Lund Studies in Social Anthropology No. 1

"THE GOAT IS MINE, THE LOAD IS YOURS"

Morphogenesis of "Bhotiya-Shauka", U.P., India

C. W. BROWN

Lund Studies in Social Anthropology No. 1

"THE GOAT IS MINE, THE LOAD IS YOURS"

Morphogenesis of "Bhotiya-Shauka", U.P., India

C. W. BROWN

Lund 1984

BLOMS BOKTRYCKERI AB, LUND 1984

Preface

As early as 1841 it was noted by a member of the British administration that "what we call 'Bhotiyas'...are in reality not Bhotiyas". This note was as true then as it is today for reasons we will see. But for similar reasons, the use of the concept "Bhotiya" has been a matter of administrative expediency over the term used by the community itself, "Shauka". Because the term has been used mainly as an externally imposed appellation, and since the main purpose of the present Thesis is to show the factors that are basic to the process out of which the "fact" "Bhotiya" appeared, it will appear in the text within quotation marks--it will not be the aim of the thesis to prove the ultimate "truth" of any party's claims. Social facts are discursive phenomena, and as such, their "truth-values" are dependent on their contexts. This will also be a point made as part of the main purpose of this Thesis. We will find that the account of this discourse relies on unique "facts" which arise out of the local social, economic, ecological and historical conditions. Certain specific features are reflected in the "fact"--they all contribute to what we will call the "identity" of the group. The title of this Thesis reflects one of the major parameters of this process of "morphogenesis", part of the discourse on "Bhotiya":

> "It is certain that Mr. Beckett discussed the dues with the Thibetans; the latter then claimed that they were 'land revenue' and insisted upon Thibet's right to continue to collect the tribute as such. Our British officer repudiated any such right, and in clear language let the Thibetans see that Darma was a part of the Indian Empire, and that no one save the British Government could take land revenue from the zamindars of these parts. The Settlement Officer sums up the position by saying in the language of those parts: '<u>Bakri hamara</u>, <u>Karhaj tumhara</u>.' (The goat is mine, the load is yours.) Thus it is evident that Mr. Beckett, while disallowing the claim of Thibet to collect their demands under the name of land revenue or '<u>rakam</u>', admitted them, though under a different designation. He called it trade dues." (Larkin to Govt. 15 Oct. 1896: Ext. A Nov. 1897, No. 64)

We will consider the community as a unit consisting of the

six areas Mana, Niti, Johar, Darma, Byas and Chaudas (see map). The area corresponds roughly to modern Munsyari and Dharchula tahsils, Pithoragarh District of Uttar Pradesh (which comprises the northeastern section of the local hills area known as Kumaon), as well as a large part of Chamoli District (which comprises the northern portion of the hills area known as Garhwal). In this thesis, Munsyari and Dharchula will refer to the "Bhotiya" village clusters known by those names, and we will use the terms Kumaon and Garhwal and various other earlier terminologies as well as contemporary spellings when applicable--this will be done as a reflection of the "discourse" that took place during the period when "Bhotiya identity" was consolidated, viz. 1820-1920 the period this thesis will emphasize.

The modern community consists of some 24,000 individuals who, although their trade with Tibet was cut off in 1962 as a result of border conflicts, still follow a transhumanent style of life shifting from a warm-weather residence in the alpine regions near the Indo-Tibet border to one or two cold-weather residences occupied when the alpine region is coverd by snow. Data was collected personally among the cold-weather villages during roughly five months in 1980 and 1982, and from local, state and national archives between 1979 and 1982 in Nepal, India, England and elsewhere. Archival and other secondary source references are given in the thesis, informant references will not be cited specifically. The missionary material was collected from the London Missionary Society Files, Council for World Mission, kept at the University of London, SOAS. The material for the American mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church was collected in Lucknow, U.P., India, and at the Board of Missions of the Methodist Church, New York City. All these archival sources are cited according to the system given in note 1.a in the note section, which also includes picture credits. Transcriptions of foreign words are reduced to the least complicated system and will normally be underlined only the first time used. Tibetan words follow the common transcription system, such as in the word mNga-ris which appears often. This

is a short form of that area of western Tibet more properly known as mNga'-ris. sKor.g.Sum, or colloquially as Nari, Gnari, etc. Hindi and "Bhotiya" words will be transcribed as in the Standard Hindi-English Dictionary but without diacritical marks.

Acknowledgements

I wish to express my gratitude to the following institutions: National Archives of India (New Delhi), Uttar Pradesh State Archives (Lucknow and Naini Tal), India Office Library, British Museum, Royal Geographical Society (London), Council for World Mission and SOAS (London), Board of Missions of the Methodist Church (New York), Rijksarchief (den Haag), Sveriges Riksarkiv (Stockholm), the libraries of Jaraharlal Nehru and Delhi Universities, Isabella Thoburn College (Lucknow), University of Lund (Sweden), Social Science Documentation Centre (New Delhi), and the Department of Sociology, Lund. Funds were provided by Lars Hiertas Minnesfond, Hierta-Retzius, Sederholms and Utbildningsbidrag (University of Uppsala).

Special appreciation is given to the following persons: Prof. Ram Rahul, Dr. Kajsa Ekholm-Friedman, Dr. Jonathan Friedman, Dr. M. P. Joshi, my colleagues at The University of Lund and The University of London, and especially to all the assistants, translators, typists, interpreters, etc.without whose consideration this work would not have been possible. I wish to express special thanks, of course, to the people of the community Shauka, District Pithoragarh and Chamoli, Uttar Pradesh, India.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. Introduction

To gain an impression of the area, imagine arriving at the railhead of Kathgodam. You have then crossed part of the flat, plains-like area of the Gangetic basin known geologically here as the doab and soon enter another, different region known as the terai. The terai was once considered an almost impassable jungle, infested by malaria and the home of such wild animals as tigers and elephants. Parts of it can still be found today in this area but much changed after having been reclaimed for agriculture since 1947. Adjoining the terai is an area known as the bhabar. The terai and the bhabar are similar to the extent that they are located at the foot of the hills area, but where the torrents running out of the hills deposit a belt of coarse sediment characterizing the bhabar, the same water reappears at the surface or forms a high water table in the terai. The first hills you see are known generally as the siwaliks and form a thin but relatively even topography between the plains and the "true" Himalayan foothills which geologically begin at the boundary fault marking the siwaliks' northern limit, and are known as the Himanchal or "lower Himalaya". The plains end at the 500 m elevation of Haldwani and Kathgodam with the siwaliks 750-1200 meters. From there into the Himanchal or foothills you rise to the 1676 m of Almora, once the British capital of the whole of the cis-Himalayan region between Tehri Garhwal in the west and the Nepal border. The Himanchal range from crests of 1500-2700 m to valley bottoms of 500-1200 m, and represent a "tangled mass of series of ridges being divided from each other by deep valleys" (India. A Regional Geography 1971:448). The Himanchal geologically end with the main central thrust of the Greater Himalaya Mountain chain or Himadri. This division also roughly corresponds to the lower limits of "Bhotiya" habitation. The Himadri zone averages 4800-6000 m, and includes Nanda Devi (7817 m, the eighth highest mountain in the world), Kamet (7756 m), Trisul (7120 m), Nanda Kot (6861 m), etc.

The hills are divided into four regions with regard to

climate and vegetation: the sub-tropical level up to 1200 m, the temperate zone between 1200 and 1800 m, the sub-alpine zone between 1800 and 3000 m, and the alpine zone over 3000 m elevation. The sub-alpine zone corresponds to large forested areas of both coniferous and deciduous trees. The temperature varies between 2.3 and 21.1 C, and such trees as oak and rhododendron are found as well as cypress at 2000-3000 m, deodar from 2400 to 3050 m, and blue pine and silver fir between 1900 and 3100 m. Birch forests are found at elevations of 2950 to 3600 m north of the Himalayan massives. Otherwise there is a gradual transition in growth from the coniferous trees through bushland to the high-altitude pastures in the alpine region where temperatures vary from below zero to 5.6 degrees C averages (India ... op. cit; 447-456). The tree-line is generally considered to be at around 4000 m. The grass of the alpine pastures which is so important to the "Bhotiya" flocks is able to grow up to an elevation of 5000 m. The limit of cultivation is normally around 3600 m, although at some of the higher regions in neighbouring Nepal barley is grown between 3650 and 3950 m. At the limits of cultivation we find the upper "Bhotiya" villages of Mana (3200), Bampa (3300), Niti (3500), Milam (3410) and Garbyang (3450 m), and at higher levels nearly the alpine pastures known locally as bugyal. The precipitation in these alpine valleys tends to be much lower than in the hills below due probably to their being located behind the Himalayan massives and snow is of course one of their main features. In fact, snow covers these alpine villages during seven months of the year from May through October, and forces the "Bhotiya" to migrate out of these valleys towards those areas more or less free of snow at lower elevations. The snow-line can reach down to 2000 m. In Nepal, the elevation 2200 m marks an important dividing line between the barley and maize or millet cultivation of the lower areas, and the barley and buckwheat cultivation above that level. Kawakita pinpoints this level as the upper limit of "Hindu culture ... the higher land being sparse and patched to sustain the Tibetan acculturated peoples" (Kawakita, 1956; 212; cf. also Bose, S. C., 1960:34-35;

Goldstein, 1974:262; Kaushic, S. D., 1959:24-29).

From a communications point of view, the watersheds of this area have played a central role for its people. Even more so in the alpine regions considering the impassability of the mountains that separated the valleys from each other. In the area we will look more closely at (see map), there are two major watersheds that essentially separate the area known as Garhwal to the west from Kumaon which borders on Nepal. The watershed of Garhwal forms the Alaknanda and Ganges into which the watershed of the Kali River draining much of Kumaon will eventually flow in the plains at Benares. The Kali or Mahakali forms the boundary between India (Kumaon) and Nepal on Nepal's western end. The lesser watersheds of the Kali form on one side the two rivers of the Sarju and Ramganga on which the important marts of Bageswar and Thal lie, and on the other, along the Gori, the Dhauli and the lesser branches of the Kali at its northern source, we find the homes of the Johar, Darma, Chaudas and Byas groups of "Bhotiya". Beyond Joshimath where the Alaknanda becomes the Vishnu and the Dhauli of Garhwal (river names tend to repeat themselves in these areas) live the western two groups, the Mana and Niti "Bhotiyas" respectively.

The group names refer primarily to the alpine valley itself in which the "true" homes of each group are found, and secondarily to the people from each valley. Communication between the valleys is restricted such that three general interaction groupings become apparent. Firstly, the Mana and Niti groups are in close contact with each other, then Johar essentially by itself, and finally the three valleys of Darma, Byas and Chaudas. Closer contacts such as marriage seems to follow a somewhat different line, thus Mana and Niti tend to form a group, then Niti and Johar (connected across passes at the heads of their streams), then Darma by itself and finally the two, quite intimately connected Byas and Chaudas. The local "Bhotiya" dialects seem to follow this latter general differentiation. Byas and Chaudas have through the ages had a relatively close contact with Nepali groups--Byas was in fact partly included in what is today Nepal.

But this contact was more pronounced than that between the western groups and what are known as the Jadh "Bhotiyas" of Uttarkashi. Jadh was once part of an independent kingdom known as Tehri Garwhal which existed up to very recent times, whereas Mana and Niti became part of India directly controlled by the British. Due to this separation, Jadh will not be taken up in the present thesis.

A central feature of the higher elevations in which we find the "Bhotiyas" is the very lack of cultivable area that characterizes the fertile lowlands. At higher elevations, settlements cling to the steep hillsides around what cultivable ground there is available along the rivers that here flow rapidly through the narrow valleys. Beyond the passes at the head of the rivers where the greater Himalayas separate India from Tibet are the high-level plains of an area known as mNga-ris[1.1]. These plains consist of vast grasslands inhabited once mainly by nomadic herdsmen, and dotted here or there by more or less permanent settlements along the trade routes and/or river valleys. Salt was found in great quantities in certain areas of mNga-ris, and was of sufficient scarcity once in the cis-Himalayan hills at least to be exchangeable even at a small profit against the grain grown there or brought up from even lower areas, and which formed one of mNga-ris' most demanded items. In these higher regions, we are in fact confronted with an interface of two major ecological zones--on the one hand, one conducive to the production of goods such as those of the Indian lowlands and hills region, and on the other, one in which products of high elevation zones and the Tibetan plateau are available. A trade potential is generated by the scarcity of grain in mNga-ris and of salt in the hills, and the pursuit of this trade through the rugged regions of the alpine Himalayas would make living at these high levels not only feasible but profitable as well.

Many recent studies in anthropology have tried to analyze such societies as the "Bhotiya" in terms of ecological factors. As can be seen, these alpine transhumanent societies are especially conducive to that sort of study. But ecological analysis is limit-

ed, and we will discuss the reasons in more detail in Section 2e. The present thesis will emphasize the analysis of those social facts that transcend ecological reductionisms. Other recent studies that have emphasized the social have analyzed such societies as the "Bhotiyas" in terms primarily of their degree of "hinduization" or as a measure of their acculturation into the main stream of Hindu society. The advantage of this concept over the ecological approach is that it concentrates on a process that is mainly social transformational in nature. Since the theme of the present thesis is also in part transformational, a discussion of the concept of "hinduization" will be taken up in more detail in Section 4.c.i.

One problem with the concept "hinduization" is that it seems to deal with phenomena that can be said to be loosely "cultural" in nature. It describes a process in terms of discrete diffusions of cultural units. Thus, for example, the western group of "Bhotiyas" is more "hinduized" than the eastern part since they make more use of Brahmins in their rituals, have a more pronounced "Hindu" system of marriage etc. Our thesis will try to point out, however, that the central point is not to define the characteristics of being hinduized as much as it is to account for the form or the "identity" taken by a group as the result of a number of determinant factors. Emphasis will be placed on the "fact" as a result of a sort of "discourse" and will not try to enforce a place on a group according to a scale of traits. It will emphasize the conditions that have been effective in defining "Bhotiya", rather than specify their adjustment to "Hindu society" or contend their claims to status. Thus where "hinduization" is a stale concept lacking the dynamics that real life reflects, the present model will aim at describing an event ("Bhotiya") in terms of the articulation of definite parameters that create the "fact" and/or those that create the matrix within which are found the potential outlines of "Bhotiya-ness". These parameters are those that have given form to the "fact" historically.

Among social analysts most immediately relevant to the

present theoretical theme, both Lévi-Strauss and Dumont are inclined to give "history" a somewhat subordinate importance. Lévi-Strauss makes his point quite clear. The civilizations of Europe and Asia, he notes, "have elected to explain themselves by history" (1969:232) and, for this reason or as a converse of it, they have exhibited no major "totemic" features. Thus, "totemic" societies are outside history. This distinction is referred to by Lévi-Strauss as the difference between "hot" and "cold" societies. Hot societies "internalize" the historical process and make it the motive force of their development. Cold societies, on the other hand, apparently unchanging (since history is associated with change by Lévi-Strauss), seek "by the institutions they give themselves, to annul the possible effects of historical factors on their equilibrium and continuity in a quasi-automatic fashion" (ibid. 233-234). This is apparently attained in these societies by the conscious effort, "the norm they set themselves", to explain themselves by myth which as stipulated by Lévi-Strauss is a phenomenon of timelessness. Where Lévi-Strauss' primitive world is an "anti-time" one, Dumont's analogous type of society professes a "non-temporal" idea:

> "Traditional society in general is seen as stable, it eliminates 'lived' time by means of the myth, which transfers 'lived' reality to the plane of the eternity of thought, and also by means of rites de passage, which regulate the flow of time into a series of stable states, like stretches of water connected by ritual lock-gates. The myths refer to the time of the origins of everything, which is properly the absence of time..." (Dumont, 1970a: 195)

When does "history" become myth? When informants were asked as to what they knew about their own "history", I was either told to ask someone else or read Ram Singh Pangti (1980). Many did not seriously seem to know anything at all along such "historical" lines other than that they battled with the Gorkhas. In fact, people seemed to attach some special significance to the Gorkha period (of ca 25 years) more so than to the British (of ca 130 years). The latter they noted as having little direct contact with. On the other hand, a few members of the community were willing to relate what they knew about their "history". This

took three forms: I was told about the legendary Sunpati Shauka, or related the legend on how Johar (my main source of information) was originally populated by people somehow connected to a mighty bird, and/or told of very specific families' histories which took the form of personal narratives. We will have occasion to come across the latter soon again.

In an analytical sense, this sort of informant "history" selects from events of the past those which are able to explain a "fact" for what that fact contains in terms of meaning to them. It is a sort of mythopraxis constructed, in our case, around the theme of Rajput. As such it corresponds to what Sahlins has called "structures of significance" (1981:8). It assigns to events a significance which its cultural praxis demands, and at the same time it is an active process of continual definition and re-definition. It cannot be reduced to a nomothetic logic, since it is constructed, like a bricolage, out of contingent material. But unlike Lévi-Strauss' bricolage, it is able at least to appear at a certain instant of time and disappear at another--it is in other words processual. But it again falls into Lévi-Strauss' reasoning by virtue of the fact that there can be no logic assigned to it as an interpretation of history, and the "Bhotiya" history of geneologies and origins, in being selective, is not qualitatively different from what Lévi-Strauss claims is done by our own historians (cf. 1969, Ch. 1 and 9).

This certainly presents a problem for anthropology, at least for historical anthropology since it substantiates what traditional anthropology has always held against the study of history. Even an approach like that of Dumont suspends historical explanation since it finds the structure itself sufficiently explained by its own rules. Nomothetic anthropology has argued against this view, and maintains that there are generalizations that can be made concerning all social behavior and it is the task of anthropology as a science to do just that.

A step away from this concern can be taken if two things are kept in mind: first, that the form taken by an event is a product of its genesis in time, as it were the conclusion of a

discourse on it, and secondly that an understanding of it will involve an account of the factors that impose on the genesis or the parameters of the discourse. The step that can be taken from the problem of significant history towards a resolution of its stalemate, it will be argued, is that the significance of a historical analysis is that it can explain an event by an examination of the space in which it has evolved.

Eastern "Bhotiya women" around 1905

2. Setting

2.a. Origins

Traill once argued that the people of Mana, Niti, Johar and Byas all descended from Tibetan ancestors, whereas the Darmiya were descendants of one of Timur's Mongolian outposts placed in Kumaon when he entered India. In support of this, Traill mentions a number of tombs in Kumaon which could not have been built by anyone other than Muhammedans (or Moghuls) and/or Tibetans (1851: 83). Atkinson contests Traill on this point, and notes that Timur was never nearer the area than Hardwar in 1389 AD, and that eastern Kumaon was never conquered. He also finds the reason for the differences in the origin of the Darmiya from another area of Tibet, and emphasizes the fact that these areas in which the "Bhotiyas" live were once a part of the Tibetan kingdoms across the passes and were first brought under the sway of the Hindus during the Chand Dynasty (more precisely by Baj Bahadur Chand in 1670). On the other hand, he emphasizes the distinction of the Joharis. They are said to have been descendants of a Rajput group from Tibet who moved to the Johar valley and subdued the inhabitants there who were known as Sokpas. These Rajputs assumed the name Sokpa, and signify the fact that "Sokpa" has the same meaning as Rawat (Rajput) as well as the fact that their ancestors were Hindus even if they were residing in Tibet. In another version told to Atkinson by a local person, the Sakya Lama of the bird myth (origin myth) of the "Bhotiyas" collected the Sokpas and established them in Johar. Sunpati Shauka, one of the older heros of the community, was to have lived in Johar during this time. But the Sokpas died out and were later replaced by the Johari who arrived there by being granted a jagir from a Garhwal Raja and assuming the honorific (Rajput) name Rawat (Atkinson 1884:369, 457; 1886:113, 124). Atkinson does not know why the Joharis assumed the name Sokpa. It does appear to be an honorific like Rawat, but of Tibetan origin. Misra notes that the term Shauka in the name of Sunpati Shauka is a respectful term

for the "Budha" (meaning "elder" as in Budha rath, the rath of the oldest "clan") or "Sayana" of the family as well as refer to the whole group (1936:23-25).

Hodgson discusses a group of people known as Sokpa in Tibet as both a tribe of the northern region and a local dialect. They are associated with another group in the same area known as Horpa. Together, Horsok refers to the nomadic "tribes" of northern Tibet--Hor to the west and Sok to the east[2.1]. Sherring equates the Rawats with the Shokas or Sokpas as the Johari (1906:96; 1974:349) who deny the association of Sok with "Mongolia" but cannot say where the name derives from.

Gracey reflects Sherring's interpretation which is in part based on Atkinson. It emphasizes the difference between the eastern and western regions (a fact to which we will return), and within each isolates the Johari on the one hand, and the Darmiya on the other as especially different. The latter are described as "a set of semi-barbarians" said to have descended from one of Tamerlane's garrisons. The Johari claim descent from a line of independant chieftains at Daba (the "Bodh Chaigal" line from around 1700). They established themselves as hill Rajputs at Milam and enslaved the original population described as Shoka, of the same race as the Byansi and Chaudansi[2.2]. Thus the Shokas are shifted east. In fact, when used most, Shauka has been applied primarily to this eastern group. They "call themselves 'Shauka'" according to a report from 1901, and are referred to exclusively as such (Shoka) by Landor[2.3]. People of the eastern group note that Shauka was the name of the saint who once visited Byas with his 14 disciples. Each of the latter was given a village, thus the name "chaudas" or 14. The association of Sokpa with Shauka is then uncertain. In fact, neither term needs to be considered necessarily a linguistic variation on the other. Some Chand Dynasty inscriptions apparently referred to the Johari People as Jiwah and to the others as Bhaula or Shauka. Informants note that Johar was once known as Jwar, but that the community calls itself Shauka which is also the term used by the Pahari. In the eastern area we also find the word Rang used by

the community to refer to itself, and Pang for Tibetans and Holang for the hill people. Himraj notes that Shoka is the same as Ranka, and for reasons that we will see correctly contests the idea that the people of this community be known as "Bhotiya" (n.d.). The dialect ("khun") referred to by Sherring as spoken in Johar which he calls "Rankas or Shaukia Khun" must certainly reflect this original designation although, as we will see, he confuses its location.

Following up on Sherring's discussion, the Johari Rajputs who arrived in Johar via Tibet had 17 jati. The Nitwals were originally a Garhwali "Bhotiya" group and the jati Nikhurpa were supposed definitely to have come from Tibet (they were also the original inhabitants of Milam according to Ram Singh Pangti's history). All of the other jatis claimed to have come from Garhwal, Doti (in Nepal), Benares or Tibet, although Sherring does not specify. He mentions a certain Butaula Rawat who moved to Johar from Garhwal via Tibet around 1600, but no more information is given (1906:96-98).

A few things of interest in this connection are noted in R. S. Pangti's analysis of the history of Milam in Johar. There we find the appearance of two brothers, Hiru and Dham Singh, two Panvar Rajputs, at the town of Malari. Dham Singh continued on to Kailash. He met the Tibetan king Botchhogel at Daba[2.4] and was made a soldier in his army. Due to his heroism, Dham Singh was made "sardar", and eventually awarded several villages in Johar after the cessation of the Ladakh wars. As founder of the Milamwal jati, Dham Singh's status in the fiscal matters of Johar is especially interesting as it is reflected in the special status accorded to the Milam headman, later the Rawat jati, even during recent times. Interestingly, the Milam people were awarded the status of tax-collectors over the Tibetan (Huniya) traders that visited the area at least during the time of Dham Singh. When the jagir was turned totally over to Dham Singh, according to R. S. Pangti, this taxation collection ceased (1980:22-23). What is of special interest here is the nature of the relationship with Tibet. It reflects a special martial status

within what appears essentially as a Hindu matrix, since Dham Singh was not Tibetan, and Botchhogel himself supervised an independent kingdom at Daba turned over to Lhasa during his lifetime (ibid.). Regarding the Nikhurpa jati referred to as having been aboriginal as well as Tibetan, Pangti notes that they have a tradition as lamas of the Tibetan religion who had established a temple to that faith in Milam. The Pangti jati itself is noted as having a special, apparently royal connection with Garhwal (ibid. 30, 43).

In Sherring's list of jati, the names Paspal and Sumdyal are missing today having been replaced by Sayana and Ganghariya, and Milamwal is today known as Rawat. Sherring also notes that the ancestors of the Milamwal had obtained permission to establish trade in Tibet and, as a result, built the villages of Milam and Burphu and received a grant of "Chunpal" apparently from the garpon in Gartok. Such factors may contribute to the reason the Joharis were allowed special priviledges. Thus, the village headman (here "padhan") of Milam originally held a jagir (grant) at Khiunglung in mNga-ris which entitled him to an annual "gift" of five goats and ghi worth Rs 2 as well as the use of as many animals and coolies he needed for transport during his trips to Tibet (ibid. 96). Srivastava also notes the "legends" of the arrival of Hindu Rajputs from Garhwal or Nepal who had received certain trading rights in Tibet. He indicates an important connection when he notes that the Hindu Rajas of Kumaon were interested in the colonization and administration of the "Bhotiya" valleys (1963:138).

Chatterjee notes that the ancestors of the Rawat, Dharmsattu and Pangti jati are said to have been three blood brothers or that the Rawats were pure Hindu and the others from Tibet. Another version states that the Rawats, Pangti and Dharmsattu were from Garhwal, the residents of Bilju (Biljval) were from Nepal, and the Martolia in part from Andra Pradesh and related to the Shakas or in part descendants of Rishi Shardwaj ("gotra" Bhardwaj)[2.5]. The eastern groups claim that Shoka derives from the Shaka who founded the Kushan Dynasty, and when defeated fled to

the "mountain fastness" of Chaudas. The Darma and Byansi people claim a similar Shaka origin according to Chatterjee. Darma derives from dharma (religion) and Byas is rendered Vyas Kshetra in the older literature (Chatterjee 1975:158, 161-162).

Regarding the Garhwali groups of Mana and Niti, Chatterjee notes among other things that in some post-Vedic literature the site called Manadwar or "Mana Gate" was earlier referred to as Krauncha dwar and is mentioned in the Mahabharata. The Yaksha protector of the trade route to Tibet was called Mani Bhadra and the site Manibhadrapur. Another Yaksha was established at a site known as Vishala which gained the name Badri Vishala. The latter became Badrinath, the famous pilgrimage, with which the Mana "Bhotiyas" have had special contacts over the years. The demon Ghantakarna became ruler of Mana village (1975:148-149) and in a symbolic way made Mana protector of Badrinath.

The earliest British reference of note is from Traill who says that the village of Mana had been "granted in religious assignment to the temple of Badarinath" (1851:90). In 1841, Lushington makes a similar brief remark as to how the village of Mana "belongs to" Badrinath[2.6], and Walton notes that the people of the village "do a good business" among the pilgrims selling fuel. Similarly Pauw notes that the revenue due from Mana used to be liquidated mainly in the transport of grain from lower regions to the temple but by his time the payment was made in coin instead (Pauw 1896:108; Walton 1910:100).

Chatterjee notes that some of the Marchas of Bampa in Niti claim to have come from Bengal during the Pala period (10th century AD) and some of those of Gamsali were the descendants of a certain Rana Sanga and others of the ruling dynasty of Tehri Garhwal. The ancestors of the Niti village people were Ranas who had escaped the Gorkhas (1975:152). Marcha informants themselves make the following distinctions. The Rana and Khati jati of Niti village are supposed to be descendants of two sons of the same mother. A group of people once living in Jammu were forced by the Mughals to Tholing and from there settled in the Niti valley through one woman who had one son by a sadhu and

another by a Tibetan Rana. The former son founded the Khati line and the second the Rana line of Niti. Other Rana names taken (for example by the Tolcha) are not of the same (high) pedigree. The Phoniya ancestors were a local group who settled in the alpine region as sepoys of the king of Tehri Garhwal. Their name was given to them by Daba signifying "leader" or, as we have seen earlier, the person in charge of the "Bhotiya" side to the opening ritual for trade in the serji system. The Pal jati descended from Bijay Pal who was an officer and relative of the Parmar Dynasty of Tehri Garhwal. As we will see, these geneologies are in fact much more shallow. Bijay Pal would have been born ca. 1765 calculating by generations, and not as early as the dynasty he is said to descend from.

Nevertheless, two points should be made regarding the above. First, all sources seem to maintain that the "Bhotiyas" consist of a number of jati, many of which claim origins from separate, sometimes faraway places. Other jati seem to arise out of a later segmentation of those groups and/or by some sort of intermarriage. This pattern is in fact quite a common one for these higher regions as exemplified in Oppitz' study of the Sherpa (1968). The second important point is that the consolidation of these separate incoming groups appears to have taken place in the articulation of the local state-like stuctures of Kumaon-Garhwal and mNga-ris and included the early rajas, the Gorkhas and the British.

2.b. "Bhotiya" and British

The naming of something carries with it certain connotations in the mind of the namer. "Bhotiya" has some very special connotations associated with "Tibetan". In fact the name "Bhotiya" has become a demeaning term. This special association with Tibet can be easily seen in the concept "Bhotiya" itself which we will discuss first followed by a few references to common prejudices that arise out of this association. Whether true or false, this association has played an important part in the minds of persons

external to the community on whom much of a group's status in a society traditionally very much oriented towards ranking has revolved.

The earliest direct evidence we have on the "Bhotiyas" is from the Chand period. Otherwise, older sources can only imply their existence through the existence of trade. After 1600, for example, information from the British and Dutch East India Companies show a brisk trade in such items as borax, the source of which was mNga-ris and Ladakh. Inscriptions from around 1000 AD mention the Hunas, but nothing (as yet discovered) which states anything specifically about the "Bhotiyas". In fact, it was probably the case that these people were classified generally as Tibetans as was done by a Moslem prince in the service of Sultan Said Khan of Kashgar who divides the population of Tibet into two categories: bol-pa, or "dwellers in villages or hamlets", and canbah, or "nomads". The canbah category probably included those people that were to later become separately known as the "Bhotiyas" (date ca. 1530 AD):

> "... the Canbahs or nomads ... descend from the mountain parts towards the west and south, which is Hindustan, and bring down with them Khitae goods, and musk, and... (borax) ...(purslain)...(yak tails), gold, and shal (fabrics), which are Tibbati goods and merchandize, and carry on traffic with the Hindus of the mountain skirts of Hindustan. From thence these Canbahs purchase and take home with them goods and manufactures of Hindustan, such as clothing,...sweets, rice, wheat, etc., with which they load their sheep, and in the spring set out on their return to Tibbat, there being forage obtainable then, and their sheep numerous." (Raverty 1895:91)

Baj Bahadur Chand's attack on Johar was in fact directed towards the Tibetans in Taklakot who had apparently been harassing pilgrims on their way to Manasarovar. Chand took over control of the passes, but did not dispense with the dues the "Bhotiyas" paid to the Tibetans who had earlier controlled their valleys. The situation is a bit more unclear regarding the eastern area. In 1673 Chand invaded Byans which, Atkinson says, was annexed to the Chand kingdom in the same way as Johar. The inhabitants there were to continue to pay dues to the Tibetans and into the Chand treasury "gold-dust (phatang), the pods of the musk-deer

and salt as Revenue" (Atkinson 1884:568-569).

The Doti raja in modern Nepal territory had held Johar and Darma and the raja of Jumla held Byans and Chaudans during the reign of Udyan Chand 1420-1421. Budra Chand, who ruled 1565-1597, seized Darma and Johar (as well as Askot which was put in charge of the revenue arrangements). Byans and Chaudans were then still under the raja at Jumla (ibid. 527, 553). Traill noted, however, that Byans had been a part of the Jumla kingdom until 1796 AD when it was seized by the Gorkhas when they captured Jumla, and its revenue reverted towards the Almora treasury. When the British took over control of Kumaon from the Gorkhas in 1815, they took over the same territory the Gorkhas controlled which included Byans, with the exception of the two Byansi villages of Changru and Tinkar which remained in Nepal after the border discussions of 1817[2.7].

The scale of the military power of these early Kumaon-Garhwal kingdoms can be grasped in reading the account of the Portuguese Jesuit Andrade who happened to be staying in Mana village in 1624 as a Garhwal raja took advantage of a lull in Tibetan power and attacked mNga-ris from three points with approximately 35,000 soldiers. The Jesuits had established a foothold in Tsaparang for a short period of time and witnessed the abrupt changes in political control that seemed to characterize the area during the whole of this period[2.8]. Intermezzos were common and devastating between the Kumaoni and Garhwali kingdoms. Fateh Sah of Garhwal led an attack from Dehra Dun on the plains city of Saharanpur in 1692, and is also credited with having extended his reign into Tibet. It is said that a hat, coat, sword and matchlock belonging to him are still kept in the temple in Daba (Walton 1910:118). During Fateh Sah's reign, the Chands captured the Garhwal capital of Srinagar, but anarchy in their royal house led to a series of events that resulted in the occupation of Almora by the Gorkha Ran Bahadur Sah in 1790-1791.

The area around Kashipur in the plains which was settled first during the British administration by Seton, had until 1775 been under the jurisdiction of the Raja at Almora. In that year

it was seized by Shujaud-Dowlah. A certain Sheo Laul was the "farmer" of the area just before Seton's visit, and his ancestors had apparently gained these rights even before 1775. Like the rest of the area ultimately under the Navab in Lucknow, around the time of Seton's visit, this area was so poorly administered and exactions on the people so great that many of the peasants had vacated their land and taken to the jungles to become the bandits who pestered the area around Rampur and even parts of the Gorkha controlled Kumaon[2.9].

The British takeover of this large area known as Rohilkhand is the result of a well-arranged strategic move against a poorly administered area. Cornwallis had noted the poor state of internal affairs of Oudh (Oude or Avadh, of which the area known as Rohilkund was a part), and made an agreement with the Navab Kijir such that the East India Company takeover the defence and foreign relations of the area and leave the internal administration (the root of the problem so to say) to the Navab. One result of this was that the number of British troops inside Avadh steadily increased over the years. In Rohilkhand in 1794, dissensions took place in the royal family after the death of the Rohilla chief resulting in the murder of his son. British and Navab troops were sent to enforce the legal reign with the result that the Rohillas were defeated. The treasure of the deceased chief was turned over to the Navab, and a jagir of "10 lacs of revenue" (1,000,000 rupees) was given to the son of the murdered son. In 1798, the Governor General wrote to the British Resident in Lucknow that "the management, if not the sovereignity, of that part of the Doab", as the area was also described, "ought to be placed in our hands" (Mill 1858:124).

A series of reforms were proposed beginning in 1799 among which in the end, turned into the British sovereignty of the Navab's country. By 14 November 1801, the Navab was induced to sign a treaty to this effect which ceded to the British all of Rohilkhand and the lower Doab consisting of the districts of Gorakhpur, Allababad, Cawnpore, Etawa, Bareilly, Moradabad and Farrukhabad. This area became known as the Ceded Provinces and

was immediately put under the governorship of a three-member Board of Commissioners with Henry Wellesley (brother to Lord Wellesley, then Governor General Of India) acting as the Lieutenant-Governor at Bareilly. The British administration was put into effect immediately in the assessment of village land and collection of revenue. New transit duties were established of a more efficient nature based on a regular customs-house taxation system. Salt was made a government monopoly (although soon to be re-directed via individual trade). This administrative activity played a very important role in clearing the channels of trade which affected, not only the directly administered area, but the neighbouring hill areas as well.

The first British use of the concept "Bhotiya" signifies a somewhat confusing mixture of Tibetan and Bhutanese peoples. As early as 1772, for example, during the British war with Bhutan, we find a reference to the "invasion of Cooch Behar" by the "Bhoteas" who in this case are the Bhutanese. Warren Hastings, the first Governor General of India 1774-1785, who was very interested in opening up trade with Tibet, refers in his correspondance to the whole of Tibet including Ladakh as "Boutan"[2.10]. We find the term also applied to the hills people of the Northeast Frontier Agency (the hills region of modern Assam). The term is still used for peoples of the eastern Himalayan region. Bagchi specifies its actual use generically to the Denjongpa Bhutias of Sikkim, the Dukpas of Bhutan, the Sherpas of Nepal and the Tibetans themselves (Bagchi 1977:365-366). In modern Nepal, the term carries a derogatory sense as it does in association with the "Bhotiyas" of Uttar Pradesh, India.

By 1815, British power had expanded over much of northern India and in the same year, Kumaon and Garhwal were annexed after the defeat of the Gorkhas. The British administrators had apparently taken with them to Kumaon the association of "Bhotiya" with Tibetan which was fostered in their Bhutan affairs. This confusion is especially clear in the following quotation--the first British reference to the "Bhotiyas" of Uttar Pradesh:

> "The Bhooteeahs are obliged to quit their villages in Bootan and bring down their families and cattle into Shora, Sheera,

> Gungolee, Boghesur and Pacenkundee." (W. L. Gardner to Nicolls 14 May 1815: in Historical Papers..., Saksena, ed. 1956:99)

"Bootan" refers here to the alpine villages which was later to be called "Bhot". The other sites noted are the areas where the "Bhotiyas" reside during the cold season. The earliest reference by Traill, the first major British administrator of the area, was made in connection with his first reconnoitre of the area upon his assignment as Assistant Commissioner (in charge of revenue and settlements) in 1815. In a letter dated 1 March 1816, Traill notes that the area known as "Punkhunda" (roughly Garhwal "Bhot"):

> "contains 22 Villages of which 10 are Situated in the Snowy Mountains and are inhabited solely by Bhooteas" (Traill to E. Gardner 1 March 1816: Pre-mutiny Records. Kumaun. Misc. Letters Received 1816, vol. 7 UPSA)

E. Gardner referred this information on to Adam, Secretary to the Government at Fort William (Calcutta)[2.11]. This original confusion of terms must certainly have had the effect of establishing the "Bhooteeas" of Kumaon-Garhwal as a "fact" in the British records.

The term "Bhot" admittedly did serve the purpose of identifying a specific group of people in distinction to other groups of the area. More specifically, it was meant to distinguish the "Bhotea" from the Pahari or Khasa people of the hills as well as from the "Huniyas" or the Tibetans proper of Hundes. The latter area was that part of Tibet largely known as mNga-ris situated directly north of Kumaon-Garhwal (Batten 1851:219). The term "Hundes" then is an interesting problem in this connection. Traill was cognizant of the implication that there could not be two "Bhots" as well as one Hundes. In fact, the generic mistake of "Bhotiya" was becoming a chimera of British administrative problems:

> "The name of Bhot is here, properly speaking, applicable only to the Himalaya ranges, which once formed a part of the adjacent Tibet province of Bhot. Since the annexation of that tract to the states of Kumaon and Gerhwal, a portion of the neighbouring pergunnah has been incorporated with the several Bhot mehals." (Traill 1851:70)

Traill's idea then is that what he called "Bhot" had once belonged to Tibet (and had been annexed by earlier local governments). Further on he notes:

> "The adjoining province of Tibet, here called 'Bhot', 'Huindes', (snow land) indiscriminately..." (ibid. 94)

The use of "here" indicates local usage. But further on in the text he notes:

> "The province of Huindes is by its inhabitants called Nari; while at Ladokh and to the westward, it appears to be known by the name of Chung or Jhang Tung, an appellation nearly synonymous with Huindes". (ibid. 103)

The area known as the Chang Tang is actually the high plateau north of mNga-ris, but Traill's association of Huindes with mNga-ris seems quite accurate, but its association with "Bhot" is a bit weak.

Regarding the "meaning" of Hundes, contemporary sources varied among three alternatives: "wool-country", "snow-country", or the "country of Huns". Moorcroft seems to be the first to discuss this problem--certainly the first to be confronted with it during his travels in those regions. According to Moorcroft, the name "Un-des" denoted "wool-country" (as noted by Atkinson 1884:369, in referring to Moorcroft and Trebeck 1837). In his early letters from the area (1812) Moorcroft simply refers to it as a part of "Chinese Tartary", but he does emphasize its riches especially in high quality shawl wool[2.12]. Atkinson expressed the alternative connotations of Hundes in the following words:

> "The adjacent province of Tibet is here called Hundes, and its inhabitants Huniyas. The name was supposed by Moorcroft to be Un-des or wool-country, and by Wilson to be Hiun-des or snow-country, but the real name is Hundes or country of the Hunas. This name is clearly connected with the Hioung-nu of the Chinese records and the Hunas of the inscriptions." (Atkinson 1884:369)

R. Strachey in following Atkinson supports the idea of "the country of Huns" and notes as well that Huna is found in Garwhali inscriptions from around 800 AD (Strachey, R. 1851:85).

Nevertheless, Atkinson's work represents the first major accumulation of data on the hills area in a trend of encyclopedic literature listing and describing in as much detail as possible

the "tribes" and "castes" of India. These gazetteers and censuses were to have a profound influence on the formal establishment of caste histories and hierachies[2.13]. Atkinson can also be said to represent the general trend among British colonial administration of approaching these "ethnographies" in a more "scientific" way. The trend corresponds to the fusion of administrative necessity, pure curiosity and the desire to "explain" the "primitive" in terms of the civilized Victorian--a trend which already (by 1885) had laid the foundation of the science of anthropology. The Ethnographic Survey of India was founded in 1903. One of its first results was Ibbetson et al. A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province (Lahore 1919)[2.14]. Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India (1909) played an important role for Sherring's subdivision of the "Bhotiyas" to which we shall return as well. Crooke (1896) as well had special relevance to the establishment of "Bhotiya". He informs us that the word Bhauta or Bhota in Sanskrit is basic to the appellation "Bhot, Bot, Bhotiya", and carries the sense of being associated with Tibet (Bodyal) in such a way that the Tibetan Bodpa (a person of Tibet in Tibetan) was corrupted by the Hindus into "Bhotiya". The following short note by Crooke is of special importance in connection with "Bhotiya" identity:

> "['Bhotiya' is]...a name now applied to the Tibetans living on the borders between India and Tibet, while the people of Tibet Proper are called Huniyas, and the country Hundes." (Crooke 1896:61, my emphasis)

In spite of Crooke's fateful identification of the "Bhotiyas" with Tibetans, much effort was spent in trying to distinguish them. It was essentially an effort to alleviate the results of what was essentially a misconception, and the concept "Hundes" played an important role. Locally, the Tibetans were and are referred to as Huniya (or Khampa for a certain group of them) and the "Bhotiyas" are referred to as Shauka both by themselves and by the local Pahari population. R. P. Upreti (1968) makes the following distinction in local usage:

> "The Tibetans are termed as Huniyas by the Kumaonese and their country as Hundesh. The same appellations are also

> used by the Bhotias for the Tibetans and their country, while the Tibetans call the Bhotias 'Mon' or 'Mon-pa'... The Bhotias were locally recognised by the Kumaonese as 'Shaukas' or 'Shok'." (Upreti, R. P. 1968:116-117)

Although Upreti implies that the whole group had once been referred to as Shauka[2.15], in 1968 it seemed only Darma retained that name. In the earlier sources there was also uncertainty as to the precise distribution of "Shauka". Atkinson refers to a traditional use of the term "Sokpa" for one of the "higher groups of Johar (1884:369; 1886:113). Sherring follows Atkinson on this point (1974:349). Otherwise sources from around 1900 associate the eastern group and especially Darma with "Shauka". The eastern area was visited by Landor in 1897 who uses the term "Shoka" throughout (1898:vol. I 109f), and the same reference was made by Goudge in his settlement report of 1901[2.16].

In the end, the concept "Bhotiya" gained a very specific connotation--one of utmost importance to the association of a people and their "identity". This aspect was noted as early as 1841 in a perceptive note (by Lushington?):

> "...what we call 'Bhotias'...are in reality not Bhotias but Hindoos. They get the name of Bhotia from their being the carriers of (a part of) the Bhotia trade to prosecute which they make annual visits to Bhote (Tibet) and for a part of the year consider themselves subjects of the Bhote authorities" (Note to Lushington to Govt. 10 Aug. 1841: For. Dept. Secret Proc. 23-30 Aug. 1841, No. 29)

2.c. Tibetan Stigma

The "Bhotiyas" of Uttar Pradesh are expressly Hindu--in fact, this is one of the main factors that distinguish them from many of the other peoples of the Himalayan area referred to as "Bhotiya" (cf. Srivastava, R. P. 1979:174). Nevertheless, their association with the Tibetans has often meant that they have been considered Buddhist (Lamaist). When the name was originally associated with Bhutan-Tibet, Nepal played a rather special role in propagating this image. In 1811, for example, Kirkpatrick noted that at the foot of the steps of the "Botnoth" temple in Kathmandu, Nepal, there was a statue of Boudh (Buddha) "con-

sidered by some to be the law-giver of the Bhootias or Tibetans" (Kirkpatrick 1811:148). "Bhootia" is often used by this author for the Tibetans who still at that time worshipped at the Buddhist shrines, being related to the "race of Tibetans" that had once ruled Nepal (cf. ibid. 148-149, 183, etc.). The "Bhootias" of von Fürer-Haimendorf's book (1975) from the Sherpa to the Humla Bhotias are almost exclusively Buddhist even today. Even the Nepali Byansi, one part of the Byans group of "our" eastern area, are noted as being in many ways quite peripheral to both the sphere of Lamaist and Hindu "culture" (ibid. 284).

In 1923, a worker for the London Missionary Society, U. S. Rawat (who was a "Bhotiya" himself) referred to the area of his work somewhat in jest as "Bhot or the Country of the Buddhists ...the inhabitants (who, by the way, are not Buddhists)..."[2.17]. A recent article in a Hindi periodical notes that "Bhot" means "Bodh", disciples of Buddha (and differentiates between the Huniya and the Shauka) (Pant, P. 1981:27). After an 1824 visit to Almora, Heber left the following preconception:

> "Between [Nanda Devi] ...and the Chinese frontier [are, int.al.] ...the Bhooteahs, a Mongolian tribe, worshippers of the Delai Lama, who are said to be the descendants of one of the hordes who crossed the snowy mountains with Tamerlane" (1828:493)

It was not uncommon to relate the peoples of the Central Asian area in general with the idea of a "horde". In other contexts we are informed that these "Mongolian" peoples (described sometimes as a tribe, usually as a race) were cheerful although they tended to be "unwashed" (due, as noted by G. D. Upreti, to the "intense cold of those altitudes", 1894:viii). Another stereotype was their obstinance:

> "I found the Bhutias of Byans, Chaudans, and Darma pattis a most stubborn and independent people, and no doubt they require more looking after than they have hitherto been used to. The absence of any control over them has in a way spoilt them and they seem to have very little respect for authority. The wandering life they lead also tends to the same result and encourages lawless habits." (Sturt to Govt. 29 June 1895: Ext. A Dec. 1895, Nos. 1-6)

The missionaries had special problems with this "obstinancy". They were continuosly unsuccessful at coverting the "Bhotiyas"

to Christianity--a fact they attributed to benightedness. Instead of turning to the knowledge the missionaries had to offer, the "Bhotiyas" were "indifferent...being satisfied to enjoy life like animals"[2.18]. Batten must surely have left us with one of the gems of descriptive ethnography:

> "We...enter Bhote; and flocks upon flocks of sheep carrying loads of grain, or salt and borax... guarded by the savage dogs of Thibet and the still more savage Bhotias among whom are also discerned a few most savage Lamias, or wandering beggars from Tartary. Of the latter the dress and appearance are most strange; the women are scarcely human, and both they and the men resemble the pictures given of the Esquimaux. The children are rosy-cheeked and sometimes pretty, but the small Chinese eyes buried in the face give a somewhat monkey-like look to their physiognomy. This latter observation applies equally to the Bhotias as to the Lamias." (Batten 1838: 311)

Other stigmatic associations with Tibetans were expressed in less discourteous ways. For example in 1869:

> "The eyes obliquely set to the nose, the high cheek-bones, thin beard, and large projecting ears, proclaim undoubtedly an admixture of Mongolian blood..." (Elliot, H. M. 1969:302)

G. D. Upreti (1894:viii) described them as "a Mongolian tribe /with/...a distinctly Chinese appearance, and their residence in the cold climate of the snows gives many of them quite a fresh colour". The missionaries noticed the affinities as well. They were described as "allied to the Mongolian races", "of Mongolian descent...probably allied to the Thibetans and not to the Aryan Hindus", or as "a tribe of Mongolian or Tibetan affinitites"[2.19]. Dr. von Eickstedt tried to be more fastidious in his "racial anthropology":

> "In some tracts of Almora and even so far south as Naini Tal rude Mongoloid types are met with. From this we learn that we have reached the confines of the western half of the Himalayas with their prevailing Europaid races (or, to use the linguistic term: 'Aryan population') and are entering the eastern half, which down to the foot of the mountains is occupied by a people of Mongoloid parentage." (von Eickstedt 1926:26)

Von Eickstedt's basic theme is founded on the popular idea that the Aryans migrated en masse into South Asia and subdued the

aboriginal population who thus became low-caste. Crooke and the other early compilers noted before were some of the original perpetuators of this idea. As can be understood, this theme of racial immigration had become an important source in the establishment of racial cum caste pedigrees[2.20]. D. N. Majumdar, not only one of the founders of anthropology in India but the first educated anthropologist to carry out research on the "Bhotiyas", noted regarding the Khas of the hills area that they were Indo-Aryans who subdued the aborigines who in turn became the local out-castes (Dom)--in fact he claimed that the Khas occupied the geographical area most similar to their original homes outside India (1949:i). Even R. P. Srivastava perpetuates this notion (1979:187-188) as does Berreman to a certain extent (1972:14, 17).

Associated with this detrimental non-Aryan feature is the question of to what degree the persons are orthodox followers of Hinduism. Certainly, non-orthodoxy is one main characteristic of the Tibetans, who are not only Buddhists but identified as cow-killers (a major crime in the Hindu religion). Thus the association of "Bhotiya" to Tibetan has had the effect of perpetuating a criteria of low-caste. Conversely, since this stigma is an externally generated criteria of identity, the community has tried to align itself with Hindu orthodoxy (in varying degrees) by, on the one hand, stressing their distinction from the Tibetans, and on the other, adopting criteria of high-caste Hindus (in this case the Rajputs). The former issue has involved the "Bhotiyas" in a very serious contradictory situation: their very subsistence was based on the maintenance of a relationship with the Tibetans. The second issue, the adoption of "Hindu" criteria is expressed in terms of the degree to which an "non-Hindu" group (usually called a "tribe" in these contexts) acculturates traits associated with orthodox Hinduism, has been referred to as "Hinduization".

The "Bhotiyas" had apparently changed so much due to Hinduization between 1820 and 1905 (i.e. the times of Traill and Sherring), that Sherring could consider Traill's description

"misleading". In fact, his article of 1906 is an attempt as a whole to describe the "Bhotiyas" from this point of view (1906: 93). He begins with a short discussion on the question of orthodoxy and gives a hint at one aspect of "Bhotiya" society that sets it off from Hindu caste society and may be of interest to our concern for the characteristics of quasi-castes. Although his discussion is along very general terms, he notes that the difference between "Bhotiyas" and orthodox Hindus can be seen most clearly in questions relating to property and inheritance. The idea of a joint-family is lacking among the "Bhotiyas". The father is the absolute owner of all ancestral property but releases it to his sons at old age with the result that he may well become neglected. In Johar and Mana, a father can refuse to release to his sons such property that he has acquired himself (i.e. that is not ancestral property), and a man has the right to decide whether or not a woman will be allowed to retain property she gained herself. Regarding adoption Sherring notes briefly that the principles laid down in Mitakshara (Hindu) Law are unheard of, the choice falling invariably on the heir (ibid. 97) (we will return to property briefly in Chapter 3).

The question of orthodoxy is a central point in the discussion of "Bhotiya" and Hindu society. Sherring's discussion centers on to what extent other more orthodox Hindus consider the "Bhotiyas" (here the Rawats or those who claim first priority regarding Rajput status) orthodox:

> "There can be no question...that whatever opinion these Rawats may hold concerning themselves as orthodox believers in the Hindu faith, the other Hindus do not consider them orthodox; and the lowest caste will not eat with them, although all, except Brahmins and superior Hindus, will smoke with them. On the other hand, the Rawats and all Bhotias will eat pakki (by which they mean cooked food as opposed to uncooked) with Rajputs and Brahmins, and kachchi with all except Doms and Muhammadans; and similarly they will drink with all except Doms and Muhammadans. In Nepal, however, Hindus of the better castes will drink with them." (1906:97)

We find here a reference to the contradictory situation noted above. On the one hand, we find a Dom category amongst the

"Bhotiyas" themselves treated as low-caste by the people who are themselves considered low-caste by orthodox Hindus. This is an important foundation for the assertion of higher status (cf. Srivastava 1979:173) and reflects a central constituent of a "dominance" as we will see. On the other hand, the Tibetan stigma carries a special import in terms of defining caste boundaries behaviorally.

Such boundaries are expressed in, among other things, food-sharing habits. Walton, quotes Sherring who notes carefully both the apparent strictness on the one hand of Hindu customs in the relationship between the "Bhotiyas" and the Dom, and on the other hand, the apparent break-down in this strictness in the relationship between the "Bhotiya" and the Tibetans. According to Walton the "Bhotiyas" did in fact share food with the Tibetans if the food was more than half-cooked, although the Joharis he says will commonly drink tea with the Tibetans and not share their food. The Tibetans are generally despised by orthodox Hindus because of their meat-eating or cow-killing habits (Sherring 1906:101-102) (quoted by Walton 1928:99-100). Traill writes:

> "The Bhoteas consume large quantities of food, particularly of animal, of which a constant supply is afforded to them in the carcasses of their sheep and goats which die from fatigue or disease. The Mana, Niti and Juwar Bhoteas scrupulously abstain from the use of beef of every description; by the Dharma and Byanse Bhoteas the chowar gae is eaten, and the common kine would probably not be spared by them, but for the general prohibition against the slaughter of that animal which is in force in this province." (1851:105)

The extent to which the western group tried to follow Hindu orthodoxy was met many times both in Traill's day and today by an equal refusal to allow them this priviledge. This was in the end based on the very thing that was necessary for the "Bhotiyas" to survive at all--the system of trade with the Tibetans;

> "...all [Bhoteas] unite in assumptions of superiority to the natives of Tibet, though on their annual visits to that country, they are compelled to drink tea at the houses of their several correspondents, such ceremony being there an indispensable preliminary to every commer-

> cial dealing. Of late years, the Juwar Bhoteas have affected to imitate the niceties and scruples of Hindus, in regard to food, and have assumed the designation of 'Sinh'; but they have derived no consideration from these pretensions, and continue to be regarded with abhorrence by the Hindus, as descendants from a cow-killing race" (ibid. 85)

Drinking tea with one's mitra (trade correspondant) was the least one must do to carry out the trade dealings, according to Sherring (1906:118), although the same author writes elsewhere that the mitra system "implies that the parties eat and drink together". He reflects the general attitude taken by the orthodox Hindus in the following:

> "...whether Hindus or not, there is no doubt that they are Mongolians, for their features betray them, and they eat and drink freely with the Tibetans. So great an influence has this practice of eating and drinking together had on their method of trade that it is commonly said that the Tibetans will only trade with those persons with whom they can eat, and as this preference creates a monopoly in favour of the Bhotias, the latter are very eager to spread this belief." (1974:69)

In the compilation of the censuses, such information as this coupled with the caste statements of local "experts" (mainly Brahmin) was used which had the effect of finalizing a certain status. As late as 1974, the Brahmin Kala declared that the "Bhotiyas of Johar are definitely Rajputs, while the other Bhotiyas are mixed Rajput and Mongoloid blood" (1974:166).

Sherring notes two short but direct references to what he considers the "Bhotiya's" lack of complete Hinduization seen in their ignorance of some important facts of that religion. In a way that might perhaps show something as to the degree of Hinduization in 1905 comparative to what we can glean from say the time of Traill and from the mid-twentieth century, Sherring notes for example (1906:97) that excluding perhaps Johar, the "Bhotiyas" hardly knew what the Vedas were and could certainly not have the Mitakshara Law applied to them. Conversely, it is noted that at least the people of Darma worshipped at the Tibetan monasteries during their trading sojourns into that country. They also worshipped their own deities:

> "...and also the whole host of Hinduism, or rather, to be accurate, all those that they have heard about, for they are only dimly initiated into the mysteries of the Hindu faith in the supernatural" (Sherring 1906:116)

There is an important inference in the fact that, where Darma, the least "Hinduized", was considered the poorest (and dirtiest) of the groups, Johar was considered both the most "Hinduized" as well as the most prosperous. Milam in Johar was once the largest village in Kumaon, and its inhabitants "only yield in wealth and prosperity to the first class of merchants in Almora" (Batten 1851:219). Nevertheless, all the groups were associated with the idea that the "Bhotiyas" spent "half their time in Thibet and half under British rule", thus they worshipped "alternately at Hindu and Buddhist shrines" (Elliot 1869:302).

2.d. Rajput Charisma

Where we have an image imposed on this group relegating it to a low status, related to the meat-eating, cow-killing Tibetans, we also have the significance of personal Rajput names which oppose this externally imposed identity. Names such as Negi, Rawat, Sayana, Pal found among the "Bhotiyas" are names once associated with certain important groups of the Kumanoni-Garhwali raja period[2.21]. When used then, the names carried either an association with an occupation or a title indicating status. Both senses of the names were associated. The name "negi" was associated with subordinate offices. "Sayana" was one of the important fiscal administrative offices. "Rawat" and "bisht" were also titles associated with lesser offices, and all are names (jati) used today by the "Khas" people and in fact quite common. Walton discusses at some length the case of two Rajput groups that had immigrated to Kumaon from the plains. Both the Rajwar and Manral jati he notes were said to be descendants of the Surajbansi Katyuri rajas.

The Manrals were apparently assigned grants of land in the wild frontier areas of the Kumaon-Garhwal border to hold in the form of a garrison or buffer. They had been granted sanads by various Chand rajas (especially during the period 1410-1790)

and also by the Gorkha governors (1790-1815) who assigned them duties as "wardens of the marches". In Walton's day (around 1910), the heads of both subgroups of Tamadhaund Manral and Jaspur Rajwar were still referred to as "sayana" by their people--an honorific more than a true assignment of thokdari nature. Similarly, such Rajput names as Padiyar, Bangari Rawat, Dosadh Bisht were also of plains origin. Among the local Rajputs (Khasi) Walton mentions the three main subdivisions of Rawat, Bisht and Negi, all without the important prefixes that characterize the high-caste groups from the plains. Walton describes the Negi as:

> "those Khasiyas of Garhwal and Kumaon who took to military service and gradually owing to the vicissitudes of such a life separated into a caste" (1928:95)

Negi carries the sense of "one who receives perquisites". Bisht comes from "excellent, respectable" and/or holding some sort of grant of land as "rawat" meant "ruler" and were perhaps the descendants of raja civil officers (ibid. 94-95, cf. also 1910: 62).

Tracing the geneologies as they are given by informants presents a number of problems, not the least of which is the common appearance of such jati (family appelation) as Rawat, Negi etc. In some cases, a change in names can be witnessed from recent times. Thus in Garhwal, the Rawat jati of Gamsali are said to have been immigrants from Johar and were known by the jati name (Burfal) brought with them. Their name was changed to Rawat during the 1950's. The Rawat jati of Johar seems to have been changed from Milamwal when the famous explorers Nain Singh and Kishen Singh were given special recognition by the British government. Sanwal has noted the importance of this proximity to British political activity for the possibility of an improvement in status allocation (1976:133 etc.). Sayana was one of the jati that formed out of the subdivision of Milamwal and seemed to have come into existence around 1700 following Ram Singh Panti's geneology (1980). It may have been a title associated with the fiscal control of the area as assigned by the Chands. Otherwise, the important headman of Milam who figured

in important trade ceremonies with Tibet and who was given certain priviledges there seems to have been the group known as Burath (from budh meaning the eldest or most honorable) in the subdivision, and which carrying the jati name Milamwal was to become the Rawats. There does seem to be reason to assume that certain groups were singled out especially according to function and that later local alliances within the valleys resulted in a general spread of the associated prestige. The jati Phoniya of Niti can definitely be associated with the trade representative as we will see. Modern informants note that "phoniya" is a title once bestowed on this group by Daba and carried the sense of "leader" of Niti, or "representative".

The name Singh which all men of the community have as a part of their personal name, indicates their status as Rajputs. Interestingly, the use of the name does not seem to be of great age, nor has it been used before about 1920 by all men. But details on this use are rather scarce. The earliest reference to it by the British is in a list turned over to the very first Commissioner of Kumaon, Gardner, in 1815. There we find a reference to the names Bhuwamnee Sing Negee and Dhun Singh Bhandaree, but whether they belong to the community or not is slightly uncertain. Both jati (Negi and Kandari) are found among the Marcha. Traill noted that certain family feuds had been taking place in Johar for some time by 1817, even to the extent of making an assessment of that area difficult (noted also by Atkinson 1886:148). In an 1818 letter, he notes further that a certain Bije Singh was the "farmer" of that area and was "personally obnoxious to any of the Zemindars"[2.22]. This must be the same as the folk-hero Vijay Singh who in the local folk songs is honored with having gone to Nepal to arrange a reduction in the Gorkha taxes. In fact, he is mentioned in the Nepali archival data as well where he was the "Bhotiya" representative to the Gorkha government in Almora (Regmi Research Series 1(2) 1969:43). Traill also notes interestingly enough that the use of the Singh title was a recent phenomenon in about 1825 (1851:85).

The geneologies that are available for the Marchas and Joharis in fact show that some of the ancestors used Singh in their names, and others not. Thus, the eldest names in the Rawat - Milamwal geneology such as Dharmu Singh Milamwal, Shubanu Singh Milamwal, etc. use the title, whereas more recent ones do not. Among the latter we find the explorer Nain Singh's father, Lata, and a number of others. I. S. Rawat gives Nain Singh's father's name as Lata Burha and confuses matters even more (1973:3). Similarly, we find the following variations on names in an 1898 list of duty payers from Johar (giving here only the Johar villages known today):

Bilju	Bishen Singh
Malla Burp	Mohan Singh
Ganaghar	Debu
Laspa	Rajpal
Mapa	Nain Singh
Milam	Jasmal Kuju
Martoli	Hari
Rilkot	Nain Singh
Tola	Parma Khun Singh
Pachhoo	Must Harkoo 2.23

In a Marcha geneology which goes back to about the year 1790, we find Singh first used in about 1870, and the commentary that the British actually conferred the title on the "Bhotiyas" as a whole by declaring them Thakur, or Rajputs, during the 19th century. But this one informant is the only one to make this statement, and, as we have seen in Traill, at least some Singhs are to be traced back before the British era.

Some further consideration of the names gives some interesting information. For example, during the Sikh War, we find some references to a Johari name Dhans Singh Booxhu (or Puksu, Buksa, unclear). This trader took 300 sheep/goats to Tibet from Milam, but his exact jati and village are unclear. Burfu village and Burfal jati may be what was meant. In Mana we find an interesting reference to a certain Raijaipal Amar Singh Marchha who was the Chief of the Marya of Managurh[2.24]. The village must be Mana, and the name later changed to refer to the dominant group of both the Mana and Niti valleys. In Mana today we find the jati Rawat (or Dharkholi), Parmar, Kandari, Badval, Kota Vadval,

Bisht, and Chauhan. Today in Niti we find the following jati: Rana, Khati (of Niti village), Rawat, Chauhan, Phoniya, Bhat, and Vadval of Gamsali, and Pal, Negi, and Kathait of Bampa village. These names have shown some changes some of which have been quite recent. For example, it is said that the Chauhan of Gamsali were originally known as Kyurasi having come there from the village of Keravir in the Mana (Kirganga) valley. The Rawat of Gamsali were originally from Burfu in Johar and known as Burfal, and the Visht from Toli in Johar were formerly known as Dhopa. Both of these jatis were changed since 1950 to their present name. The name Bampwal was known in 1889 as it figured in a petition written by a certain Jawahir Singh Bamphwal of Malla Bampwha, Niti Pass, dated 27 May 1889. The jati is also mentioned in a similar report on Tibetan activities sent by Durga Dat, Patwari of Malla Painkhanda (roughly "Bhot"), who had asked the Marchas for information to which a response was sent by a certain Amar Deb Bampwal, the son of Uchaboo who had recently arrived in the area from Gartok. Note that the second Bampwal did not carry the Singh in his name. Both must have been named after the village Bampa similarly to the Milamwal of Johar being named after the village of Milam. We also find the name Narain Singh Bootola, a "traffic mohurrir", associated with Bampa village[2.25].

The signification in these names rests primarily with the community itself, since few outsiders are willing to accept their Rajput status, or if they do, as we have seen, they do so for Johar only on grounds of what is mainly criteria of degree of "Hinduization". The chore facing the anthropologist in a situation like this is not to establish the truth of a claimed pedigree but to clarify the total situation in which the activity, as a process of human volition within given bounds, assumes a certain, specific appearance--in other words to outline the conditions of the genesis of that form. There will be three problems with which the anthropologist will be faced in analyses such as the present thesis: the researcher will need deal with such signification of events and claims as is represented by

the society of which the group is a part, she or he will need deal with a group's self-interpretation which, as has been easy to see in the case of the community discussed here, many times contradicts the first domain, and lastly the anthropologist will need to deal with the theoretical problem of being able to use history analytically without falling into the trap which Lévi-Strauss imbues historical studies with, the researcher's own arbitrary signification. We will deal with the theoretical side of these problems in the following.

2.e. Ecological Argument

Anthropology has sought models which can reduce what is commonly called a "culture" to a simple, quantifiable model. In the cultural ecological model, local groups of people (cultures) can then be described in terms of "adaptation" to ecological conditions, much as an animal species is an adaptation to its local environment. The ecological argument plays nicely into the hands of simplistic functional analysis. The local group has a function to fulfill within its setting--it occupies a niche and is a necessary component of a system.

Such "ecological" considerations are important, especially in such cases as "Bhotiya" whose very identity seems dependent on it. But the question should be considered as to the degree that a social analysis should revert to a reduction to "ecology", and, if an alternative is at hand, what procedure will thrust us into a domain of analysis that will be more accurate? Much recent anthropological work on communities in Nepal, for example, have tended to lean on the one hand towards a cultural materialist, "ecological" approach, or, on the other, of an approach which emphasizes such ideas as "Hinduization". Both have dealt with areas decisively analogical to that of the present paper and we will return to the important idea of Hinduization eventually. The "ecological" approach finds its ultimate level of reduction in, for example, Hoffpauir's article on the Tamang, high-altitude dwellers near Kathmandu (1978). The human eco-

logical approach used concentrates on the circulation of matter and energy in a specific setting with the result that "culture" appears as the unique organization of this throughput. In a less drastic approach, Goldstein (1974) and Messerschmidt (1976) discuss two groups of western Nepali peoples, neighbours to the "Bhotiyas". Goldstein tries to analyze the adaptation of Limi agro-pastoralists along the idea of "strategy" without recourse to Barth's work. One of the main shortcomings of his "ecological" approach, however, is the way everything is essentially described in terms of "adaptive strategy"--for Goldstein both house-style and polyandry are analyzed as "cultural" artifacts in a true cultural "materialist" sense (Goldstein 1974:260-261). Of more direct relevance to the "Bhotiyas", we may note Goldstein's remarks as to how "trade remains as the last important dimension of the overall Limi adaptation" (ibid. 265). This can be intuitively understood, knowing that without trade life in the alpine valleys would be strenuous. For Goldstein it is one aspect of the "complexity of the adaptation". But this concern for the "complexity" of the situation throws the ecological discussion into a serious problem area. The concept of "adaptation" actually tells us little of theoretical value, since it is based on the truism that all populations adapt. If this adaptation takes on different disguises in different societies in the sense that different cultures represent unique organizations of energy throughput, then again the ecological model explains nothing since our task is then to explain the "culture" and "culture" is a social fact[2.26].

There are several aspects that speak for the social factor in the present analysis. One is the trade system which Goldstein has alloted a place in his adaptive complexity. Trade is a good point of departure, since it reflects a curious dialectic between the physical conditions of existence and its thresholds which are transcended in two ways: when the form of a system is transformed by a shift in its elements and/or when it is transformed by an evolution to another state (in the systems sense of state). These processes can be visualized by imagining the

trade routes as a trade flow diagram in which real, geographical features channel a communicative system in a unique way. By locating a point in this flow and calling it the local society, our first discovery will be that this point is dependent on the behavior of the flow. This is to say that at least one side of "Bhotiya" identity (a characteristic of the point) is dependent on the fate of the trade system. But inversely, the latter is constrained by the nature of its elements. In the present case, this would be to say that the trade system takes the form it does because of participation in it by the "Bhotiyas". In all situations there is a necessary interdependency between a system and its elements such that the evolution of either one is dependent on the evolution of the other.

But even at this easily quantifiable level, we can see what may appear as an illusion of determination caused by the fact that a phenomenon of this sort can only be given form by the simultaneous activity of several parameters. Our system is constructed at any given point in time by the simultaneity of (for the time being) the fact of trade given in its instantaneous dimensions and the local restrictions on it. The illusion is created when the system is witnessed in time such that the behavior of the system as a whole transcends a model of it as a fixed form. It passes through thresholds and tranforms itself in ways that appear almost innovative. The change may be the result of a new trade route used or an older one reinforced--in this case the behavior of a global system, a shifting of elements within the system. The change may also result from what is a "true" innovation, for example a so-called technical advancement, and the system would then seem to revert to another state. None of these features would compell us to reduce the explanation to the ecology.

Messerschmidt may seem to follow similar lines when he speaks of the "ethnohistory" of the Gurung. But since ethnohistory is described in terms of "ecological change and adaptation", it is reduced to the simplistic notion of a shift from high to low altitude "adaptation" in niches (1976:168-178). In

a way parallel to our data on the "rise and fall" of the Johar village of Milam, Messerschmidt's discussion of the importance of Khhol in terms of the same Indo-Tibetan trade should at least induce him to situate his data in a global context. There are no conclusions at all regarding ethnohistory in Messerschmidt's article since the whole question involves data that remains at the level of social interaction only. The shift from Khhol involved changes in the trade systems which may reflect such items as the history of Gorkha administration, of the British in the plains, or of the arrival of "migrant Hindus" (ibid.:171, 173-174, 178).

There are then factors involved in the analysis of such processes which point towards a greater complexity of another sort of aetiology than adaptation as well as a greater degree of sublety. Hodgson, for example, who is cited by Messerschmidt as an early source regarding Gurung economy (ibid.:169), shows an acumen for the process that would later be known as "Hinduization", a sort of acculturation of tribes into the Hindu main tradition (Hodgson 1972, originally 1874:14f). "Hinduization" may well represent that approach to the problem most opposite to the ecological one. In the total of its subtle implications, it must certainly go beyond the simple social interactionist idea Messerschmidt implies when he notes that "gradually, the Gurungs learned to terrace and irrigate their fields and to cultivate rice, after the example of the migrant Hindus who had settled nearby" (1976:173). This use of "choice" must certainly represent the worst results of that sort of anthropological analysis which, with diffusionism and the American school, threw history out the window. In fact, epistemologically, it falls into the same trap as adaptation since it posits "strategy" at the level of a conscious choice. If valid in an anthropological analysis at all, "strategy" must refer to a level where material factors in human society of an "infrastructural" nature are operative[2.27], and the whole analysis reinstate history, so that what only appears as strategy becomes events that assume a logic as the result of the activity of simultaneous contingent parameters.

2.f. Identity and History

The above has outlined at least what is at stake in the signifier "Bhoitya". That which is signified can be said to reflect the "identity" of the event. Thus we can say that the event has an identity if it can be described in terms of its distinctive features or the characteristics that make it a separable "fact" in its environment. At the same time, our analysis will be forced to proceed in terms of locating "fact" boundaries within a matrix of given circumstances.

This approach to "identity" proposes putting all aspects of the "fact" studied into a wider but specific context. The "fact" is not totally dissimilar to the "ideas" Foucault discusses in terms of "discourse", especially in the sense that the "fact" appears as an "object of discourse" on what he calls a "surface of emergence" (1982:41). The idea of "surface" is not only useful for some interdisciplinary reasons we will return to, but its delineation as a result of the total situation in which even the analyst takes part is also fruitful. Our analysis will emphasize local signifiers--i.e., those whose activity has been most relevant in the genesis of the group "Bhotiya" within the immediate world they have lived in. It will not discuss how anthropology models "tribal societies", etc., also part of the total discourse on "Bhotiya", although it will touch on the more pronounced modes of "explaining" them. We have already seen the effect of the British, the Tibetan and caste Hindu in outlining the form the "fact" has taken. These will be the central local signifiers in the process of "Bhotiya" morphogenesis which the following analysis will try to articulate in terms of "discourse".

On the other hand, the model that is used will differ from Foucault's tools. "Discourse" will be kept where appropriate for intuitive understanding, but the model will try to exhibit the idea of multidimensional determination in more formal terms. It will emphasize a number of material parameters which it is felt comprise the "incentive" around which the cognitive processes that define or signify a "fact" revolve. Thus the "identity" referred to is more than quantifiable data--in fact

since the material is heavily imbued with qualitative material such as Rajput mythopraxis and the translation of wealth into Rajput status (a process we will refer to as "rajputization"), the goal of the analysis will be to present the material matrix within which ideas operate. Again like the object of a discourse, the understanding of an "identity" in this sense will be attained through the rendering of the processes that have been contingent on the evolving event in time.

In using the concept "identity" we are in part following an important idea implicit in such analyses as that of Crocker and Izard in l'Identité (1977). The point there is to stress that sort of analysis which frees us from an over-concern for the logic of, especially, kinship structures (the "geneological rut" in Crocker 1977, cf. also Fox 1971). The "identity" alternative stresses instead the pattern of roles and the norms associated with the "persons" who are the incumbants of these roles. When the pattern is drawn up analytically, we are left with the domain of "principles" that organizes the roles (cf. also Goodenough 1968). It has been described in terms of a sort of cosmology of the society--as a sort of masterplan for a "culture". The main advantage of the "identity" model when used in the present thesis is that on the one hand it renders its material open to the discursive process of definition since it is essentially a cognitive process, and on the other hand, is able to deal with individual as well as social "identity". Thus it is able to deal with the factors of change as well as with the factors of definition in context in a way that the rigid concept of "culture" cannot. On the other, hand, its main disadvantage when used by Crocker, etc., is that it reflects a static structure. Even localizing "Bhotiya" in a "flow diagram" of a trade system open to transformation goes beyond Crocker's statics, not to speak of putting the whole system into a time dimension.

The emphasis on the time dimension in our model is based on a simple but epistemologically important reason. The passage of the states of a system cannot be predicted in advance since

their transformation may be subject to random factors. This emphasis on randomness forces us to discard the belief that we will be able to formulate a "reduced description" or a "master equation" for the evolution of an event. It has been especially contended by the so-called "Brussels School" of physics as a basic epistemological factor in uniting the three sciences of biology, physics and anthropology (through the ideas of mutation, fluctuation-bifurcation and innovation). Its immediate relevance for our model is that it forces us to account for an event by a delineation of its past states only; "using hindsight, deterministic causes can always be assigned to what happened, but in speaking of the future or subsequent evolution of a system, chance and randomness will play a role" (Allen 1982:372). This randomness factor then has the important result of forcing us to explain an event by an account of its history:

> "La seule explication est donc historique, ou génétique: il faut décrire le chemin qui constitue le passé du système, énumerer les bifurcations tracersées et la succession des fluctuations qui ont décidé l'histoire réelle parmi toutes les histoires possible" (Prigogine-Stengers 1979:168)

The central importance of this randomness factor lies in the fact that we are not then able to construct a master equation for history, or, when defining an event by recourse to its history, for the appearance of an event. Our model of the evolution of the event is only able to account for the factors that have been deterministic on those states the event has passed through in time. We are able to construct a model of an event if we render its transformations accountable within a matrix of global factors such that a "reason" can be assigned to the form taken by the states. In this sense the model can nevertheless discuss the deterministic effect of given parameters on the actual forms taken by the states passing through a "phase space"--randomness is not a causal factor of the state-form as are the global factors of determination of form (cf. Thom 1980). We will follow this logic as well as add an additional factor of special importance to our analysis of

social evolution. In the canalization expressed by the trajectory an event follows, we will be inclined to speak of an "attractor" such that an "event potential" is created by the articulation of the canalizing parameters which "attracts" events to condense into certain forms. The event potential corresponds to that point at which the simultaneous activity of potential parameters meets. The "vacuum" created by the "attractor" is morphologically dependent on the conditions of the parameters, and the event assumes its uniqueness or "identity" in this process. In Sections 3 and 4 we will discuss the material factors that describe this morphogenesis of "Bhotiya" identity.

3. Structure

3.a. Cycles

3.a.i. Transhumanence

Before 1962, trade was the primary feature of "Bhotiya" socio-economic life. Agriculture had a secondary importance for the obvious reason that the residence that trade made possible was in an area of characteristically poor agricultural productivity. But agriculture was practiced--in fact it was carried out in two or three different places according to the seasonal stage of the transhumanence cycle. The latter varied from permanent settlements in Chaudas to the three different ones of Johar [3.1], and the agriculture of each of these different zones varies for climatological reasons similar to those that force the families to move.

The crops raised in the different areas were however quite the same and probably much the same as those generally raised in the upper hills and alpine regions of the Himalaya, either today or in Traill's day. A basic distinction is made among three similar grains which in English are called barley, wheat and buckwheat. Some confusion is found in glossing the local terms, probably because, at least in the case of barley and buckwheat, the strains common to this area are not identical to ones we know. "Phapar" and "ogal" refer to two types of "buckwheat" (Genus Fagopyram, which is not mustard as S.D.Pant notes). Phaphar, known by this term as well as by be in Byas, is a small plant sprouting hard seeds which give a bitter grain used as flour for bread, eaten raw, or used in religious connections. Pant refers to this as Fagopyram Tartaricum (1935:46) which is normally identified with Central Asian Buckwheat. It does not need irrigation and thus is especially conducive to the alpine regions where alone it can be grown. Palthi (or palati) also known as palti or ogal, (ugal), Fagopyram esculentum, is common buchwheat, and raised like phaphar [3.2].

Jau or jao is the same common barley known by Traill who

likewise distinguishes between this strain and uva or uajao. Uva is the beardless Tibetan variety, both grown in irrigated areas only like wheat, known here as napal (Himalayan wheat) or gyun and which is somewhat more subject to climatic rigour than barley. Millet is also raised in the watered areas, and is known locally as kauni or china (chino in Western Nepal).

Marsa or marse is also referred to in the older sources. It is amaranthus or wild beet. The plant plus thori (oilseed), and jau, ua and kodu are mentioned by von Fürer-Haimendorf as being raised by the Humla Bhotiyas of Nepal. Other foodplants raised are cabbage, cauliflower (gobhi), peas (known locally as kosi) potatoes and a type of bean known locally as svanta. Leeks are mentioned by Traill, as well as turnips [3.3]. Potatoes, cabage and peas are apparently raised in the alpine valleys, the other plants being products of house gardens in the lower regions. In those areas conducive to it, we find paddy (dhan). It is found in Munsyari at least, but its care demands more time than what the migrating families are able to commit and is carried out by local "chaukidars" to whom we will return.

The growing season in the alpine valleys is quite short and the climate of such a nature that only one crop can be grown there. Two crops were normally raised annually in Chaudas and in parts of neighbouring Talla Darma, but neither area was alpine nor, as we noted earlier, have the families been forced to move to the extent of the other areas inhabited by the "Bhotiyas". The discrepancies in the supply of local grain were met by supplies brought into the domicilies by the salt-grain trade.

The way labour, agriculture and the transhumanence cycle are closely interwoven can be seen using Johar as an example. This area is especially interesting from this point of view considering its three domicilies. In fact, Johar refers to the alpine or upper level village, Munsyari to the middle one (Munsyari being in fact a collection of villages together with Goriphat). The lower village was referred to usually by its name, although we find the term nangar used generally. The neighbouring hills people there are referred to by caste as Khasiya

(Khas) or simply as jimdar (tiller).

We can begin following the transhumanence cycles, for example, in January, after the family has settled in its cold-weatherdomicile. The lands around Tejam, for example, were owned by Johari people, at least since the latter part of the 19th century, and were rented out to "chaukidars" (caretakers) who did the agricultural labour during the period the owners were away. The Johari received a share of the crop in tenure according either to a customary rate or by a special agreement. The houses, however, were empty. The "chaukidars" usually from the local Pahari population, had their own houses but were responsible for the Johari houses when not in use. Because of the chaukidar labour in Rejam no agricultural labour needed to be done. The women, children and men of the trading families who remained here were employed in various domestic labour which included carpet weaving, and other similar crafts.

This feature of recent Johari activity is, however, not always represented in the other areas. The Johari were probably the first of the 6 groups to purchase land in the lower regions. The situation earlier then must have been similar to what the Garhwal people practice today. There, at Chhinka for example, the women are active in harvesting the barley and wheat planted in the terraces around the different villages as well as doing domestic work. The land is not "Bhotiya" property here, although apparently the houses are.

Towards the end of this period, beginning in March, the traders tend to return to the area briefly on their way towards Munsyari. At the same time, the shepherds have also begun their return to that place with their flocks of ewes and lambs born on the way (the byun flock). In April they will arrive in Munsyari, settle accounts, and proceed almost immediately in May, or as soon as feasible considering snow cover, towards the "bugyal" or alpine pastures. In Munsyari, both flocks are shorn. This wool, being realtively coarse, is used for domestic purposes such as blankets, utilities, etc., and for clothing. The characteristic traditional dress of the women is made by them

out of such wool (cf. eg. Pant, S.D. 1935:62, 64-65).

The movement of the households from one domicile to another seen in its totality has always been an exciting event. They usually break up for the move towards Munsyari for example during the last weeks of April and early May, taking all the domestic items used with them and usually accompanied by at least one of the groups of sheep and goats, trader, brother, etc. During this Munsyari phase, a crop of winter wheat was harvested by the women on fields cared for by tillers who remained in the area. The crop went to the transhumanent families for storage or sale, and the tillers were paid wages for their labour. There was also a great deal of activity in arranging paddy. The paddy (rice) seed was sown in April-May then replanted later in July in irrigated fields (characteristic of most fields in Munsyari). A new crop of wheat was also sewn by the tillers under "Bhotiya" supervision.

As soon as feasible, usually in May, movement of the flocks begins towards Johar. After the snow melted, the animals were put to pasture in the nutritious bugyal, for about a month until the passes into Tibet opened enough for the trans-Himalayan trade. The domestic "servants" and even some family members were sent to the upper villages ahead of the families, to repair damage done by the snows and plant phaphar and uva where feasible, as well as potatoes, cabbage and peas. Phaphar had always been planted in the non-irrigated fields near these villages and the other crops in lightly irrigated fields cut out for that purpose where possible. Not all these alpine villages have been able to practice irrigation (Pant, S.D. 1935: 44-45), and in Johar irrigation was apparently rare before as late as 1958.

Around the first week of June, the women and other family members arrived in the alpine villages. The women immediately engaged in procuring firewood, domestic industry, and field care. Animals were grazed as noted until the passes opened, during which time the traders had moved their goods via the lower depots to their alpine village. When the passes opened,

the traders with their flocks and husbandry-servants, set out in large numbers. The domestic servants remained with the women, older men and children, as well as those trading families who were too poor for trade. The byun flock of ewes was sheared in August and otherwise kept in the bugyal until their move downward in October. The phaphar was harvested in September.

By October, the families had moved back down to Munsyari as the snows had begun to cover the passes and upper reaches. There a cycle similar to the upward one was carried out. The harvesting of the wheat, etc. planted during May was harvested, and the new winter crop sewn. The paddy harvest had taken place as well by the end of October, and the sheep were shorn again before the move to the lower regions. In November and December, the byun flock moved towards the erai region for cold-season pasturage. Lambs were born on the way to those mated during the May-June intermixture of flocks.

In November, the families moved again towards the lower hills, to Tejam, etc. It is common during this stage of the cycle that we find various festivals. The main ones took place in connection with such important market fairs (mela) as the Uttrayana mela at Bageshwar. Many of the religious festivals of later years are Hindu properly speaking, but a few of special interest to the "Bhotiya" take place especially in the alpine homes. Thus for Johar, for example, the Nanda Devi puja (ceremony) takes place before the downward migration in September. Marriages, however, tended to be performed between January and April among the Johari.

3.a.ii. Trade

We will begin our brief account of the trade cycle, using Johar again as a central example, with the return of the traders and animals from Tibet. For obvious reasons this must take place before the snows covered the passes, although, since this happened sometimes at different times on different passes, the traders could actually enter via passes other than those above

their own villages. Larger traders remained more often later in mNga-ris, but by October all had returned to the cis-Himalayan side. When returning from Tibet, the Johari traders took mainly horses to the fair in Jauljibi (at the confluence of the Goriganga and Kali Rivers) sometimes directly before returing to Munsyari. Mules, shawls, blankets and carpets, yak-trails ("cowries", used in Hindu rituals), hides and skins, etc. were also traded there--all items brought down on horses and mules. The flocks usually returned via Milam. The horses were sold for cash and the traders returned to Munsyari to meet their family which had be then moved down from the alpine villages. The flocks had carried a fair amount of wool, and the reworking of this for later sale was one of the projects the women engaged in previous to their activities in Munsyari.

The traders arranged their transport animals for the lower cycle taking salt, borax and wool down to such lower depots as Tejam. Snow may have arrived by this time to cover at least the Kalamuni Pass between Munsyari and Tejam if not Munsyari itself, and both goods and family would have had to been moved to warmer regions. After the first week of December, when the family has finally moved to, for example, Tejam and the traders are forced to work out of their Tejam homes, the latter first arranged their business with the tenants and/or borrowers (usually grain was obtained as rent or interest), if they had such business, then continued with their transport animals loaded with wool and borax to Bageshwar or other local outlets for these items. Two to three trips were commonly made between their home-depot and the marts by the traders, shepherd-servants and animals. The salt brought from Tibet was usually traded locally since it was in these upper hills regions, especially before the influx of "Indian" salt into the area, that the demand for this items was greatest. The Tibetan salt was nevertheless much in demand in the upper hills even as late as 1962 and with grain comprised the core trade here as well as over much of the Himalayan region (on the importance of salt cf. Field 1959).

"Sheep carrying grain in bags"

For the Johari traders, the month of January was spent primarily around the large mart at Bageshwar. Most of the items taken there before 1962 were products of home industry such as woollens, carpets, shawls, etc.. What wool and borax that had not yet been disposed of there and/or items not disposed of at such fairs as Jauljibi etc. were carried on to Haldwani and Ramnagar in the bhabar on the same carriers. The traders may have stayed in Tejam for marriages, etc., this being the main time for such ceremonies, and the assistants sent with the goods to these marts but the transactions were carried out by the trader-owner himself, who at this time sometimes made journeys to Delhi and other major cities.

The items purchased at Haldwani or Ramnagar were dumped at camping site-depots nearby and brought by the animals back up to Tejam by the end of March. This was the period when most of the salt-grain trade was carried out at local sites in the hills

region. The byun flock had also begun to move north as the hot season approached and the upper areas began to clear of snow. These flocks had been maintained in the same area as the transport animals--those mated there during November-December would give birth on the return journey towards Munsyari which they would reach by late April. The traders had by then also completed their business in the final mela at Thal in April and had also begun to move their depot of goods to Munsyari.

The families moved to Munsyari by the first week of May by which time, depending on the snows, the animals had begun to be moved to the high meadows and depots opened along the road to Milam and the upper villages. By the beginning of June, the families had re-established themselves in their alpine villages.

The trade and transhumanence cycles for Byans and Darma are similar to that of Johar, the main difference being that where the Johari shifted among three residences, the people of Byans and Darma usually moved between two sites. The Byansi moved to lower villages around Chaudans, especially in the Dharchula area. The Chaudansi were very much permanent, in some cases, like in the Niti Valley, moving only up or down in elevation adjacent residences. During the cold season, then, a very large number of people were to be found (and still are) in the area of Dharchula which functioned also as one of the central marts for the eastern group (and still does). The area was also visited by the Darma traders whose families had moved from the alpine region known as Malla Darma to their cold-weather homes in Talla Darma. Some were permanent there but participated in the Indo-Tibet trade as well. Other than Dharchula, the major marts in this region were Tanakpur (Barmdeo) at the foot of the hills and Jauljibi frequented by the Joharis at the confluence of the Goriganga and Kali rivers. Champawat had once been an important site, like Askot, the seat of pre-British rulers. It was still important enough for the Tibet trade in 1910 to inspire the Methodist Episcopal mission to establish a chapel there [3.4]. Since the collapse of the Indo-Tibet trade in 1962,

there has been a tendency for many people to settle more permanently in the lower villages and shift their productive interest towards the carpet-weaving cottage industry and market orientation around Dharchula and Pithoragarh, the new District Headquarters.

The people of Mana and Niti in Garhwal followed similar cycles of trade and transhumanence. In fact, this sort of annual migratory cycle is characteristic of most of the peoples living at the higher elevations of the Himalayas and at the same time most of them engage in a similar sort of Indo-Tibetan trade. We can find descriptions of these systems in Nepal in von Fürer-Haimendorf (1975). These systems seem to be especially characteristic of the central Himalayan region, and was carried out in such a way that optimal use of climatic conditions were made to articulate with the return of the traders to their homes. This involved the continguity of two kernel systems--one, the trade cycle, and the other the transhumanence cycle. Seen geographically, the transhumance cycle occupies a central position within the larger union of cycles which swings according to season. Thus during the warm season, when the passes (and mNga-ris and "Bhot") are free of snow, the traders cross into mNga-ris for trade, and homes are re-established in the higher elevation valleys. In a sense, the designation Mana, Niti, Johar, Darma, Byas and Chaudas refer to these upper settlements which are almost exclusively occupied by the peoples designated by these names and considered their "true homes". At the other extreme of the cycle, when the passes and valleys are covered with snow, the traders move towards the marts in the lower hills and even into the plains, while the people who remain behind occupy their lower level homes.

We can find a number of earlier references describing this trade-transhumanence system. They show continuity in mode of subsistence and the sites visited. Basic to the trade cycle was the exchange of salt and grain. Salt was the primary product of the mNga-ris plateau and grain of the lower hills areas of Kumaon-Garhwal. Items such as borax could be exchanged as far

afield as Ramnagar (by the Joharis at least) although most of the bartering took place more or less adjacent to the cold weather residences. Once the men have crossed the passes into the mNga-ris plain in Tibet, the grain is exchanged for salt and wool at markets similar to those found in the plains. This exchange can take place only when the passes are open between June and October, during which time salt is deposited at the warm weather residencies in awaiting transfer to the areas of exchange in the lower hills when the residencies are moved to their winter quarters again in October.

Some of the most detailed early reports on the trade-transhumanence cycles are available for Johar, being perhaps the best represented group throughout the literature. In 1874, Commissoner Ramsay wrote to the Board fo Revenue of the Northwestern Provinces:

> "... [The Bhoteas] bring all their Thibetan products to Moonsheearee before they attempt to carry any part lower down. On leaving Moonsheearee they generally form depots at Tejum, Buggar, Sera Gungolee, or other place, where their families are to live during the winter. At Tejum in Johar, Looathul, and at other places in Gungolee and elsewhere, they have built houses. Many of them erect temporary shelter, and while the women are occupied in weaving blankets, or looking after the ewes and cattles, some of the men are ever busy with their goats and sheep, carrying borax to Bagesur or Ramnuggur, the salt to the villages. The former is sold to bunniahs, or to Phuldakote men at Ramnuggur, and the Bhoteas take back grain or goor to their depots, and thus they go on till they have sold all their borax and collected as much grain as they are able to carry on to their homes in the snow. The salt is bartered for the grain in the villages". (in Beckett 1874:17)

The "lower" sites mentioned correspond well to those used today. The houses mentioned as having been built there by that time will be a subject to which we will return. Atkinson's report is probably based on ones similar to Ramsay. He describes the cycles quite well:

> "From June until October the grain is carried across the passes, and borax and salt comes back, the principal men remaining in Hundes to superintend operations, whilst the women and children remain at home and look after the fields." (1886:131)

Atkinson notes the three "depots" used by the Johari [3.5] one in the "Bhot valley", the second at Munsyari and the third at such lower sites as Tejambugr, Sera, Gangoli, etc., as above, and an area Atkinson refers to as Goriphat (ibid. 95, 131). The latter is an area still known to the people of the area as east of the main road at Munsyari. It was a large area even in Atkinson's day, and included several cold weather villages as well. Munsyari was and is an area of concentrated villages, some of which were "Surhing, Darati and Darkot" (ibid. 95). The sites of the Johari trade cycle are given by Atkinson citing as his source a report by a Mr. Fuller from 1878-1879. There it is noted that from Milam, the trader starts out in April-May with "Indian produce" for mNga-ris of which it is said that Gartok was the chief mart. Grain, sugar and cloth are exchanged against borax, salt and sometimes gold-dust there and brought to Milam. Shifting to the lower sites during the cold season, the trader sets out from Tejam and Munsyari for the lower marts of Bageswar (January) or even Pilibhit or Ramnagar in the Terai, and occasionally as far as Delhi, Agra or Cawnpore (ibid. 141-142). Sastry cites an unknown source from this general period of time with a few more details. In late July, the traders proceeded from Milam with their sheep loaded with gur bheli, cotton cloth, grain, hardware, etc., to the mNga-ris marts of Gyanima, Gartok and Tholing. There they were bartered for raw wool, salt, hides, borax, etc. and brought to Milam. In November these items were exchanged at various marts in the hill areas, and the traders reassembled around Tejam again by the end of March. A fair was held at Thal on 10 April, and by late June, the return to Milam had been carried out. Some of these traders had travelled as far as Bombay, Calcutta and Amritsar (Punjab) to trade in wool (Sastry 1975:20).

Regarding the hill marts, Walton notes with detail certain

rather interesting changes:

> "Formerly few Bhotias ventured farther south than Bageswar or Almora; there they disposed of their imports and thence they took back the grain desired by the Tibetans. The system has now changed. The Bhotias prefer to deal directly with the banias [merchants] of sub-montane markets and thus they avoid the middleman's profits: while the central portions of the pargana have no longer spare grain sufficient to feed the Tibetans." (1928:69)

There are still fairs held at Bageshwar and Thal although not as actively visited as earlier. The cycle seemed to follow a more local plan as well as lead the traders to the bhabar and terai marts;

> "They dispose of the salt they import from Tibet to the inhabitants of the upper pattis, and as the winter advances they begin to export the remainder of their Tibetan merchandise to the south. The villages in the upper valleys are deserted early in November, snow rendering them uninhabitable, and the Bhotias establish camps for their women and children, and depots for their stock in trade, at various points along their road through the upper midland parganas. On their way to these depots and on the further journey to the south, excursion are usually made into the villages on either side of the route which purchase such salt and wool as they require. Finally the merchandise which has not been disposed of on the way reaches the plains at Haldwani, Tanakpur, or Ramnagar where it is sold for cash, or exchanged for grain at advantageous rates." (Walton 1928:68)

Thus by about 1900, certain practices were established and others were changing. One contribution to this changing pattern of trade was of course the improved means of communication built under British supervision. As Goudge notes, a road to Baijnath was completed in 1880, and by 1900 good connections were established from Bageshwar to Tejam [3.6].

The Lipu-Lekh Pass leading out of Byas into Purang was of special interest to the British because of its relative ease of passage, even via the Almora route. This pass could be crossed practically the year around, although trade there was at a peak during the six months of June to November. A horse could be ridden the 21-22 miles (34-35 km) over the pass from Garbyang village (3121 m) to the Tibetan mart and administrative

center of Taklakot (4030 m) during one day. In fact, at one point a project was begun by the British to tie Taklakot via Byas and the Lipu Lekh Pass to the new rail head at Tanakpur (Barmdeo). In 1905, the following rail heads were found at the base of the hills: Kotdwara, Kathgodam, and Pilibhit. In 1912, the Pilibhit rail head was extended in fact to Tanakpur for the "Lipu Lekh Road" [3.7]. In 1905, construction of the "Lipu Lekh Road" was proposed by the government on Sherring's advice probably following the optimism of the recently carried-out armed invasion of Tibet and the establishment of a trade mart at Gartok in mNga-ris. Although this road seemed to be one of Sherring's pet projects, it was in the end given secondary priority to the "Hindustan-Tibet" road which followed the Sutlej River valley and was actually under construction. Although both projects seemed to fade out of British priority altogether not long afterwards, Sherring noted in 1905 that trade over the Lipu Lekh had increased eleven times and that over the Untadhura (leading out of Johar)had increased 2 1/4 times since 1840 [3.8]. We will return to the significance of these events later.

3.b. Categories

3.b.i. Social

"Bhotiya" subsistence can be expressed as the cooperation between several domains of activity. The first domain is the one centering on the transhumanence core of agriculture and domestic activity. The second is the trade cycle, and a third domain that of animal husbandry. The separation of domains is reflected in the division of labour. Thus we can isolate a sphere of "Bhotiya trader cum Rajput" male activity and one of female activity. And we can isolate a sphere of "Bhotiya servant cum Dom" male and female activity and one of "non-Bhotiya service" male and female activity. This basic mode of subsistence is the same for both the western and the eastern groups,

and, as characteristic of the Indo-Tibetan trading societies in general, a special factor in the generation of a specific identity. The differences between the two areas has been instead expressed in terms of their different prosperity, and subsequently different degrees of hinduization. One main reason for this difference has been the proximity of the different groups to major centers of the Pahari population. In this section we will discuss basic features of the caste-like organization which reflects "hinduization".

The transhumanence cycle consists, as we have seen, of generally two separate domiciles--an upper one used during the warm season, and a lower cold season domicile. After the people moved to each respective residence the activity there centered around miscellaneous domestic chores plus agriculture, in addition to the use of that residence as a depot for warehousing articles of trade. Trade was a male domain exclusively, and boys from the age of 13 or 14 years would be allowed to participate. More specifically, the execution of trade from a managerial point of view, which usually also included active participation, was the domain of the "Bhotiya Rajput" man with or without his brothers as co-owners. The size of the flocks varied. A person could carry out trade using any number of sheep and/or goats. The average transport flock size per male trader was around 100 animals. The feasibility of a small flock was a question of economically limiting factors of cost and profit, and a large herd tended to be unmanageable or simply unfeasible considering the alpine conditions. The trade managerial system represents the main thrust of subsistence in tradisional "Bhotiya" and, as we will see, represents the axis around which status-cum-"caste" revolved. It represents in this case, a major characteristic of "Bhotiya".

But not all people residing in "Bhot" and associated with the concept "Bhotiya" were traders. For example, associated with these trade managerial family-units is a group commonly referred to as "servants". In fact, they were more than this since almost every trading household had one or several

such "servants" attached to it physically, and which moved with the trading families during the migrations. This is the group once referred to as "Dom" or today "Harijan" and which in this case is further specified as being "Bhotiya Harijan" since they were directly connected to the daily activity of the trading families. They lived in the same villages albeit separately, and received their "names" like the trade-families from their villages. Generally speaking, today such a name as Gopal Ram Martolia reflects the servant status of Gopal within the village of Martolia, and Gopal Singh Martolia that of the trading-family, the name Singh implying "Rajput" status. The chores of the servant group were primarily domestic and included carpentry, smithing, etc., similar to artisan castes as general although not always so specified by profession due to reasons of practicality. They were obligated both to participate in the domestic activity around the domicilies as well as accompany the traders on their journeys when needed, and thus differed from other Dom of the hills who were not subject to this strict association (cf. Srivastava 1979:194).

The third major subsistence domain exhibited the interesting feature of relative autonomy to the extent that its practitioners were "non-Bhotiya" and reimbursed for their labour in both money and kind. These "servants", as they were also called, worked only in the domain of animal husbandry. Generally, they were separated by name into two main groupings, one referring to shepherding (goatsherding) and the other to muleteers (or horsemen). The names anwal and dakriya interchangeably refer to shepherds, although the latter may have the sense of an outside servant carrying out general duties. Anwal refers to the servants caring for both sheep and goats and seems to be a term generally used in the alpine areas. Bose uses it in referring to the graziers proper and notes correctly that labour is based on hiring for wages paid at least in kind (Bose 1960:37-38). Recently, at least in Johar, they have been paid in wages as well at an approximate rate of Rs 20-25 per sheep/goat for the whole husbandry cycle. It has been emphasized that these

shepherds could be hired from any group that wanted the work and/or was poor enough to need it. Generally, it did not include members of the successful trading families, but could include persons from such marginal "Bhotiya" categories as Nitwal and Kunkiya. It did not refer to the "Bhotiya servants" at all, and the usual pool for employment had been various hill people and terai Tharus, etc. Today, at least in the eastern region, there is a trend to use Nepali people for this work, some of whom may even be Brahmin. Deba refers generally to muleteers and/or horsemen who tend to be most often Nepali or Tibetan. Jova is a term I have seen applied to those who look after cattle, yaks and/or juboos, and jarnal a term applied to shepherds or at least the shearers of wool.

3.b.ii. Animal

The animals that form the object of so much attention are similarly divided into three categories: sheep/goats, horses/mules and yak/juboo. The sheep/goats (male sheep are known as bakari and females bhera, male goats as lakkhi and females as kadheli) are of a special variety for the area and are especially useful for the high-altitude, strenuous work to which they are subject. Their husbandry involves two separate cycles in itself separating the transport animals, which are all male, from the females which are kept in pasturage and used for breeding purposes only. Sheep and goats are mixed together in these flocks (some of which can be seen in the photo above). Traill notes that in his day (around 1825) sheep were not bred so much by the "Bhotiyas" as purchased in the villages "along the south base of the Himalaya" (1851:77). These sheep were considered as especially well adapted to the conditions of trade which involved both a sojourn to the hotter regions of the terai and bhabar during part of the annual cycle as well as visits across high passes into the high-level, cold and somewhat barren plains of mNga-ris. The hardy, Tibetan variety of sheep used by a few Tibetan traders who entered the regions early in the season, some

of which were in fact kept by the "Bhotiyas" themselves, are ill-adapted to the warmer regions thus are rarely found below the alpine valleys. Atkinson follows Beckett's (actually Ramsey's) observation that only a few ewes were kept by the "Bhotiyas", and the sheep used in transport were purchased from Kangra merchants in Ramnagar, or from the people of Malla Danpur [3.9]. The latter area corresponds roughly to the upper Sarju Valley above Bageswar, and the sheep may well have been brought up by Danpur people for sale especially for the Tibet trade. Kangra is a large area of the western Himalayas, known for its sheep, which were apparently brought down to the plains for sale. Von Fürer-Haimendorf notes that among the neighbouring "Humla Bhotiya" of the corresponding alpine region of Nepal (the upper Karnali valley), there is a similar differentiation between rong-lu, Tibetan for "low-country sheep" of the type noted, able to be used in the middle hills and terai, and the chiang-lu, Tibetan for "northern sheep" which are used only between the cis-Himalayan alpine region and the mNga-ris plain (1975:249). Apparently in both areas the Tibetan sheep were often grazed on the wind-blown mNga-ris plains during the cold season.

The shepherd cycle involves moving the separate flock of females and lambs known as byun from one pasturage area to another, from the high alpine meadows over ca. 3000m known locally as bugyal to the lower hills and terai area during the warm and cold season respectively. Generally the shepherding is carried out by the anwal employed seasonally who alone or with family are given food rations for their stay in more far away places. Sometimes the flocks are accompanied by a "partner" to the owner, in this case a "Bhotiya" (Rajput) who has some share in the animals.

The second category of animal husbandry involves horses and mules. The Johari use the word ghvara generally for horse or pony, and khenchar for mule. The ponies used by these people used to be exclusively the hardy Tibetan "gunts"--the shaggy, short, hardy and surefooted ponies that were even recently an

item of trade brought by the traders from Tibet for sale in the middle hill markets (Traill 1851:79; Heber 1828:499). Today there may be a greater number of horses coming from the plains.

The third category of animals include both common cattle and yak. Earlier, the former tended to be the "common hill black cattle" used mainly for milk and labour around the households (Traill 1851:77). They are still used today for similar purposes together with a few buffaloes. Yak were kept as well but limited to the alpine areas like the Tibetan sheep. In the intermediate areas, the yak, chaur, was bred with common cattle producing the jubu. In Nepal, the hybrid is known by the Tibetan word dzo (von Fürer-Haimendorf 1975:307) and, in Byas by jo. In the later case, the caretaker was known by the word jova. Traill distinguished between the "jabbu" which was a cross between a male yak and hill cow, and the "garjo" or a cross between a hill bull and a yak cow. Atkinson corrects Traill on their interbreeding by noting that the male hybrids are sterile whereas the females can be bred successfully with either yak or hill cattle. Traill notes that the "jabbu" was considered to be more valuable, possessing "the good qualities of both parents in an essential degree" (Atkinson 1886:143; Traill 1851:77).

The number of animals owned in each category varied slightly between the valleys. Generally, the successful Johari traders had from 50 to 200 transport sheep and goats and 40 to 150 ewes, plus sometimes 2 to 20 horses and/or mules, as well as 2 to 6 yak and/or (usually) jubu. Although the larger animals could be hired from elsewhere, they were an integral part of each trade journey, as much as were the large shepherding dogs. The eastern area can report an even larger variation from 50 sheep and goats to 600 with a mean around 250 for Byans, 200 for Chaudas and 150 for Darma. Yak/jabbu numbered from 3 to 10 and horses/mules 2 to 10. For Darma and Mana (the poorer areas) similarly, 100 sheep and goats, 2 to 5 yaks and/or juboo and 4 or 5 horses and/or mules generally appeared to comprise

the usual number for an averagely successful trader, whereas for Niti 100 to 200 sheep/goats, 8-10 yaks/jabu and over 20 horses could be common [3.10]. The number of servants varied of course with the size of the trade unit, from one to six (about one per one hundred sheep), plus, of course the "manager" and brothers and/or partners, etc. Goods were carried on the backs of the sheep/goats in leather bags called phancha (also called karkha, karboza, or pancha, see photo in section 3.a.ii) one on each side of the back bound by straps. One sheep could carry a weight of ca. 5-8 kg and a goat ca. 8-10 kr or about one "maund" of 82 lbs (ca. 38 kg) per 6 sheep.

3.b.iii. Economic

Pauw (1896:12) briefly describes the Garhwali groups of "Bhotiyas" in his day as consisting of three castes: Marcha, Tolcha, and Khampa. There were some Joharis living there as well. These four castes were subdivided into a large number of subcastes (which are not listed). The Khampa are described as pure Tibetans but naturalized citizens of India, and resided only in the village of Gurguti in Niti. The Marcha of Mana, Niti, Gamsali and Bampa would share food with the Khampa but not intermarry in Pauw's day. The Tolcha would not eat with the Khampa at all, but were willing to drink tea with them. The Tolcha would share bread with the Marcha but not rice. Regarding marriage, the Marcha refused to marry anyone among the Khas and other "non-Bhotiya" groups whereas the Tolcha would. The latter give girls in marriage to the Marcha, but the Marcha did not give girls to the Tolcha [3.11]. This is of course a typical hypergamous situation which has not changed to any great extent through the years (except for perhaps a few less "Khampa"). In fact, the situation in Garhwal both in Pauw's day as well as today represents an interesting aspect of the process in which an endogamous boundary (reflected as well in food sharing and other features of inter-

caste contact) is consolidated. We will find in all the "Bhotiya" groups a strong correspondance between the consolidation of this boundary and the intensity and consequential monopolization of the trade system. In fact, we will find that the process behind this boundary consolidation is the maintenance of a monopoly expressed here in caste and/or kinship praxis.

The Tolcha for example, have been generally considered to belong to the same stock as the Marcha. Both groups have fallen under the same outside defining process, and both today belong to the same Scheduled Tribe. But two factors set them off from one another. First, the Tolcha dialect had by recent times been so affected by Garhwali that the difference between Marcha and Tolcha was and is a noticeable one. Secondly, and more important here, the distinction between the groups has been maintained (until fairly recently) by strict rules of "caste" behavior reflecting endogamy. Both factors reflect economic specialization. Informants themselves have noted that the trade factor is the main condition of differentiation between these local "Bhotiya" groups. The Tolcha [3.12] have been primarily distinguished as agriculturalists. Many of the Tolcha villages were permanent, or, if the seasonal transhumanence cycle did take place, the sites tended to be no further apart than between levels of the same hillside and valley. Thus where the Marcha represent that mode of subsistence that lives on Tibet trade, the Tolcha represent that mode of subsistence generally speaking characteristic of settled cultivation. Generally speaking, that is, since there have been some Tolcha families engaged in the Tibet trade as well. There was a sort of "subsistence boundary" (not unlike Barth's spheres) at the Tolcha village of Jumma in the Niti valley. The village seems symptomatically to have also served as a depot (cf. Charterji 1975:151). Interestingly enough, however, there are several Tolcha villages above Jumma. Following the usual formula that the nearer the pass the village is located, the greater is its propensity for participating in the Tibet trade. Jumma does mark an articulation of domains of activity since its role as an exchange site also marks the boundary between

agriculture and trade priorities. In the four Tolcha villages above Jumma (Phargava, Kailashpur, Malari, Kosha, and Jelam) the inhabitatns participated in trade on at least juridically equal grounds as the Marcha but were distinguished by marriage (caste) regulations.

Normally, the economic relationship between a Marcha and a Tolcha was of a patron-client nature. The Tolcha were employed by the Marcha as shepherds and muleteers on a wage basis, but even poor Marcha families were thusly employed as well. A similar situation was found in Johar where "servants" used in the carrying out of trade could be found among those Johari who, for some reason, were forced into poverty usually temporarily until their flocks could be increased. Conversely, for example, one Autiyal man owned with his brother 100 sheep, 2 jubbu and 4 horses and mules. They traded with Tibet until 1962 and had dealings as far afield as Delhi. He dealt with a Tibetan trade partner (mitra) in the same way as his Marcha neighbours. On the other hand, he was forced to buy this right to a mitra at a relatively recent date. A similar mitra purchase was made by a "non-Bhotiya" merchant from Bageshwar at about the same period (1950) which would indicate that the extent of Tolcha-Autiyal trade is a fairly recent phenomenon, having taken place after the prospects of maintaining a true monopoly were frustrated by the British principle of "free trade" and subsequent general economic transformation of the hills region. According to informants, changes of this nature had begun to be felt by about 1920, and the 1962 catastrophe was in fact an albeit especially serious end to a longer tendency for the trade monopoly to fail.

Although such categories seem to fall along subsistence-ecological parameters, the organization within and between the categories results instead primarily from stuctures that have encompassed the situation and imbibed it with caste-like relationships. Thus, although at times participating in trade, such groups as the Tolcha are distinguished on principles of identity structured by caste endogamy and its associated be-

havior. Yet the Tolcha do not represent the same sort of highly structured separation as do the Nitwals of Johar. The latter group, in a way parallel to the Doms but by a different process, have become an integral part of the trade-transhumanence system of the main Johari traders and they did not form such a marginal group, separate from the internal activities of the main families as did the Tolcha. The Johar case in being traditionally considered the most "Hinduized" as well as most prosperous, exemplifies well the sort of organization mentioned.

3.b.iv. Johari

The general division of the different groups into western and eastern is to a great extent also conducive to a similar geographical orientation with respect to marriage. But although two groups seem to appear, it is important to note that this division results from pragmatic considerations and not from taboo. Chaudas and Mana are far removed from each other considering the traditional means of communcation, and these two groups especially only rarely met in the marts. Mana's trade was turned towards the Sutlej and the area of the Jadh "Bhotiyas" of Tehri Garhwal (Uttarkashi), whereas Chaudas was very much confined to Taklakot. The degree of intermarriage between the people of Mana and Niti is acclaimed by the fact that they are considered the same people (Marcha). Byas and Chaudans have both had very close contacts with the Nepalese groups, but here, as between the Mana group and Jadh, the degree of intermarriage cannot be stated. The important fact is that none of the six Hindu groups refused categorically to marry any other as long as they maintained themselves within the category "Bhotiya Rajput". Byas, Chaudans and Darma have had a tendnecy to build a marriage group in itself for practical reasons which contributed also to their relative "marginality" as the eastern group vis-a-vis the Johari and Garhwali groups. Interestingly though, the latter two have had

an intermarriage system which has left a rather unique mark on the community.

Johari informants reported that it was fairly common "in the old days" to marry women from Garhwal who settled patrilocally. But women seemed to pass in both directions between Niti and Johar, so it is of little avail to try to assign a hypergamous relationship to either group as could be done between the Marcha and Tolcha. In fact, we even find whole groups from the respective valleys that settled in the other valley. These settlers represent an interesting case in the construction of internal distinctions based on a caste-like organization. In Niti, there are both Martolia and Sayana families (typical Johari names) who trace their ancestors to Milam. In the case of both groups, the immigration took place around 1850 and apparently involved taking wives from the same village as well as from Niti. But the degree they were maintained separate from the Marcha otherwise is unclear. Their only mention by the earlier writers is in Pauw (1896:12) where it is simply noted that there were a few Joharis found in Garhwal as well as the three castes of Marcha, Tolcha and Khampa.

The situation for the Niti immigrants to Johar is clearer. There they have formed a separate jati (name and caste category to which we will shortly return) that has traditionally been assigned a rather curious status by the Johari. They were possibly originally Tolcha (which complies with Sherring as well 1906:96), and in Johar they live as a separate "caste" in most of the villages. They marry only within their own jati (Nitwal) to a Nitwal from another village. Their status situation in the villages reflects in some ways that of the "Dom" with the exception that the Nitwal were also able to trade and had the same special privileges in Tibet as the other Johari traders. Originally, they did serve as servants, and some of their raths reflect this. For example, the Ringula rath of Nitwal was the "washerman" rath in Ram Singh Pangti's genealogies. The latter noted also that there were 21 groups of this type in Johar, divided among the villages in the

following way: Milam had 3 rath, Pachu 2, Martoli 2, Tola 3, Burfa 3, Bilju 2, Mapa 1, Dapa (Dapwal) 4, and Kelas (Kinchyal from Khilanch?) 1. Curiously enough, they were often used by the other traders as cooks during their trade cycle--the reason given being that no other servant was allowed for caste reasons. They also apparently served as a sort of "priest" before the advent of high caste Brahmins to the area (cf. Srivastava 1979: 199), and as a result, the Nitwal were inclined to consider themselves superior, and refused to accept food from the "Johari", whereas the latter at the same time accorded a servant status on them.

The case of the Nitwal represents a curious but strongly structured unit in the "Bhotiya" caste-like organization. Curiously agian, they were not given much notice by Sherring. One reason for this may be Sherring's division of the groups by Grierson's linguistic standards[3.13].

But one of the Johar groups is especially interesting--the Jethora. The name Jethora is derived from "jeth" meaning elder. Sherring maintained that this group of people were descendants of the first settlers in the area and once held the land on contract from some ruling prince. In Sherring's day, this aboriginal group practiced only agriculture and were permanently settled there (for Grierson they were traders). Intermarriage between the Jethora and any of the others was prohibited as was the sharing of most food. They called themselves Rajputs, but, Sherring notes, they did not follow all of the classical Hindu rites. All of Sherring's data indicate that the "Jethora" are what today are known as the "Barpattia". Barpattia means twelve villages, and refers in this case to the twelve jati of settled agriculturalist "Bhotiyas" of Goriphat-Munsyari. According to Barpattia informants, they were appointed to administrative duties by the Gorkhas, probably due in part to their being a settled population. Such duties were apportioned to "elders" anywhere ("jeth" menas elder). They had a slightly different dialect than the traders and were for the most part endogamous.

The servant group represents another situation reflecting

the specialty of "caste" organization. Where the Rajput represented the upper end of the scale, the Dom represented the lowest. Traill noted that the Doms seemed to have been related to the Ban Rawats (Raji) who, as was the usual means of explanation then as now, were enslaved by the immigrating "superior" population (1878:14). He refers to the "Bhotea" Doms as "slaves or domestics", an idea also shared by the missionaries who described them as "a despised class, almost slaves to the Bhotiyas" [3.14]. Interestingly enough, in Traill's day they lived with their families "under the same roof as their masters". Srivastava is inclined to believe that the Dom (or at least the "Kunkiya") were originally true slaves, and cites Atkinson on this point (1979:181-182), but the reference is uncertain. As we will soon see, the Kunkiya represents a category of "non-pedigree" "Bhotiya Rajput", although they may have earlier been the offspring of Khas Rajput slaves (if any) and Bhotiyas.

Traill is unfortunately slightly unclear as to the exact living conditions of the Dom among the Bhotiyas. If they lived as a part of the household itself in Traill's day, during recent years they lived in houses within their respective village but separated definitely from the trader's houses. In some cases their homes were within village bounds but separated by a path, in other cases they were set off slightly from the main village. Each village had a certain number of Dom families associated with it who moved with the traders and who were called upon when needed for a number of various tasks. They were generally members of a particular trade, although at times they could be used for a few more general chores. For example, there were caste Aur (carpenter), Lohar (blacksmith), Bhul (tailor), Doli (drummer) and Bajela (basket and mat makers) of the Rawat (Rajput) jati, as there were the well-know Hurkiya or musician caste. The latter seemed to live a somewhat separate existence, although they were also directly associated by family with the Rajput jati. There were no persons of the Tamta or goldsmith caste, according to informants. Judging by Ram Singh Pangti's geneology, the first member of the respective

Dom caste among the Bhotiyas dates from the second half of the 18th century at the earliest, and is thus contemporary with the consolidation of "Bhotiya" in terms of "rajputization".

Where the strictness of the boundaries between groups within each category is crossed, the Rajput groups have in fact established a category "Kunkiya". Sherring noted this category in the following sense:

> "Originally the Kunkiyas were slaves, who had received their freedom, but now 1906 the word is applied to a Hindu who marries the daughter of a Bhotia, and to his offspring, and finally to any Bhotia, who has gone down in the world, i.e., has fallen from riches to poverty. They are considerd to be Rajputs, but of a very inferior type, and other Bhotias, including the Jethoras, refuse to marry them or eat with them." (1906:95)

Sherring seems to be the only one who notes a relationship between this category and a group of slaves. According to Panna Lall in 1931 the concept derives from the Sanskrit Kanchuki, and is used to refer to the children of a "Bhotiya" (Rajput implied) and any "zemindar" of the hills (1931:17). The term is still a matter of contention and discussing it brings out a very sensitive problem especially among those whose interest in maintainting boundaries is especially acute "Kunkiya" refers to that category of people who marry an "outsider", i.e. someone from among the hills castes. The offspring of a "Bhotiya" and a Nitwal or Barpattia would normally not be placed in this category according to informants--a point I would contend. The reasoning given here is that marriages never take place in this way, which may be true and interesting in itself, but not a sufficient reason for the integrity of any of these boundaries. Whatever the case, the Kunkiya have been considered higher than the Dom in being Rajput, but of a very poor quality of Rajput in the eyes of the informants.

The occupation of the Kunkiyas reflects some of the ambiguity of the boundary, not unlike the case of the Nitwal in Johar. Thus we find for example Kunkiya comprising those servants used in driving the flocks of sheep/goats, horses, etc., during the trade cycle. Srivastava notes that this was their

usual occupation, although they were theoretically allowed to own land and cultivate it. He also notes that there were "a few instances of a Kunkiya engaging himself in the trade independently" (1979:198). Like the Nitwal, who are also "outsiders" and who furthermore are said to have intermarried with "outside castes" at one time, there seems to be a tendency to have once been assigned a very definite status in the local hierarchy which may have changed during recent years when the ability to maintain a true monopoly boundary against other potential traders was relaxed under the influence of British free trade and later, of course, after Indian Independence.

3.c. Kinship

3.c.i. Property

Rules relating to property were apparently much the same when Panna Lall investigated them in 1931 as they are today and show a severe exclusion of women from most spheres. The main form of property was the flocks of sheep and goats. Land occupied a secondary place in an economic sense, although it later became an important indication of a general spread of wealth among the traders. It was the men only who were occupied with the flocks. These were possessed jointly by brothers and mainly inherited by their sons in proportion to that held by each brother. Thus, for example, if two brothers, A and B, owned 300 sheep together, 150 sheep would be inherited by the sons of each; if brother A had three sons, each inherited 1/3 of the 150 sheep/goats on his decease. Thus, the three sons of A inherited and used jointly 150 sheep (however the flock was immediately increased to the average of 200-300 animals per owner). The two sons of B inherited 150 sheep together--if one son died, his sons would inherit 75 sheep. Around this principle, of course, particular adjustments were made as the case may be. Houses were occupied jointly by the brothers, each house having several entrances and separate family areas (see

photo in section 4.b.ii). The land was likewise inherited equally by all the brothers. Most increases in land area were made by purchase around the lower villages.

The inheritance of flocks was effective only on the death of an owner. When alive, he had the right to dispose of his flock as he wished, even giving it to his daughter (or more properly her husband). If a man died and had no sons, his share would accrue his brothers and their sons, or to other parternal relatives in which case no daughters received part of the flock (although they may be accorded other property such as money). Land and houses were never sold or alienated in any way except through inheritance. If property reverted to a daughter's husband, upon his death, that property would return to the nearest relations of the donor and not to non-lineal children or wives of the son-in-law [3.15]. It was thus possible for a man to own a flock alone if gained by decision of his father or by being an only son.

Among these people we find an emphasis placed on bride wealth and not dowry-- a state of affairs which is interestingly enough characteristic of the hills area in general in distinction to the predominance of dowry in the plains. Berreman has noted the predominance of brideprice among the Pahari near Dehra Dun. He notes a parallel tendency among certain families to emulate the dowry system--an activity which can be found as well among the "Bhotiya" but which seems to have fallen off recently. Similarly, the Pahari of Berreman's study also actually pay a rather summary bride-price as well as a token dowry as do the "Bhotiya" (Berreman 1972:128)[3.16].

But in "Bhotiya" society which is dependent on the male system of trade, the economic importance of women is reduced to her role in jati alliances. Her possessions are confined to small cooking utensils, bedding and the personal items she receives from her family on her marriage. The Marchas, for example, sent with their married girls such things as cooking utensils and a janti or tripod hot-plate with legs used for cooking, a grass cutting sickle and kandi or large woven reed

basket with headband to be carried on the back and filled with grass or wood as part of a woman's household chores. This was considered the necessary items a girl must take with her on marriage. Items in excess of this were given sometimes by the richer families and may include a cow or horse But in no cases were sheep or goats given, or apparently anything having to do with the trade unit itself--this was maintained within the groom's family only. None of the small items taken by a woman in her marriage seem appropriate to consider as dowry in the sense used in the plains. On marriage, a woman is actually characterized by a lack of accompanying items, and if such things as Rs 50, a turban, pants and shirt were given to the bridegroom by the girl's parents, these were generally balanced by the return prestation in a token brideprice which could amount to Rs 300 in money and/or items consumed in the marriage ceremony [3.17]. Of central interest regarding a woman's property in marriage are the conditions imposing on her in connection with breaking the marriage bonds and her death. When a woman died, her natal family had nothing to do with the funeral. Her property remained with her husband and her funeral was carried out by his family. Her bones after cremation were buried separate from her husband and family as were a man's, or disposed of by being thrown into the river. There was no special areas set aside for the burial for anyone[3.18].

Divorce was and is rare, and even if disagreements exist between man and wife, all attempts are made to maintain the union. According to Lall, in the eastern area a woman could ask for a divorce, and could be released by a short ceremony of symbolic severance. Apparently, a man could not ask for a divorce, but he could refuse to maintain his wife, leading to her demanding a release. Accoridng to Lall, these divorce situations seemed to involve arrangements with a woman's next husband or lover who was already present. Thus, if a women elopes with another man in the western area, she becomes a dhanti, and the new man has to pay for a release from her husband or husband's family. The sense of dhanti (found

generally in Kumaon-Garhwal) is that a woman is kept as a wife without a marriage ceremony. Their children are legitimate, unless the persons involved are of different "castes". In the eastern area, a price is paid to the husband who gives the woman a jojang or cloth symbolizing the separation[3.19]. In Darma, the first husband had the right to beat the "seducer" and take sheep and goats to the value of Rs 100 seven times before the separation. In both cases, until properly separated by her husband, a woman was considered telia or the mother of illegitimate children. In all these cases, what little property a woman had went to her first husband, with the exception of personal jewellry and items (cf. also Sherring 1906:108-109).

If a woman became a widow, she became the wife of one of her husband's younger brothers unless released by them. In such a case, she became a dhanti. After a release, she was then free to marry, but, as a dhanti, without a ceremony other than a payment by her new husband to her deceased husband's relatives. In Darma, after her release, her new husband was required to pay one half of her former marriage expenses to the man's family, or, if married to a HB and leaves him, then the new husband is required to pay the full expenses (Lall 1911:192; 1931:18).

3.c.ii. Jati

The exogamous unit among the "Bhotiyas" varies slightly between the eastern and western groups. Basically, it centers on the jati-rath subdivisions. Jati is used here as a synonym for what we normally refer to as a "surname". In relationship to rath it indicates some general tendencies regarding segmentation. For example, the jati of the inhabitants of Garbyang in Byas is "Garbyal". But "Garbyal" includes two exogamous groups of rath (three in Chaterjee 1975:195) known as two sota:

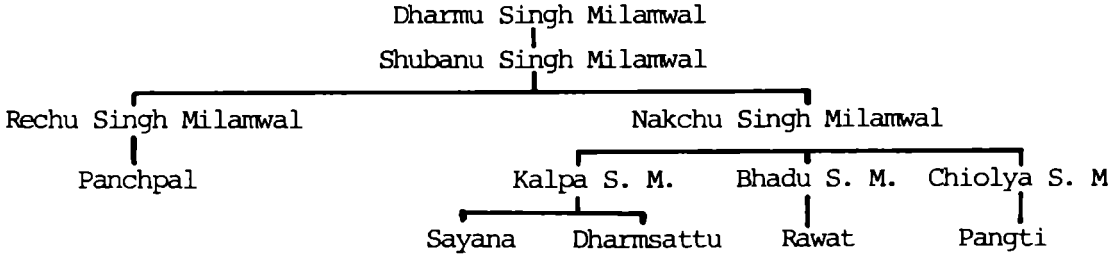
1) buda rath, khachima rath, and nuchima rath form one sota or exogamous group the male members of which refer to themselves as brothers (bhaiviradar),
2) lango rath, rinjan rath, chhambila rath, and guma rath form the other sota (similarly bhaiviradar).

Thus, in the case of the people of Garbyang village, whose "name" or jati is "Garbyal", marriage is allowed within the same jati but not within the same sota. Chatterjee notes interestingly that each of these exogamous groups is attended to by one malgujar or village-level revenue collector. He also emphasizes that these raths (or ranths) "are true, and immediate lineages", and do not correspond to such subdivisions as the gotra, got or "totem" found elsewhere (ibid. 196)[3.20]. The system can be found in other villages of Byas, Chaudas and Darma where the village either is inhabited by one exogamous jati (for example, all residents of the village of Nabi are named "Nabiyal") or is inhabited by different jati such as Sirkha village in Chaudas where Hyanki, Sirkhal, Tatwal and the Khair jatis live. In these latter cases, we find a jati having the village name (Sirkhal) and that it is possible for marriage to take place within a village between jati.

In another situation we find one village, Changru (a Byansi village in Nepal territory), has three jati, Bora, Etwal and Lalla, which together are exogamous--ie. the village in this case is exogamous although it consists of three jati. From outside, the village seems a unit, and its inhabitants are referred to as Chungrial. Although here the name Bora, Etwal or Lalla can be taken as a full surname, the three groups function as rath does in the other villages. In fact here, Chungrial was a name used earlier than Bora, etc., which among the informants, were names of recent families. It is possible here that what started out as internal subdivisions of Chungrial, ie. as raths within a jati, became jati themselves. Thus, no one other than Garbyal can marry within their own jati described by their appelation, and if Garbyang follows an evolution like Changru, each of its sota could assume in time a name carried by its members as jati, even if resident of the same village. In the case of other villages, the raths may also have arisen out of a segmentation of an original group as in Garbyang or the raths may have been lineages based on a certain immigrant agnatic ancestor. Chatterjee notes that the "Bhot" villages were generally comprised of immigrants.

In the case of the village of Bundi he notes that of the raths there, Raipa and Pangpang were originally of Johar and Gunna from Garbyang. Raypa is today an appellative jati and distinguished from the jati Budiyal although essentially a part of it.

In the case of Garbyang, it seems that the sota could very well be a segmentation of a large population. Like Milam in Johar, Garbyang had always been the main village of Byas, and, since it formed a center for cross traffic trade, it may be called the main village of the eastern, alpine region (Dharchula, like Munsyari, the main lower-village area). The smaller villages contain around 200 inhabitants whereas Garbyang was estimated as having 1500 persons in 1982. Milam shows in fact even more clearly how both segmentation and immigration are factors in the appearance of new lineages. Based on R. S. Panti's material, the original inhabitants of Milam belonged to the jati still known today as Nikhurpa. An immigrant group of Rawats settled there who assumed the name of Milamwal. In this line, Rechu Singh Milamwal moved to the village of Panchu and founded there the line of Panchpal. The second generation after Rechu Singh's brother Nakchu comprised a second segmentation which remained in Milam but assumed specified jati appellations, Sayana, Dharmsattu, Rawat, and Pangti:



The village of Milam was once divided among the six jatis of Rawat, Dharmsattu, Pangti, Nikhurpa, Pangti, and Nitwal. In this case, what was originally a village jati appellation "Milamwal" subdivided into four new exogamous jati in the same way a rath would appear as a patriline (or even as the exogamous sota of Garbyang) within a jati. In fact, further generations built new raths within each jati, as in the case of Pangti's present five raths[3.21].

The marriage arrangements that follow these divisions are basically patterned according to jati, so that in all cases except Garbyal, the jati decides priority. Even here most marriages of Garbyal are arranged outside the jati. In the case of Chungru composed of three jati, the village is exogamous. Where raths generally concern marriage, since they specify the group nearest ego, their relevance is in degree of incestual distance. The rule is simply stated: marriage is forbidden within one's own jati (patriline), and forbidden within six generations on the uterine side and 15 generations within the same uterine rath. Thus if my father is Tolia and my mother a Dharmsattu, I cannot take a woman from Tolia nor any of the jati on the females sides to the sixth generation. If the seventh generation is a Pangti of the Kala rath, I can marry a Pangti of every other rath than Kala, and therein only first after 15 generations. However, for demographic reasons, many times these demands cannot be met, and we find marriages within four uterine generations.

Regarding specific patterns, we find a general versatility in solutions. Thus we have cases in which a reciprocal exchange of women takes place in the same generation between jati, for example a FZ of the Pangti jati is married to Laspal and at the same time FW (M) is a Laspal, and we find a reciprocal exchange taking place in different generations, for example M is Garbyal and Z married into Garbyal. We find reciprocal exchange of a general variety in which a trend appears such that, for example, FZ, Z and D are all married to Rawat, etc. There are also cases in which two sisters are married together into the same jati to different males (marriages are almost totally monogamous). No pattern is exclusive since sisters may go different directions and women come into one's own jati in a seemingly fortuitous way. But certain considerations are taken in marriage arrangements. These considerations mainly concern property and are mainly pragmatic. The lack of proscription in this case probably reflects the necessity of maintaining a certain fluidity due to the ever-present chance of immediate and devastating loss of property through flock sickness, earthquakes, avalanches, famine, etc.

3.c.iii. Terminology

Referring briefly to the classificatory nature of kinship terminology, my own data shows what appears as the result of a differential degree of "hinduization" between the western and eastern areas together. These areas show a telling difference in the separation of siblings and collaterals in their terminologies. Thus, the termionology at this level at least in all four western groups (see chart below) is a Hawaiian system in which the terms for siblings differentiated by elder and younger is the same for the "first" collaterals of the same generation (first cousins). The term for elder sister (eZ) in Khas being didi becomes ata in Johar, and is followed through the collateral line. Daju, dadur, and dada are easily interchangeable terms in the three systems of Tolcha, Johar and Khas. The same term is used for yB and yZ in both Marcha and Johari (baba resp. bhuli), whereas we find the Hindi bheni used for yZ in Khas and it can be used by Johari as a newer alternative. Khas, however, distinguishes male and female as is done here in Tolcha (bhulla yB and bhulli yZ). The western systems are otherwise structurally equivalent at this level;

	Tolcha			Marcha			Khas			Johar		
	e	y	*	e	y	*	e	y	*	e	y	*
B	dada	bhulla	a	achu	baba	a	daju	bhula	a	daju	bhuli	a
Z	didi	bhulli	b	ata	baba	b	didi	bheni	b	ata	bhuli	b
FBS	dada	bhulla	a	achu	baba	a	dadur	bhula	a	daju	bhuli	a
FBD	didi	bhulli	b	ata	baba	b	didi	bheni	b	ata	bhuli	b
FZS	dada	bhulla	a	achu	baba	a	dadur	bhula	a	daju	bhuli	a
FZD	didi	bhulli	b	ata	baba	b	didi	bheni	b	ata	bhuli	b
MBS	dada	bhulla	a	achu	baba	a	dadur	bhula	a	daju	bhuli	a
MBD	didi	bhulli	b	ata	baba	b	didi	bheni	b	ata	bhuli	b
MZS	dada	bhulla	a	achu	baba	a	dadur	bhula	a	daju	bhuli	a
MZD	didi	bhulli	b	ata	baba	b	didi	bheni	b	ata	bhuli	b

* structural equivalence (Khas is Khas Rajput from Bageshwar)

The Tolcha and Khas systems continue this way through all second collaterals as well. Johar retains the daju/bhuli, ata/bhuli selectively there as does the Marcha with a few variations.

The following chart shows the sibling-collateral terminologies for the eastern area which can be compared to the western group above. We have added Panna Lall's list as well (1911, cf. also Allen 1975). Lall's lists for Johar and Khas are the same as mine and are the terms used in the above chart (ie. first and second collaterals are the same for these two areas), but the spellings may differ. He replaces my dadur/bhula for FBS and MBS (Khas) for the Hindi chachera bhai. It may be noted that the Barpattia terminology is the same as Johar except for B (thulda/nanda) and all elder female siblings and collaterals (didi)[3.22];

	Lall Chaudas			Lall Byas			Byas			Talla Darma			Malla Darma		
	e	y	*	e	y	*	e	y	*	e	y	*	e	y	*
B	yha	(name)	a	yha	nunu	a	poya	gunya	-	phu	phe	a	amu	nau	a
Z	ata	rinsha	b	pota	ringsha	b		rinchye	b	ata	chinchya	b	nama	?	b
FBS		yha	a	yha	nunu	a	hya	nunu	a		pude	e		nau	a
FBD	ata	rinsha	b	pota	ringsha	b	tata	rinchye	b		punata	f	numu	?	b
FZS	che	(name)			tete	c	tete	nunu	c		chechu	c		nau	a
FZD		n.a.			chhemain	d	chyame/rinchye		d		cheme	d		po	b
MBS		n.a.			tete	c		tete	c		chechu	c	ayu	nau	a
MBD		n.a.			chhemain	d		chyame	d		cheme	d		po	b
MZS		yha	a	yha	nunu	a	hya	nunu	a		phu	a	ayu	nau	a
MZD		n.a.		pota	nunu	b	tata	rinchye	b		chinchya	b		po	b

* structural equivalence (Lall is Panna Lall 1911)

As can be seen, these eastern terminologies generally distinguish in some way between siblings and collaterals, whereas the western groups do not. The eastern terms differentiate cross-cousins from siblings as is noted in Lall (1911) whose purpose is to show the existence of cross-cousin marriage as well. As we have seen, the jati rule in fact prohibits cross-cousin marriage since the parties would fall within the three to six generational incestual-distance rule. As a measure of "hinduization" the western groups' terminology can be said at least to not contradict the rule of jati, although it cannot be said with certainty whether the terms are a result of the jati rules or not[3.23]. Let us look more closely at this data analytically.

3.c.iv. Kin, Caste and Identity

Few anthropologists have taken up an analysis based on what

is normally considered an "historical" approach (cf. however Allen 1978). Of the work done on plains castes, a book by Leonard (1978) is of special interest since it discusses both caste and kin around the idea of "monopoly" interpreted historically. Leonard's book is based on a large amount of very specific data of a geneological nature, and centers on what could be said to be two parameters: a matrix, and a kin monopoly. The aim of her analysis is to consider the process in the genesis of "caste" cum endogamous kin group as a response to a monopolization of resources. A matrix is constructed which appears as the external preconditions of an event. In this case, this matrix corresponds to Mughal and later British society considered as a bureaucratic state based on the exploitation of a caste organization. Within this matrix, then,group behavior tended to center on an amassing of its economic resources around caste principles, somewhat like an exploitation of a niche by a corporate kin group.

Leonard's next step involves showing empirically which kin activity (marriages) actually took place, and finally analyze this data in terms of the construction of endogamous, monopolizing kin groups filling these niches, the ultimate source of which is the bureaucratic state. This is interpreted in part in terms of change and "breakdown" as well, and is an offhand critique of Dumont;

> "The determination of social boundaries and the continuity of families and kin groups always depended upon economic resources and occupational strategies, far more than upon any elaboration of purity and pollution concepts...The purpose of new marriage networks, like the kin groups, is primarily to secure economic resources ....[They were] thus property groups" (1978:3-4)

Thus Leonard is proposing that we look at kinship and not caste as the active unit of organization. "Kayasth" then is meant to refer to a "caste-level" group of subdivisions (or subcastes) which are the true endogamous units. Leonard is critical of those analyses which refer to a group sharing "cultural" attributes and similar occupations as a caste cluster and to the endogamous units within these clusters, the jati, as castes. Her subcastes are also what she calls kin groups, and the strength

of her discussion is emphasizing the central role the kin groups played in the control of hereditary positions which thus made them able to distribute social, economic and political resources.

This seemed a role slightly contradictory to what is usually understood by caste. Usually, caste emphasized the "cultural" attributes shared by its members as well as emphasize the common occupation and economic level. Leach, for example (as noted by Leonard), notes the absence from externally-oriented caste behavior of any kinship factors and the predominance of political, economic and ritual relations, and kinship becomes an internal factor of caste. Leonard emphasizes the way these factors are controlled by sub-caste groups instead. The result is both an emphasis on the internal dynamics of caste which is not only charcaterized by an economic monopoly, but also exhibits social and economic inequalities not normally associated with intra-caste groups, as well as a more formal methodology which clarifies the relationship between concrete group boundary maintenance and the exploitation of certain resources.

But there are problems. First, in being "Kayasth" one is necessarily being a "writer" or "scribe". Second, the mainspring of organization seems to originate among high castes and becomes effective downwards. And third, low status and/or impurity are left open. Leonard discusses, for example, the difficulty the Saksenas had in finding elligible males. Apparently, this group had become divided between two areas of Hyderabad. Those considered of lower status (at least according to Leonard's informants) lived in an area of the city known as Shahalibanda;

> "In Shahalibanda, men moved steadily out of the category of respectable Saksena Kayasths. There are several instances of conversion to Islam, at least two for the love of a Muslim woman; several married across subcaste or caste lines; others formed informal liaisons with non-Kayasth women of the locality. A large proportion of the respectable Saksena families in Shahalibanda terminated for lack of legitimate Hindu heirs." (1978:110)

Families living in that section of the city were then considered of lower status generally than the more "successful" groups of Leonard's analysis (ibid. 103, 110). It was an area also inhabi-

ted by families called suratval or descendants of marriages between a Kayasth an some unsanctioned caste or subcaste, including other suratvals. It was a category resulting from the control over respectable positions held by the established upper level Kayasth. According to Leonard, this low status group consisted mainly of Kayasth who arrived between 1850 and 1880 when the old high-level positions were already taken and there were no chances of being admitted to the established kin groups. These people were then forced to find employment in insecure low-level positions of insufficient and unstable resources--a point which she notes shows the "control of positions exercised by the Kayasths already in Hyderabad, a control essential to the formation of effective kin groups" (ibid. 113, 118-212).

Leonard's work has pointed towards some factors which may be important for a working model in caste genesis. It centers on the economic functions of bilateral and unilinear descent groups, wealth and the marriage network and control by kin groups over the means of production. For example, her main theme was to show how a "continued control of economic resources depended upon a continuing supply of heirs", as well as the relationship between the determination of social boundaries and continuity of families and kin groups and the "economic resources and occupational strategies" (ibid. 3, 111). Wealth seems to be a central variable. Dominance was based on the control and distribution of wealth (which is also the sense "dominance" is used by Srinivas 1959 and Dumont 1970a). This is obvious enough, but we note as well that this control determined the possibility a man had of obtaining "respectable marriage connections" and maintaining the purity of the family. Men of similar status could exchange positions and children, and in situations in which the intra-subcaste differentiation in wealth was high, one family may dominate the others or several different kin groups may form. Somehow, wealth and purity seemed to go hand in hand at least within the caste. When caste members became poorer, the maintenance of their identity as pure caste members broke down, for example, by "deviant" behavior (ibid.37,288).

We should emphasize several things in Leonard's analysis of special relevance to the present theme: To begin with control over resources is a kinship based factor but the state plays an important role for example in providing grants and "niches" to fill. We will find parallel factors in our analysis of the early kingdoms and the Johari caste structure in Section 4. It should be noted here that in such analysis of caste,the role of the State is underestimated. Leonard's Kayasth (state scribes) may be "overdetermined" in this regard, but like the "Bhotiyas", they are able to exert themselves for a high status--a possibility not open to "lower" castes and "outcastes". This fact forces a sense of uncertainty in the priority of Leonard's units. Kinship is one of the most common modes of establishing group boundaries in general, and groups in turn are organized around the control of some resource. The results of an analysis like Leondard's clarify the process in which a monopoly through kinship is maintained, but it does not indicate the "form" the units take. For example, the rules that define marriage categories include more in their semantic domain than implied if they are written as "control" only. This is best exemplified when one transgresses the boundary of the kinship groups and becomes relatively "impure"--the <u>form</u> taken by this specific mode of kinship organization then is expressed in a caste "ideology" of the type expounded by Dumont (1970a). But neither is logically prior.

In the sense used in this thesis, kinship organization is a means of property control which is given its specific form by caste rules. The endogamous aspect of caste reflects of course a kinship factor, but the rules that put this factor into practice are expressed in terms of caste. In a central way, this is analogous to Fox' and Crocker's observations regarding the priority of an "identity" organization of roles over kinship structural logic as discussed in Section 2. In our material, we find that the boundaries of corporate groups are formulated, for example, in the pure-impure idea of "Kunkiya" ever if the material aspect is a question of marriage. The distinction

"Rajput"--"Kunkiya" is then one in which identity organization encompasses kinship. It is in this sense that the terminology of the western group is said to "not contradict the rule of jati" which is the primary rule of organization.

4. Consolidation

We have seen in Section 3 the ways in which a social structure is expressed in caste categories. We have also seen how social categories have corresponded to certain basic economic boundaries, and especially the system of rules that maintains strict boundary conditions around what is essentially the maintenance of a trade execution monopoly. In the sense of caste but this time as a "stigma" enforced from outside the "Bhotiya" community, we have also seen in Section 2 how "Bhotiya" was consigned to a low status because of the encumbents being "Tibetan-like". We have called this the "Tibetan stigma". As a categorization it remains a cognitive phenomenon, but is ultimately dependent on the existence of a framework that presents to the signifier certain categories that can be manipulated. These categories have not arisen spontaneously out of a situation (as much anthropological analysis has implied), but must be analyzed as the results of a number of material factors unfolding in time. Thus we are able to return to the "morphogenesis" mentioned earlier and give it now a material specificity. This will be done by bringing together three major domains of determination: first, the Tibetan side of the trade procedure which has been of central importance as determinant of "Bhotiya" monopoly at one pole of the Indo-Tibetan interface; secondly, the relationship between British economic activity and "Bhotiya" wealth which has been basic to the ability of the community to turn this wealth into status; and thirdly, carrying on the idea of a transformation of status, a discussion of the local "political" events which have generated a certain caste structure in which "Bhotiya" rajputization was able to take place.

By calling this section "Consolidation" it is intended that the events outlined be placed into a pattern, and that the resultant pattern be considered as a specific "phase space". As

such, it can be seen such that the combination of events placed in the "space" plus the order of these events in time builds a unified image somewhat like a cylinder whose cross-sections are the events (a series of static but true systems) and whose length is time. Each cross-section can be seen as the phenomenal result of its preceeding sections, but the procession of sections contains no master equation since the appearance of events (for example the "mitra system") contains no logical necessity. It cannot be defined by "law". It is contingent, and this contingency corresponds to the random factor that negates the use of a master equation. By consolidation, then, we refer to the method by which a phenomenon (the "Bhotiyas") is explained by accounting for its evolution in time -- the procession of states that have ordered phenomena in such a way that "Bhotiya" appears as a result. We may even imagine the "fact" as the conclusion of a discourse, in which the "states" are represented by the various interlocutors of the discourse, the result of which is impossible without having been generated by the discourse unfolding in time. We will see three major domains of the discourse, and discuss the catalytic role of the state in solidifying these various potentials. We will do this by referring to the process of "hinduization", but present our alternative model as a whole in Section 5.

4.a. Tibet

4.a.i. Serji

The annual opening of "Bhotiya" trade between India and Tibet involved not only specified procedures, but a highly structured trade system. We will deal first with the initiation procedures, then the "mitra" system of barter and finally discuss the ultimate control of the Tibetan side of this trade, the Tibetan state.

The "messenger", sattu or serji, was in fact sent from the mNga-ris administration, ultimately subject to the officials at

Gartok, with a letter in hand addressed to the headman of the nearest village in each respective "Bhotiya" valley. The letter noted that all was well on the Tibetan side and demanded a similar reply. The main concern of that reply was apparently to ascertain whether there was disease among the traders and/or animals that could be brought into Tibet. It was also a means of ascertaining the political climate on the Indian side as well as a control over the taxation system the traders were subsequently subject to in Tibet. In some areas, as a further assurance, the "messenger" was given a stone the weight of which the "Bhotiyas" promised to pay in gold if they did in fact bring any sickness into Tibet (Pant, S.D. 1935:216-217; Upreti, R.P. 1968 a:117). The messenger usually arrived with one or two associates and a few sheep and goats. Note that it was the Tibetans who initiated this trade through their serji, who brought with him a symbolic amount of salt and wool. The "Bhotiya" headman or representative and leading traders proceeded in turn to the authorities in Tibet with the "tribute" customarily demanded of them, the payment of which must be carried out in order for the trade to take place.

It is difficult to say exactly how long this "messenger" system has been in effect. Walton's Almora Gazetteer, based on earlier sources, differentiates satu from serji - the former being the messenger with his letter and enquiries, and the latter the messenger to whom the "tribute" was to be paid. In his British Garhwal Gazetteer, the same author mentions only the sarji, but two officials are normally noted. Traill (1851:95) notes that there was a "messenger" who exchanged communications on the state of affairs as well as a separate officer dispatched to collect tribute (and verify the messenger's observations). Interestingly enough, Traill notes that the messenger was a "Bhotea" who was dispatched to the Tibetan administrative center for the purpose of reporting, and returned with both some gold dust as compensation for their own "offerings" and a "Huniya" officer who collected the tribute. Atkinson repeats this interpretation, since his data here is probably based on Traill (1886:132).

The situation was resolved actually out of a curious border conflict in which the arrival of the "messenger" was interpreted by the British around 1890 as an encroachment on their territory. In fact, it was taken so seriously that a detachment of Gorkhas was dispatched to Barahoti near Niti, their "stronghold", to dispell the intruders in 1889. Needless to say, they had by then finished their task and returned, so that by the time one detachment arrived there, the officer could only report that "he was not to see a soul there, not even a bird!"[4.1]. When the situation was accounted for, the problem turned instead into one of the rights Tibet claimed to exact dues (taxes) on British subjects (the "Bhotiyas"). But the discussion is illuminating for our present purposes, since it brings to light some central features of local administrative dynamics. The serji ("tax collectors" according to Kishen Singh[4.2]) were described as "ordinary villagers" of mNga-ris who were required to submit one year's labour obligation to the Tibetan state (here the local mNga-ris administration). In this case the duties were of a police nature. They received no payment from the government, but, as was quite common in these areas, were given certain priviledges -- and allowed a certain income from the duties they collected. If the dues were not paid in order by the "Bhotiyas", these serji could be sent to collect it. They were stationed at a spot most conducive to the collecting of dues throughout the trade season -- Barahoti was one such station under the jurisdiction of the mNga-ris administrative subcenter of Daba. In addition to being required to report political activity as well as collect the duties on both Indian and Tibetan traders, they were required to resist anyone trying forcefully to enter Tibet, or, failing this (they were normally two in number and usually no more than four) to report to the jongpen (local Tibetan officials).

The messages carried by the serjis included not only the jongpen's demanded information, but even messages from the mitra (Tibetan trade connections to whom we will shortly return) to their respective "Bhotiya" counterparts. A bond is given called gamgia concerning ragbyadh (or the bond not to bring disease)

as well as paltan or the bond not to bring trouble (in this case the British). Gamgia was formalized in two ways, either by the use of a stone (rather obsolete in 1890) which was weighed, then broken into two parts, both sealed by the serji, one part taken by the serji to Tibet and the other left with the "Bhotiyas". The other type of gamgia was a written bond concerning the same matters.

This activity of the serji involved an apparently rather extensive exchange of gifts. For example, one serji named Urgyal on 19 May 1890 brought with him two assistants and salt on the backs of 50 goats which they gave to their "mitras". When the serjis enter the valley, they are given a token sum of money and some rice from each headman ("padhan") as a reciprocal remuneration for the messages they brought from their mitras. They also returned with an equal amount of rice to their salt, plus new information on the state of affairs in India. In another case, the "Rawal" at the famous Hindu shrine of Badrinath (in the Mena valley) received such niceties as yak tails, tea and sage from the jongpen through the serji, and sent cloth and fruit in return to the extent of "200 'haths' length of cloth, 18 cocoanuts, fruits, chana, and one rupee"[4.3].

Once the serji had performed his duties he returned to Tibet, and the bond given served as a sufficient instigation to begin trade. But the "Bhotiyas" reacted with a similar procedure which is of special interest to our present purpose. Both Johar and Niti were subject in the question of "messenger" and trade to the Tibetan administrative center of Daba, itself subject to the officials at Gartok[4.4]. In the 1885-1890 discussion on the serji at Niti, when the latter had returned form there to Daba:

> "The Bhoteas then send a man called Phoongia, who is their representative, to Daba to ascertain the state of affairs for them. If the Phoongia finds everything favorable, he sends word to his men to come with their goats, which they do..."[4.5]

"Phooniya" (from "phoongia" or "phorya"[4.6]) in fact, is today the name of one of the larger jati inhabiting the Niti village of Gamsali. One informant notes that the name "pho" means "man"

or "leader". It originally derives apparently from the Tibetan pho or "man", and more especially from pho.nya or "messenger", "ambassador", "envoy" (cf. Jäschke 1977:345), denotes an old title, "representative" or leader of Niti, which was given to them at one time by Daba[4.7].

4.a.ii. Mitra

One aspect of the system of trading in mNga-ris that became especially well-known when confronted with British strategies for the opening up of trade with Tibet (mNga-ris more particularly), is the mitra system;

> "The mode in which the trade is transacted prevents the possibility of competition. The Hooneeas are restricted from holding any commercial communications in this direction except thro the medium of the Bhoteeas while at the same time they are parcelled out into Araths or Agencies to particular individuals and can enter into no engagements or commercial concerns except with their authorized Bhoteeas correspondent."[4.8]

The fixed-rate system was effective only in Tibet (they "bargained" in India). Nevertheless, it was quite lucrative as we shall see. Trade was to place first between mitras at fixed rates of exchange, or, if agreed, via the mitra. When the requirements were met, the "Bhotiyas" (at least by about 1950), were allowed to trade freely with Tibetans and others who were not mitra, between whom the principle of "bargaining" held. According to Pant, the Tibetan mitra was expected to collect all the goods his "Bhotiya" mitra needed and vice versa. Exchange took place usually in pure barter in kind. Cash was used as well at times, and especially for the purchase of wool. The use of cash (the highly valued Rupee[4.9]) was moreover mainly a prerogative of the richer "Bhotiya" traders who then also could demand a trade advantage.

The Tibetan mitra (status) could be bought and sold by the "Bhotiya" only. One Tibetan to one "Bhotiya" mitra was generally the rule, but new ones could be established by "Bhotiya" initiative if the older agreements were not affected. The status was

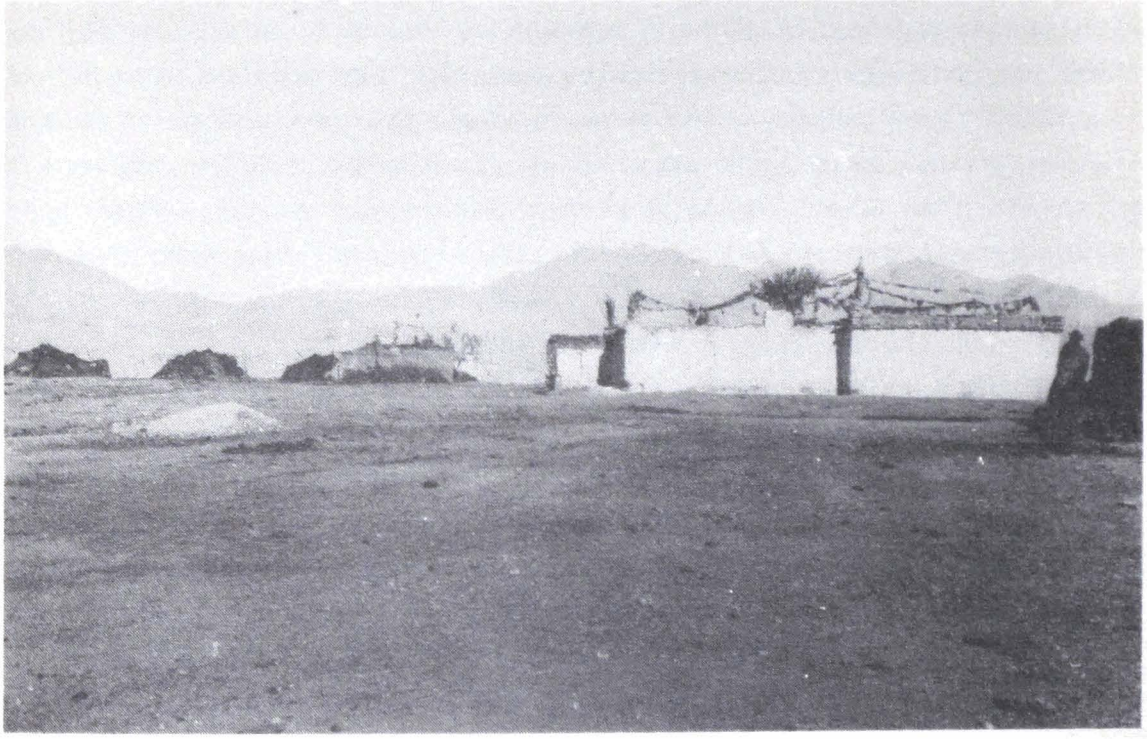
inherited in both Tibet and India, but whereas in Tibet both males and females could inherit, among the "Bhotiyas" the status was inherited by sons or, if no sons, by daughter's husbands. The relationship (gamgia, "agreement") was expressed by the breaking of a small stone as done with the serji. Pant notes that even the mitra's representatives could be identified if the two halves of the stone fit together (1935:218). Of special interest it may be noted that the judicial control of these agreements were enforced by the mNga-ris administration and/or after 1904, by the British trade agency at Gartok. Petitions turned over to the Indian (British) authorities in India in these matters were not normal procedure, and rare. The establishment of a new mitra relationship (a ceremony called sulji mulji according to Upreti) takes place when tea or "wine" is taken together, first by the Tibetan and secondly by the Bhotiya mitra. Presents of "standard goods" are exchanged, and the Bhotiya presents his Tibetan mitra with either a white scarf or a "special turban". During this rite, the stone is broken (Pant, S.D. 1935: 218; Upreti, R.P. 1968b:117). A similar exchange takes place as well during all mitra trade procedures. For example, the two mitra would drink tea together as a preliminary to the barter itself. This is the activity referred to by the idiom, that the Tibetans would only trade with those with whom they could eat (or drink), that has been crucial for the external association of "Bhotiya" with Tibetan which we discussed as a "stigma" in section 2.

Of the earlier references to the mitra system (called arath by Traill, arhti in Pauw 1896:25), Traill notes:

> "These individual monopolies, if they may be so called, are considered as hereditary and disposable property, and where the correspondent becomes bankrupt, the trader is under the necessity of purchasing the right of dealing with some other individual. From successive partitions of family property, and from partial transfers, this right of Arath has been gradually subdivided, and many Bhoteas collectively, possess a single correspondent" (1851:96).

This is quoted in full by Atkinson, who, however, doubts the validity of Traill's overly restrictive description. New mitra can

be established as long as the old one is not affected, and as long as the establishment of the relationship is formally finalized. He also emphasizes the "Bhotiya" initiative in arranging these matters (1886:134). Sherring curiously remarks that these "house connections" although hereditary could not be mortgaged or sold to anyone else ("Notes" 13 Sept. 1904: Secret E July 1905, encl. C to no. 216). Why he maintains this is unclear since the other references, including modern informants, affirm that the mitra right could be sold. In 1950, for example, it was worth Rs 3000 to Rs 4000. Its antiquity is difficult to establish. It was old when Traill discussed it as well as the doubly effective restriction of the "Bhotiyas" to certain marts in 1825. Because of the close relationship of state and local trade in Tibet, it may be assumed to have been initiated at the time of mNga-ris' inclusion in the central Tibetan state by 1700. This role of the state represents another, important dimension to the Tibetan local trade system and its effect on establishing "Bhotiya identity".



"Gartok gompa" and nomad (drokpa) tents in 1907

4.a.iii. Trade Restrictions

Like the serji system, the mitra system was an integral part of a special form of trading which involved a great degree of direct state intervention. This sort of intervention was one of the main barriers to what the British had hoped to achieve in their expansion towards Tibet -- an expansion and confrontation with the Tibetan barrier which was couched in the slogan of "free trade". In order to understand this confrontation of systems in a global context, we will begin by looking at the way this trading was organized.

The restrictions were based on what was essentially a taxation system in which certain local, mNga-ris administrators were put in charge of the trade traffic over certain passes. The administration at Taklakot, for example, was in charge of controlling the trade of Byas and Chaudas by controlling the Lipu Lekh (and Tinkar) passes. Barkha controlled Darma through the Lanpiya Lekh and Darma passes. Daba administered all of the passes between Johar and Niti, and Tsaparang administered Mana. With the exception of Mana which was oriented towards the Sutlej River region, all of these valley outlets centered on what could be called the Gyanema trade mart system. Gyanema was geographically the central mart, but it was not visited by all the traders since all the "Bhot" valleys except Johar were further restricted to certain marts. All of these restrictions were embedded in a particular taxation system in which the ultimate authority was at times at Lhasa, and at times in central China.

Looking at the local situation first, we find that the execution of tax administration at the passes was at the same time a part of the "ritualized" inception and part of the catalytic articulation of the Tibetan state and its local fiscal sources in this trade. It was an intervention analogous to but structurally converse to the free trade-taxation system of the British. The serji-sattu system was a formal opening of trade as well as part of the realization of taxes. By the turn of the

century, the serji system was apparently well in effect in Mana, Niti and Johar where part of the "tribute" paid the messengers during their visit arrived at the jongpens village as "tax" (tal), and, the rest was kept by the messenger as his own "income". Other "taxes" were collected by these serji when they assumed their "guard posts" at Barahoti. These were collected from all who passed through the area, over the passes from Niti and Johar towards the marts in mNga-ris, and were turned over in this case to the jongpen at Daba (Joshi 9 Sept. 1980 as in n. 4.3).

On the other hand, Kishen Singh's undoubtedly more accurate account around the turn of the century, albeit pertaining to Johar only, considers the items given the sattu during his return visit after turning over the gamgia in Daba as "customs duty". This payment was similarly distributed over the Johar village and paid at once in 90 lumps of gur (valued at Rs 45) by the Milam headman or gatpuchyang. Sherring divides the taxes into four categories: (a) tal, the usual tax, (b) lha tal, a tax for crossing a hill or pass, (c) go tal or poll tax, and (d) chyn tal (Traill's kuin thal or mart tax) which amounted to 10% tax on all goods. Go tal was exacted on all "non-Bhotiyas" who crossed the Unta-Dhura and included even Tibetans, Bashahri and Ladakhi travellers but not pilgrims who received a pass from the Milam gatpuchyang. The go tal was 6 annas. Lha tal was exacted at all the passes except the Unta-Dhura and could be as much as 10% on all goods passing over. An extra, arbitrary tax known as pagyur could also be levied on Tibetans or residents of certain areas etc.[4.10]. As an example of the British involvement vis-a-vis the Tibetan, and of the importance to the "Bhotiyas" in paying the dues, a decision of 11 October 1895 established that the dues which had earlier been collected by Tibetans in the "Bhotiya" villages were to be collected by a "British" official and turned over to the Tibetans by him. For the purpose of collecting these dues, the office of peshkar was established to be first occupied by a certain Kharak Singh Pal of Askot[4.11].

The reports of the peshkar are interesting since they show the first results of a confrontation between the British and

Tibetan spheres, in the middle of which was to be found the "Bhotiyas". The Taklakot jongpen was to be paid his dues in November, but in Nepalese territory. Thus he avoided entering British territory, and, most important for the "Bhotiyas", he thus abstained from stopping the trade at Taklakot. Pal reported in 1897 that the jongpen threatened to stop trade from Byans and Darma or tax the "Bhotiyas" when they arrived at the marts if the British interfered in the traditional mode of trading[4.12]. In June 1897, the Taklakot jongpen closed the passes between Byans-Chaudans and Taklakot, and in 1898 Gracey visited the area and left the following, auspicious observation:

> "The Bhutias have since I entered Bhot again and again represented to me that the closing of the passes mean nothing but absolute ruin to them. That their representations are true is shown by the trade returns for last year. The effect of the closure of the passes even for the month or so that they remained closed was to scare away many of the Tibetan traders from Taklakot, and to make those who remained prefer to have transactions with the Nepalese or Joharis rather than with folk-trading on such an uncertain basis as the Byansis and Chaudansis. While therefore the traffic registered at Dharchula shows a large falling off, that at Milam has increased. I am also informed that many of the villages in Nepalese Bhot trebled and quadrupled their trade last year.
>
> The Bhutias themselves raise no objection to paying the Thibetan demand. The ruin of their trade would therefore not be their own fault, but the result of the action of Government."[4.13]

Trade persisted although the problem created a tense situation until after Sherring's time (around 1905) when it seemed to become a matter of disregard.

Other Tibetan exactions on the Bhotiyas took place within mNga-ris once the trade was opened. This took the form primarily of a specified restriction to certain marts plus further "trade dues" paid in connection with it. The administrative allocation of the marts was not dissimilar to the control of the passes. Thus Mana was steered by the Mana pass towards Tsaparang --at the same time its traders were restricted by the Tibetan government to the marts at Tsaparang (the main mart) and Tholing. These sites were subject to the administration under the Tsaparang jongpen to whom the Mana traders paid their duties. This

jongpen controlled also the trade over the Shipki and Kangra passes, both important trade routes in the Sutledge area[4.14].

Niti fell under the "Gyanema system" proper--in fact subject to the jongpen of Daba into whose area their passes led. This jongpen controlled such marts as Daba, Khyunglung, Shibchilam, Missar, etc. The Niti traders were restricted to the marts of Daba and Shibchilam. During the time of Traill, the Darma traders visited Khyunglung, but by the time of Sheering, they centered their trade on the large mart at Gyanema (which was closer). They could visit Daba if they chose but did not (for some unclear reason)[4.15].

The Johari passes were formally assigned to Daba whose messenger was responsible for the initiation of their trade, but the traders were allowed to establish trade at any of the marts they chose. In Sherring's day, they traded mainly at Gyanema and Gartok. According to Sherring, Gartok was apparently open to any of the groups but was not used due to the difficulty of reaching it. Actually, both Niti and Darma should seem in an equally proximate position to trade at Gartok, and I would suspect the reason they did not trade there was due to local administrative decisions[4.16].

The traders from Darma were subject to the Barkha tarjum who controlled the local marts plus the important mart at Gyanema[4.17] (for some reason, Atkinson 1886:131 equates the Darma traders with the Johari who trade at Tara, Misar, Gyanema and Gartok). Traill noted in 1825 that the Darma traders were restricted to Taklakot although in 1832 they traded at Kuinlang[4.18]. It was probably a question as to which pass they used. The main Darma pass led towards Gyanema (and Khyunglung), whereas the Lanpiya-Lek, Mangshang and Lipu-Lek, normally outlets from Byans and apparently used sometimes by Darma, led towards Taklakot.

Gyanema actually consisted of two locations about 4 miles apart: Gyanema, (Kharko in Tibetan) and Chhakara (or what the Tibetans refer to as Gyanema)[4.19]. It was actually a camping ground which became active 2-3 months during the year. These two sites are described in terms of two halves of the same mandi

"Bhotiya" traders at the Gyanema mart around 1905

(or mart, mala, market). In 1911, the Kharko mart, visited by the Johari, had fallen under the jurisdiction of Daba. The Chakra mart was frequented by the Darma traders and fell under the fiscal jurisdiction of the Barkha Tarjum[4.20]. Curiously enough, one Byans village also shared the Chakra mart with Darma--this was Kuti village which seemed to always have had a unique position in Byas. Kuti also had the priviledge of trading in Taklakot as the rest of the Byansi villages. Johar did as well, of course, but approached that mart via Tibet only rather than through Byans[4.21]. Chakra was described as the duty-paying half of Gyanema. During Sherring's visit, the Darma traders paid dues to Barkha "to keep it close for them as regards the two commodities salt and borax". The mart was also frequented by the Johari as well as the Byansi who, however, until 1905 had not been allowed to deal in those two commodities[4.22].

Other items traded at Gyanema around the turn of the century included goods not only brought by the "Bhotiyas" and Tibetans such as wool, tea, horsegear, salt and borax. We also find pearls, coral, turquoise, broadcloth, cotton goods and brass and copper utensils brought into Gyanema by traders from Bashahr and Simla. In 1907, Hedin mentions Gyanema being visited by the large trade delegation known as the Lapchak Mission which passed through the area enroute from Ladakh to Lhasa or vice-versa. Among other items mentioned we find carpets, musk and silk from Lhasa, and Yarkand carpets, fruits and saffron from Ladakh[4.23].

The traders of Byas and Chaudas normally visited the Taklakot (Taklakhar) marts under the jurisdiction of the jongpen of Taklakot who controlled that mart plus Jidikot, Khojerroth, etc., in the relatively densely inhabited area known as Purang. The town of Taklakot itself consisted of some 200 persons plus the administration, and a monastery for 300 monks, the whole area being of special religious importance since antiquity. Sherring notes that since 1885, the trade at Taklakot has increased considerably (1974:70). For example, wool worth Rs 140,000 was imported into India from Taklakot and Rs 30,000 worth from Gyanema, and borax worth Rs 100,000 from both marts in 1905 via the "Bhotiyas" who brought wool and borax back into India at a value of Rs 45,431 in the same year. Comparatively, Batten's 1840-1840 statistics show an import of borax for all the Bhotiya valleys of approximately Rs 87,700. In 1896, the total imports from Tibet to India via Kumaon-Garhwal was Rs 516,332[4.24].

4.a.iv. mNga-ris Trade

The execution of trade in mNga-ris between the "Bhotiyas" and their mitra then actually involved a number of imposing circumstances. The infrastructure consists of the trade melas, described for example by Rawling:

> "... all the shepherds and traders of Western Tibet collect, bringing with them their herds of yaks, sheep and goats, their families, goods and chattels, and settle down on any spot they fancy. At the same time, traders from Ladak, Spiti and India ["Bhotiyas"] arrive, and a brisk trade in cloth, iron ware, copper goods, gold, turquoises, wool and pashm springs up. The annual taxes are then collected by the Governors, law cases tried, and Government business transacted." (1905:272)

"Bhotiya" trade took place only with the drokpa (nomad) according to one informant. Srivastava actually includes "mitra" within the concept "dogpa" (1963:138).

The Johari trader, for example, takes his goods and his 150 sheep/goats plus assistants, etc., to a mart such as Gyanema where he meets, in the case of one informant, his 15-20 mitra who have come to the market from their villages with their goods. The transactions were made, and, in one case, the flocks were sent back to Milam with yak tails, furs, borax, pashm and wool for depot storage. The trader using local transport, would even go on to other marts such as Chakra or Darchin (nearby), or even to Gartok. The relations between the trader and his Tibetan counterparts involved a not inconsiderable system of credit. Commodities that had not been sold could be left in Gartok, for example, or arrangements made on credit for next year's trade. Generally, the traders took more than they could sell and it was not uncommon that goods to a value of Rs 20,000-Rs 30,000 were left with "friends" in Tibet.

The "Bhotiyas" dealt with his "mitra" first. Any disbalance could be arranged with another person but only through the "mitra". As a last resort, when the "mitra" was satisfied, the trader could try to sell his goods on a "free" market if he had the time and convenience. The prescribed trade procedure involved a system of price-good prescription as well whereas the "free" trade was carried out by "bargaining". The price-prescription varied per good and was thus more than a true "barter" system as it is usually described. Around 1930, for example borax was exchanged for grain at a value of Rs 10 per maund of borax. One rupee could by 4 seers of wool (two seers in 1940), but pashm

could only be exchanged against goods such as dried fruits. These prescribed price-goods were established between traders ("mitra") every two years. Disputes with the "mitra" were taken to the Tibetan officials or, after 1904 at least, to the Trade Agent at Gartok. Srivastava describes the "barter" in the following words:

> "Prices in these [Tibetan] markets were not determined by the laws of demand and supply but by tradition, haggling, and the capacity of a Bhotia to give his goods away on credit. A transaction sometimes carried within a complementary transaction which affected the rate of exchange. For example, in a Tibetan market [in 1952] ... one sheep-load of barley could be exchanged for three sheep-loads of salt at the normal rate of exchange. But a Bhotia would receive only two sheep-loads of salt for one of barley if there was a complementary transaction involved. The Bhotia besides taking the two salt-loads, also had the right to buy the fleece of the two sheep whose load of salt he had taken. The payment for the wool of these two sheep was only at the rate of eight annas per fleece. Neither of these two transactions at that price were possible independently." (1963:138)

In fact, he says, that the special priviledges the Johari traders enjoy was based on their being the "descendents of the traders who procured the fixation of prices by the government of Lhasa".

I would not give the antiquity of the rates such profundity, although the principles may well be deserving of it. Price-fixation was not carried out, as it were, in a vacuum. Atkinson paid notice to this fact himself when he noted an 1815 concern for the fact that the "value" of an Indian commodity when it arrived at Gartok was dependent on "four sets of profits" and "the badness of the roads and the restrictions placed on the trade by vexatious taxation and the oppression of the rulers and their officers through whose dominions the consignment passed" (1886:128). In fact, informants noted that prices were generally fixed for 2-3 year periods. The important point is that the fixed prices were a part of the Tibetan state's participation in local trade which in turn had a pronounced influence as much on "Bhotiya identity" as it did on the activities of other local groups of people.

4.a.v. mNga-ris Administration

The "dues" which the Bhotiyas paid to the Tibetan administration in mNga-ris had brought out a discussion on the idea of suzerainty. A few words on the extent of this claim need be said. Thus we find during the Barahoti "incident" around 1890 the problem of how the "dues" levied on the Bhotiyas should be defined in terms of, in this case, British administrative concepts. One such payment was a "tax of 88 timashai = Rs 17-8 annually for each village". It was defined as a "land revenue"[4.25], and the response of the British was of course to contend this taxation of "British subjects" by a foreign power. It was noted that the reason this "land revenue" (referred to as sinh tal in Tibetan) was paid was that Tibet had once ruled over parts of the British territory - viz "Bhot"[4.26]. The fact that the dues were still paid 100 years after the British moved into the area may seem odd, but the explanation forwarded by the Tibetans is an interesting example of the functioning of the Tibetan state. Thus in the intensive discussion around these problems in 1907, the Tibetan garpon informed Calvert that the dues were "levied" in accordance with [an] old-standing order from Lhasa". The garpons could not discontinue such dues without the orders of the central government in Lhasa. As a reason for the "taxation" of British subjects", it was noted that Tibet's loss of "Bhot" (Byans, Cha dans and Darma at least) to the Gorkhas and subsequently their loss to the British, was never reported to Lhasa. This lack of communication may very well be true considering the fact, for example, that the officials in mNga-ris had apparently not yet heard of Younghusband's 1904 invasion in 1905[4.27].

In spite of the ultimate power of the central government, a certain degree of autonomy was practiced by the local administrators of mNga-ris. This was not only exemplified by the "farming-out" nature and consequent local manipulation of the posts, but in the autonomy that an area of so great a distance

from the capital at Lhasa could muster. Pranavananda notes, for example, that a special officer known as a shipjo or kashyap visits mNga-ris for a one-year tour once every 30-35 years for the purpose of settling local affairs! Of other central officials, we hear of such personages as a "vuzeer", a "depun" and a "shipehat" visiting Gartok in 1846, and of the "yungchong" or "government merchant", whose official duty was apparently to sell government commodities by force, of which Chinese brick tea was especially chosen for the mNga-ris area. Of special interest, we find officials sent with such specific concerns as taxation matters on salt, borax and gold mines, and even those sent to decide as to where suitable marts were to be placed[4.28]. These were not many officials, nor did their tasks seem thankful, and although the local administrators were appointed and subject directly to Lhasa, the distance and the time it took messages to be sent and returned meant that the administration of mNga-ris could be carried out somewhat autonomously. The exercise of this power presented the appearance that the jongpen "considered themselves very powerful" and were quick in asserting that power profitably onver the "Bhotiyas" whom they considered their subjects. In an 1895 observation, the jongpen was noted as regarding the Bhotiyas both as his own as well as British subject[4.29].

By about 1950, Tibet was divided into 53 districts (rDzong which has the meaning of type of stronghold as well) and 123 subdistricts. Usually, each rDzong had two rDzong.dPon (jongpen), a lay official and a monk, whose primary function was military, judicial and fiscal. This office was usually held for a term of three years and extendable one more term, assigned from the Lhasa aristocracy. Generally, village headman and elders were under orders of the jongpen via lesser amdinistrative offices (cf. Carrasco 1959:93). In what is sometimes called western Tibet but which is still within the sphere of direct administration of the central districts along the Tsangpo River (i.e. east of Manasarovar), the administration was broken down into a number of larger and smaller units from the Tashilunpo monastery and Sa sKya to "tent groups" of pastoralists. Jest has outlined

the latter as 15 administrative divisions, or dho. In the sedentary villages studies by Goldstein, the tsho was the unit smaller than the rDzong which consisted of a "few contiguous villages". Its main significance was that it formed a unit in the corvee transportation network (sa tshig) of the central state (Goldstein 1971:15). The pastoralists that Jest studied were formed into cho units of autonomous tent groups each with both a traditional chief as well as a functionary assigned from Lhasa. In the gZun-ru stod groups (cho) which Jest concentrated on there was a chief phyi-rGyab and two 'go-pa who together with a council consisting of a number of "tent chiefs" were responsible for decisions important to the life of this group. The official assigned from Lhasa was apparently a religious commissary, gNer-pa, assigned for six years, whose role consisted of the collection of taxes in kind (in this case, butter, cheese, wool and yak-tail) as well as acting as judiciary in the case of group disputes (Jest 1973:438, 442).

But the different administrative areas of Tibet had apparently sometimes quite different administrative details although the fiscal power of the state seemed to be a general phenomenon. mNga-ris was, like the other outer areas of Amdo, Khams, Chang thang, a bit unique in itself. There were no estates there of the aristocratic or religious types as in other areas with the possible exception of some of the monasteries of Purang and Guge (the Taklakot and Tsaparang areas) (Carrasco 1959:106, 135). Although brought into the domain of central Tibet by treaty with Ladakh in 1683, mNga-ris was apparently the "private domain of a 'nobleman'" until after the reign of Pho-lha-nas in Lhasa 1728-1747 when it was directly administered by the central government (ibid. 25, 27). Apparently, the "garpon" posts were assigned at this time. These in turn dealt with the population through a number of lesser officials, the primary ones of which were the four jongpen sent, as we have seen, from Lhasa to man the subdistrict seats of Rudok, Tsaparang, Daba and Purang (Taklakot). Below them were 22 tarjums. Although the tarjum at Barkha had become quite a powerful figure by the time of Sher-

ring (probably in part on the lucrative trade at Gyanema under his jurisdiction), these officials were in charge of forwarding official mail and providing transport to sanctioned travellers (Pranavananda 1949:75; Sherring 1974:287-288). In addition, there were a few other local chiefs, some having even some sort of ancient nobility. Strachey mentions 13-14 such "pun" (dPon) (1848:345-346)[4.30] or "petty chief" (Carrasco 1959:135). They were important enough to be separately named mNga-ris dPon-Khag cu-gSum, "the thirteen chiefs of mNga-ris".

The garpons were appointed form Lhasa under the conditions that a certain amount of taxes annually be turned over to the central government. What this amounted to is uncertain, but the weight fell down over the jongpen. For example, the jongpen at Taklakot (appointed from Lhasa) was required to pay Rs 1000 in kind to Lhasa--"having paid his fill, he is entitled to collect the land revenue and put it into his own pocket; in fact, all income from taxes, fines, etc. goes into his private purse"[4.31]. We can see how the garpon supervised the activity of the lesser officials in terms of the collection of taxes and running of the communicative system. They also acted as a summary court for procedures brought before them[4.32]. They were also in charge of the militia. In mNga-ris this was never large. We have seen how the 2-4 serji were expected to repell attack and/or inform the jongpen, who, in turn, probably informed the garpon at Gartok where the "standing militia" was stationed, or at least was to be mustered. In Traill's day, there was reported to be 200 "horse" stationed at Gartok although Traill believed that force to be from central Tibet (1851:103). Sherring cites this and notes that in 1904 there were no soldiers in Gartok--the nearest regular "militia" (50 soldiers) was at Kirong, 12 days march east of Taklakot[4.33]. We have seen how the serji was chosen--on the principle of a corvée type of labour. The same was true of the militia of mNga-ris which, for example during Traill's time, consisted of men of the local population being subject to a call-up when needed: "Each town and village has its enrolled militia" (Traill 1851:103-104). This was probably imposed as

part of the corvée demanded by the state on the population, although greater detail as to its functioning among the drokpa is lacking[4.34].

The "Chinese Tartar" force at Gartok mentioned by Traill represents an important point regarding the global politics of Great Britain, China and Russia. British-Chinese relations, for example, had since early times been fraught with rather special, mutual concerns. Even Nepal played a role in this international game. Ram Rahul informs us that during Hodgsons's period as Nepal Resident 1829-1843, Nepal sent an appeal to China claiming that England wanted control over Tibet and even offered assistance during the British-Chinese war. China responded rather weakly to these concerns, but did strengthen its front in Tibet through the Chinese Amban stationed (since 1792) in Lhasa (Rahul 1964-65:145-146)[4.35]. Traill had noted the overwhelming presence of the Chinese who had made Tibetan intercourse with foreigners seem so difficult even to the point of limiting the traders to certain marts[4.36]. But direct Chinese intervention in mNga-ris dwindled slightly, being carried out through the officials in Lhasa who visited the western areas rarely themselves. After the British invasion of Lhasa in 1904, a renewed Chinese interest in the affairs of mNga-ris flared up. Foreign Secretary Dane was forced to explain what the British were doing in mNga-ris, and in 1907, in response, the British (Indian) trade agent at Gartok, Thakur Jai Chand of Kangra, informed Government that a Chinese representative would actually reside at Gartok in the future. The Chinese had become so interested in the area that they ordered a census and were repairing the roads leading from Lhasa to Gartok[4.37]. In fact Chand had the following rather grim news to relate:

> "... [the garpons] told me that the Chinese were of the opinion that, if the Tibetans are taught the art of weaving, a stop can be put to the export of wool from the country, and it would then be possible to export manufactured cloth of good quality instead" (Ext. B Nov. 1907 Nos. 105-126)

In 1909 Chand wrote that four Chinese and one Tibetan official were to arrive at Gartok to build houses to rent to the Indian

traders there but had not arrived by 1910. Bell noted, however, that the desire to build houses for the traders was a further restriction on trade[4.38]. The main problem behind these restrictions were formulated by the British in terms of constraints on what was called "free trade".

4.b. The British

4.b.i. Interest in mNga-ris

The British could claim no little success in their relentless expansion into the world's countries under the banner of a "new" economic philosophy. The success of this philosophy involved nevertheless a restructuring of existing systems so that the expansive economy could be able to manipulate trade networks. It may be that one of the reasons almost 200 years of rule by Great Britain over India never truly affected the caste system at its root was that the British system concentrated itself at the level of trade and distribution. Among Dumont's observations we find the note that British rule resulted in part on the one hand in a relaxation of the confinement of compartmental units and on the other in giving a new security to merchant wealth (1970a:155-156, 165). It did not need to meddle in Indian social affairs as long as those relations did not drastically slow down the colonial economic machinery that skimmed off the top what was needed for its reproduction. As we have seen, their concern for the "Bhotiyas" was from the beginning a concern for the successful execution of the Indo-Tibet trade of which the "Bhotiyas" were the main carriers in the area.

With regard to Tibet, several conventions were signed which aimed at opening that country up--primarily to trade. Regarding the 1886 Convention, a representative of the Association of Chambres of Commerce of the United Kingdom rejoiced:

> "That it is of very great importance, not only to the commerce of India, but also to that of this country that Tibet should be opened up to trade.
> That it is believed that large quantities of wool and

> other produce are grown in Tibet which could be used in this country, if trading relations were established, and it is understood that the Tibetans themselves at present use a small quantity of goods manufactured in this country, which quantity would no doubt be largely incresed... [and glad to see]... that steps are likely to be taken by the Indian Government to resolve the obstruction which the Tibetans have placed against the wishes of the Chinese Government across the pass between India and Tibet on territory which is subject to British influence". (Hill to Govt. 17 March 1888: Secret E May 1888 Nos. 147-154)

Steps were certainly taken in 1904, the result of which was the establishment of three trade agencies in Tibet: Yatung and Gyantse in the fruitful corridor east of Nepal, and Gartok on the windblown, rocky inhospitable steppes of mNga-ris. Obviously, the reasoning behind the choice of Gartok is of interest in the present context. One of the major factors was shawl wool.

Shawl wool or pashm had long been of central interest to the different states contending for supremacy over mNga-ris. The making of shawls was by the late 17th century primarily a Kashmiri monopoly, and its procurement the prerogative, by treaty (1681-1684) of Ladakh. The British showed a keen interest in this item at an early date, and the fate of mNga-ris in the early 19th century hinged on the advances by the Sikhs, Dogras and British in which control over the shawl wool trade played a very important part. William Moorcroft and J. Hearsey visited mNga-ris in 1812 passing through Joshimath and Niti in which was then somewhat hostile Gorkha territory. The purpose of their trip was in fact to investigate into the sources of shawl wool which they knew lay north of the Himalayas (Datta 1973:21, 65, 87, 89-90; 1970:16). They were surprisingly successful at both inciting the official at Gartok to sell them shawl wool sheep and in managing to keep their party intact through Gorkha territory in spite of being arrested. They brought both sheep and yaks as well as 30 maunds of shawl wool, and hoped that the sheep could be sent to Scotland and Wales to beging shawl wool production there[4.39]. Although it was known by Bogle and Turner that shawl wool derived from western Tibet, it was not until the British began knocking at mNga-ris' door that their interest was

rekindled, In a letter written the year before the British take-over of Kumaon from the Gorkhas, Colonel Ochterlony, one of the involved, wrote:

> "His lordship is not sure whether it may not be expedient for the British Government to appropriate to itself Serenugur [Srinagar, Garhwal] including the valley of Deyrah Doon of a territory dependent on it, not so much with a view to Revenue as for the security of commercial communications with the Country where the Shawl Wool is produced--This object would require the possession by the British Government of a tract of territory to the frontier of that Country.[4.40]

Traill was actively engaged in procuring shawl wool from Tibet and turned Almora into its local market center--in fact, this concern probably opened his eyes to the importance of the "Bhoteeas" in this connection[4.41]. By 1820, shawl wool became one of Kumaon's more important imports, and the "long-established commercial framework of mNga-ris-Ladakh-Kashmir was "upset" by the "arrival of the English" (Datta 1970:20-21; 1973:92).

British concern for the shawl wool (and borax) trade both in Bashahr (the main route) and in Kumaon-Garhwal is attested by their reaction to the Sikh Dogra invasion of mNga-ris 1841-1842 which sharply affected this British trade[4.42]. Datta mentions the effect that invasion had on the "Bhotias" of Kumaon-Garhwal;

> "The poor Bhotias, who had made pruchases for making their annual trip to the Tartary on the other side of the Himalayan crest were obliged either to suffer the prevations resulting from its cancellation, or to run the grave risks involved in visiting the western part of Tibet at such a juncture. Fear of immanent ruin stalked the country". (1973:162)

Bhotiya trade had in fact been brought to a standstill and it was a concern for the British authorities. Had the border been completely shut off and/or trade in Tibet fallen into other hands, the "Bhotiyas" would have been very much in distress. As it happened, "ecology" was in their favor:

> "So far as the traffic of our Bhotias with the Ghartokhee people is concerned I apprehend that things must ere long return to their former footing, as the supplies of grain brought annually by the Bhoteas to Ghortokhee form the chief means of subsistence of the latter people. Whether

> therefore the Lahssa Authorities succeed in driving the Sikhs out, or not, the existing rulers of the country, be they Sikhs or Thibetian, will equally stand in need of the Bhote supplies and be equally anxious to restore the trade to its former footing".[4.43]

In fact, the Sikhs had even taken over the role of dues collectors along the same lines as the Tibetans, and had even sent a detachment of 300 cavalry to the "Johar Pass" to enforce the payment. It appears as well that the trade in borax and shawl wool had not (yet at least) been totally broken off since some traders from Johar were able to enter the area. In other cases, this trade was kept alive by the mNga-ris people who had fled. But in spite of the fact that the Sikhs were defeated (and annihilated) by a Tibetan force in 1842, the "Bhotiyas" had suffered "considerable losses", not the very least of which was the "flight or slaughter" of their mitra connections[4.44].

As can be understood, we have then here one of the main reasons for the choice of Gartok as the site of a trade agency and, most important in the present context, we can see both the role played by the "Bhotiyas" in the activity of this system, and, vice versa, their dependency on it. Traill was as aware of the role of China and the Tibetan government in frustrating direct British trade connections between India and the producers of the raw materials in mNga-ris as he was of the great trade potential of the area. In many ways as we will see in our discussion of the Kumaoni trade, Traill's endeavors cleared the way for the "boom" that British trade would bring to the Almora area--and not the least to the "Bhotiyas". Moorcroft even earlier (1812) had the same acumen for the importance of the area in trade matters. He also showed a serious concern not only for Chinese power over trade matters, but for Russian activity in Central Asia as well (Singh, S.B. 1967:220-221)[4.45]. Russia had always appeared on Great Britain's frontiers in Asia and its moves were closely watched by the British. When British pressure in Tibetan affairs culminated in the "Tibet Mission" in 1904, their concern was shown as much for routing Russian control of the lucrative sources of raw materials as it was in trying to

break through the "bamboo curtain" of trade obstructions. In 1904, the Government of India was quite frank with Col. Younghusband who led the attack on Lhasa:

> "Russia...has already sent out a feeler to Khotan in the shape of an agency of the Russian Bank, which is being established there largely with a view to encourage the trade in gold from the local mines and from the alluvial gold fields in Western Tibet..."

and:

> "Russia...may...as inheritor of Chinese claims push her frontier to the south of the Aksai Chin desert, if we have not anticipated her by establishing our influence in Western Tibet..."

to which Younghusband responded, signed Lhasa, 29 August 1904:

> "I do not gather from your notes that you have any idea of occupying Western Tibet, but simply of establishing a trade mart at Gartok. This, which I am just on the point of getting out of the Tibetans, together with the pledges they will have to give not to allow Foreign Agents into Tibet, ought to be enough to counteract any adverse effect of a Russian move to Khotan"[4.46]

Unfortunately for the British, the Convention enforced "free trade" at the agency sites only. Thus whatever effect the Gartok agency had on Russian plans, it could not break down the traditional trading activity of mNga-ris which had been so detrimental to the idea of free trade since most of the trading took place at other marts, outside the treaty limits, such as Gyanema and Taklakot.

In this regard, then, the British side of the confrontation of interests in mNga-ris assumes a rather interesting guise. Sherring, especially during his visit to mNga-ris in 1905, was an especially fruitful investigator of the obstacles of the battlefield; "the dues and free trade simply cannot exist side by side"[4.47]. But the dues represent only the most easily observed part of the phenomenon. What is at stake in the end is that the conditions that defined the "Bhotiyas" as such would have been dissolved if the dues ceased--they represent an expression of the key structure of Bhotiya existence. In one sense, they, like salt, could be used as a leverage by the British in the latter's assertions in mNga-ris;

> "I [Calvert] reminded him [the garpon] that without trade with British India the revenue [i.e. dues] could not be collected, which he admitted. I told him the story of the Mahsud blockade as a hint that his people were dependant on us for food grains, which he appreciated. He replied that we were dependent on Tibet for salt but I assured him that our Government would gain by cessation of the salt trade as Punjab salt yielded revenue to Government and Tibetan salt did not. I finally called his attention to the advantage gained by all his people including himself personally from the free ingress of traders, for whereas formerly the wool of five sheep was sold for a rupee, the same quantity was now purchased for two rupees eight annas".[4.48]

More important from the standpoint of the "Bhotiyas" was the whole question of their trade "monopoly" within this articulation of systems.

By the time British industry's major sources of wool and borax had shifted from Tibet to other areas, the combination of such central factors of "identity" determination as the highly structured local trade system which ensured a "Bhotiya" monopoly (in addition to their monopoly over the means of transport) and the thrust of the British economy had secured for these traders an important source of wealth. We will look briefly at this train of events before turning to the problem of caste and the state and the transformation of wealth into status.

4.b.ii. Monopoly and Wealth

Two factors reflecting the two domains of Tibet and India lie behind the ability of the "Bhotiyas" to maintain their trade monopoly: the specific nature of the mode of exchange expressed in the exaction of dues and the mitra system, and the maintenance of caste-like kin units to organize the monopoly as an element of an encompassing systematic mode of (caste) organization. Regarding the dues, Sherring tells us why they contribute to the process:

> "At present only Bhotias are allowed to trade with Tibet, and the special marts to which they go are Taklakot (Purang) and Gyanema, and the only condition on which

they go is that they pay dues" (as in note 4.26).

The dues ensured the traders that the market was closed or conversely that the monopoly was theirs. Traill notes some further conditions:

> "A few of the Almora merchants occasionally visit the nearest marts in Huindes...but their ignorance of the Tibet dialect, and their want of the means of carriage, render them dependent to a great degree, on the Bhoteas, and prevent them from trading in those articles of bulk, such as grain, gur, etc., which afford the most certain and profitable returns. The Bhoteas, consequently, enjoy, to a great extent, a monopoly of the carrying trade from Hindustan to Tartary, in the supply of the local demands, in Huindes, and the system in force there operated to confirm a complete monopoly". (1851:96)

Again Traill notes;

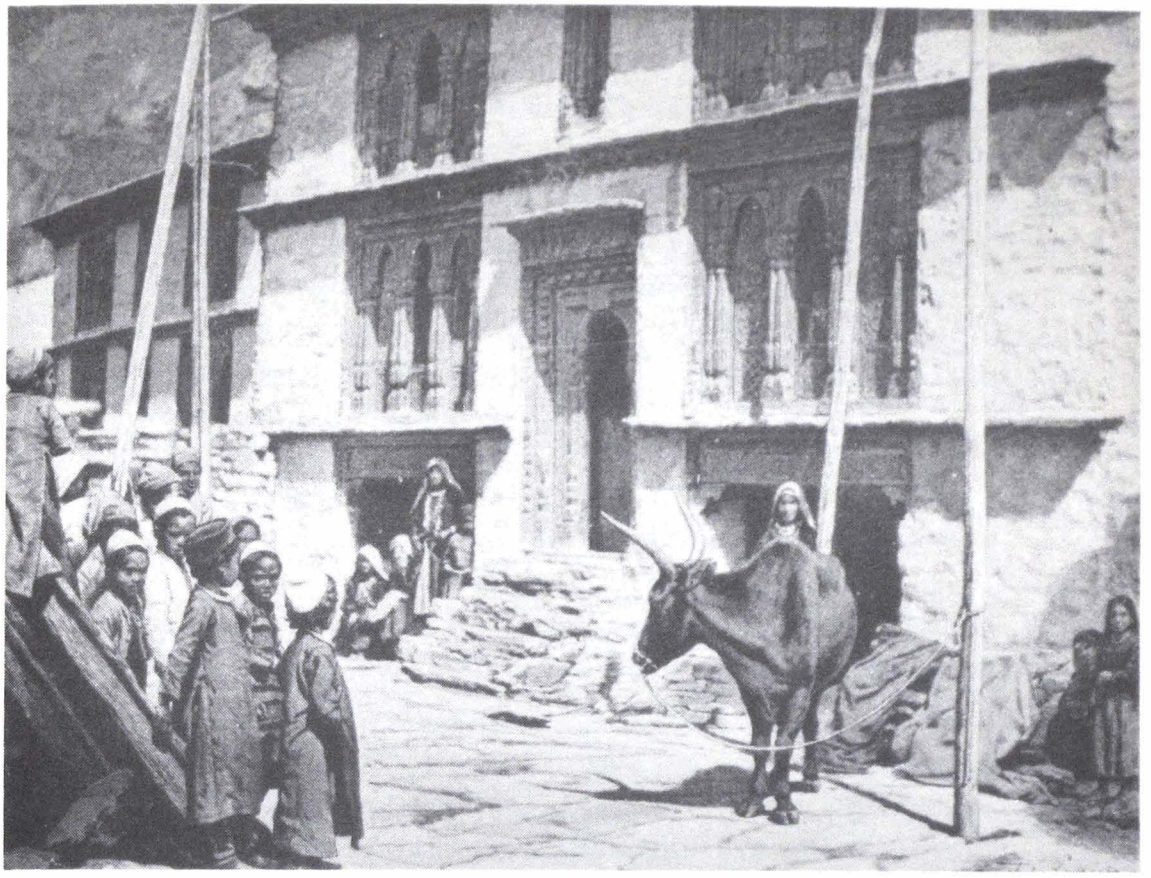
> "The mode in which the trade is transacted prevents the possibility of competition. The Hooneas are restricted from holding any commercial communications in this direction [cis-Hamalayan] except thro' the medium of the Bhoteeas while at the same time they are parcelled out into Gunths or Agencies to particular Individuals and can enter into no engagements or commercial concerns except with their authorized Bhoteeas correspondent."[4.49]

The monopoly is partly expressed as well, Traill notes, in the "arbitrary and monopoly price which seems to have been fixed at a very remote period". Conversely, it was generally the case that "non-Bhotiyas" from India were excluded from dealings in mNga-ris, and not even allowed by the Tibetans to cross the passes (Pauw 1896:25).

The free trade onslaught of British colonial economy was in part frustrated by these factors. Sherring expressed his pleasure in observing, for example, that where the mitra system was weakened, free trade was allowed to proceed. Money had the catalytic effect of transformning these prescriptions. Calvert noticed for example, that the higher prices the "Bhotiyas" were able to offer for wool on advances from Cawnpore were so tempting to the Tibetans that they sold their wool at these rates to the Bhotiyas in spite of having earlier agreed on a transaction with someone else who had even paid for it a year in advance[4.50]. Sherring had seen the success of free trade especially in Taklakot. Its breakthrough he felt, expemplified by the breaking

down of the prescribed system and all its concomitant expressions (such as food-sharing), was the result of an increase in the volume of trade (1906:70). The Bhotiyas, whose stability reflected the fine channelization of supply and demand in its willing response to all circumstances, were both inclined to be in favor of "free trade" as well as be the first to react when the traditional prescribed system was in some instant set aside --in the first case, since "free trade" would be advantageous in terms of cost and profit. In fact the Darma traders were willing to pay dues if it resulted in "free trade"[4.51]! The response of the Tibetan authority on this was that the dues had "nothing to do with trade" and that it was his business on his land from time immemorial, etc., indicates the degree to which what would otherwise seem a simple agreement on facts had become the confrontation of cognitive domains. Complaints were made by the Bhotiyas on a number of occations in which "outsiders" were imposing on their established trade benefactors--a "complaint" they had the Tibetan apparatus to prosecute legally.

The dues were one of several aspects of a specific mode of exchange in Tibet. Another aspect that had more direct consequences for caste allocation was the intimate association with the Tibetans. The association implied more than supposed sexual relations which could be "defiling" enough in terms of caste. Sherring noted as an invariable principle in the mode of exchange was the ritualized attitude towards the sharing of food and/or tea: "The Tibetans will only trade in these parts with those persons with whom they can eat" (1906:118). Traill notes that the parties in the exchange were at least required to share tea, since "such ceremony being there an indispensible preliminary to every commercial dealing" (1851:85). In spite of their claims to Rajput status and internal rules of foodsharing and endogamy, the surrounding Hindu population still regarded the "Bhotiyas" as of lower status because of such habits. Thus they were stigmatized twice--by their assumed descendance from a "non-pure" people and by their assumed intercourse with the same.



"House of a wealthy Shoka", photographed probably in Chaudas in 1897 by Landor

The contradictory point is, of course, that the monopoly system could not be maintaind without breaking Hindu principles.

But the very monopoly which would otherwise have banned these people from the Hindu fold in the end served as the point of departure for an intensification of trade that would bring them wealth. Without this there could have been no "dominance" and hence no claims, and it will be argued here that, although the process of wealth accumulation is attested for the earliest period, it was not until the caste-status machinery had been weakened that their economic dominance could become effective, and that it was the vigour of the British economy that finally

consolidated their "identity".

We can see the effect of the British economy if we try to pinpoint the form and causes of this accumulation. We can begin with an interesting quotation from Batten:

> "These villages [of Munsyari] are remarkedly good, and possess some of the largest and most substantial houses in the province. The Bhoteas by their superior means and influence have succeeded in obtaining a large proprietary share in nearly all the villages in this tract and other parts, still lower down, of the puttee, and the original inhabitants have become in a great measure their dependants." (1851:220)

About 20 years earlier Traill also noted the large size of the houses mainly of Johar. They were usually built two to three stories high out of stone with sloping roofs of slate, planks or gravel and birch-bark (1851:73). Informants in Munsyari noted that the houses there today were preceded by three-story structures known as tepurkura, and built using more wood in the construction than in the present houses. Some of the oldest buildings still had some of the original wood left, much of it, as was common over much of the hills area, nicely carved in floral-like motives. The large houses also reflect a new wealth expressed in the purchase of land and the building of these houses which it would seem took place between 1820 and 1880. In fact, Traill noted early that the "influence of the Boorh-has or Chiefs" with the former governments had at least in Johar allowed the "Bhotiyas" to purchase land. They were described even then in terms of their wealth[4.52].

Wealth is measured in the ownership of land, houses and flocks, and ready investments have always been made by the more successful traders in the purchase of land, increase of trade volume and in money-lending. The specific dates that substantial investments in land took place is unknown to informants. But many of their major ancestors go back to the period around 1850. The earlier British sources reflect this period as one of intense investments in land and houses as well. For example, in a 1902 assessment report it was noted that the "Bhotiyas" of Johar "have evidently thriven and are yearly increasing their holdings

in other parts of the district"[4.53]. The "other parts of the district" in this case would be around the cold-weather residences in an area such as Tejam. There the land used to be rented from the Pahari jati of Mot and Rana until bought around 1860 by the "Bhotiyas". When the land was purchased only then would they build the stone houses we find there today of the same style as higher up in elevation in Munsyari. The process of building was going on in Tejam and other areas in 1874 as witnessed by Ramsay[4.54]. Data on the types of houses built in the other areas is scant. But the trend was felt in for example Darma as well, where the earlier houses characteristic of the pre-British period of Johar seemed to be the new ones built around the turn of the century:

> "[In Darma] they now build two or three storied houses of stone with slate roofs and import carpenters from below for the woodwork, while 30 years ago their ordinary houses were flat dark structures with a roof of earth, or mere lean-tos against caves in the rock."[4.55]

The servants referred to by Traill as living in the same house as the more prosperous "Bhotiya" individuals were probably housed in the earlier structures of Johar, and moved to their separate houses in connection with the new building phase 1820-1880 (1851:73-74).

4.b.iii. Trade and Wool

The source of this wealth was of course the combination of a more intense British trade and the ability of the "Bhotiyas" to maintain their monopoly. The behavior of British trade can be easily followed as it transformed the earlier local system and expanded around several central commodities. Traill was one of the best observers of this early trade as well as being one of the main factors behind its new growth. Although through the years the imports form mNga-ris to India remained much the same around the salt-grain exchange core, the exports from British India varied and could at times consist of any commodity marketable. Traill lists such goods for export as woollen cloths, cot-

ton piece goods, "chinto", spices, sugar, indigo, "ultheer of roses and rosewater", cutlery, looking glasses, spectacles, matchlocks, furniture, tea and paper in 1817, to which are added coral, pearls, wooden vessels, timber, etc., in 1832[4.56]. Batten's list of the exports passing through Johar, Byans and Chaudans 1840-1841 included sugar candy, confectionary, dates, almonds, cloves, chillies, etc., indigo, pewter, broad cloths, European cloth, "kharwa", coarse cloth, pearls, coral, hardware, tobacco, betal nut, satin, an American drill, and "curiosities" in addition to the standard basic items. Batten calculated a difference in imports over exports of Rs 76,325, and a profit balance in favour of the "Bhotiyas" of Rs 21,476 (1851:267-268). The value of these items fluctuated against the imports, but were usually exchanged for coin. The core trade of salt and grain, however, remained a barter. Such was the state of affairs during Traill's day as it was in 1905[4.57]. Borax was at times like salt an item of barter, but tended more and more to be exchanged for coin. Walton noted that cash (Indian rupees) or piece-goods could be exchanged for items other than borax, salt and grain--credit was common (1910:144), in fact:

> "The richer traders take money with them also, but the poorer are compelled to do business by barter chiefly: a less profitable system, for it means that as a smaller weight of salt, borax or wool is given in exchange for grain, some of their animals must return without a load." (Ibid. 268)

The same general procedures pertained recently as related by informants. Salt and grain were bartered locally, and other items sold to merchants at the markets or bartered if desired. Borax, for example, could be bartered for grain early in the lower cycle then sold as the stocks were depleted.

Traill makes the interesting observation that the traffic in the articles formerly used in tribute to the rajas and which seemed to form a major part of the earlier "Bhotiya" trade, had almost ceased due, he says, to competition in goods from the plains. These items included "Ponies, Gold Dust, damaged Shawls and Coarse China Silks" and other such items. Goods arriving from the plains and acquired by the traders in their export

traffic to Tibet included such items as coarse cotton, chintz, broadcloth, sugar and hardware. The procurement of these items was, nevertheless, dependent on the Almora merchants who were in part impeded by a lack of mercantile connections.[4.58] In the same note, Traill proposes that the trade in wool and shawl wool should boost an economy that was already a bit unstable with regard to borax.

These three items (wool, shawl wool and borax) had a central impact on the "Bhotiya" carrying trade. We have already seen the importance of shawl wool (locally known as pashm) even at the level of international politics. The importance of this commodity is noted by Raverty who observes that the very word "Tibet" derives from the Persian "Tibbat" and means "fine wool" (or the pashm or shawl wool of the famous Kashmir shawls) (1895: 82 n 1). Wool itself (not necessarily shawl wool) figured in the Indo-Tibet trade mentioned in the Mahabharata (Pathak 1958), and in 1944 it comprised over 90% of Tibet's annual exports, some destined for the American east coast[4.59]. During the early 19th century, the major part of the mNga-ris-India trade in wool was executed along the Sutlej route, and had made Bashahr famous. The trade in Kumaon-Garhwal was effected when Almora, beginning in Traill's day, became a focal mart for the item. In 1817, Traill wrote that the "Bhoteeas" had found "an equally advantageous Market" especially for shawl wool, at Almora instead of Kashipur. Traill's earlier notes on the imports from Tibet mention only ready-made woollen items such as "Coarse Shawls" and "Punkhees" (a large woollen shawl)[4.60]. Some of these woollens may have been locally produced by "Bhotiyas" and brought down to Almora. By 1832, Traill could add wool and shawl wool to his list of imports (1851:101). The wool trade proper over Almora was then mainly the result of British industrial expansion.

But in spite of Traill's endeavours, it was not until the turn of the century that the "Bhotiya" wool trade would experience a "boom". This was the result of British industry's, in this case the Cawnpore Woollen Mills', direct engagement in the acquisition of the raw material. The Convention signed between

China and England in 1886, among other things, obliged the Chinese to promote trade between Tibet and India. In an 1898 report, it was noted that the Cawnpore Woollen Mills consumed 80% of the wool imported into the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, some of which came from as far away as Australia (Pim 1898:1).

Cawnpore had begun to show an interest in developing the wool trade over Kumaon-Garhwal to such an extent that in 1897 they decided to pay advances to "Bhotiya" traders for the purchase of wool through their agent assigned to Almora. This wool was to be brought down to Tanakpur from Tibet. The total purchases at Tanakpur can be seen in the following table (one maund, md., is equal to approximately 38 kg):

Year	Amount advanced (Rs)	Quantity purchased (mds)	Total value of purchase at Tanakpur (Rs)
1897	21,920	2,718	61,454
1898	27,472	3,296	75,298
1899	36,269	4,392	90,884
1900	36,566	4,179	87,421

This influx of money was a boon to the "Bhotiyas" who had apparently been set back by the fall in the borax trade. For every Rs 15 advanced, it was noted, the Bhotiyas made a profit of Rs 5, and the profits were invested, as we have seen in land and substantial stone houses[4.61].

The Taklakot-Tanakpur route thrived on the wool trade. Together with Almora, however, this boon for the Kumaoni Bhotiyas apparently adversely affected the Garhwali traders. As early as 1898, it was noted that the wool was drained away from Garhwal and, in 1909, that the "prosperity of the Almora Bhutias" especially Johari) "means adversity for the Garhwal Bhutias", especially so since the price of borax and salt had fallen[4.62].

But, Cawnpore's use for Tibetan wool was limited and a shift in their interest was beginning to form[4.63]. The wool was more suited to rougher woollens than what the mills were

interested in producing (ibid; Pim 1898:2). Punjab wool had always been competitive, and in a 1910 report from that area it was noted that the wool taken out of Tibet by the "Bhotiyas" with the help of Cawnpore was returning more and more to the favor of the Punjabi traders[4.64].

4.b.iv. Borax

Among the earliest mentioned stable items of the India-Europe trade was borax. Twist reported on it as early as 1648 among other items such as musk, "spice" (?), nard (an ointment), quicksilver, copper and a chestnut colored dye, all brought down from the northern hill regions to Surat, near Bombay, the earliest major establishment of the European East India powers (1648:65). Its route can be traced as the center shifted from Surat to Calcutta through both British and Dutch "factories" along the Ganges River which was the main means of transport during the 18th and 19th centuries. In 1803, the newly established British Resident at Bareilly reported on the borax entering that area and Rohilkhand from the hills "notwithstanding the desire of the Governor General in Council to encourage a free intercourse with the countries situated beyond the Hills which form the Northern boundary of Rohikund and Goruckpore"[4.65]. The hills were then subject to the Gorkha kingdom but the trade in borax was brisk. Among the eight principal items of import from Tibet into the now British hills area, Traill mentions borax, "the principle article in the trade of the Bhoteeas as yielding the most profitable return" (the other items were saffron, shawls, punkhees, musk, gold dust, various drugs, and shawl wool)[4.66].

The center for the borax trade in the hills, interestingly enough, was Bageshwar. In Traill's day, even Askot served as a market center where products from the plains and surrounding hills areas confronted the items of Bhotiya trade. After a boom in 1818-1819 (Traill 1851:100) borax reached the climax of its expansion in Kumaon-Garhwal in the 1870's. Bageshwar was yet the

market center for the item, but by the mid 1870's, apparently Ramnagar, where the borax was reworked before export, was directly visited by the "Bhotiyas", and Bageshwar experienced a slight setback. Ramsay, the famous Commissioner of Kumaon, described the trading in the following terms:

> "Bhagesur [Bageshwar]... is not so important as regards the borax trade as it used to be... Still it is the principal borax mart, where the Almorah bunniahs [baniyas, merchants] purchase the tincal [raw borax] from the Bhoteas. A great deal of raw material is now brought to Ramnuggur by Bhoteas themselves, without its passing through any bunniah's hands; and much of it which used to go to Bhagesur from the Durma side is taken down direct to Burumdeo [Barmdeo--Tanakpur], and sold in the raw state to Toola Ram of Champawut, or to Phillibheet bunniahs. There is a large collection of people at Bhagesur at the 12th of January fair, when ponies, beasts' and birds' skins, mats, baskets, blankets, etc., from the north; pots and pans, cloth, etc., from below; and oranges, grain, etc., from the surrounding country, change hands. There is also a fair at Thul [Thal] in April, when extensive transactions are entered into between bunniahs and Bhoteas, for clearing up old accounts and making advances. Large sheep purchases are also made at Thul."[4.67]

Interest in the borax trade in India increased to a high point around 1850. The British porcelain industry in Stoke-on-Trent which consumed some 2,000 tonnes per year wrote a letter to the Governor General of India in 1853 complaining of the rise in price of borax as a result of its monopolization by one individual at its main source in Tuscany, Italy. The letter asked that the Government of India ascertain as to the feasibility of increasing the Indo-Tibetan trade in borax. The result of this was a discussion in which an expert was even sent to Tibet (the Puga valley near Ladakh) in 1854 to solve these problems. Although the Chambre of Commerce of Stoke-on-Trent was obliged to the Government of India for its endeavours[4.68], a shift in the source of the raw materials on the global scale was taking the "Bhotiyas" out of the borax limelight;

> "Borax was formerly [before 1880] a much more profitable investment than it now is. The great European demand for this mineral was formerly in a great measure met by the Tibetan trade, but the discovery of the lagoni of Tuscany,

> and the immense development which European and American science has given to the manufacture of borax from boraic acid had greatly curtailed the demand, but still the borax trade exists and is sufficiently considerable to render it a prime importance to the Bhotiyas". (Atkinson 1886:129-130)

At a conference on trade in 1880, it was noted that since the borax trade had failed, "no imports of any importance had been brought to Kumaon save salt, for Kumaun consumption, and a little gold". Wool was soon to come into the picture, and in discussing whether "Bhotiya" profits in trade had fallen or not in 1902, the Assistant Settlement officer of the District doubted a fall since the greater demand for especially Tibetan wool balanced the discrepancy--in fact the volume of trade seemed to increase[4.69].

The significance of data like the above is that there is an important correspondence between the dates during which land and houses were invested in and both the beginnings of the genealogy as well as the assumption of the name "Singh" signifying Rajput status. Although in several cases the genealogies go further back in time and land was being invested in during the pre-British period, it was not until the raja regime fell and British trade appeared on the scene that a special intensity can be seen in this activity, and it is argued here that the association of economic and political dominance (exemplified by a special relation to the British due to their location and usefulness in Tibetan affairs) as well as with both the fluidity of the marginal Khasi and laxation of status allocation mechanisms on a pure-impure basis has made possible what could be called the "Rajputization" of these Indo-Tibetan traders. To arrive at the latter idea, we will first glance at the similar concept of "Hinduization" as described by several social scientists working on Nepal material, and then discuss the heuristic value of the model of "Hinduization" that they propose. This will be done by a critical approach to their use of "strategy".

4.c. Caste

4.c.i. Hinduization – Rajputization

The process of Hinduization has been well described from an anthropological point of view for some of the peoples of Nepal. One group receiving a great amount of attention in this regard is the Thakaali of the Kali Gandaki area. The parallel to the "Bhotiya" is fitting, not only because of their residence in the upper hill regions of the Himalaya, but because of their sharing a trade economy with Tibet as well.

Von Fürer-Haimendorf in writing about these people for example, notes that Hinduism proper apparently did not affect Nepal seriously until the Gorkha regime took control after 1768. But as late as the latter half of the 19th century, the Thakaali professed a Buddhism inspired by nearby Tibet as well as an older religion which included sacrifices and shamans. Von Fürer-Haimendorf gives quite an idealized image of the process of Hinduization. In general terms, he described the Thakaali's admiration for Tibetan Buddhist civilization which must have impressed them much more than the Hindu society they met during their trade sojourns to the middle hill villages did. When trade expanded and the wealthier Thakaali merchants came into contact with high-caste Hindus of the larger market centers, they were "annoyed" at the low status given them, having been accustomed to being treated with respect by the Tibetans (1969:367-368). The reason for this "annoyance" is telling;

> "Oblivious of the lofty philosophy underlying the beliefs and practices of lamas, Brahmans, Thakaris and Chetris alike referred to all followers of Tibetan Buddhism contemptuously as 'Bhotes' and included them in one of the lowest brackets of the Nepalese caste-hierarchy". (ibid. 367)

Again arguing along quite subjective lines, von Fürer-Haimendorf notes that the richer Thakaali were forced to break off their association with the Tibetan religion as a preliminary to gaining acceptance among the "higher ranks of Nepali soci-

ety". This went so far locally that the Thakaali leaders passed rules designed to reduce the power of the lamas and introduce specific Hindu customs.

Another author who has looked into the process of "Hinduization" among the Thakaali is Bista. Although his interpretation of the process in terms of choice takes on an almost fable-like appearance, he does point out several central features of the process there from what could be called a "political perspective". Of special relevance he notes the role the state played in establishing an economic monopoly by assigning the Thakaali leader the title of Subba, a political authority, as well as the monopoly over salt customs. This had not only important consequences in terms of the distribution of political power in the Thakaali and as well as in the sense of a buffer against Mustang and Tibet, but it initiated a redistribution of clan power. Thus in this case, the four original Thakaali clans were considered four brothers arranged hierarchically as eldest to youngest in ritual contexts. The redistribution expemplified by an assignment of a new power led to a redistribution of clan hierarchy as well which was maintained patrilineally (1971:55-56).

Shigeru Iijima notes that the process of "Hinduization" is a general one taking place among the "indigenous Mongoloid ethnic groups" along the whole of the Indo-Tibetan interface. He gives as a preliminary reason for the process the participation of these peoples in a marginal but successful Indo-Tibet trade. His terms of analysis are the existence of two major "cultural areas": one defined as the "Indian" area characterized by the caste system, avoidance of beef, etc. (traits in the traditional sense of the word), and the other defined as the "Tibetan" cultural area lacking caste, the prohibition of eating beef, etc.--the intermediate "Himalayan" cultural area is, of course, a sort of intermediary between the first two. After a brief description of the socio-political organization and economy of the Thakaali, Iijima discusses the process of Hinduization in terms of "culture change" in the intermediary area "toward Hinduism

rather than Lamaism". The avant garde of this change are the richer merchants who trade in southern Nepal and India as well as the younger, "modernized" people. In fact, "old Thakali women are the last and main guardians of Lamaism" in their home region of the upper Kali Gandaki River. But even these people appear to imitate Hindu customs when in the lower, Hindu culture region (1963:43-44, 48-50).

We can see in this latter type of analysis some of the problems involved in using the concept "culture" as a unit of analysis. It forces us into a compulsive concern for assigning traits to specific cultures. My concern has in part been an attempt to avoid this sort of reductionistic method as well as its concomitant the idea that social change is a matter of "choosing" that category which fits one best. It is true that castes in India have shown an especially serious concern for how they are placed in the hierarchy. But an analysis of this behavior, it is argued, must begin at the deeper transformations whose parameters are to be found in the total process.

Iijima used the concept "Hinduization" in his brief "cultural" analysis of the Thakaali of north-central Nepal in a way parallel to Srinivas' original use of the concept "Sanskritization". Both concepts have elicited discussion, and, for present purposes, the differences will be de-emphasized. The common image which the two concepts give of the process is one in which a "tribe" is drawn into the main "cultural pattern" of India. It is not dissimilar to Redfield's concept of Great and Little Tradition in an Indian context. What actually happens is that a "marginal" group is encompassed by an expanding, highly caste-structured society. Often the marginal society is assigned a place at the lower end of this hierarchy. In such a situation, when status is a result of such a definitive assignment, the "dominance" (in Srinivas' use of the term 1959) of the group becomes ineffective and the heuristic value of the concept is reduced. Its value can only be claimed if "dominance" results in the successful establishment of a higher caste ranking (ef. e.g. Dumont 1970), but even then, the activity is dependent on

an already established pattern. In fact, the hills area in general presents an interesting case of the fluidity of caste boundaries--it is especially interesting because the process involved some specific supralocal developments the sum of which generated a material situation which defined the form of the process and was not a question of "choice". The state was an important catalytic factor in this process.

4.c.ii. The State

An anthropological approach to the relationships between a state (meant here in the political sense) and a "tribe" or caste has been discussed for the Himalayan area briefly by Hitchcock. This anthropologist, who had done some traditional anthropological work among the Magars, described his "somewhat heady exercise" as the "luxury of historical speculation" (1978: 111). The present thesis, of course, would rather that this "luxury" be reversed, so that the "functionalist" method of traditional anthropology, which aims at isolating events from time so that they appear to build an eternally static structure, itself be considered "speculative". Hitchcock's speculation intended to hint that the study of a historical situation, and especially the relationship between the state and a resultant caste structure, could throw light on a specific contemporary situation. Hitchcock concentrates on the differences between the caste structure of western Nepal and that of Kumaon, and, although rather unfinished[4.70], describes the difference as one between what could be called the relationship between the states and their surroundings. The degree of intermarriage between "immigrant" groups and aboriginal ones, for example, he claims is a result of the greater necessity of the Nepali Khas for aboriginal support as well as the subsequent greater immigration of high-caste immigrants (ibid. 116-118). I would suspect that the specific differences are of a more recent period considering the simultaneous consolidation of the Chand-Jumla, etc. king-

doms, as well as the later Gorkha expansion both of which unified the very area Hitchcock cites as so different, and which was separated by the British intrusion on the scene in 1815. Sharma in fact has made a few comments on the very area (1972: 13f).

Sanwal (1969) was more successful in describing these factors in terms of state-caste relations during the Chand period of Kumaon. Although he notes that specific information regarding the exact state of affairs in the caste arena during the Chand period is lacking, he spends much energy analyzing this process and arrives at very interesting conclusions. Sanwal's analysis orients itself towards an understanding of the control over political and economic resources as primary, at least in the case of Kumaon, over the orientation towards ritual status which characterizes Dumont's approach (1969:146). Central to this analysis is the formative process in which the local caste-structure took shape around the activity of local state power. Sanwal's discussion begins by noting that the largest specific group in Kumaon is the Khas (Khasiya, etc.) "who comprise the traditional peasantry" (1969:144). Subserviant to the Khas are the Dom who formerly served as serfs and now perform various tasks as artisans and labourers. Above both of these groups are the Brahmin and Rajput immigrants from the plains, who, according to Sanwal and the historical tradition in general, arrived in the hills and conquered the aboriginal Dom and "tribalistic" Khas and established themselves at the top of the hierarchy. These latter groups are belived by Sanwal to have evolved a caste stratification based on the degree of control primarily over political and economic resources and only secondly on ritual criteria. This procedure took place through the formal organization of the pre-British state. The administration of certain areas was given to an official known as a dharmadhikari who belonged to the highest caste of Brahmans, the Chauthani. These officials were in turn supervised by the religious perceptor to the raja, a high Brahman known as the rajguru. The raja, of course, exercised supreme authority over the whole organization.

The construction of this state-like organization began with the Katyuris and was consolidated during the Chand period, especially after 1000 AD. That organization was in turn based on one brought into the hills by the immigrant Thul-jat. It was then an organization founded on the political and economic dominance exercised by one group over another, by the immigrant high-caste Thul-jat over the native Khas and Dom. This dominance was given a ritual rationale by the arrival of high-caste Brahmins, but the priority, according to Sanwal, lay not in a ritual dominance so much as in a political one.

The early Chands formed a feudal-like kingdom divided up into special categories by the organizers themselves. The encumbants of the expanding bureaucracy were Thul-jat only and the execution of their offices involved the activation of the organized caste hierarchy. A certain degree of caste fluidity was nevertheless necessary under these expansive conditions. But the fluidity had to be maintained both around a maintenance of Thul-jat in important categories as a control by ritual sanction. The assignments of persons or groups as castes or any judicial problems arising in the caste context was the formal concern of the dharmadhikari. The formal functioning of the state on the other hand was assigned to such offices as the sardar and faudjar or military commanders and administrators and their subordinates known as negi. In addition to these purely military offices, there was the important office of sayana (known during the Chand period as burh in the eastern area). These persons were responsible for the collection of revenue and management of landed areas and also had certain other civil and military functions. The state was subdivided into regions under a sayana or military commander who either turned over a certain amount of revenue to the state or was responsible for the calling up of troops when needed. The maintenance was based on a "farming out" system. The burden fell of course over the cultivators, most of whom were the Khasi-jimdar.

In the Garhwal administration of the area inhabited by the "Bhotiyas" (commonly called "Bhote"), the taxes were collected

annually among them by a person known as the daffari or patwari and the "burha", as he came to be known by the British, which corresponded to "village headman". The detailed cess was apportioned by the burha who were also allowed both the usual dues on marriages, etc., as well as a small sum out of the rents paid to the central authorities from each village (Atkinson 1886:145, based in fact on Traill). Baj Bahadur Chand's "annexation" of Johar resulted in a similar demand. This raja apparently had a standardization take place so that the kanch or tola of gold was valued at 12 Kachcha Rupees and the produce of Tibet and/or Bhot which was to be paid as dues in kind were given permanent evaluations. Items that were assessed by the officials were agricultural products, profits on trade (the payment of which released the "Bhotiyas" from the payment of transit duties), a loom tax or tandkar, and taxes on forest products, musk deer pods, hawks, bees' wax and honey. Most of the revenue was distributed to the garrisons that had of necessity been established there and to the salaries of the Chand officials (ibid, 144-145). Baj Bahadur Chand's permanent valuation resulted in fact in the value of the items to be paid in kind falling below the earlier rates fixed at a certain amount for each valley with the result that disagreements arose between the administration and the "Bhotiyas". The result of this was an agreement such that the "Bhotiyas" were to pay one-half their payments in kind and the other half in coin. If they were required to pay the whole assessment in coin, they were allowed a deduction of 25% on that part in kind which was the actual depreciation in the current prices on those originally fixed.

Regarding the patwari or "defteri" mentioned, it seems that the office must be one of a village record holder. As noted, these persons were put in charge of collecting the revenue set for the maintenance of the garrisons, and the "residue" was to go to the central government. It was collected annually by a special court officer who also tried "Bhotiya" civil and criminal claims (Traill 1851:91). In his early letters Traill mentions a number of items which were among the dues owed the rajas.

He notes the sale of "Hawks, Musk, Dupeeas [probably incense], Nirbessee Franckincense, etc." in 1817--a carry-over from the earlier period. In a more complete list of the items of "Bhotiya" trade, he lists such items as "Musk, Borax, Salt, Coarse Shawls, Punkhees [a large woollen shawl], Godma [unknown], Ponies, Chowries [yak tails], and various roots used in Medicine and dyes". Elsewhere he adds "Saffron...Gold Dust, Drugs, etc." to this list[4.71]. The gold mentioned by Traill seems to have figured in a good portion of the early "Bhotiya" trade. We find it mentioned as part of the tribute to the rajas, and it has long been an item known to belong to the hills or more properly to mNgaris. The area was the home of what was known as the "gold-digging ants". Majumdar notes that the Khas were mentioned by Herodotos and in the Mahabharata as:

> "...amongst the northern tribes who brought presents to Yudhisthira and among them were 'presents of Paipilika gold so-called because it was collected by ants (pipilikas)'. The reference may be to the trade in the gold dust..." (1953:263)

It was said in Traill's day that when the Garhwal rajas relinquished Daba, they did so on the condition that Daba pay an annual tribute of 5 seers of gold dust, and when Traill himself restored the Garhwal raja to power (Tehri Garhwal) in 1817, he was given a present of "nine Gold mohurs"[4.72].

From a revenue point of view, the Gorkha takeover of the Chand domain involved essentially a continuation of the earlier system adapted, of course to special conditions the Gorkhas faced. Demands seemed to have increased. In 1810, we find that the situation had resulted in higher revenues and that no fouzdar remained in control, so Radhapati Pande was appointed fouzdar by the central government for Darma and Byas on what was called an ijara basis. These are also terms we find mentioned in Regmi. Thus ijara indicates a "contract for collection of revenue, exploitation of mines, etc." (Regmi 1971:226), and is one of the two main systems used by Nepal in the collection of revenue. In this case, Pande was appointed fouzdar December 1810 on a five-year ijara basis and was to be responsible for:

> "bringing back the fugitive (emigrants) and arranging for the collection of Rs 13,312½ in cash and kind... and for the transmission of the proceeds to the appropriate military companies."[4.73]

Ijara was the type of revenue collection maintained and could have been enacted by a subba, etc. In our case, the fouzdar is noted by Regmi as "a local functionary in charge of revenue collection and other functions". Since it is noted that he was superior to the budha, being here in charge of the area of both Byans and Darma, he may be associated structurally with a parganna head (chaudhari). Fouzdar is also a term mentioned by the intrepid Moorcroft in 1812 noting only that the fouzdars were given orders by "certain Gorkalee Chiefs"[4.74].

During the years 1792-1806, the Gorkhali administration of Kumaon resulted in an apparently large reduction of the population: "many of the better classes fled to the plains and the families of defaulters were sold into slavery in Rohilkhand" (Atkinson 1884:623). It may well be assumed that the movement out of Bhot was at least as great as in Kumaon in general--probably greater as could be assumed from Traill's note that the Bhotiyas were chosen for especially severe executions due both to their resistance to the Gorkha invasion as well as their "exaggerated reputation for wealth" (1851:92). The degree of emigration may well have reflected the degree of Gorkha exactions. Apparently in 1810, the inhabitants of Darma and Byas submitted a petition via Bam Shah and Hastodal Shahi to the central Nepali government:

> "Every year, the amount of revenue is raised, but no arrangements are made for the welfare of the ryots. Moreover, there is no Fouzdar to maintain control. Consequently, the ryots have fled to Jumla, Besahar, Garh, or other areas. Those who remain here are feeling dissatisfied. If some remission is made in the revenue, and if Radhapati Pande is appointed as Fouzdar, the ryots who have left the area may come back, and we who remain here may also be able to pay our dues to the government". (Regmi Res. Ser. 11 (2):177)

An order was raised by Kathmandu December 1810 setting the assessment at a total of 13,312.5 Gorkha Rupees for Byas and Darma, paid in cash and kind. Pande was assigned "fouzdar" as we have

seen, and orders were sent to the various parties including money-lenders to comply. The ryots (peasants) were also induced to return to their land. In the same order, however, it was noted that the sum was the same as that assessed previously. In fact, it seems to correspond roughly to what Traill noted as being the most severe demand on "Bhot", which even rose to double the amount depending on "local pretences". Traill's assessment for 1816-1817 AD is the first British one carried out on measures established by the administration and not simply an assumption of the earlier Gorkha rates which were made, as were the assessments of the rajas, on the wole "perganna" through the "kumeens" or revenue farmers, and not by villages[4.75].

Gardner mentions the considerations made in an early letter forwarding his "cursory" settlement which allowed the landholders a discount of 25% on the Gorkha coin in the transition to British Farruckabad Rupees. Regarding "Bhot":

> "It had been a practice for these Bhoteas...to pay what was demanded of them, one moiety in money and the other in certain articles of their traffic with Tibet and which consisted generally of Drugs, Blankets and different kinds of Coarse Cloth, Hill Ponies, etc. The valuation, however at which it was customary to receive these articles, greatly exceeded their real price by the former Government, therefore, they were frequently distributed among their troops in lieu of pay, or used by the Chiefs in their own households as no advantage was to be gained by receiving these articles of Merchandize on the part of the Government at the arbitrary value set upon them."[4.76]

In addition to indicating the system and items involved in the pre-British taxation, the above notes have indicated a few matters regarding the transitions from raja to Gorkha and from Gorkha to British rule. The British in turn were to inspire a different kind of commodity trade that would allow the "Bhotiyas" to accumulate wealth. But even this process was begun during the raja rule and only finalized as it were during the Gorkha and British regimes. We have seen how the "Bhotiyas" were overtaxed because of an exaggeration of their wealth. The important point is that trade was nevertheless very lucrative for them even then even if it consisted of such "luxury" items as musk deer pods

and yak tails (the latter were used as brooms in Hindu temples). This monopoly over the carrying trade in luxury items would both create the possibility of amassing a certain wealth as well as serve as the ultimate foundation for making demands of what Sanwal would call an economic-political nature.

The success of such an endeavor was as noted in part the result of specific structural changes in the raja state-like organization of the population and a breakdown in its caste-judicial power finalized by the Gorkha and British takeover. Sanwal makes an especially important note on the role of the Gorkhas in this process:

> "The Gorkha conquest of Kumaon and their oppressive rule drove away many Kshettris Bhal-Bamans, particularly those who enjoyed hereditary priviledges in the Chand administration. Gurkha conquest also brought to an end the formal political power so long commanded by the Thul-jat, particularly the Chauthani-Baman, and destroyed the formal administrative machinery dominated by the Chauthani which regulated all matters pertaining to the assignment of socio-ritual status to individuals and groups". (1976:122)

The process was advanced by the British whose administration was based on "non-Hindu" principles of organization. It totally demolished the older formal means of promoting an organization based on the direct manipulation of caste organization. Socio-religious status was further differentiated from its "political and economic base" than had been the case during the Gorkha reign, and the dharmadhikari was replaced by a lower official (sadaramin) whose function, instead of authorizing caste praxis, involved the explanation of local customary law to the British (ibid. 127-128). Sanwal lists 13 results of British rule that affected the foundation of the raja-established caste structure:

(1) Formal caste-status sanctions were withdrawn,
(2) Replacement of the dharmadhikari by the sadaramin,
(3) Abolishment of the sale of dependents and slavery,
(4) The opening of new administrative offices not dependant on caste,
(5) The farming out and estate system were replaced by an individual revenue administration (village-wise), pro-

prietary rights given to the cultivator,

(6) Thul-jat forced to provide services equally to other castes,

(7) The British guaranteed equality before the law,

(8) An extensive communications network was built,

(9) A uniform tax on land,

(10) Lower castes could associate themselves with the British more easily with regard to religious and food habits,

(11) Economic conditions improved because of new markets,

(12) Kumaon became a part of a larger politico-economic unit, and

(13) Opportunities were provided for formal eduction (ibid. 128-134).

One immediate result of interest is the somewhat contradictory situation in which opportunities arose for groups to try to acquire tokens associated with higher status and thus more easily move into more prestigious positions in the hierarchy, but which at the same time resulted in a "freezing" of the structure at a certain point. The status legitimizing machinery was liquidated so that there was no longer any formal source for the allocation of caste-status;

> "Secular status symbols became irrelevant for caste status and the status structure froze at the surviving religious/ideological level which had been left undisturbed on account of the British policy of non-interference with the religious beliefs and practices of the conquered Kumaonis. The establishment of British rule, thus, contributed to the greater 'ritualization' of the Kumaoni system of social stratification which became more rigid than it, perhaps, ever was under the Chands. The dissipation of secular bases of status strengthened its religious/ideological basis and made it more caste-like. This had extremely important consequences for the structure of caste in Kumaon. The hardening of the system had made the different castes within the hierarchy closed units". (Sanwal 1976:135-136)

The fluidity of caste boundaries during the raja regime could nevertheless be given an important formal sanction of both a political and ritual nature, and even adjustments in the system as a caste system could be formally accomplished if conditions necessitated it for organizational reasons. In spite of the fact

that the central administrative machinery was in the hands of the Thul-jat, the marginal offices and/or regions were subject to a certain degree of manoeuvering. This fluidity involved on the one hand a dispersal of other incoming "high-caste" groups that were shut out of the central organization but who were brought into direct contact with the fluid population in the marginal regions, and on the other hand, it allowed the marginal population an entry into a sanctioned, hierarchized social structure which fell to their advantage. The Khasi-jimdar are an especially important group in this connection. This group had been forced to both "receive the 'dregs' of the immigrant Hindus as well as the 'cream' of the non-immigrant and non-Hindu tribal groups like the Raji, the Bhotia and the Dotiyav"[4.77]. Since the Khasi were at least a "clean caste", association with them by these "tribal" categories allowed the latter to be recruited in more or less successfully ways (like the "bhotiyas") into the fold of honours.

Regarding the "Bhotiyas", we find several factors from this period of special importance. First of all was the importance both of the Indo-Tibetan boundary as well as the Indo-Tibet trade. This created a situation in which local "Bhotiyas" could be given assignments as some sort of functionaries within the state, be it Chand, Gorkha or British or even in some ways Tibetan. And for the reasons we have discussed earlier regarding the monopoly, the "Bhotiyas" had an already established central role in this interstate intercourse. Secondly, we find the breakdown of the dharmadhikari system and easier association with the British (and the Gorkhas) an important factor in an ability to claim a place in the caste system at a high status level. This is especially interesting since we have seen that the name Singh as well as a number of the jati founders can be traced to the Gorkha-early British period. Thirdly, one impcrtant effect of British economic activity was to increase the volume of trade to the extent that a "Bhotiya" accumulation of wealth could take place interestingly enough around the same time period as their "rajputization". It was a two-folded process in which monopoly-

wealth could support a claim to high status in the more fluid caste hierarchy of past Chand Kumaon. But the process was more than a question of simple choice (strategy) as is usually implied by the concept of "hinduization". In Section 5 we will outline the main features of the model that hopefully is able to describe "hinduization" instead in terms of the idea of an "event potential".

5. Model

Regarding the model, several issues can be relevant in conclusion. First is the question which distinguishes a search for principles from a concern for phenomenal understanding. This makes two implications regarding the differences between historical explanation and nomothetic explanation which seeks basic laws. On the one hand, it is a model about the "form" an event has assumed, and on the other, a model of evolution. This distinction is made since the model does not aim at establishing basic, unchangeable features which can be said to be operative in all evolutions and which are also responsible for form. But these features (such as "all people insist on raising their prestige") are operative in the sense that an event becomes a social fact or not since we are then delineating features of Society. The form discussed here is meant to be able to be used in a wider context of disciplines. It may be compared to the basic qualitative features of any event described in terms of a topological grid of the type outlined by D'Arcy Thompson (1977), as well as propose that this sort of approach is the one most conducive to an interdisciplinary study. When the question of universalities is allocated another status, the question of form then concerns a special orientation--it becomes very context dependent, and the parameter events that appear become points in a matrix whose necessity is another question. We can distinguish these approaches in, on the one hand, the question of strategy (eg. all living systems act strategically) in terms of which "hinduization" is usually described and, on the other hand, the question of "identity" when used in the sense of "factors of discreteness". This model then emphasizes the analysis of the factors of discreteness, of the characteristic and specificity of the boundaries between discrete events, rather than "choice", since the latter (and this is the point of contention against "hinduization" and boundary maintenance models) is in fact telling us nothing more than what is generally true when the specificity of the situation is both of greater heuristic concern as well as the precondition for any

"choice". It can be more successfully represented for example by a model which describes the emergence of order in the boundary area of two fluids moving parallel but at different velocities (cf. the fluidity of caste boundaries in the collapsed Kumaoni raja state system)[5.1]--each fluid representing a phase space the transformations of which are dependent on the behavior of the whole system in time.

A second point is that the model is claiming that an event can be "explained" by an analysis of its evolution only--for two reasons: first, the nature of its discreteness is a result of the positioning of canalizing parameters the nature of which are contingent to the fact, and second, that its change of state is dependent on a potential random factor. Thus, for example, the mNgaris state cannot be specified as a necessary fact based on a general law (for example that the jongpen administrative form is a necessary development of an earlier form whose process is specified by law), but as such has been of major importance in defining the <u>form</u> that "Bhotiya" has assumed. Instead of a law of evolution, we find a model which claims no ultimate reason in state transformation. At the same time, the model will be based on the account of those states as canalized events and of the parameters that characterize that canalization. The appearance of a "fact" out of a context like this has been called an "event potential" (an attractor). The idea specifies the stability of an evolving form (an event studied in a time perspective) and at the same time reflects the idea that the event, as a discrete form, is the result of simultaneous contingent parameters.

The intention is in part to show how one can go from a study of morphology to morphogenesis in an analagous way to going from the study of function to the study of evolution without the teleology of evolution-ism. At the same time, the model does not differentiate civilized and non-civilized society--a procedure which is basic to Lévi-Strauss' "hot" and "cold" societies differentiation, thus it does not reject history for structure in this way. Societies are seen instead as objects assuming different guises for different (historical) reasons, none of which is logically

prior. Nor does it concern itself for how "time" is modelled by different societies. Time is used as a physical dimension in a global model; thus such ideas as "stagnation" are irrelevant. It intends to reinstate the history Lévi-Strauss rejects for a model which basically has little heuristic value (cf. Brown 1983). At the same time, its intention is in part to reverse Lévi-Strauss' statement on the order of cognitive processes and events. For example, on caste Lévi-Strauss can only find an ultimate ordering of events (basically the rather odd inversion that the women of different groups are falsely stated as naturally heterogeneous) in what is essentially a cognitive tendency to strengthen differentiating properties (1969:116), and the material basis of the differentiation disappears into binary structuring. The present thesis is intended to show, however, that "infrastructures" are in fact primary (ibid. 130) in any valuable explanation of an event, since it is the nature of the signification of the event, the features of the discourse that produced it or the outlines of its identity, that explains it as a discrete fact in a specific context rather than through any principles of ordering.


Map
SKETCH MAP SHOWING
GEOGRAPHICAL
FEATURES
AND
BOUNDARIES
Scale (approximate)
0
km
50
Gartok
Tsaparang
Tholing
TIBET
mNGA-RIS
Daba
Mana Pass
Niti Pass
MANA
Mana
NITI
Niti
Barahoti
Gyanema
Barkha
Garhwal
Chorhoti
Unta-dhura
Darma Pass
Joshimath
Lanpiya la
Milam
Mangshang
Taklakot
JOHAR
INDIA
Kuti
DARMA
Lipu lekh
BYAS
Munsyari
Garbyang
Tinkar Pass
Tejam
3000 m
CHAUDAS
Baijnath
Thal
Dharchula
Bageshwar
1800 m
1200 m
ALAKNANDA
KALI
Almora
Kumaon
Pithoragarh
NEPAL
Champawat
Kathgodam
Haldwani
500 m

Notes

1.a. Picture credits: cover photo shows a "mitra" (in long dress) and traders near Mana in 1947, by courtesy of B.L. Sah; p. 8 "Bhotiya women" from Sherring 1916:59; p. 48 "Sheep carrying grain in bags" ibid. 106; p. 89 "Gartok-gompa" by courtesy of Sven Hedin Bildarkiv, Etnografiska Muséet, Stockholm (cf. also Hedin 1922:184); p. 94 "The Gyanema Market" in Sherring op.cit. 325; p. 111 "House of a wealthy Shoka" in Landor 1898 vol. I, facing p. 58.

The governmental files listed in the text and notes belong mainly to the Foreign Department, Proceedings, and will be given with the date and number and following abbreviations: Ext. A, etc. is Foreign Department External A (etc.) Proceedings; Front. is ditto Frontier; Pol. is Political; and Secret is ditto Secret. Proceedings and consultations of other, usually older, forms are given more fully. Most of these files are found in The National Archives of India, New Delhi, and will not be marked as such, but files from other archives will be marked accordingly as follows: IOL India Office Library, London; UPSA Uttar Pradesh State Archives, Lucknow, U.P., India; UPSANT is UPSA's division in Naini Tal. Encl. is enclosure to one of the files.

1.1. I will use the transcriptive form mNga-ris for that area of Tibet immediately north of Kumaon-Garhwal (see map). The older history of the area seems to center around the two areas of Guge (Tsaparang-Tholing) along the Sutlej, and Purang (Taklakot) on the upper Karnali near Lake Rakas-Tal and Manasarovar. In ca. 900 AD, in certain Kyi-de Nyi-ma-gon, one of the descendants of the recently fallen central Tibetan state, was received by a local ruler in Purang. Kyi-de reigned over the whole of mNga-ris and founded a Tibetan dynasty in Ladakh as well. During the whole of this early period, mNga-ris, divided up into a number of sections, was more dependent on Ladakh than Lhasa, even during the period of Moslem onslaughts until the expansion of the large Ladakhi kingdom in the mid 16th century. This expansion was stopped by the Fifth Dalai Lama after 1642 who, by the end of the Tibeto-Ladakhi War 1681-1684, asserted the authority of Lhasa in the region (cf. Datta 1973:48-62; Haarh 1968; Sharma 1972; and Wessels 1924).

Guge's early capital was known as Adi Badri and was the original site of Badrinath before being moved to its present location near Mana. Tholing's heyday was around 1150 AD when it was known as Sri Anupama Nirabhoga Vihara or "the brightest jewell in the kingdom of Gu-ge in the Nahri province of Western Tibet". In fact, it was a rival even to Lhasa as a center for art and religious text writing (Chatterji 1940:179-182).

2.1. Hodgson 1972:65-66. "Hor" is often referred to in the Tibetan data. Jest lists a Hor gro-cod among his 'brog-pa (drokpa, nomads) along the Tsangpo River, and notes that the term "hor-pa"

is a generic one for the nomadic tribes of northern Tibet (1973: 438). Similarly, a Hor-tal is mentioned among the 14 (or 13) districts of mNga-ris as being a group of pastoralists east of Purang (Strachey 1848:345). I have not been able to follow up the Tibetan material for a similar investigation of "Sok-pa".

2.2. Gracey "Note" 2 May 1904: U.P.Proc.Pol.Dept.July to Dec. 1904, Parts I and II, Vol.130 UPSA, repeated by Porter in Porter to Govt. 2 June 1904: Ext.A Oct.1904 nos.13-21.

2.3. Goudge "Report on the Assessment of Pargana Darma" 19 Dec. 1901: File 2 Serial no. 9A, UPSANT; Landor 1898:109f.

2.4. This ruler was the last independent one of the area, which would make him contemporary to the last Ladakh War and control of mNga-ris by Lhasa (Pangti 1980:22). Pangti's geneology could put Dham Singh into this period as well, such that we can trace the "legendary" founder of the Milamwal line of Johar to the period between 1625 and 1650 AD. This is the Chand period of Kumaon--an important point to which we will return.

2.5. Chatterjee 1975:154-155, who cites B.D.Pande to the effect that "shauke" means "those who rear goat herds".

2.6. Lushington to Govt.10 Aug.1841: For.Dept.Secret Proc.23-30 Aug.1841 no.29.

2.7. This data is based in part on the Byansi themselves who wrote to the British Government in 1817 complaining of having to pay dues to three places: Taklakot, Almora and Jumla, "Translation...Byans": Pre-mutiny Records.Comm.Kumaun.Rev.Letters Issued.1816-1817, Vol.4 UPSA; on the villages of Johar cf. For. Dept.Pol.Consult.22 March 1817 No.62 and 12 Sept.1817 nos.42-43.

2.8. Wessels 1924:67. Azavedo also visited Mana (in 1631, his notes are found in Wessels ibid.284-297), but he notes only the dependency of the population on their sheep and the carrying trade of rice and salt. The area did not seem to impress him as prosperous (ibid. 294, 296).

2.9. Seton to Mercer 28 Feb.1803 U.P.State Record Series 1955:104.

2.10. Hastings, W."Information on the people, and country and government of Thibet" For.Dept.Secret Proc.3 Jan.-3 June 1774, no.4. Another version can be found in Markham 1879:9-13.

2.11. E.Gardner to Adam 22 March 1816:Pre-mutiny Records.Kumaun. Rev.Letters Issued.Vol.2 UPSA.

2.12. Moorcroft to Colebrooke 16 Oct.1812:For.Dept.Pol.Consult. 13 Nov.1812 no.18. Watts noted in 1905 that "hun" was said to mean "gold" thus the ides that Hundes could mean the "land of gold" (otherwise sar is Tibetan for "gold"), Notes, Watts to Govt.Secret E July 1905 nos.261-266.

2.13. Regarding the "Bhotiyas" the early censuses were otherwise unclear. They were mentioned in the first (1865) local census, but only for Garhwal where they were listed under the category "Sudras" as were the resident Tibetans and 22 other castes of

what elsewhere were "Doms" (outcastes)(Census 1867: Vol.II, Table IV, p.6). In the first volume of the same census, the "Bhotiyas" were listed generally as "Joaree alias Sowka, Durmeea, Beansee and Choundasee" and said to have immigrated from Tibet. They had no internal subdivisions, and were considered a low caste that did not wear the Sacred Thread. The same table tries to establish the place of origins of the different high castes of Kumaon (1867: Vol.I p.28). In the 1881 census (and even in the more recent ones) the "Bhotiyas" were listed under general castes specified by occupation (commonly agriculture, labour or commerce). They never seem to have been listed as a "tribe" until after the 1967 decision listing them as a Scheduled Tribe. Ethnographical experts were assigned to the earlier censuses, and a Director of Ethnographic Research was established in the 1891 Census to begin collecting data on the origins of the castes and tribes (Census 1882; 1894:309). In the 1901 Census, "caste" refers to the largest group based on a community of occupation and "tribe" to the largest group based on real or fictitious community of descent or occupation of territory, but the "Bhotiyas" were listed simply under "Caste, Tribe or Race" (Census 1902: Vol.XVI (1) p.208, Vol.XVI-B (3) p.194).

2.14. Ibbetson does not make a specific reference to the "Bhotiyas of Uttar Pradesh, but he does make an important notice on the strained relationship between "Botia" as non-Indian and the claim to Rajput status that these people make.

2.15. The anthropologist D. N. Majumdar notes this general use of Shauka as well applied before 1815 to the "borderlanders (1949: iii). Upreti's source on the use of "Mon-pa" refers primarily to Nepal, and carries the meaning "dwellers in the ravines".

2.16. "Report...Darma" op.cit.. Pauw notes that the "Bhotiyas" of Garhwal refer to the local hills people as "Gangaris" (1896: 12). Today they are simply "Garhwalis".

2.17. "Annual Report of the Bhot Mission 1923" in Box 7 Folder 1 1921-1923, LMS Archives, SOAS, London (cf. "Preface").

2.18. "Bulloch's Report 1896" Box 1 Folder 5 1896-1897,LMS,SOAS.

2.19. Oakley 1905:87; Sheldon 1894:11; 1897:139.

2.20. Much of the speculation on early India centers on such large-scale immigrations. In the hills area, it is said that the three main social categories were formed in the confluence of two major immigrations: the first which established Khas (Aryan) hegemony over the aboriginals who became the Doms, and the second which established the hegemony of selected groups of high-caste plainsmen over both the Khas and Doms. Many of the earlier analyses of the process of stratification reflected the central ideas of British theorists who were closely influenced by the evolutionist interpretation of race then prevalent in Europe (Cf.eg. von Eickstedt 1926; Ibbetson et al 1919; D.N.Majumdar 1940, 1949 pp.iii-iv where he notes that the Johari claim to Rajput status is questionable since the "Bhotiyas possess definite Mongolian traits" and 1953 p. 264; Saksena 1956.

2.21. As is characteristic of caste in general there are four basic "clean" varna: Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra. The Pahari hill population has been divided into two main categories of bith, or "clean castes" and dom, or "unclean" castes. The bith is further subdivided according to Khas or immigrant status. The latter is known as Thul-jat or Asal and, like Khas, refers to both Brahmins and Rajputs (Kshatriya). The Thul-jat are further subdivided into the higher Chauthani and relatively lower Pachbiri;

Division	Category	Caste or Subcaste	Varna
Bith	Thul-jat or Asal	Chauthani	Brahmin
		Pachbiri	
		Thakur-Rajput or Kshettri	Kshatriya
	Khasi	Pitali-, Hali- or Khasi-Baman	Brahmin
		Khasi-Jimdar	Kshatriya
	line of pollution		
Dom	Koi, Tamat, Lwar, Agari, Orh, Bhul, Pauri, Baruri, Sani, Bakhari, Chimari, Chanyal, Hanki		
	Das-Dholi, Damai, Auji		
	Hurki-Badi, Mirasi, Nat		

Based on Sanwal (1976:1-2, 38).

The Dom are differentiated by three more or less endogamous groups which reflect occupation more than "caste" in the sense used by the higher groups. Walton gives examples of such occupational categories: Lohar (blacksmiths), Koli (weavers), Tamta (braziers), Orh (carpenters), Bhul (oilmen), Mochi (leather workers), Auji or Das (tailors), Chunariya (turners of wooden vessles), and Hurkiya (wandering musicians and prostitutes) (1910:62; 1928:96-97). Regarding the "Bhotiyas" Srivastava notes an important fact:

> "A large number of marginal groups like Dhamis, Bhotias, and Tibetans with whom a rural Khasiya comes into contact, are dealt with in terms of his orientation to a two-fold division of Hindus. The Bhotias, the pseudo-Rajputs and the Tibetans do not fit into the upper caste brackets of the caste-scale. To a rural Khasiya, therefore, these groups are either non-Hindus, or, if they are Hindus but are neither Brahmans nor Rajputs, they have to be non-Biths...the same as the Doms..." (1979:194-195)

The Johari would be placed alongside a Khas Rajput but as a non-Hindu whereas the eastern group would be placed generally alongside the Dom.

2.22. "List of Purgunnahs and their Zemindars...Garner..." no. 94 in Historical Papers 1956; Traill to Newnham 1 May 1817: Pre-mutiny Rec. Office Comm.Kumaun,Rev.Letters Rec.1817-18, Vol. 5 UPSA; Traill to Newnham 21 June 1818:Proc.Board Comm.Ceded and Conq.Prov.1807-1822, Vol.131 UPSA.

2.23. Grigg to Govt.13 May 1898:N.-W.P.and O.Proc.Pol.Dept.July to Dec.1898 Parts I and II no.14, Vol.118 UPSA.

2.24. Mukhtar to Govt.Gate 24 1898 Sambhat:For.Dept.Secret Proc. 9-16 Aug.1841 no.35; Lushington to Thomason 11 Sept.1841:For. Dept.Secret Proc.4-18 Oct.1841 no.37.

2.25. "Petition" Bamphwal 27 May 1889:Ext.A Sept.1889 nos.182-189; "Translation...Dat" 9 Oct.1889:Ext.A Dec.1889 nos.262-273.

2.26 In all fairness, a number of authors who have adapted the ecological approach to their material have done their best work on social data, as in Goldstein's other articles on Tibet and Nepal. Even historical materialism must begin where ecology ends as is well said by Friedman (1974).

2.27. When used in the natural sciences on whose favour our "ecological" approaches beg, "strategy" has been for example associated with game theory (cf. Smith and Morowitz 1982). But game theory forces us nevertheless to go beyond "choice" since its sine qua non is the "rules of the game". Our interest should then be directed towards such things as "hyperspaces" (cf. Thom 1980:128-131).

3.1. Today there is a tendency to settle in the lower villages since the trade has been cut off. Milam, for example, is now mainly totally abandoned. For recent descriptive discussions cf. Chatterjee 1975; S. D. Pant 1935; Srivastava 1963, 1979.

3.2. Atkinson 1886:93; Batten 1878:118; Pant, S.D. 1935:46; Traill 1851:75; informants (not otherwise referred to).

3.3. Pant notes that turnips are a recent plant in spite of what Traill (and Atkinson) maintain (Atkinson 1886:93; von Fürer-Haimendorf 1975:245-246; Pant, S.D.1935:46; Traill 1851:75-76).

3.4. Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church for the Year 1910 Board of Foreign Missions: New York 1911 p.211.

3.5. Traill (1851:97) notes the three "depots" as well.

3.6. "Report on the Assessment of Parganna Danpur, District Almora" forwarded by Goudge 21 Sept.1902:Dept.I Settlement Comm. Naini Tal, File 2 of 1901-1902, Box 69 UPSANT.

3.7. Naini Tal 1917:13; Chand to Govt.29 July 1905:Ext.B Sept. 1905,nos.1-4;Winter to Govt.13 Oct.1905:Secret E Feb.1906,nos.98-109.

3.8. Sherring to Rawling 6 March 1905:Secret E July 1905,nos.261-266. At the heads of each of the alpine valleys were one or several passes leading into mNga-ris. The outlet for Mana was the Mana Pass (5454m, cf.map), for Niti several including the Niti Pass (5070m), Chorhorti, Silikauk, Marchouk and others tying into those from Johar mainly the Unta dhura (5302m) and the Kungri-bingri (5579m). Darma's outlet was mainly the Darma Pass (5643m). Chaudas used the same passes as the Byansi, mainly the Lipu-Lekh (5101m), but could also similarly make use of the Lanpiya-lekh (5534m) and the Tinkar Passes.

3.9. Atkinson 1886:143; Beckett 1879:17; Traill 1851:96.

3.10. Figures given unless otherwise noted are based on rough estimates of the situation 1950-1960. One informant noted that a rich trader could own up to 200 horses which is possible considering the potential for specialization.

3.11. Sherring notes what seems to be an unusually large number of inter-relationships between the Garhwali and Johari. He claims that the Marcha and Tolcha are found in Johar as well (although there is a group there known as the Nitwal) and that they freely intermarry among themselves but only the Marcha with the Johari. The Tolcha there refuse to accept Johari girls but give their girls to them. Intermarriage is said to take place freely between the Marcha and Tolcha of Garhwal, and even girls of the "non-Bhotiya" hillsmen are accepted but not vice versa (1906: 95). We will see other uncertain references by Sherring.

3.12. Curiously, there is another group of "Bhotiyas" which has seemed to pass unnoticed. Whereas the Tolcha inhabit the Niti valley only, the Marcha can be found in both Mana and Niti. In Mana, however, they live only in Mana village and are differentiated from another group known there as the "Autiyal" whose situation is similar to the Tolcha and who live in five villages below Mana which center around the village of Aut.

3.13. Grierson, in fact, noted that his material was untrustworthy (1909:100), but nevertheless Sherring arranges his groups around the same division of "caste" and dialect. Grierson's list contains four dialects beginning with Rankas which is applicable to the people who carry on trade with Tibet, but especially to one village of Johar and four of Malla Danpur (a lower region). Rakas is the (unknown) Johari village referred to, and belongs to a group he calls "Sokpa". Then Grierson lists Darmiya, the dialect of Darma, closely related to Byansi-Chaudansi and influenced by "Aryan forms of speech", then Chaudansi, a mixed dialect with strong Aryan influence, and finally Byansi, similar to Chaudansi (ibid. 479,490,503,518). Sherring follows these divisions but localizes the dialect called Rankas or Shaukiya Khun to a population of 614 people living in Goriphat and four villages of Malla Danpur known as the "Jethora". To the rest of Grierson's list Sherring adds a dialect called Bhotiya or Guniya spoken by a population of 820 domiciled Tibetans. Sherring further subdivides the groups according to a degree of being "Hinduized". "Partially Hinduized Rajputs" include the Jethoras, the Marchas and Tolchas, and the "Rawats" or "Shokas" of Johar. "Nominal Hinduized Rajputs" are then the Byansi, Chaudansi and Darmiya, as well as the Dom and Huniyas! The Rawats as used by Sherring are more than the modern jati alone and include all of the Johari Rajput jatis including Nitwal but excludes the Dom and Jethora (1906:93-97).

A recent article by Sastry perpetuates Sherring's rather vague information, as does the recent gazetteer (Sastry 1975: 19; Uttar Pradesh District 1979:51). Srivastava is cautious on the whole issue. Regarding the dialect Rankas or Shaukiya Khun

he notes that "most of the people did not believe that such a language was ever spoken in Johar" other than one old man who said he had heard it in Goriphat (1979:177). Neither "Johari" nor "Barpattia" informants had ever heard of a group known as "Jethora". Locally, khun means "dialect". "Shauka" as well as "Rang" are terms used by the "Bhotiyas" to refer to themselves.

3.14. Traill 1851:73. The missionary source is "1902.North India. Almora, Johar Women's Work.Miss A.C.Rutledge":C.W.M.North India. Incoming Letters.Reports.Box no.3 1902-1906 SOAS.

3.15. As a final resort, an unmarried daughter could inherit a flock but only keep it on the conditions that she and her husband reside in her father's house.

3.16. Modern Johari note two main types of marriage, a kaniyadan and a damtor type. The main differences are a settlement by both paternal relatives, an anchal ceremony in the lower storey of the bride's house and no brideprice at all in the former, and a token brideprice and anchal ceremony in the upper storey in the latter (cf.also Lall 1931 and Sherring 1906).

3.17. Atkinson mentions a brideprice among the "Bhotiyas" of Rs 300 to Rs 1000 to which a "corresponding portion is returned, which consists of stock, live and dead, and in some of the valleys ...is considered as the property of the wife, by whom it is managed for her own benefit" (1886:118). His source here is Traill (1851:85), but nothing else is mentioned on these regards until Sherring.Sherring's discussion of such things generally agrees with my own and Lall's. He does note further that sororal polygyny was not allowed, although a man did usually marry his deceased wife's sister. He also notes that even in the eastern area the small token known as timasi or "milk money" paid the bride's family could be refused by the panchayat (elders) if either of the involved families were rich;

> "The Bhotia is a wise and cautious trader and circumspect in all his dealings, and it is not to be supposed that he allows the passion of the moment to override the value he attached to a powerful alliance through matrimony with a rich neighbour's family" (1906:106)

3.18. For descriptions of the death ceremonies cf. Sherring (1906:99-100,109-115; 1974:116f), Landor (1898 Vol.I:116-128) and Traill (1851:85-86). Brahmins seemed to have been used more in the western areas in all of the ceremonies then and now.

3.19. One reason given by informants is that it is difficult enough to find a wife. The reason for this is an apparent relative fewer number of women. As a note on divorce, Sherring remarks that in those cases which involve the wish of a woman to live with another man, payment was to be made by the new man to the woman's former husband before he would relinquish her (ladawa). If the latter and the woman had daughters, they would be considered his heirs and he would receive money for them on their marriage (1906:99).

3.20. "Gotra" refers to the written, elaborate "clan" system of

plains Brahmins. According to Karve (1968:115) it is copied by less deserving castes in order to raise their status. This seems to be Chatterjee's concern as well, although he actually equates rath and gotra (1975:162). Informants used only the terms jati and rath. Srivastava uses "clan" (garkha) somewhat uncritically, and translates ranth as "lineage" (1979:197).

3.21. The raths usually contain 8-10 families. Tola village, however, has one rath with 35 families. The Dom were attached to each jati by appellation and the Nitwal to most villages, but not by appellation.

3.22. The data especially for Darma is unfortunately incomplete, but the point is made of greatest relevance to the present thesis. I hope to publish a more full account at a later date.

3.23. The Garbyang sota system would reflect a moiety exchange (and cross-cousin marriage) system if followed through exclusively. But general village exogamy tends to frustrate this local feature. R. S. Pangti makes the interesting observation that the very first settlers in Johar were members of the two "clans" (kaum) of Halduva and Pingaluva. He mentions their descendants as among the inhabitants of Mapa, Burphu and Martoli villages. It may also be noted that the original Milamwal were descendents of the two brothers Hiru and Dham Singh, and the original inhabitants of Tola had two raths, etc. (Pangti 1980:4, 22). Unfortunately, any detailed indication of "dual organization" is lacking.

4.1. Pulley to Bishop 21 Nov.1889:Ext.A Jan.1890 no.38.

4.2. "Translation of a Report from Rai Bahadur Kishen Singh Milamwal" 23 June 1908:Secret E Oct.1908 encl.to no.250. Kishen Singh Milamwal, later Rawat, was the famous Tibet explorer, a resident of Johar, honored by the British and French Geographical societies--also now a folk hero of the community.

4.3. In this discussion it was noted that the Rawal actually received one white yak tail and one pankhi, thus giving reason to the British to suspect this exchange to be more than simple tribute: "Translation of a Report of Durga Dutta, Patwari, Mana Painkhanda" 1 July 1890:Ext.A Aug.1890 no.103; Joshi to Govt. 9 Sept.1890 plus "Note", and Joshi to Govt.6 Oct.1890:Ext.A May 1891 nos.22-31.

4.4. Joshi 9 Sept.1890 ibid.

4.5. Grigg to Govt., "Summary by Kishen Singh" 15 March 1898: Northwestern Prov.and Oudh, Proc.Pol.Dept.Jan.to June 1898, Parts I and II, Vol.117 UPSA.

4.6. "Appendix II to Notes":Secret E Feb.1910 nos.866-884.

4.7. We will also find that other names such as Sayana, Negi, etc., have other pragmatic associations although most of them were probably adapted from Pahari Rajput groups. Curiously, the association of jati appellation to village is totally absent among the Marcha, whereas only Rawat in Johar can be said to

derive from general Pahari usage, and none in the eastern area. Why the appellation Phonia was not changed to Rawat during the period of "rajputization" as was done when the Milamwal headman's jati became Rawat is unclear. What "phonia" reflects here at least is the close association of name, jati, status, and the history of the local economic-administrative system.

4.8. Traill to Board 25 April 1825:Proc.Board Rev.Western Prov. 1822-1829, 8 July to 30 July 1825, no.3, Vol.55 UPSA.

4.9. Although gold mines were found in Tibet (some of the best known being in mNga-ris), much of that country's silver was procured through the melting down of Indian and Nepali rupees. Tibetan coins, on the other hand, were of little value in India.

4.10. Grigg to Govt.15 March 1898 op.cit.. Actually, the Johari traders were given special priviledges in Tibet. One part of this may have been the exemption of the Unta dhura Pass from the payment of lha tal. Otherwise, the Johari were not restricted to a specific mart as were the others, and were allowed a certain "tribute" while in Tibet as well as the right, for the headman at least, to the use of local corvée transportation (Atkinson 1886:133;Sherring 1906:96;Traill to Bd.25 April 1825 op.cit.

4.11. Sturt to Govt.29 June 1895:Ext.A Dec.1895 nos.1-6;Chief Sect.to Govt.toComm.Kumaon 11 Oct.1895:N.-W.P.and O., Proc.Pol. Dept.July to Dec.1895, Parts I and II,Vol.112 UPSA.

4.12. "Translation of a Report from Kharak Singh Pal" 1 Aug.1899 and 12 Aug.1899:N.-W.P.and O.Proc.Pol.Dept.July to Dec.1897, Parts I and II, Vol.116 UPSA.

4.13. Gracey to Govt.30 June 1898:N.-W.P.and O.Proc.Pol.Dept.July to Dec.1898, Parts I and II, Vol.118 UPSA.

4.14. Atkinson 1886:131; Traill 1851:104; Sherring "Report" 9 March 1906:Secret E Aug.1906 encl.to no.40.; Sherring to Rawling 6 March 1905:Secret E July 1905 nos.261-266.

4.15. Traill 1851:104; Sherring "Notes" 13 Sept.1904:Secret E July 1905 encl.C to no.216.

4.16. Sherring ibid.; Traill 1851:95; Strachey, H. to Lawrence 25 Sept.1847:For.Dept.Secret Consult.31 Dec.1847 nos.129-136.

4.17. Sherring "Report" op.cit.;Grigg to Govt.9 July 1897:Ext. A Nov.1897 nos.49-81.

4.18. Traill 1851:104; Traill to Bd.25 April 1825 op.cit.

4.19. Kharko is the Gyanema mandi, and Gyanema Chhakra the Chhakra mandi in Pranavananda (1947:93). Gyanema was not mentioned by Traill, and it may not have been important in his day. It was mentioned as a large fair, at any rate, in 1854 to which borax was taken (Hay to Temple 8 Dec.1854:For.Dept.Pol.Proc. 19 Jan.1855 no.536). The shift towards Gyanema may well have been influenced by the British demand for wool and borax to which we will return.

4.20. Stiffe to Govt.16 Aug.1911:Secret E Oct.1911 encl.to no.280.

4.21. Sherring notes the oddity of this fact since the Johari had apparently visited Garbyang in Byas with some 2000 to 3000 goats (in "Notes" 13 Sept.1904 op.cit.). This probably reflects the scrupulousness with which the unity of valley-jati-pass and economic operation was associated.

4.22. Gracey in Sherring "Report":Secret E Feb.1906 encl.to no.99.

4.23. "Translation of Thakur Jai Chand" 23 April 1905:Ext.A July 1905 nos.3-7; Sven Hedins Arkiv Resejournaler, Sveriges Riksarkiv vol.97, 1905-1908 no.18-20:oktober (1907),söndag,Gartok.

4.24. Grigg 9 July 1897 op.cit.; "Estimated numerical statement ...":For.Dept.Secret Consult.13 Dec.1841 no.23; Batten to Lushington "Memorandum" 26 Aug.1841:For.Dept.Secret Consult.20 Sept. 1841 no.27; "Translation...Thakur Jai Chand" 13 July 1905 and 29 July 1905:Secret E Sept.1905 nos.206, 211.

4.25. Joshi to Govt. 6 Oct. 1890 op.cit.

4.26. Sherring to Winter 22 April 1905:Secret E July 1905 nos.216-223.

4.27. Joshi 9 Sept.1890 op.cit.; Watts "Notes":Secret E July 1905 nos.261-266;Holland "Notes" 20 Nov.1905:Secret E Feb.1906 nos. 98-109;Calvert "Progress Report" Secret E Jan.1907 nos.10-21.

4.28. Pranavananda 1949:75; Sherring 1906:204, etc.; Strachey 25 Sept.1847 op.cit.; Sherring "Report":Secret E Feb.1906 encl. to no. 99.

4.29. Sturt 29 June 1895 op.cit.; Watts op.cit.

4.30. The Tibetan dPon-po formally means some kind of "master" or "lord", used for example by Goldstein in the sense of "lord of an estate" (1971:4). We can also note that "Gar" (sGar) is Tibetan for "camp" or "encampment", and the "tok" of Gartok means "elevated" (t'og). Thus we also have sGar-dPon (garpon) signifying the "camp master" (Jäschke 1977; Schlagintweit 1863: 77). Gartok is actually only a crossroads (see photo), probably made important by being an administrative site. It consists in fact of two sites: the warm weather site or capital known locally as Gar Yar-sa (the "Bhotiya" mart) and a lower, cold-weather site quite near known as Gar Gun-sa. The whole area is known as Gar, but referred to as Gartok by the "Bhotiyas" (Bell to Govt.11 Sept.1909:Secret E Jan.1910 no.106).

4.31. Sherring "Notes" op.cit.

4.32. Some of the primary concerns of the state as a judiciary power centered around various types of fugitives. But this activity had to be initiated by the plaintiffs who had at times even to apprehend the criminal parties themselves; "a Tibetan official is not to serve but to be served by his people" (Yü Li 1950:134).

4.33. Sherring "Notes" op.cit.. Actually, the situation was much the same as it was during the Jesuit Mission 1625-1640 when it was noted that the population was so small that it would be difficult to amass 2000 soldiers if needed, but that there was

a permanent force of non-local soldiers at Gartok (Wessels 1924:83, 216).

4.34. Goldstein notes on taxation in Tibet:

> "Taxes in Tibet include both corvée (rKang 'gro) service as well as payment in kind and money (lag 'don). Corvée services in turn, included wu-lag ('u lag) or human corvée service, ta-wu (rta 'u) or riding animal corvée, and kay-ma (khal ma) or carrying animal corvée. Tibetans normally referred to these specific types rather than to the generic rKang 'gro term" (1971:10)

The Tibetan 'Brog-pa, pronounced "drokpa", are the "nomads" or "inhabitants of the steppes" (Jäschke 1977:402). Jest refers to them as steppe pastoralists practicing no agriculture and thus dependent on the agricultural population (or "Bhotiya" traders) for food grains (1973:436-437). Note as well that bugyal, or the alpine pastures used for grazing by the "Bhotiyas", appears to be of the same stem as the Tibetan 'Brog meaning "wilderness", "solitude", "uncultivated land", and especially "summer pasture".

4.35. Cf. Carrasco 1959 for a discussion of the role of China in the formation of the Tibetan state.

4.36. Traill "Enclosure": Board of Revenue. Ceded and Conq.Provinces 25 July 1817.Furruckabad.no.13A encl, UPSA; Traill to Lushington 12 Dec.1817:For.Dept.Pol.Consult.23 Jan.1818 no.30; Traill to Bd. 25 April 1825 op.cit.

4.37. "Memorandum" 25 June 1906:Secret E Oct.1906 nos.1-22; "Translation...Chand" 18 July 1907 and Cassels to Berthoud 13 Aug.1907: Secret E Oct.1907 nos.315 and "Notes".

4.38. "Translation...Chand" 7 Aug.1909 and Bell to Govt.11 Sept. 1909:Secret E Jan.1910 nos.104, 106; "Report...K.S.Pal" 3 Sept. 1910:Secret E Dec.1910 nos.425-429.

4.39. Moorcroft to Colebrooke 16 Oct.1812:For.Dept.Pol.Consult. 13 Nov.1812 no.18. The animals never arrived in Great Britain.

4.40. Adam to Ochterlony 30 Sept.1814:Pre-mutiny Records.Comm. of Kumaun.Misc.Letters Rec.1816.Vol. 7 UPSA (my emphasis).

4.41. Traill to Trotter 26 Aug.1817: Pre-mutiny Records.Office Comm.Kumaun.Rev.Letters Rec.1817-18.Vol. 5 UPSA.

4.42. The British had in fact believed that the very objective of the Sikh invasion was to "secure for the Sikhs the Command of the trans-Himalayan traffic of salt, borax, shwal-wool, etc. hitherto in the hands of the Chinese Tartars". Cunningham doubted this simple goal, and noted in fact how many of the Kashmiri weavers were entering India and even bypassing the Ladakhi monopoly and procuring it in mNga-ris (Lushington to Govt.13 July 1841:For.Dept.Secret Proc.9-16 Aug.1841 no.34; Cunningham to Govt.30 July 1842:For.Dept.Secret Proc.Oct.1842 no.74.

4.43. Lushington to Govt.22 July 1841:For.Dept.Secret Proc.9-16 Aug.1841 no.37.

4.44. Lushington to Govt.9 Aug.1841:For.Dept.Secret Proc.23-30 Aug.1841 no.27; ditto to Thomason 11 Sept.1841:do 4-18 Oct. 1841 no.37; ditto to Thomason 20 Sept.1841:ibid.no.46; ditto to Hamilton 26 March 1842:For.Dept.Pol.Consult.3 Aug.1842 no.53.

4.45. Regarding the confrontation of Great Britain and Russia, cf. Lamb, A. 1959, 1960 and Terway 1977.

4.46. "Note" 21 May 1904 and "Further Note" 9 June 1904 by L. W. Dane, and Younghusband to Dane 29 Aug.1904 :Secret E Feb. 1905 nos.1398-1445.

4.47. Sherring "Report" op.cit.

4.48. Calvert 17-21 Aug.1906 op.cit.

4.49. 25 April 1825 op.cit.

4.50. Under "Notes" K. F. 7 June 1907:Ext.A Aug.1907, nos.112-113. We will return to Cawpore wool shortly.

4.51. In Taklakot at least; "Translation...Kharak Singh" 19 July 1901:Proc.Govt.N.-W.P. and O.,Pol.Aug.1901 no.9 File 62A Ser.112 UPSA.

4.52. Traill 25 April 1825 op.cit.

4.53. "Note...Assessment of Pargana Johar, District Almora" Hooper 23 Sept.1902:Dept.I Settlement Comm.Naini Tal File 2 of 1901-02.Misc.Serial numbers,Almora and Naini Tal no.65 Box 69 UPSANT.

4.54. "Report on the Settlement of Kumaon District" Ramsay to Govt.7 March 1874:Beckett 1874:17.

4.55. Goudge "Report...Darma" 19 Dec.1901:File 2 Ser.no.9a UPSANT.

4.56. Traill 1851:99; Traill 1817 encl.13A and 13B op.cit.

4.57. Traill ibid.encl.13B; "Translation...Chand" 13 July 1905 op.cit.

4.58. Traill 25 April 1825 op.cit.

4.59. Telegram Gould to Govt.15 Sept.1944: "Tibet.Trade..." no. 36, File 24, L/P&S/12/4191. IOL.

4.60. Traill 1817 encl.13A op.cit.; Traill to Trotter 26 Aug.1817: Pre-mutiny Rec.Off.Comm.Kumaun Rev.Letters Rec 1817-18,Vol.5 UPSA.

4.61. The effect of the Cawnpore advances on local wool prices in mNga-ris can be seen in a number of correspondances. Sven Hedin mentions it for example in his diary (3 november 1905, Gar-gunsa, SHA Resejournaler, etc.op.cit.).

4.62. Pim 1898:2; Sherring to Rawling 1905 op.cit.; Holms to Govt. 19 April 1909:Secret E Feb.1910 nos.826-858.

4.63. Manager, Cawnpore Woollen Mills to Govt.Almora 31 July 1911: Secret E Oct.1911 subencl.to encl.to no.280.

4.64. For.Dept.General B Proc.Aug.1910 no.137. Majumdar notes that during his time (1940-50) Tibetan wool was still imported, but that the great interest the Cawnpore Woollen Mills shown had waned and the Almora mart had fallen as a result (1949:viii). But raw wool had a better market value for the "Bhotiyas" than

pashm. Bageshwar had become the center for the wool trade where it was sold to agents from the three woollen mills of Urswal and Panipat in the Punjab, and to Lalimi (Cawnpore) by 1962 when "Bhotiya" trade in this item was broken. In 1980, pashm and Tibetan wool could be obtained via Nepal, otherwise the wool used in carpets was imported from the Punjab, Rajasthan and even from Australia with support of the Government.

4.65. Home Dept.Misc.Ser.no.210 1803-1805 p.22.

4.66. Traill 1817 encl.13B op.cit.. Salt could be used by the British as an effective political leverage if needed, cf. Field 1959; Majumdar 1949:viii-ix; Calvert 1906 op.cit.

4.67. Ramsay "Report" 1874 op.cit.

4.68. Selections...Punjab 1854; Hollins (Stoke-upon-Trent) to Govt.(India) 19 July 1854:For.Dept.Pol.Consult. 15 Sept.1854 no.106.

4.69. "Proceedings...Conference...":Pol.A July 1880 no.196; "Note ...Johar..." 1902 op.cit.

4.70. Unfortunately, much of tha data in the article is vague. For example, he finds such groups as the Magars as "militant" Tibeto-Burman allies, but finds no "Bhotiyas" in Kumaon despite using Srivastava (1979) as one of his main sources, and the same regarding the Chand kingdom despite using Atkinson. He is a bit too uncritical of the idea of Khas immigration as well as of considering Harris to be a marxist.

N. J. Allen has discussed central Himalayan kinship systems including the Byansi in terms of representing an earlier four-fold division of society (1975, 1978). I would emphasize the role of the kingdoms in diffusing a "caste-like" structure (and possibly even then a four-fold system).

4.71. Traill "Enclosure" as in n.4.36; MacKenzie to Colebrooke 28 Aug.1818:Pre-mutiny Rec.Off.Comm.Kumaun Misc.Letters Rec. 1818 Vol.II, Vol.13 UPSA.

4.72.Traill "Enclosure" ibid.

4.73. Regmi Research Series 11(12) 1979:177, a translation of a contemporary archival source.

4.74.Moorcroft 1812 as in n.4.39.

4.75. Pauw 1896; Traill 1851:55; Traill to Newham 1 May 1817: Pre-mutiny Rec.Off.Comm.Kumaun Rev.Letters Rec.1817-18 Vol.5 UPSA.

4.76. Gardner to Adam 22 March 1816:Pre-mutiny Rec.Off.Comm.Kumaun Rev.Letters Issued Vol.2 UPSA.

4.77. Sanwal 1976:153. Cf. on "Shauk" defined in the sense of mongolian, ex-tribal goatherds (ibid. 46, 57, 89, 165, 166).

5.1. As in Prigogine 1980:16-17. A mode of analysis along somewhat similar lines was discussed by Staal (1963) as the articulation of two parallel grammatical evolutions.

Bibliography

ALLEN, N.J. 1975 "Byansi kinship terminology: a study in symmetry". Man N.S. 10:80-94.

----- 1978 "Fourfold classifications of society in the Himalayas", in Himalayan Anthropology. The Indo-Tibetan Interface (ed.) J.F. Fisher. The Hague-Paris: Mouton.

ALLEN, P.M. 1982 "The genesis of structure in social systems: the paradigm of self-organization" in Theory and Explanation in Archaeology. The Southampton Conference (eds.) C. Renfrew, M.J. Rowlands, B.A. Seagraves. New York: Academic Press.

ATKINSON, Edwin T. 1884 The Himalayan Districts of the North-western Provinces of India Volume II (Vol. XI of The Gazetteer, North-Western Provinces). Allahabad: North-Western Provinces and Oudh Government Press.

----- 1886 The Himalayan Districts... Vol. III (Vol. XII of The Gazetteer...). Allahabad: N.-Y. P. and O. Govt. Press.

BAGCHI, Gourchandra 1977 "Miscellaneous note: some socio-economic aspects of stratification in the East Himalayan society". Man 57 (4): 363-367.

BATTEN, J.H. 1838 "Note of a visit to the Niti pass of the grand Himalayan chain". Journ.As.Soc.Bengal VII (76): 310-316.

----- 1851 "Mr. Batten's final Settlement Report", in Official Report on the Province of Kumaon, with a Medical Report on the Mahainurreee in Gurhwal, in 1849-50 (ed.) J.H. Batten. Agra: Secunda

----- 1878 "Report on the Settlement of Garhwal, dated 10 August 1842" and "Appendix" in Official Reports on the Province of Kumaun (ed.) J.H. Batten. Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing.

BECKETT, J.O'B. 1874 Report on the Revision of Settlement in the Kumaon District carried out by Mr. J. O'B. Beckett, 1863-1873 Part I. Allahabad: North-Western Provinces Governmnet Press.

BERREMAN, Gerald D. 1972 Hindus of the Himalayas. Ethnography and Change. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press (1963).

BISTA, Dor Bahadur 1971 "Political innovators of upper Kali Gandaki". Man 6(1):52-60.

BOSE, S.C. 1960 "Nomadism in high valleys of Uttarakhand and Kumaon". Geographical Review of India XXII(3):33-39.

BROWN, C.W 1983 "Some problems in the epistemology of structure" in The Future of Structuralism. Papers of the IUAES-Intercongress, Amsterdam, 1981 (eds.) J. Oosten and A.de Ruijter. Göttingen: Edition Herodot.

CARRASCO, Pedro 1959 Land and Polity in Tibet. Monograph 32, The American Ethnological Society. Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press

Census of the N.W. Provinces, 1865. Vol. I. General Report and Appendices A.B.C&D, Vol. II. General Statements and Tables... 1867 Allahabad: N.W.P. Govt. Press.

Census of the N.-W.P.and Oudh in 1881. Supplement... 1882 Allahabad: N.-W.P. & O.Govt. Press.

Census of India, 1891. Vol. XVI. The North-western Provinces and Oudh. Part I. Report and Provincial Tables 1894 Allahabad: N.-W. P. & O. Govt. Press.

Census of India, 1901 1902 Allahabad: Superintendent Govt. Press

CHATTERJEE, Bishwa B. 1975 "Bhotias of Indo-Tibetan Border of Uttarakhand". Project Report (stencil) of the Dept. of Psychology and Education, Gandhian Institute of Studies, Varanasi.

CATTERJI, B.R. 1940 "Tholing Monastery in western Tibet (a cultural link between Greater India, Pala Bengal, and Tibet)". Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Fourth Session, Lahore: 179-182.

CROCKER, J.Christopher 1977 "The mirrored self: identity and ritual among the Eastern Bororo". Ethnology 16:129-145.

CROOKE, W 1896 The Tribes and Castes of the North-western Provinces and Oudh Vol. II (4 vols.). Calcutta: Superintendent of Govt. Printing.

DATTA, C.L. 1970 "Significance of shawl-wool trade in western Himalayan politics". Bengal Past and Present 89(1): 16-28.

----- 1973 Ladakh and Western Himalayan Politics: 1819-1848. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal (1972).

Demographic Yearbook 1981 1983 U.N. Dept. of Internat. Economy and Social Affairs, New York.

DUMONT, Louis 1970 "The conception of kingship in ancient India" in Religion/Politics and History in India. Collected Papers in Indian Sociology. Paris and The Hague: Mouton, pp. 62-88.

----- 1970a Homo Hierarchicus. An Essay on the Caste System (trans. M. Sainsbury). Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press (1966).

von EICKSTEDT, Barin E. 1926 "The races and types of the Western and Central Himalayas". Man in India VI(4):1-38.

ELLIOT, Henry M. 1869 Memoirs on the History, Folk-Lore, and Distribution of the Races of the North Western Provinces of India... 2 vols.. London: Trübner.

FIELD, A.R. 1959 "Himalayan salt--a political barometer". The Modern Review CV(6):460-465.

FOUCAULT, Michel 1982 The Archaeology of Knowledge and The Discourse on Language. New York: Pantheon Books (1969)

FOX, James J. 1971 "Sister's child as plant. Metaphors in an idiom of consanguinity" in Rethinking Kinship and Marriage (ed.) R. Needham. A.S.A. Monographs 11. London: Tavistock.

FRIEDMAN, Jonathan 1974 "Marxism, structuralism and vulgar materialism". Man 9:444-469.

von FÜRER-HAIMENDORF, Christoph 1969 "A case of Hindu-Buddhist contacts in Nepal". Proceedings of the Twenty-sixth International Congress of Orientalists. New Delhi. January 4-10, 1964 Vol. III(1) (3 vols.). Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute: 367-369.

----- 1975 Himalayan Traders. Life in Highland Nepal. London: John Murray.

GOLDSTEIN, Melvyn C. 1971 "Taxation and the structure of a Tibetan village". Central Asiatic Journal XV(1):1-27.

----- 1974 "Tibetan speaking agro-pastoralists of Limi: a cultural ecological overview of high altitude adaptation in the Northwest Himalaya". Objets et Mondes XIV(4):259-268.

GOODENOUGH, Ward H. 1968 "Rethinking 'status' and 'role'. Toward a general model of the cultural organization of social relationships" in Relevance of Models for Social Anthropology (ed.) M. Banton. A.S.A. Monographs 1. London: Tavistock (1965).

GRIERSON, G.A. 1909 Linguistic Survey of India. Vol. III. Tibeto-Burman Family. Part 1. General Introduction... Calcutta: Superintendent of Govt. Printing.

HAARH, E. 1968 "The Zhang-Zhung language. A grammar and dictionary of the unexplored language of the Tibetan Bonpos". Acta Jutlandica XL:1, Humanistisk Serie 47 (Universitetsforlaget i Aarhus). Copenhagen: Munksgaard.

HEBER, Reginald 1828 Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India from Calcutta to Bombay, 1824-1825... (2 vols.). London: Murray.

HEDIN, Sven 1922 Southern Tibet, Discoveries in Former Times compared with my own researches in 1906-1908. Vol.IV. Stockholm: Lithographic Institute of the General Staff of the Swedish Army.

HIMRAJ n.d. "Himalya ke adivasi: Bhotiya". Saprahika Hindustan 31(6):28-29.

Historical Papers Relating to Kumaun 1809-1842 1956 (ed.) B.P. Saksena, U.P. State Record Series, Selections from English Records No. 3. Allahabad: Govt. Central Record Office.

HITCHCOCK, John T. 1978 "An additional perspective on the Nepali caste system" in Himalayan Anthropology. The Indo-Tibetan Interface (ed.) J.F. Fisher. The Hague-Paris: Mouton.

HODGSON, Brian H. 1972 Essays on the Languages, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet... (ed.) M.P. Saha. Amsterdam: Philo Press (1874).

HOFFPAUIR, Robert 1978 "Subsistence strategy and its ecological consequences in the Nepal Himalaya" Anthropos 73: 215-252.

IBBETSON, Denzil; MACLAGAN, E; ROSE, H.A. 1919 A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province (3 vols.). Lahore: Superintendent of Govt. Printing, Punjab.

l'Identité. Séminaire interdisciplinaire dirigé par Claude Lévi-Strauss professeur au College de France 1974-1975 1977 Paris: Grasset.

IIJIMA, Shigeru 1963 "Hinduization of a Himalayan tribe in Nepal". The Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers 29 (Fall):43-52.

India. A Reference Annual 1980 Publ. Div. Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. New Delhi: Govt. of India.

India. A Regional Geography 1971 (ed.) R.L. Singh. Varanasi: National Geographical Society of India, Silver Jubilee Publication.

JÄSCHKE, H.A. 1977 A Tibetan-English Dictionary. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul (1881).

JEST, Corneille 1973 "La société pastorale du Tibet de l'ouest". l'Homme, hier et aujourd'hui. Recueil d'études en hommage à André Leroi-Gourhan. Paris: Ed. Cujas.

KALA, G.R. 1974 Memoirs of the Raj. Kumaon (1911-1945). New Delhi: Mukul Prakashan.

KARVE, Irawati 1968 Kinship Organization in India. New York: Asia Publishing House (1953).

KAUSHIC, S.D. 1959 "Human settlement and occupational economy in Garhwal-Bhot Himalayas". Journ. of the Asiatic Society I(1):23-34.

KAWAKITA, Jiro 1956 "Some ethno-geographical observations in the Nepal Himalaya. Part 2... Summary" Minzokugabu-Kenkyu. Japanese Journ. of Ethnology 19(3-4):212-221.

KIRKPATRICK, William 1811 An Account of the Kingdom of Nepaul, being the Substance of Observations Made during a Mission to that Country in the Year 1793. London: William Miller.

LALL, Panna 1911 "An enquiry into the birth and marriage customs of the Khasiyas and the Bhotiyas of Almora District, U.P.". The Indian Antiquary XL:190-198.

----- 1931 Kumaun Local Customs. Allahabad: Superintendent of Govt. Printing U.P..

LAMB, Alistair 1959 "Some notes on Russian intrigue in Tibet". Journ. of the Royal Central Asian Society 46

----- 1960 Britian and Chinese Central Asia: The Road to Lhasa, 1767 to 1905. London

LANDOR, A. Henry Savage 1898 In the Forbidden Land. An Account of a Journey in Tibet. Capture by the Tibetan Authorities. Imprisonment, Torture, and Ultimate Release (2 vols.). London: Heineman.

LEONARD, Karen Isaksen 1978 Social History of an Indian Caste. The Kayasths of Hyderabad. Delhi: Oxford Univ. Press.

LÉVI-STRAUSS, Claude 1969 The Savage Mind (trans.). Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press (1962).

MAJUMDAR, D.N. 1940 "Some aspects of the cultural life of the Khasas of the cis-Himalayan region". Journ. Roy. As. Soc. Bengal (Letters) 6:1-44

----- 1949 "The social economy of the Bhotiyas" in Lonely Furrows of the Borderland (ed.) K. S. Pangtey. Folk-Culture Series no. 3. Lucknow: The Universal Publishers; i-xi.

----- 1953 "Tribal economy of the cis-Himalayas". Indian Journal of Social Work 14(3):263-275.

MARKHAM, Clements R. 1879 Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet and of the Journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasa (2nd.ed.). London:Trübner.

MESSERSCHMIDT, Donald A. 1976 "Ecological change and adaptation among the Gurungs of the Nepal Himalaya". Human Ecology 4(2):167-185.

MILL, James 1858 The History of British India. Fifth Edition with Notes and Continuation by Horace Hayman Wilson (10 volumes) Vol. VI. London:James Madden.

MOORCROFT, William and G. TREBECK 1837 Travels in the Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan and the Punjab.... London:Murray.

Naini Tal. Supplementary Notes and Statistics to Volume XXXIV of the District Gazetteer of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh 1917 Allahabad: Superintendent of Govt.Press.

NESFIELD, John C. 1885 Brief View of the Caste System of the North-western Provinces and Oudh....Allahabad: N.-W.P. and O.Govt.Press.

OAKLEY, E. Sherman 1905 Holy Himalaya. The Religion, Traditions, and Scenery of a Himalayan Province (Kumaon and Garhwal). London: Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier.

OPPITZ, Michael 1968 Geschichte und Sozialordnung der Sherpa. Beitrage zur Sherpa-Forschung Teil 1, Khumbu Himal Band 8. Innsbrück-München: Universitetsverlag Wagner.

PANGTI, Ram Singh 1980 Johar ka Itihas va Vanshavali. New Delhi: Simant Sanskritik Sangthan Prakashanmala.

PANT, P. 1981? "Bhotaya: ne ayama ki talash". Saprahika Hindustan 31(6).

PANT, S. D. 1935 The Social Economy of the Himalayas. Based on a Survey in the Kumaon Himalayas. London: George Allen and Unwin.

PATHAK, Sunitikumar 1958 "Indo-Tibetan relationship in the pre-Atisa period". Proc. of the Indian Historical Congress, 21st se-sion, Trivandrum:162-168.

PAUW, E. K. 1896 Report on the Tenth Settlement of the Garhwal District. Allahabad: N.-W.P.&O.Govt.Press.

PIM, A. W. 1898 A Monograph on Woollen Fabrics in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh. Allahabad:N.-W.P.&O.Govt.Press.

PRANAVANANDA, Swami. 1949 Kailās-Mānasarōvar. Calcutta:S.P.League.

PRIGOGINE, Ilya 1980 From Being to Becoming. Time and Complexity in the Physical Sciences. San Francisco: W. H. Freeman and Co.

----- and I. STENGERS 1979 La Nouvelle Alliance. Métamorphose de la Science. Paris: Gallimard.

RAHUL, Ram 1964-65 "The Himalayan frontier in the nineteenth century". The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies 4(3):138-151 (Calcutta).

RAVERTY, H. G. 1895 "Tibbat three hundred and sixty-five years ago". Journ.As.Soc.Bengal 64(2):82-122.

RAWAT, Indra Singh 1973 Indian Explorers of the 19th Century. Account of Explorations in the Himalayas, Tibet, Mongolia and Central Asia. New Delhi:Publ.Div. Ministry of Inform.and Broadcasting, Govt. of India.

RAWLING, C. G. 1905 The Great Plateau. Being an Account of Exploration in Central Tibet, 1903, and of the Gartok Expedition, 1904-1905. London:Edward Arnold.

REGMI, Mahesh C. 1971 A Study in Nepali Economic History 1768-1846. Bibliotheca Himalayica 1(14).New Delhi:Manjusri.

SAHLINS, Marshall 1981 Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities. Structure in the Early History of the Sandwich Islands Kingdom. ASAO Special Publ.no.1 Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press.

SAKSENA, R. N. 1956 "The Khasas of Jaunsar-Bawar". Agra University Journ. of Research 4 (Letters) January:1-9.

SANWAL, R. D. 1969 "On the study of social stratification in the Hill-regions of Uttar Pradesh" in Urgent Research in Social Anthropology. Proceedings of a Conference (eds.) B. L. Abbi, S. Saberwal. Simla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study:144-150.

----- 1976 Social Stratification in Rural Kumaon. Delhi. Oxford Univ. Press.

SASTRY, S. S. 1975 "The Bhotia of U.P. Hill Districts (Central Himalayas)". Vanyajati 23(4):19-24.

de SCHLAGINTWEIT, Hermann 1863 "Glossary of Tibetan geographical terms". Journ.Roy.As.Soc.G.B.Ire. 20:67-98.

Selections from the Public Correspondance of the Punjab Administration (Selections from the Records of The Government of India. The Punjab). Vol. 2(7-12), article no. 26:496-552 (IOL V/23/336). 1854 Lahore: Government.

SHARMA, Prayag Raj 1972 Preliminary Study of the Art and Architecture of the Karnali Basin, West Nepal. R. C. P. 253. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.

SHELDON, Martha 1894 "Among the Bhotias". Heathen Woman's Friend 26(1):11-12.

----- 1897 "On the frontier". Woman's Missionary Friend 29(5):139-141.

SHERRING, C. A. 1906 "Notes on the Bhotias of Almora and British Garhwal". Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 1(8):98-119.

----- 1916 Western Tibet and the British Borderland. The Sacred Country of Hindus and Buddhists, with an Account of the Government, Religion and Customs of its Peoples. London

----- 1974 Western Tibet and the Indian Borderland. Delhi: Cosmo (reprint of 1916).

SINGH, S. B. 1967 "Anglo-Russian commercial rivalry in Central Asia (Summary)". Indian History Congress. Proc. of the Ranchi Session--1964 Part II (Aligarh):220-221.

SMITH, T. F. and H. F. MOROWITZ 1982 "Between history and physics". Journ. of Molecular Evolution 18:265-282.

SRINIVAS, M. N. 1959 "The dominant caste in Rampura". American Anthropologist 61:1-16.

SRIVASTAVA, Ram P. 1963 "Bhotias--the Frontiersmen of Kumaon". The Modern Review 114(2):136-139.

----- 1979 "Tribe-caste mobility in India and the case of Kumaon Bhotias" in Caste and Kin in Nepal, India and Ceylon. Anthropological Studies in Hindu-Buddhist Contact Zones (ed.) C. von Fürer-Haimendorf. London and The Hague: East-West Publ. (1966).

STAAL, J. F. 1963 "Sanskrit and Sanskritization". Journ. of Asian Studies 22(3):261-275.

STRACHEY, Henry 1848 "Narrative of a journey to Cho Lagan (Rakas Tal), Cho Mapan (Manasarovar), and the valley of Purang in Gnari, Hundes, in September and October 1846". Journ.As.Soc.Bengal 17(2):98-120, 127-182, 327-351.

STRACHEY, R. 1851 "On the physical geography of the provinces of Kumaon and Garhwal in the Himalaya Mountains, and of the adjoining parts of Tibet". Journ.of the Royal Geogr. Soc. 21:57-85.

TERWAY, Vinodini 1977 East India Company and Russia. New Delhi: S. Chand.

THOM, Rene 1980 "Halte au hasard, silence au bruit" Le Débat 3:119-132.

THOMPSON, D'Arcy W. 1977 On Growth and Form. Cambridge:Cambridge Univ. Press (1917, 1942).

TRAILL, George W. 1851 "Statistical report on the Bhotea mehals of Kumaon" in Official Report on the Province of Kumaon, with a Medical Report on the Mahainurree in Gurhwal, in 1849-50 (ed.) J. H. Batten. Agra: Secunda Orphan Press (Asiatic Researches 17, 1832).

----- 1878 "Statistical sketch of Kumaun" in Official Reports on the Province of Kumaun (ed.) J. H. Batten. Calcutta:Supt.Govt.Printing (Asiatic Researches 16, 1828).

TURNER, Ethel M. 1903 "Home from the front". The Chronicle of the London Missionary Society 12 (N.S.):32-34.

van TWIST, Johan 1648 Generale Beschrijvinge van Indien. Ende in't besonder Kort verhael van de Regering, Ceremonien, Handel, Vruchten en Geleghentheydt van't Koninckrijck van Gusuratten.... t'Amstelredam.

UPRETI, Ganga Datt 1894 Proverbs and Folklore of Kumaun and Garhwal. Lodiana: Lodiana Mission Press.

UPRETI, R. P. 1968 "Bhotias of Uttarakhand--A study in anthropogeography". Studies (D.S.B. Government College, Naini Tal, U.P., India, Reprint) Vol. V:116-124.

----- 1968a "Bhotias of Uttarakhand: A Study in Cultural Geography with Special Reference to Problems of Rehabilitation" PhD Thesis (stencil) Agra University, India.

U. P. State Record Series. Selections from English Records No. 2. Henry Wellesley's Correspondence (1801-1803) (ed.) G. N. Saletore. Allahabad: Govt. Central Record Office. 1955.

Uttar Pradesh District Gazetteers. Pithoragarh. 1979 (ed.) P. C. Saxena. Allahabad:Govt. of U. P., Dept. of District Gazetteers, Govt. Press.

WALTON, H. G. 1910 British Garhwal. A Gazetteer, Being Volume XXXVI of the District Gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. Allahabad:Supt.Govt.Printing.

----- 1928 Almora, a Gazetteer. District Gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. Allahabad: Supt. of Govt. Press, United Provinces (1911)

WESSELS, C. 1924 Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia 1603-1721. Den Haag: M. Nijhoff.

WISER, William H. 1969 The Hindu Jajmani System. A Socio-economic System Interrelating Members of a Hindu Village Community in Services. Lucknow:Lucknow Publ.House (1936).

YU LI, Shih-yu 1950 "Tibetan folk-law". Journ.Roy.As.Soc.G.B. Ire. Part 3-4:128-148.