of the population are the Newars, 18.8% Chhetris, 16.1% Brahmans, and 10.7% are Tamangs. In Patan, the Newars count for 50.7%, Chhetris 20.7%, Tamangs 11.6% and Brahman 10.1%. In Bhaktapur, the Newars count for 55.2%, Chhetris 20.9% and Brahman 10%.¹⁰¹ The Newars are said to be native to this valley but the others come to this valley as they were attracted by the urban setting of the place, or else they came as the conquerors. In any case, the Newars remain the dominant population of the valley. G. S. Nepali writes, "The rapid increase of the Gorkha population may be attributed mainly to the practice of polygyny, along with the practice of contracting morganatic marriage with the Newar women. In contrast, the Newars not only generally restrict themselves to monogamy, but also feel reluctant under social pressures to accept wives from the other ethnic groups. Besides, the special laws which are still in existence in theory, forbidding the non-Gorkhas from taking wives from the Gorkhas and the freedom for the latter to take wives from the Newar castes may have perhaps enabled the

polygynous Gorkhas to add to their population . . . the Valley being the main centre of employment for the Nepalese, it is attracting migration from all parts of the country, and therefore, the Newar population is exposed to the threat of still further reduction in its proportional strength in the future.”²² This is somewhat an over-emphasized statement giving “the conqueror Gorkha vs. the threatened Newar” type contrast scheme. The phenomena of polygyny and inter-caste marriage are observed among the Newars as well. Even the Newars showed more cases of the inter-caste marriage than other ethnic groups in the data given by Caplan.²³ Also the urban-setting of the valley attracting migration is as true as that it produces emigrating population into other localities on trading journeys.

The Newars are described as an ethnic group by G. S. Nepali mainly because of their language, Newari. But in Kathmandu at my time of survey there were people who told me that they are Newars but use Nepali language only and could not speak Newari. They identify their ethnic affiliation because of their memories of common ancestors, clan names, *Phuki* relations, and observing ethnic activities, and the language (either in use or in the memory of using it). G. S. Nepali’s statement “Thus Kathmandu is the most ethnically mixed zone where the Nepali speakers form a percentage of 28.32. In other towns the percentages of Nepali speakers are: Patan (19.82) and Bhatgaon (1.91).”²⁴ This relies on language as an ethnic group determinant. The education of the people is related to the diffusion of languages in Kathmandu. At the time of my opinion survey of the students in Kathmandu, the distribution of the birthplaces of the students was as follows:

Place Sex	Bhaktapur	Kathmandu	Lalitpur	Central	Eastern	Western	Farwestern	India	Other	Total
Male	1 (%) 0.7	58 41.1	11 7.8	14 9.9	18 12.8	27 19.1	6 4.3	4 2.8	2 1.4	141 (47.2)
Female	1 (%) 0.6	123 77.8	17 10.8	1 0.6	3 1.9	5 3.2	2 1.3	4 2.5	2 1.3	158 (52.8)
Column Total	2 (%) 0.7	181 60.5	28 9.4	15 5.0	21 7.0	32 10.7	8 2.7	8 2.7	4 1.3	299 100.0

The language of instruction being Nepali, the percentage of the students from one town will be considered as one index of diffusion of the Nepali

language. As seen above, the percentage of students educated in the Nepali language being high in Kathmandu (60.5%) and so low in Bhaktapur (0.7%), the usage of language can not be fully taken as the indicator of the ethnic mixture or ethnic solidarity as they do not agree with the percentages of ethnic composition in the three towns.²⁹ Among the three towns, Bhaktapur is characterized by the high percentage of the Newars and by the small number of students educated in the capital city. There are even more students from India (2.7%), and the Western Region has 10.7% of the total students represented. It should be remembered that Bhaktapur is only 10km east of Kathmandu, while Pokhara, the main town of the Western Region is 200km west of the capital city.

An analysis of the Bhaktapur Development Project (commonly known as "the German Project" as it has started as a cooperation program between the two governments of the Kingdom of Nepal and the Federal Republic of Germany) shows that the economic decline of the once flourishing town of Bhaktapur started when its political status was taken over by Kathmandu in the process of political centralization after the unification of the country under Prithvi Narayan Shah in 1769, and this decline of economic power continued up to today. After 1951, the nation's efforts towards economic development resulted in providing and strengthening the infrastructure. One example is the construction of the Kodari Highway (commonly known as Chinese Highway because it started as a cooperation project between Nepal and China) which connected Tibet directly to Kathmandu. According to the German Project analysis, this construction of the Chinese Highway made Bhaktapur still weaker, in the manner that development seems to pass by the town as if the vehicles pass by the town through this highway. As a consequence of the loss in economic importance of Bhaktapur, the wealthier castes, who were the land owners and investor-entrepreneurs, tend to leave this town for the capital city. At my survey time, there were no land owners (non-cultivating land owners) resident in Bhaktapur in the samples. There were only land owner-cultivators and mixed type of owner-tenant-cultivators resident to Bhaktapur. I was told that most absentee land owners lived in Kathmandu. This supports the analysis of the German

Project.

II Bhaktapur Survey²⁶

In July-August, 1979, I conducted a survey on household heads in Bhaktapur. In four weeks, I visited 88 peasant households in all of the 17 *wada* (wards) of Bhaktapur Nagar. The population description of the *Nagar* is as follows:

Wada No.	Population	Wada No.	Population
1	2,261	2	2,274
3	2,389	4	1,885
5	2,063	6	2,386
7	2,503	8	2,719
9	2,704	10	2,414
11	2,552	12	2,321
13	2,669	14	3,001
15	2,313	16	2,431
17	2,645	Nagar Total	41,630

Source: Bhaktapur Nagar Panchayat Office
C. D. O. Mr. Madhav Upadhyaya

This Nagar Total Population figure of 41,630 is rather small compared to Frank's figure of 113,692 as mentioned before. According to the Population Census of 1971, the figure is 40,112 (Source: National Planning Commission, Mr. Shyam B. Srivastava). So it is closer to the figure given by the Bhaktapur Nagar Panchayat Office.

Of the total *Nagar*, there are 3,594 land owner cultivators and 4,972 tenant-cultivators.²⁷ Among them, CDO (Chief District Officer) Mr. Upadhyaya kindly helped me to acquire lists of *Jyapu*²⁸ household heads, out of which 6 samples were randomly selected at each *wada* level. In total, 102 household heads' names were selected by the 17 *wada* chiefs, who later kindly agreed to guide me to those houses. The average number of people in one household is 9.4 persons, while the minimum is 2 and the maximum is 29. The average size of a family is 6.1 persons in these samples.

Jyapu is a name of the Newar farmers. They are mostly Hindu (96.6% in my samples). Only 3.4% of them are Buddhist, while there is none without religion.

Out of 88 households, 20.4% are of nuclear or of subtypes of nuclear family (e.g. family of husband and wife without children or family of one parent with unmarried children). According to G. S. Nepali, the stem family is regarded as a subtype of the joint family in his Nepalese family study.⁸⁹ In my own data, the stem family accounts for 22.7%, and the joint family accounts for 47.7%. Combined together accordingly to Nepali's categorization, these are 70.4%. This figure is very close to the figure of 69.25% for the Newars of Kathmandu and Panga in G. S. Nepali's data.⁹⁰ But according to him, the wealthier castes show a higher tendency towards a joint family, while he considers the *Jyapus*, as a poor caste. These show the lowest percentage of jointness, namely 44.68%.⁹¹ He explains: "The proportion of persons served by the joint family is significant, because it reveals the extent to which the individual member's life is affected by the type of the family. If we analyse the family from this point of view, we find as much as 64.70 percent of members in the 222 sample families live in joint families But if we exclude the *Jyapoo*s from the sample of Kathmandu, we notice that the strength of members living in joint families in Kathmandu is as high as 71.60 percent".⁹² My data do not support this difference. The percentage of the joint family for the *Jyapus* was close to that for the whole Kathmandu and Panga.

Those who live separately from parents while both of them are still living account for 15.9%. The rest are living with either one or both of the parents, or lived with them until they died. However, 7.9% of the total samples lived with the parents only until the death of one parent and have separated themselves from the natal family. The living parent lives either alone or with one of the children. In theory, they give the answer that the aged parents should be supported by their children (94.3%), or by other relatives (5.7% which included mostly childless families and families with daughters only). But in practice, 29.5% of them have brothers separated to live after one parent died, or even before

parent's death. Most of the cases of brothers' separation occurs at one parent's death or one or two years later.

The age of the sample household heads are as follows:

20-29 years old	3.4%	50-59 years old	21.6%
30-39	15.9%	60-69	23.9%
40-49	27.3%	70 and above	8.0%

There was one man who was 101 years old, and he was treated as if he were a god by his family and neighbours. He always sat in the best place and had retired from all the work. But those who are above 70 years old with a few exceptions are mostly still active, cultivating in the field and responsible for farm management. On the whole, the household heads are not merely the eldest male member of the families, but they are the main persons in farm management. Of the total samples, 94.3% are the main persons in farm management and are the cultivators as well. Only 3.4% of them have retired and let the eldest son or other male members of the household take the responsibility of farm management. This 3.4% is very small when 8.0% of the total samples are of the age over 70 years old. The household head is not a title given to the eldest member of the household who exercises authority without being responsible to the actual management and cultivation. It is more than a symbolic status: the head is the real worker shouldering the responsibility of planning, managing, financing, organizing and cultivating the farm land.

Regarding the education of the household heads, 92.0% have no education whatsoever, while 3.4% have received only primary education (1-3 years), and 4.5% have received a secondary education (4-5 years). As to the education of the total household members in my samples, 29.6% of the male members are literate while only 3.1% of the female members are literate. Children are expected to take responsibilities at home and especially the girls are more expected to work than to study. Even though the primary education is free, and Her Majesty the Queen's nutrition program provides lunch for the children at school (cost: 6 rupees/month = ₹150), the children are kept at home without a chance to receive education.³³

III Household Economy

The income of these households is mainly attributed to the agricultural output for which the household heads are mainly responsible as much as for the allocation of income. As to the ratio of agricultural income to the total income, 70.1% answers that it accounts for more than 70% of the total income, 11.5% says that it accounts for 50 to below 70%, another 11.5% says that it accounts for 30 to below 50%. The land owner-cultivators among the samples depend on agricultural income less than 40% of the total income, while 72.2% of the owner-tenant mixed cultivators depend on agricultural income for more than 70% of the total income.

As to the reasons for doing agriculture, the answers did not show their own choice, therefore, no alternative was their answer (72.7%) together with the answer that "Because it is the family occupation" (64.4%). As regarding the future of agriculture, 86.0% wants to improve the productivity and wants to continue agriculture. Only 3.5% wants to quit agriculture either by expanding the scale of the present side-business (28.6%) or by seeking some paid job (14.3%) regarding their own future. But as to the future of their children, they want the children to continue agriculture because it is a sure way to support the life, although they expect their children to be educated and will earn more as paid workers.

The income distribution of the 88 households are as follows:

Income (rupees) per year	Households	Percentage
1500 - less than 2500	2	2.3%
2500 - less than 3500	5	5.7
3500 - less than 5000	9	10.3
5000 - less than 8000	31	35.6
8000 - less than 10000	9	10.3
10000 - less than 15000	20	23.0
15000 - less than 25000	7	8.0
25000 - less than 40000	2	2.3
40000 and above	2	2.3

This household income consists of: (1) gross income from crops + (2) gross income from domestic animals + (3) gross income from home-scale handicraft + (4) income from wages + (5) income from other sources, minus (6) ordinary tenant rent—(7) *Guthi* tenant rent—(8) *Jyami* charges. Now each of them should be explained here.

(1) Income from crops are mainly from rice (*wa*), but during the seasons suitable for wheat, the paddy is replaced by wheat (*chho*). Chili (*malta*), green vegetables (*tarkari*), and other spices are grown on a small space of land in-between paddy fields. The average size of the land used for these crops other than *wa* and *chho* is 1.18 *ropani* (1 *ropani* = 0.126 acre). The average size of the total farmland of a household is 9.7 *ropani* while the minimum is 1.5 *ropani* and the maximum is 40.0 *ropani*. Among those who own cultivated farm land, the average size of the farm land of their own is 5.1 *ropani* while the minimum is 0.5 *ropani* and the maximum is 40.0 *ropani*. The average size of the ordinary tenant farm land is 6.2 *ropani* while the minimum is 1.0 *ropani* and the maximum is 16.0 *ropani*. The average size of the *Guthi* farm land which the tenants are cultivating is 4.05 *ropani* of which the minimum is 0.7 *ropani* and the maximum is 9.5 *ropani*. *Guthi* is a term for a religious organization of people to hold rituals communally, finance the temple economy communally, and give services and receive help reciprocally. If there are 12 households for one *Guthi*, the 12 household heads are the *Guthi* members, each being responsible to finance and maintain the annual feasts and activities once every 12 years. The *Guthi* head is called *Thakali* and is the eldest member of the *Guthi* group. This headship is nominal according to seniority only, and when the *Thakali* is too old to manage things, the second eldest member will be assigned as an assistant head to the *Thakali*. I was told by a member of one large *Guthi* which had 34 members that the financing of its activities is very expensive. Last year was the year that the informant was responsible for financing the *Guthi* activities. He had to sell 6 *ropani* of his land to prepare 5,000 rupees in cash to finance a grand feast which was the main feast of the year. Since then he suffered from the expense and with the price of land increasing, he is not sure

even if he works very hard whether it is possible for him to buy back the sold land so that his son will have enough money to fulfil the responsibility in 34 years time. This is a vicious cycle of which they themselves are aware of, but as I was told that they fear to be thrown out of the *Guthi* system. To them the *Guthi* is a sure protection and a welfare agent. When any member of them becomes an orphan, this *Guthi* will look after him. When any member is child-less and there is no one to take the charge of his funeral, it is this *Guthi* who takes care of it. So they fear to be ousted from the *Guthi* more than they fear the economic fluctuation and being helpless in household budgetary allocation. They are aware of the fact that this system of communal reciprocity sometimes is beneficial in time of emergency but in most of the time is a heavy burden and strong social control over their economic potential. This is a residue of the form of organization for agrarian economy and social control. They are aware of the fact that the more the market-value type of economy increases its importance in an agrarian society by replacing the self-sufficient type of economy, in due course of the time, the less such type of organization form will function efficiently. Rather the small groups, such as the nuclear family, or the peer group will gain importance as the efficiently functioning elements in a society. (This is to be discussed again in the part of the labour exchange organization.)

The rent charge is usually higher for the *Guthi* land than the fixed government tenant rate (23 *pathi* or 10½ *muri* per *ropani*). But the rate is highest for the privately owned ordinary tenant land for which the land owner has the unlimited power and the tenant cultivators usually have to accept the higher charge. When I asked why they are paying the higher rent while they are aware of the government having fixed the rate, they told me that for generations they have been cultivating as tenants for the same land owners, and sometimes the farm land owners are at the same time the house and houseland owners, so the tenant cultivators have practically no choice. Also it is not easy to change the farm land from the one which for generations they have been cultivating and looking after, to the unknown new land. The rent is paid both in cash and in kind. Formerly it was paid more in kind. The rent is shown by the

amount of crops, such as the measuring units like *muri*, *pathi*, and *dharni* for which they use baskets to measure. Recently, these measuring units are calculated into rupees according to the market prices of the crops.

(2) Income from domestic animals includes buffalo milk selling, goat meat selling, and eggs and chicken selling. But usually because the number of the domestic animals is so small, this income does not account for very much. The average numbers of the domestic animals per household are: cattle = 1.02, sheep = 1.12, goat = 1.24, buffalo = 1.10, and chicken = 1.94. Rather they keep these animals for their domestic use so that for the festival feasts they do not have to buy them at the markets.

(3) Income from home-scale handicrafts includes pottery making, carpentry, yogurt making, *topi* (Nepalese cap) making, and weaving. Weaving is mainly done by wives of the household heads, unmarried daughters and daughters-in-laws. This weaving is very important for supplying the cloths for the family members, but it does not account very much for cash income. The weaving machines I saw in those houses were manually operated. Weaving is a heavy work. The women take up weaving whenever they find time to do so after finishing the farming works and other domestic works. It usually takes one woman about 6 months to hand-weave one roll of *sari* cloth material. This roll is priced only at 60 rupees on average at the market. So weaving is still at the stage of self-sufficient level economy, and those arduous works by women folks are not counted as very much in the household income structure. The German Project is planning to build a centre for cottage industries in Bhaktapur, where these women will be receiving training in power-operated weaving looms. If this plan is operating now, it will offer the women of Bhaktapur a promising opportunity for increased income, enabling them to become equal partners in the household economy. When we look at the home-scale handicrafts done by heads of houses, they are quite successful in terms of cash income, thus enabling them enter a market type economy. Other adult male members assist the household heads, learning the technology. The female members and the children are the helpers in chores. I can show here how successful

they are in cash income in comparison with weaving and agricultural products by giving several examples of the annual income compositions. One example from *wada* 11, (1) (the unit of income is rupees.) 10,000 from paddy, 4,000 from wheat, 1,200 from onion, 1,000 from ginger, 200 from green vegetables, (2) 1,095 from buffalo milk selling, (3) 480 from weaving, 1,095 from *topi* (Nepalese cap) making, (4) 2,160 from Nagar Panchayat, 2,160 from the German Project (6 rupees per day, from 6:00 to 9:30 a.m. for labourer supervising work). An example from *wada* 4, (1) 6,000 from paddy, 3,000 from wheat, (4) 3,600 from *topi* making and 150 from weaving. I was told that they can make 20 *topis* worth 20 rupees in three days. Compared with this, weaving (60 rupees for 6 months' work) is insufficiently rewarded. Another example from *wada* 4, (1) 5,000 from paddy, 1,100 from wheat, 220 from maize, (4) 3,360 from the German Project (as a construction porter, 8 rupees per day), 320 from weaving. One more example from *wada* 14, (1) 1,000 from paddy, 500 from wheat, (4) 5,040 from carpentry, 2,880 from repairing shop, and 180 from weaving. This last sample household is so successful in carpentry, and repair shop running, they became a part-time farming household.

(4) Income from wages includes jobs in the government offices, in the local panchayat offices, *iyami* (paid farm labourer), porters, construction workers, carpenters, labour supervisors at the German Project, and other paid workers. In one example from *wada* 14, one of the three sons works as a driver's assistant and earns 40 rupees per month, while the household head works as a porter at the German Project for two months a year and earns 210 rupees. The porters and the construction workers are the most unskilled jobs at the German Project, and they are paid 8 rupees per day. The German Project has become a sure source of cash income for the Bhaktapur farmers with or without education. The German Project is highly evaluated among the educated members of Nagar, for its effort for an over-all development program of starting with road and sewage system and a reconstruction program of the ancient buildings of cultural importance. They are planning now to build a centre for cottage industries as mentioned before. This is welcomed by the educated

members as a good plan to improve the economic standard of the people using their traditional skills. For those who do not have any special skill, the German Project provides the jobs of porters and construction workers and those are the better and constant cash income sources for them. But there are people who are not well informed with this project at all, mainly because of the language. The information services from the government come in Nepali. Those who understand the Newari language only, especially the old generation, do not have any good understanding of what those Germans and the government officials from the capital city were doing. One old lady was almost crying when she wanted to tell me what those people are doing. She said "They are doing a very bad thing there. The government is taking up farmers' land and are planning to build a dirty and moreover polluting factories there. We like to cultivate. But the government is taking our land away to build a big factory. This is very bad". I asked what factory that is. She and the other people told me that is the German Project centre for cottage industries. I asked again if they took away their land without compensation or if they paid how much they paid per *ropani*. They answered that one farmer sold a part of his land for 1,600 rupees per *ropani* (the rate in private transaction is Rs 1,200/*ropani*), and earned money to spend for his son's Bratabanda ceremony. Only if the government information service both by documents and by oral reports uses the Newari language along with the official reports in Nepali, can such kind of misunderstandings be removed. Also the planning and working out of the German Project would have been fully accepted and the intention, targets and benefits would be appreciated by the people of Bhaktapur, not only by the limited circle of the educated members but also by the illiterate people.

One example for the government service workers from *wada* 12; the household head works as a clerk at Bhaktapur Court and earns 250 rupees per month besides farming. His eldest son is a district judge and earns 900 rupees per month in Kathmandu. His second son also works in Kathmandu as a civil engineer and earns 800 rupees per month. All of them are educated and the eldest son holds a Master's degree. So for

those who have received a substantial education, to become a government service worker is the most successful way for a higher income.

Jyami is a hired labourer. Usually on farm land, they are paid 7 to 8 rupees per day, but when the work is specially hard such as at the harvest or planting time, they get paid 10 to 12 rupees per day. When the work is very light, (such as weeding or watching only) the work can be done by children or by women, then the payment is about 4 rupees per day. Even at the time of harvesting and planting, women are paid 2 or 3 rupees less than men. Nevertheless they are not at all allowed to work less than men. For example, one farmer told me such instance when I asked if men and women work together at all in the field doing the same work. I also asked if they do work together, are they expected to cooperate each other or compete with each other. He amusedly told me, that they work together singing the planting songs to compete with each other. He said that it is a happy scene watching one line of girls facing one line of men, each competing with the other while singing songs. He went on to tell me that one man can take the girl facing him to his home in the evening if he wins her in the contest. Men work hard in the hope of catching the girls, but women work harder not to get caught so that their prestige of chastity won't get hurt. The speaker added that the women usually win the contest, because if one girl loses the game, people talk about her that she was wanting a man. Although the farmer was telling me this in an amused way, this was a sad story, for all that social control on chastity, and still the payment is lower for the women on the assumption that women are weaker physically so that presumably they do less work.

(5) Income from other sources includes such as income from house or farm land rent, rice-mill rent, *nayagu pasa* (restaurant), *pachak* (local medicine), *sudeni* (local mid-wife), local musician, and others. One example from *wada* 2; (1) 4,100 from paddy, 2,000 from wheat, 500 from chilli, (3) 320 from weaving, (5) 1,500 from *pachak*. The local medicine man who makes prescribed *pachak* is called a *baidya*. This *baidya* from *wada* 2 is 46 years old. He learned medicine for two years first by apprenticeship under a *baidya* in the eastern village #3, then came back

to his own *nagar* and was apprenticed to a local *baidya* again. He became a very successful *baidya*, his friends told me, because he is always generous and would give his *pachak* as gift to his friends. An example of *nayagu pasa* from *wada* 12; (1) 600 from paddy, 250 from wheat, (5) 2,200 from *nayagu pasa* (restaurant), 1,700 from renting a room. Because this *nayagu pasa* is successful, they became part-time cultivators and full-time restaurant-lodging house workers. His wife is responsible for making foods, cleaning the rooms to let, so that she has no time for weaving.

(6) Ordinary tenant rent is usually fixed by the government at 23 *pathi* per *ropani* if it is paid in kind. If it is paid in cash, it is 1,000 rupees per *ropani*. One example from *wada* 12; this household head is both land owner and tenant cultivator. He lets his tenants cultivate 40 *ropani* land and also rents 2 *ropani* of land on which he cultivates vegetables mainly. He cultivates 6½ *ropani* land of his own to grow paddy and wheat. His income composition: (1) 3,250 from paddy, 1,300 from wheat, 1,500 from chili, 1,400 from ginger, (5) 4,600 from rent in kind from the tenants, (6) -2,000 for paying rent in cash for the 2 *ropani* land. One example from *wada* 17 shows the low rent for the low graded land; the father of this household head is a *Shrestha* and his mother is a *Jyapu*. He has no land of his own. By tenancy he cultivates and earns 40 *muri* of paddy of which he has to pay 12½ *muri* as the rent in kind. The land is not of a good grade, so the rent is very low. Also his father is a *Shrestha*, the land owner is from his father's side. Although his mother and himself got separated from his father's family after the death of his father, he still has a favorable rental right for the land.

There are four classes of land; A class land = *Awal* (rent in kind 3 *muri* 13 *pathi*), B class land = *Doyam* (rent is not recorded), C class land = *Sim* (rent in kind 3 *muri* 4 *pathi*), and D class land = *Char* (rent is not recorded).

(7) *Guthi* tenant rent is rated in accordance with the land classes as mentioned above. *Guthi* literally means 'organization', and is a form of religious organization. *Guthi* is responsible for *Dewali* (annual celebration of family deity usually held in the months of April/May/June) and

Shradh (ancestor worship rituals). *Sana Guthi* (small sized organization) is responsible for *Dewali*, *Shradh* and other family rituals including funeral. *Guthi* which is related only with funeral is called *Shi Guthi* (death organization) consisting of the same caste members, who dine together and inter-marry. If one member of *Shi Guthi* dies the *Phuki* (near relatives who can trace back the common ancestor) must clean themselves with oil cakes. *Shi Guthi yar* therefore includes the nearest relatives *Dajukija* (literally meaning elder- and younger- brothers, consisting of brothers, father's brothers, and father's brothers' sons) who go through certain mourning rituals, *Phuki* who must clean themselves with oil cakes, and other wider members of the common caste. There is another form of *Guthi* which is called *Manka Guthi* in which the members form a mutual labour exchange organization for agricultural operation. This labour exchange is called *bola*.

(8) *Jyami* charges can be as low as 7 to 8 rupees per day per person usually. But at harvesting and planting seasons it is 10 to 12 rupees. Sometimes this cost becomes as high as 14 to 15 rupees per day per person if the *jyami* labourer is an expert and does a good work. One example from *wada 10* shows that the household head wants to earn extra money for sending four sons to school by working as a *jyami*. He does not own his own farm land. He is a simple tenant cultivator. But he is 33 years old and an expert in farming. He can earn 15 rupees per day at harvesting and planting seasons and 8 rupees at other seasons. He told me that he does not have any education himself, but he is a good farmer and can earn more than the ordinary farm labourer, so he is doing his best to send all of his children to school. His total annual income is only 4,200 rupees. He and his wife have five children. A strong contrast to this is seen from one example from *wada 5*; the household head is 46 years old, and a carpenter. The total annual income is 42,800 rupees. But he sends none of his children to school. He explains that education is too expensive. But he recently married the second wife who is 26 years old. His first wife is 36 years old and has three children. I was told that he thinks the second wife is needed because he needs more people to look after his farm land, that is why he took his second

wife although his first wife has three children.

Among the 88 households, 78.4% hires *jyami* labourers. They hire on average about 40 to 50 people in one year. They say that *jyami* is better than *bola* (labour exchange) because *bola* workers must be served with a lot of food and drinks since they are relatives and therefore should be treated as guests. But *jyami* are paid labourers. They usually are experienced farmers and the quality of their work is usually high, while the *bola* members come only for social reasons, sometimes even come taking many children along for whom the inviting household should provide meals and sweets.

Bola is a system of labour exchange in which families of brothers, sisters, in-laws, and close friends reciprocate their labour at harvesting and planting seasons. There are 63 households who exercise *bola* exchange. But the scale of *bola* is much smaller than *jyami* labour. About 3 or 4 families on average will form a *bola* relation. They go to their wives' natal families for *bola* most frequently. I was told that they think this obligatory since by marriage they have taken away the working hands from the wives' families. One example from *wada* 6 shows this very clearly. They have 4 sons and 3 daughters. The eldest son (15 years old) married a daughter from K family. His wife is also 15 years old. The eldest daughter (19 years old) has married out to K family. So these two families have exchanged their daughters. They have established a very strong *bola* relations. They have told me that they are now satisfied with this "equal" relationship. Often *bola* obligations are not equally, thus sufficiently, reciprocated. That is why they told me that it is easy to have *jyami* labourers. Paid labour leaves no doubtful points for the evaluation of how much is given and how much is paid back. I was told that there will be less *bola* type exchange of labour as things will be more and more evaluated in a concrete market value, e.g. money. *Bola* again will be another residue of the agrarian social economy and social control forces, such as *Guthi* organization.

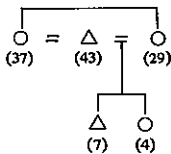
The farmers in Kathmandu Valley usually start tilling land in May. One month after planting the seeds, they have to be transplanted once. In July and August they do paddy planting. From August to October,

they do weeding two or three times. October is the harvesting time. *Dasain*, the harvest festival is held in a tremendous exciting mood in the same month. In November, they do wheat planting. In April, the next year, they harvest wheat. *Biska jatra*, wheat harvesting festival is held for one week. In Kathmandu, the festival is called *Pahanchare*. In Nepalese calendar, around the middle of April is New Year. It is actually an agrarian calendar.

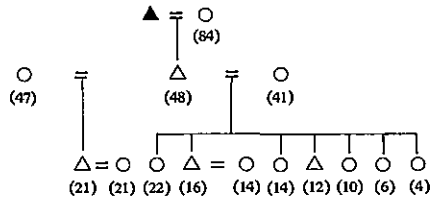
IV Morals and Sentiments

The majority of marriages of the samples of my survey show that they are monogamous, and most marriages support mutual fidelity. There are 13 cases of polygyny as mentioned before. Case 1 is a sample of a sororal polygyny. The household head explained the reason for polygyny is that the first wife was childless.

Case 1: *wada* 13

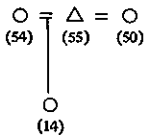


Case 2: *wada* 15

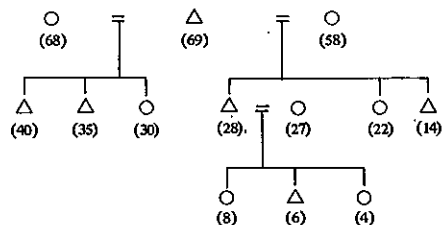


Case 2 is a case in which the first wife and the second wife bore children almost simultaneously. The mother of the household head who is 84 years old said that the first wife was not obedient to her so she thought it a good thing that her son took the second wife.

Case 3: *wada* 1

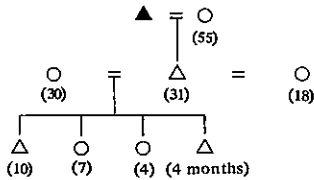


Case 4: *wada* 3

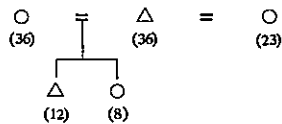


Case 3 is a case of polygyny in which the first wife bore a daughter only. As reason for marrying a second wife the husband's wish for a son was given. When I visited this house, the first wife has gone to the field to cultivate and the second wife was at home. When offered to take a family photo, the husband refused to take the photo of his second wife. He called his daughter only to his side for picture taking and said, "I have two wives. I have to treat them strictly equal". If the elder wife finds it out that he took a photo with his younger wife only, "my elder wife will get angry", he added. Obviously the first wife was more capable in farming than the other. Moreover, the house was given to him as a dowry from his first wife's family. Case 4 is a case of polygyny in which both wives have children, but the offspring from the first wife had left the house to live separately because they were not getting along well with the children of the second wife.

Case 5: *wada* 2



Case 6: *wada* 11



Both Case 5 and 6 are the samples of polygyny in which the husband took the second wife (considerably young in age) even though the first wives had and still have children. The old mother of the household head in case 5 told me a similar story as in the case 2, that the elder wife was not as obedient to her as the younger wife. Her son told me a different reason. According to him (also the household head in Case 6) the reason for taking the young wife was that his son is still too young to do much work on farm, so they need hands in the field. But actually, those young wives were at home, either looking after the children of the elder wives or working at home, while the elder wives were working out in the fields. In both cases the elder wives were responsible for weaving to supply cloths for the whole family, while the younger wives were "too young

to know weaving” according to their explanation. This could be a Nepalese version of a young and sexually attractive office secretary wearing a T-shirt inscribed “I can type, too” in Western society.

One Newar lady told me that she remembers how her mother cried and how terribly she and her brothers and sisters felt when they were told to keep themselves confined to their rooms on the day of their father’s second wedding with a very young second wife. People told them that “It’s a bad thing to watch your father’s wedding”. They stayed in a dark room feeling terrible and afraid. Then one day the young and pretty second wife came to their mother. She said trembling, “*Didi* (elder sister), I’m scared to go to my husband’s room at night. Please take me to his room so that I don’t feel scared of him”. She remembers still how her mother cried on her pillow so that nobody will hear her crying. Her mother’s face was pressed against the wet pillow “for a long, long time” she told me. This opened my eyes to the sentiments of those women. About the sentiments of the ladies in a polygamous society, scholars have taken it too lightly. John T. Hitchcock writes: “The eldest wife slept in the main room of the house or in one of the two *dhansars*. The youngest wife had a room of her own at the end of the verandah. The ménage was a successful one, with a very smooth and tension-free intermeshing of the lives and tasks of the three adults. The youngest wife was very shy and retiring; the eldest, who had passed her childbearing years, did not feel threatened by her. Also, Maila Ba (the husband’s name—writer) was discreet in his attentions to the young wife and seldom spoke to her in the presence of his eldest wife. When he did speak to her at any length, it usually was when they were working together side-by-side at a task such as harvesting wheat straw.”⁸⁰

In *wada* 12, there was a man, 35 years old, living with his 6 years old daughter. His wife ran away and she was called *mele wana* (run-away wife). There were two cases of husbands running away with other women, but they are not called by any special names. When I asked if the run-away father should be called *mele wana* as well, they just laughed and told me that men are free to do so. This shows a double standard of

sexual morality in which more social control and severe condemnation is resting on women.

G. S. Nepali writes: "Marriage among the Newars can be dissolved in two ways: By resorting to the regular divorce procedure and by the wife's running away with her lover . . . the second method vests enough liberty in the women to dissolve marriage. A woman, when dissatisfied with her husband, picks up a lover and runs away to live with him."⁹⁵ "As regards the liberty of a woman for abandoning her husbands one after another, it has been much restricted now. Though in theory the society still recognizes the unlimited liberty of a Newar woman, it has come to be curbed under the force of public opinion. A woman contracting a fourth husband is legally deemed to be on a par with a prostitute though socially she retains her original status."⁹⁶ These statements have lost the persuasive power, and appear rather as stereotypes of his cliché of the "free Newar women".

Of course it is difficult to argue with a native scholar with so much conventional knowledge of his own culture on the same level. The only attempt possible is to sort out two sets of knowledges; One belongs to a set of ideological assumptions and hearsay of codes to obey *in principle*. This belongs to a non-science but to some social codes for the system of normative behaviors and social conducts. The other belongs to a set of empirical data useful for a comparative study for various levels, such as macro- and micro economy, socialization and education, history, ethnography, linguistics, and so on. Here only starts the stage of science. But what is a scientific way to deal with the sentiments of thousands of individuals with their own experiences and dreams? Or are we satisfied with the scientific and objective stage for understanding the people and culture using statistics and let the numbers speak? To what extent are the brilliant insights of pre-science allowed to formulate schemes for analysis? Yet the following words of Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf guided through my way to deal with the people of Bhaktapur: "In general there is a positive correlation between the economic independence of women and their recognition as responsible moral agents judged by standards applicable also to men. It is the economically dependent

woman who can be forced to comply with moral rules that men are neither willing nor expected to observe. Only in societies which recognize the basic equality of the sexes prevails a climate favourable to the growth of a universal morality."⁹⁷ When women of Bhaktapur become economically important by increased opportunity for education and means to enter a market type economy, Fürer-Haimendorf's quote will be tested against their morality and sentiments. This paper is a preliminary introduction to the life of Bhaktapur peasants through their household economy, that the more detailed studies are necessary on each focus such as *Guthi* in the structure and change of Newar society, relation between education and economic status of men and women, or relation between social network and diffusion of Nepali as language of instruction. Such studies of social change can only be done by a long-term or repeated observation on the spot. This is what I should continue to do.

(June 30th, 1980)

Notes

- (1) Taken from the 1978 estimation made by Dept. of Information, Japanese Ministry for Foreign Affairs. There is a full report of Population Census of 1971 by His Majesty's Government National Planning Commission Secretariat, Central Bureau of Statistics. According to this census, the total population of Nepal was 11,555,983. The UN estimated figure for 1977 is 13,140,000.
- (2) This figure is taken from Central Bureau of Statistics, *the Analysis of the Population Statistics of Nepal*, HMG of Nepal National Planning Commission, Kathmandu, 1977, p. 17. However, Heibonsha, *Hyakka Nenkan*, Heibonsha, Tokyo, 1979, p. 496 gives the size of Nepal as 140,797km².
- (3) The western border faces Kashmir and the eastern border faces Assam and Sikkim.
- (4) Nepal enjoyed and prospered by the active trading between Tibet and India, but since the political change in Tibet, this traditional trading route was cut and people suffered a considerable loss. Then came the conflict between China and India, by which Nepal suffered more of the decline of trade. Cf. Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf, *Himalayan Traders*, St. Martin's Press, New York,

1975. Also from the recent press information on violence against so-called "aliens" in Assam, who are settled there for generations after they came from Nepal or Bangladesh, one can foresee that will again disturb trades and produce a large number of homeless and landless people on the border area.

- (5) Recent increase in population density forced the government to a planned resettlement of farmers who have extended farms beyond the physical limits at the cost of forests or migrated to the fertile valley areas from the mountains.
- (6) Of the total population 93% is engaged in agriculture. Heibonsha, *Hyakka Nenkan*, 1979, p. 496.
- (7) Some cases of this sort were told to me during my survey of the Newar Jyapus of Bhaktapur (July-August, 1979). The manner in which Nepalese people in Assam or in Tibet, or the Newars native to the Kathmandu Valley settled all over Nepal have migrated could be explained as Lionel Caplan writes as follows: "... many Newars settled in the town because of the poverty of their home environment, since most who left Kathmandu in the first place, as clients of officials, did so out of economic necessity. Early administration records support the statements of informants that those who remained to settle were by and large from a number of low and economically depressed castes, such as Nau (Potter), Kau (Blacksmith) and Bada (Coppersmith)." cited from Lionel Caplan, "Inter-Caste Marriages in a Nepalese Town", in *Contributions to the Anthropology of Nepal*, ed. by Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf, Aris & Phillips Ltd., Warminster, England, 1974, p. 46. However, I do not fully agree with him that the Potters and the others are necessarily economically depressed castes, because among the farmers in Bhaktapur who do pottery making beside farming are in most cases rather well-to-do farmers than those depended only on cultivation, and they had more chances to go out of their home *nagar* for selling their products. Sometimes they found new place to settle and did not come back at all.
- (8) Cf. Michael Oppitz, "Myths and Facts" in *Contributions to the Anthropology of Nepal*, 1974, pp. 232-243.
- (9) *ibid.*, p. 235.
- (10) In the opinion survey of Nepalese students and mothers of students which I conducted (July-August, 1979), 95.3% of the students and 89.1% of the mothers answered that they think it important to keep ethnic activities unique to the ethnic groups.
- (11) The Rana Regime of 140 years is said to be probably the most repressive autocracy of Nepal's history, discouraging education and limiting trips abroad.

- (12) The whole essence of this was behind the nation-wide debates for the polity of Nepal in the National Referendum of May 2, 1980, in which 66.92% of the total registered voters of 7,192,451 (franchise over 21 years old) voted. Among them 2,433,452 voted for the Panchayat system and 2,007,965 voted for the Multiparty system. (Report by the National Election Commission on May 14, 1980)
- (13) Cf. Yadav Prasad Pant, *Planning for Prosperity, Planning Experiences in Nepal*, Sahayogi Prakashan, Kathmandu, 1975. Badri Prasad Shrestha, *An Introduction to Nepalese Economy*, Ratna Pustak Bhandar, Kathmandu, 1974, pp. 273-4. National Planning Commission, *Nepal: the Fifth Plan (1975-80)*, National Planning Commission, HMG of Nepal, 1975.
- (14) Cf. His Majesty King Birendra's address to the nation from Tundikhel Durbar Mandir on his Coronation in 1975. When this was announced, a heartening scene happened. Nepalese youths breaking the lines of security, running in mass, burst out into cheering the new king while the elderly officers in a good surprise but let the young people indulge in the jubilant gaiety. If this were to happen, say in Japan, the Japanese security police would have done anything to prevent such disorder amidst a ceremony. This closeness of sentiment of the Nepalese youths toward their king was not in the mind of the non-Nepalese journalists analysing and interpreting the recent political debates around the National Referendum, and some of them even went to compare it with the political change in Iran, which was quite another thing (NHK news program, June 4, 1979).
- (15) From the result of the opinion survey of the Nepalese students and mothers mentioned before, it can be said that the students opt to use mostly Nepali among brothers and sisters, and in many cases with fathers. They use their own language of their ethnic groups or use both Nepali and that language with mothers and sometimes with fathers. But they use mostly that language other than Nepali with grandparents and in many cases with mothers. This shows the effect of using Nepali as the language of instruction and the direction of change in language usage.
- (16) During my stay in Nepal in July-August 1979, the political slogans were written in paint on the walls, fences, towers and even on some valuable historical buildings of the towns as I observed. Many of them were written in English. Those slogans were not meant for the foreigners, so they must have used English as lingua franca among various ethnic sectors. However, there were some comments from the school teachers that after changing the language of

instruction from English to Nepali only, the decline of English ability among the students is a natural consequence but not desirable. They want the students to keep the high standard of command in both Nepali and English.

- (17) Figures taken from G. S. Nepali, *the Newars*, United Asia Publications, Bombay, 1965, pp. 7-8.
- (18) (19) (20) and (21) Figures taken from: Walter A. Frank, "Attempt at an Ethno-Demography of Middle Nepal", in *Contributions to the Anthropology of Nepal*, pp. 91-2.
- (22) G. S. Nepali, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
- (23) In my own data, there were 13 cases of polygyny out of 88 household heads' marriage cases. (14.7%) The average annual income of those 13 households is 12,780 rupees. There were two cases of inter-caste marriage among the 88 samples. Caplan gives a table of inter-caste unions which is the highest among the Newars as seen below:

		With					Total	
		Thakuri	Chetri	Newar	Magar	Gurung		Other
Made by NEWAR	Men		4		9	2		15
	Women	5	6				3 ^a	14
THAKURI	Men		1	2				3
	Women					1		1
CHETRI	Men			6				6
	Women	1		3				4
MAGAR	Men					2	1 ^b	3
	Women							
GURUNG	Men							
	Women		1					1

a: A Brahman, a Rai and a Joggi

b: A Thakali from West-Central Nepal

Source: Lionel Caplan, *op. cit.*, p. 48, Table 3

(24) G. S. Nepali, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

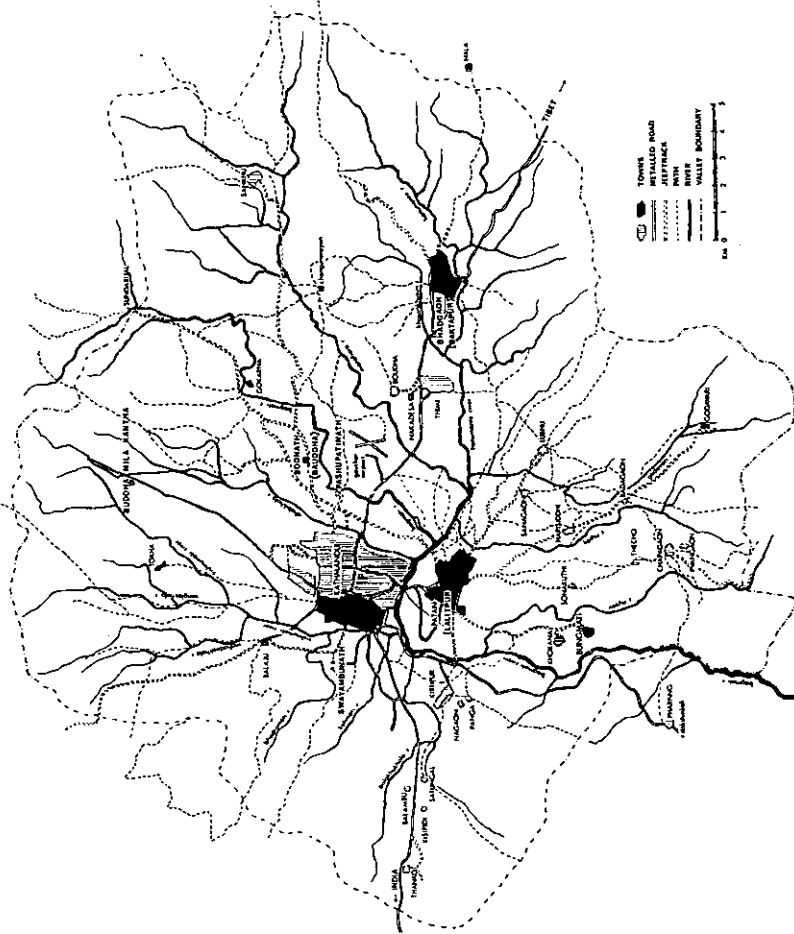
(25) *ibid.*

(26) I specially thank Mrs. Saraswati Shrestha and Mrs. Tara Raj Bhandary who could speak Newari, Nepali and English, and who kindly shared their time with me every day in carrying out interview survey in Bhaktapur and the questionnaire survey in Kathmandu. Without their help, I could not have done anything. Their

help was more than interpreting, as they opened the channels to the personnel to various institutions, negotiated bravely and in congenial manner the Nepalese way of doing things, suggested me to change my way of asking questions so that the answers would come more easily, and even calculated the income figure from *muri* to rupees. My thanks are also to their kind husbands, brothers and sisters for their help in introducing me to various governmental institutions and to their friends in the concerned institutions, and especially for Mr. A. R. Bhandary, C. D. O. Mr. Upadyaya, Upa Pradhan Pancha Mr. R. K. N. Shrestha, I thank them for their help in arranging the meetings with the Negar Panchayat members and *wada* chiefs.

- (27) Source: Bhaktapur Nagar Panchayat Office
- (28) For reference to the Newar caste system and the place of Jyapu caste, there is a chart of their hierarchical order in Dor Bahadur Bista's book: *People of Nepal*, Ratna Pustak Bhandar, Kathmandu, 1967, pp. 18-9. The chart is reproduced in Appendix II: the Newar Caste System. According to him, the Jyapus are ranked in the seventh order. He gives eight personal surnames for the Jyapus, some more surnames can be added to the list from my own data: Koju, Nyaichai, Gainshi, Khatri, Panti, Gothe, Prajapati, Kushi, Phaiju, Bhaila, Bokunchhe, Chouguthi, Garu, Dumar, Manandar, Kawang, Gwacha, Machamashi, Ranjitkar, Bhandary, Sujatu, Durval, Bajikon, Rajichal, Kasichhoa, Dhonju, Kusuma, Khyaju, Thusa, Shilpakar, Tyata, Shitikhu, Basiju, Nakhanda, Chaguthi, Sainju, Libi, Lohara, Toina, Lashiwa, Sujaku, Sangachen, Mushyakhwa, Jareju, Gainju, Chouwar, Kiju, Sinkhwal, Dudiya, Jyakhon, Bati, Deshemaru, Thanju.
- (29) Jyapu usually keep chickens, but not ducks, for ducks are considered to be the fowls of such out-caste people as Pore (sweeper), Dhobi (laundry men), Naye (butcher), Chame (sweeper), Sarkhi (shoe maker).
- (30) G. S. Nepali, *op. cit.*, p. 256.
- (31) *ibid.*, p. 259 (Table V).
- (32) *ibid.*, p. 256.
- (33) *ibid.*, p. 258.
- (34) John T. Hitchcock, *A Mountain Village in Nepal*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, London, 1980, p. 47.
- (35) G. S. Nepali, *op. cit.*, p. 239.
- (36) *ibid.*, p. 240.
- (37) Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf, *Morals and Merit; a Study of Values and Social Controls in South Asian Societies*, the University of Chicago Press, 1967, p. 224.

Appendix I: A Map of the Kathmandu Valley Towns



Source: Fran P. Hosken, *The Kathmandu Valley Towns*, Weatherhill, New York, 1974, p. vi. Map of Kathmandu Valley by Danish Architects' group.

Appendix II: The Newar Caste System

Source: Dor Bahadur Bista, *People of Nepal*, Ratna Pustak Bhandar, Kathmandu, 1967, pp. 18-9.

Caste	Traditional Occupation	Personal Surname
1. Deo Brahman	Family Priests	Raj Upadhaya
2. Bhatta Brahman	Temple Priests	Bhatta
3. Jha Brahman	Temple Priests	Jha
4. Gubhaju Bare	Family Priests Gold and Silver Smiths	Vajracarya Sakyabhikshu
5. Shrestha (Sheshya)	Merchants	Shrestha, or Malla, Josi, Pradhan, Raj Bhandari, Maske, Raj Lawat, Amatya, Raj Vamsi and others.
6. Uray (Udas)	Merchants and Craftsmen	Tuladhar (merchants), Lohaka: mi (masons), Awa: (tilers), Sika: mi (carpenters), Madika: mi (confectioners), Tamrakar (coppersmiths), Kamsakar (workers in alloys)
7. Jyapu	Farmers	Maharajan, Dangol, Suwal, Duwal, Sapu (cowherd), Kabhuja, Musa, Lawat, etc.
8. Kuma	Potters	Kumale, Prajapati
9. Saymi	Oilpressers	Manandhar
10. Khusa	Palanquin Bearers	Khusa, Tandukar
11. Nau	Barbers	Napit
12. Kau	Blacksmiths	Naka: mi
13. Bha	Funeral Duties	Karamjit, Bha
14. Gathu	Gardeners	Bammala, Mali
15. Tepe	Cultivators	Tepe
16. Pum	Painters	Citrakar
17. Duhim	Carriers	Putwar, Dafi
18. Balami	Fieldworkers	Balami
19. Pulu	Funeral Torch Bearers	Pulu
20. Chipa	Dyers	Ranjitkar
21. Jogi	Musicians and Tailors	Kanphatta, Giri, Dom, Kusle, Danya
22. Nay	Butchers and Musicians	Kasain, Khađgi
23. Kulu	Drum-makers	Kulu
24. Pore	Fishermen and Sweepers	Pore, Deola
25. Chami	Sweepers	Chami, Camkhala
26. Halhulu	Sweepers	Halahulu

バクタプール・ナガールのネワール農民

〈要 約〉

和 智 綏 子

ネワール族はネパールのカトマンズ盆地が18世紀後半ゴルカ王に征服された時の先住民であり、現在もカトマンズ盆地の住民の過半数を占めている。首都カトマンズの東10kmにあるバクタプールはチベットーインド間交易の中継地として西のポカラと共に中世から栄えた町である。しかし、カトマンズが政治経済の中心となるにつれ、さらに20年前にチベットーカトマンズ間が中国援助によるハイウェイで直結されると一層開発が遅れ、現在ではカトマンズに近接していながら近代化の面で格差が大きい。その点で中央政府に対する不満の強い地域である。

今回の調査はバクタプールの小作農のリスト（ナガール・バンチャヤット提供）からランダム・サンプリングにより17地区のそれぞれから6軒ずつ農家を訪問し、土地所有、家屋、家畜、農作物による収入、及び兼業の実態と将来への展望等について、各戸の世帯主から聞き取り調査をした。（1979年7月—8月）この調査結果は住民の意識を知る上で有意義であった。それによると中央政府によるバクタプール開発計画は、この町の道路、建物、水道の補修及び手工業訓練センターの建設事業等によりこれら農民の現金収入の一助として確かな支えとなっている。しかし、一連のネパール語による国語統一教育政策はネワール語集団の住民にとって開発計画、政策、教育計画に対する理解を困難にしている点が見受けられた。宗教及び慣習による祭儀によって消費される財も収入に比べて膨大な割合を占めるが、こうした共同祭儀は人々の経済生活の重荷であっても、福祉の近代化が遅れている現在ではそのシステムから脱け出すのはリスクが大きすぎるようである。複婚や、労働交換の制度

もこうした面から意識されている。今後この意識の変化を追跡調査する事がさらに必要である。