This brief survey is intended as a list of works which I have found especially useful myself or which I think would be particularly suitable for readers wanting to follow up topics necessarily treated very cursorily in my recent one-volume History of Nepal (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005). It includes some of the pre-1990 works listed in my earlier Nepal (World Bibliographical Series, Oxford & Santa Barbara: Clio Press, 1990) and, though it is intended principally for people who read English more comfortably than anything else, there is also some material in Nepali and in mainland European languages. I have given preference to items readily available in Western countries but some will only be found in specialist libraries. Particularly for the more recent periods there is a great problem of selection and omission of any particular work should certainly not be taken as a suggestion that it is any way inferior especially as items are often included simply because I had them to hand. Bibliographies of the more recent works listed can easily be consulted for further reading, and there is extended discussion of many earlier studies in Krishna Kant Adhikari’s A Brief Survey of Nepali Historiography (Kathmandu: Buku, 1980). The most complete, readily accessible list of new titles is probably the Nepal entries in the catalogue of the Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique in France. This can be consulted online at http://www.vjf.cnrs.fr/wwtisis/BIBLIO.02/form.htm.

BASIC NARRATIVES
There is no single book or series that can be regarded as an authoritative history of Nepal in the way that, for example, the Cambridge Ancient History or the Oxford History of England is accepted in the United Kingdom. A conscious attempt to produce one was made with the Nepali-language Rastriya Itihas (National History) project begun by the Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies at Tribhuvan University in the 1980s. However, although this did result in the publication of a number of interesting studies, it was never completed on the ambitious lines originally intended. The first attempt at a full-scale history of Nepal based on thorough analysis of all the available sources had been Sylvain Levi’s three-volume Le Nepal – étude historique d’un rouyaume hindou (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1905, 1908), Although outdated in some ways, it still contains much of value and the first two volumes have been reprinted with an introduction by Marc Gaborieau and Gérard Toffin surveying research since the original publication (Paris; Le Toit du Monde, Editions Errance, 1985). In English, the Nepali scholar and politician Dilli
Rahman Regmi also set out to write a comprehensive account. His *Ancient Nepal* (3rd ed., 1969), *Medieval Nepal* (1965-66) and *Modern Nepal* (1975), all published in Calcutta by Firma Mukhopadhyaya, are valuable as works of reference, but take the story down only to 1816 and are not very reader-friendly.

The reader in search of a good, general account has thus to rely on a number of disparate sources. For the prehistoric period, the most reliable guide is probably Gudrun Corvinus's essay, “The Prehistory of Nepal after Ten Years of Research” (in Ram Pratap Thapa & Joachim Baaden (eds.), *Nepal: Myths and Realities*, Delhi: Book Faith India, 2000). The best synthesis of information on the ancient and medieval periods is still Mary Slusser's magnificent *Nepal Mandala* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), which draws on the work of a number of Nepalese scholars who have published important research in Nepali. Whilst primarily a cultural history, the book contains a very good survey of political developments. Rishikesh Shaha's *Ancient and Medieval Nepal* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1992) also gives a good overview for the general reader. For the modern period, the same author's *Modern Nepal—a Political History: 1769-1955* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1990) is indispensable, though, as its title indicates, containing little on economic or social development. Shaha takes his story up to Tribhuvan's death and for the last decade draws upon his own personal involvement and also on British embassy correspondence.

After 1955, one has to rely for a general narrative of events on more specialist studies, all of them similarly concentrating on the political. For developments up to the start of the Panchayat system, Bhuvan Lal Joshi and Leo Rose's *Democratic Innovations in Nepal* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), intended primarily as an analysis of the clash between the nascent party system and traditional political behavior, is the best single guide. The book has recently been reprinted (Kathmandu: Mandala Bookpoint, 2004) and its continuing relevance to present-day Nepal is both testimony to the authors' scholarship and a reminder that the contradictions they pinpointed remain unresolved. There is nothing as authoritative or as detailed for the Panchayat and post-Panchayat periods but the main framework of events is covered up to the 1990s by three books all with a central focus on the 1990 “People’s Movement”. Louise Brown's *The Challenge to Democracy in Nepal* (London, New York: Routledge, 1996) is sympathetic to the UML but stresses rapid disillusion with the political process after 1991. Martin Hoflin, William Raper and John Whelpton's *People, Politics and Ideology* (Kathmandu: Mandala, 1999) concentrates particularly on ideological issues and internal party disputes, whilst Karl-Heinz Krämer's *Nepal—der lange Weg zur Demokratie* (Bad Honnef: Horlemann, 1991) includes detail of many small-scale disturbances during the supposedly quiet Panchayat years. My own general history, which concentrates mainly on the post-Rana era and tries to cover other things as well as politics, goes up to early 2004. It also includes a timeline and a biographical appendix but its reliability as a reference work is reduced by a number of inaccuracies. Those discovered to date are listed in the appendix and I would be very grateful to hear if anyone unearths any more.

There is still no really satisfactory one-volume history of Nepal giving a balanced treatment of every period, discussing broad social and economic trends as well as conventional political history and also drawing on modern research in anthropology as well as in history and political science. I have not yet seen the latest edition of Netra Bahadur Thapa's *Short History of Nepal* (Ratna Pustak Bhandar, 2001) but the earlier editions were a very sparse summary of political events and the book is difficult to get hold of in the West. Also difficult to find, but a much better piece of work, is Ludwig Stiller's *Nepal: Growth of a Nation* (Kathmandu: Human Resources Development Research Center, 1993). This summarizes the author's more detailed studies of the late 18th and early 19th centuries and presents a readable and well-documented account of the Rana period but does not go beyond 1951. My own book covers broader aspects of Nepalese society but the publisher was reluctant to include any pre-1950 (and particularly pre-18th century) detail and the eventual compromise was a rather truncated account.

For economic history the work of Mahesh Chandra Regmi, focusing particularly on the land tenure system, is fundamental. His most detailed contribution is his first extended publication, *Land Tenure and Taxation in Nepal* (Berkeley: University of California, 1963-8; reprint ed. (single volume) Kathmandu: Ratna Pustak Bhandar, 1978), but the general reader is best served by the summary of his findings in his *Land Ownership in Nepal* (Berkeley: University of California, 1976). Much less well-known, but useful for its treatment of the Nepalese economy from the earliest times down to the present is Lakshman B. Hamal's *Economic history of Nepal (From Antiquity to 1990)* (Kathmandu: Ganga Kaveri Publishing House, 1994).

Nepal's precarious existence between the two Asian giants is a major theme in any account of the country's past, but the best extended treatment is still Leo Rose's superb *Nepal:...*
Strategy for Survival (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971). This shows how members of the political elite constantly maneuvered both to maintain national independence and also to obtain external support against internal enemies. Studies of Nepal-India relations tend to focus on relatively short periods but Vijay Manandhar has recently published A Comprehensive History of Nepal-China Relations Up to 1955 A.D. (New Delhi: Adroit, 2004). This is really more for the specialist, but others may be interested in the details on the Nepalese missions to China and the discussion of Nepal’s exact status in relation to the Chinese Empire.

Among the wealth of material on the service of Gurkhas/Gorkhas in the army of British India and then in the British and Indian armies, three are particularly worthy of mention. Mary K. DesChene’s ‘Relics of Empire: a Cultural History of the Gurkhas 1815-1987’ is a 1991 Stanford University PhD thesis which unfortunately has not been published though it is available from University Microfilms. This draws on interviews and archival research to provide a good account of the development of the Brigade and of the differing perceptions of British officers and enlisted Nepalese. Lionel Caplan’s Warrior gentlemen: “Gurkhas” in the Western imagination (Oxford: Berghahn, 1995) covers similar ground to DesChene but focuses much more on British attitudes. Tony Gould’s Imperial Warriors: Britain and the Gurkhas (London: Grant, 1999) is an excellent survey drawing both on the author’s own experiences and contacts as a Gurkha officer and on the analyses of social scientists like DesChene and Caplan. Prem R. Uperty’s Nepal – a Small Nation in the Vortex of International Conflicts (Kathmandu: Pugo Mi, 1984) looks at the impact on Nepal of her involvement in the two world wars and in other conflicts through her alliance with British India and then with independent India.


BACKGROUND STUDIES

There are a number of very valuable studies of the environment and the human population’s changing relationship to it, which, whilst usually not histories in the conventional sense, give insight into key historical processes. In The Himalayan Dilemma—Reconciling Development and Conservation. (London: United Nations University/Routledge, 1989), which is also available on the web at http://www.unu.edu/unupress/unupbooks/80a02e/80A02E00.htm, J.D. Ives and B. Messerli argue that much environmental degradation etc. is the result of long-term natural processes rather than of the activities of subsistence farmers. Environmental and development issues are included in Toni Hagen’s Nepal: the Kingdom in the Himalayas (repr. ed. Kathmandu: Himal Books, 2000). First published in 1961, this is a lavish illustrated general introduction to the country including a detailed account of stages in the formation of the Himalayas. The reprint edition includes an account of changes since the first visit to the country by the author, a Swiss national who conducted a geological survey of Nepal in the early 1950s and later helped set up the carpet industry. Barry Bishop’s Karnali under stress: livelihood strategies and seasonal rhythms in a changing Nepal Himalaya (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990) mainly focuses on conditions in the 1960s but includes an excellent summary of the development of Parbatiya society in the western hills from early times. Lionel Caplan’s Land and Social Change in East Nepal (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970; repr. ed. Kathmandu: Himal Books, 2000) describes how Brahmans and other landowners on land previously held by the Limbus under communal tenure. Based on fieldwork in Ilam, it illustrates a transformation that occurred, with local variations, over much of the country. Alan Macfarlane’s Resources and Population: a study of the Gurungs of Nepal (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976) focuses on a group who were not displaced by outsiders but beset by the pressure of rising numbers. This is a Malthusian account, still of value although the author now admits he failed to allow for the safety valve provided by migration to the towns and for remittance income. The “population explosion” and possible explanations for it, is also the topic of Mark Poffenberger’s rather more general but succinct account, Patterns of Change in the Nepal Himalaya (Delhi: Macmillan, 1980). In Resunga: the Mountain of the Horned Sage, (Kathmandu: HIMAL Books, 2000), P.Ramirez and his French anthropologist colleagues survey the present condition and earlier history of Argha-Kanchi district and adjacent areas in the hills southwest of Pokhara. Another
local history of wider relevance is Stanley F. Stevens’ *Claiming the high ground: Sherpas, subsistence and environmental change in the highest Himalaya.* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).


**THE ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL PERIODS (TO 1769)**

Some of the most important primary sources, originally written in Sanskrit, Newari or Nepali, are available in English. Translations of the 5th to 8th century Licchavi inscriptions, the earliest extant records from Nepal, are given in the second part of Dilli Rahman Regmi’s three-volume *Inscriptions of Ancient Nepal* (Delhi: Abhinav, 1983). Text and translation of a 14th century chronicle, the oldest found in the Kathmandu Valley, are provided in Dhanavajra Vajracharya & Kamal Prakash Mall’s *The Gopalarajavamsavali* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1985). One Buddhist-orientated chronicle from among the later, Nepali-language accounts of the pre-unification period, also covering the modern period down to 1838, was translated by two pandits attached to the British Residency and published in Daniel Wright’s *History of Nepal* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1877). Translations of other chronicles included in the British Library’s Hodgson’s Papers are published in Vikram Hasrat’s *The History of Nepal as Told by its Own and Contemporary Chroniclers* (Hoshiarpur: V.V.Research Institute, 1970).

Theodore Riccardi Jr summarizes the little which archaeology has so far revealed about the history of the Valley before the Licchavis in Siegfried Lienhard’s *Continuity and change: studies in the Nepalese culture of the Kathmandu Valley* (Alessandria, Italy: Edizioni dell’Orso, 1996). Evidence from river names is examined by Michael Witzel in “Nepalese hydron-

FROM PRITHVI NARAYAN TO THE END OF THE RANA PERIOD (1769-1951)

Before systematic work on British Indian and Nepali archives, writers on this period of Nepal's history relied overwhelmingly on early publications by servants of the East Indian Company and the Raj, some of which are still useful and are also regularly reprinted in India. The earliest full-length Western work on Nepal, An Account of the Kingdom of Nepaul (London: W. Miller, 1811), was written by William Kirkpatrick, the leader of the 1793 mission to Kathmandu, and the similarly titled book by Francis Hamilton, who was in Kathmandu ten years later, has been mentioned above. Brian Hodgson, who was at the Residency for most of the years from 1820-1843, never wrote his projected history of Nepal but some of his most important writings are included in his Essays on the Languages, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet (London: Trubner, 1874) and Miscellaneous essays on Indian Subjects (London: Trubner, 1880). An eulogistic account of his role in Kathmandu is provided by his personal friend Sir William W. Hunter in his Life of Brian Houghton Hodgson, British Resident at the Court of Nepal (1896). This can be compared with the more critical assessment by contributors to David Waterhouse's The Origins of Himalayan Studies: Brian Houghton Hodgson in Nepal and Darjeeling 1820-1858 (London & New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004). Hector Ambrose Oldfield, surgeon at the Kathmandu Residency from 1850 to 1873 and a personal friend of Jang Bahadur Rana, provides memoirs and general notes on the country in his posthumously published Sketches from Nepal (London: W.H. Allen, 1880).

Among modern writers, Ludwig Stiller provides the best general account of the establishment and expansion of the modern Nepalese state down to the Anglo-Gorkha War in his Rise of the House of Gorkha (Ranchi: Patna Jesuit Socity, 1968). In The Silent Cry; the People of Nepal 1816-1839 (Kathmandu: Sahayogi, 1973), Stiller analyses economic and social conditions under Bhimsen Thapa and also Bhimsen's skilful handling of the East India Company after military defeat, whilst his Letters from Kathmandu: The Kot Massacre (Kathmandu: CNAS, 1981) is a collection of correspondence from East India Company archives illustrating events in Nepal from 1840 to 1847.

Whilst Stiller, American-born but a naturalised Nepali citizen, writes from a Nepali nationalist standpoint, Kumar Pradhan's approach in The Gorkha Conquests: The Process and Consequences of the Unification of Nepal with Particular Reference to Eastern Nepal (Calcutta: Oxford University Press, 1991) is more that of an ethnic activist. He portrays Gorkha expansion as the conquest and subjugation of the Tibeto-Burman population rather than 'unification' in the true sense. A British view of the 1814-1816 conflict is provided by John Pemble's The Invasion of Nepal: John Company at War (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), which is a detailed and very well-written account but reliant only on British sources.

There are a number of studies of relations between Nepal and British India after 1816, again largely based on British records. Particularly useful are Ramakant's Indo-Nepalese Relations 1816-77 and three books by Kanchanmoy Mojumdar: Anglo-Nepalese Relations in the 19th century (Calcutta: K.L. Mukhopadhyay, 1973), Political Relations between Britain and Nepal, 1877-1923 (New Delhi: Munshiram, 1973) and Nepal and the Indian Nationalist Movement (Calcutta: K.L. Mukhopadhyaya, 1975). The last years of British rule in India are included in Asad Husain's British India's Relations with the Kingdom of Nepal 1857-1947 (London: Allen and Unwin, 1970).

Among Mahesh Chandra Regmi's many contributions to the economic history of the late 18th and 19th centuries, the most valuable are A Study in Nepali Economic History 1768-1846 (New Delhi:Manjushri, 1972), An Economic History of Nepal


Perceval Landon's *Nepal* (London: Constable, 1928, reprint ed. single volume) Kathmandu: Ratna Pustak Bhandar, 1976) was actually commissioned by Maharaja Chandra and is unsurprisingly rather partisan, but still a valuable portrait of the country in the early 20th century. Adrian Sever's *Nepal under the Ranas* (Delhi: Oxford & IBH Publishing Co., 1993) is a very readable, illustrated account of the whole Rana period, with particularly valuable chronological and biographical appendices. Most recently, three prominent Shamsher Ranas, viz. Prabhakar, Pushupati (currently leader of the Rastrriya Prajatantra Party) and Gautam, have published *The Ranas of Nepal* (New Delhi: Timeless Books, 2003). Particularly in its account of the Ranas today, this is sometimes more like a family scrapbook than detached analysis, but it is well written and valuable for its excellent selection of historic photographs and paintings, many of them in colour, and also for its description of the Rana lifestyle. For a view of social change outside the Kathmandu Vally, there is Sherry B. Ortner's *High religion: a cultural and political history of Sherpa religion* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989). This examines how income from wage labour in Darjeeling and mountaineering enabled the foundation of the first celibate monasteries in Solukhumbu in the early 20th century.


**POST-RANA NEPAL**

In addition to Joshi and Rose's authoritative volume already mentioned, there is Anirudh Gupta's *Politics in Nepal 1950-60* (reprint ed., Delhi: Kalinga Publications, 1993). For dissident activities in the early Panchayat years, Lok Raj Baral's *Oppositional Politics in Nepal* (New Delhi: Abhinav, 1977) is a valuable survey, and there is also Parmanand's *The Nepali Congress since its Inception* (Delhi: B.R. Publishing, 1982). For the Nepali Left and its tortuous history of splits and mergers, full details are available only in Nepali: Bhim Rawal (later to become a UML minister) provides a succinct account in his *Nepalma Samyabadi Andolan - Udbhav ra Bikas* [The Communist Movement in Nepal - Rise and Development] (Kathmandu: Pairavi Prakashan, 1990/91) and the fullest treatment is Surendra K.C.'s two-volume *Nepalma Kamython Andolanko Ithas*. (Kathmandu: Bidyarthi Pustak Bhandar, 1999/2000 & 2003/04). In English, the early part of Thapa and Sijapati's *Kingdom Under Siege* (see below) is probably the best guide.

Several participants in the events have also recorded them. Bhola Chatterji, one of the Indian socialist politicians who helped B.P.Koirala procure weapons for the 1950 anti-Rana revolt, gives a strongly pro-Congress account of the armed movement against the Ranas and of political developments...

B.P. had himself some years earlier written *Aphnai Katha [My Own Story]* (Kathmandu: Chetna Sahitya Prakashan, 1983/84), an account of his family background and life in India up to the 1930s. Memoirs in Nepali were also published by his colleague, Ganesh Man Singh, in *Mero Kathakha Panaharu [Pages from My Story]* (Kathmandu: Ayam Publications, 1998 & 2001), which deal with his early political involvement. The reminiscences of Tanka Prasad Acharya, a colleague of the “four Martyrs” in the Praja Parishad movement against the Ranas and also prime minister in 1956-7 are recorded, along with his wife’s recollections, in James Fisher’s *Living Martyrs: Individuals and Revolution in Nepal* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press. 1997). Rishikesh Shaha, a founder member of the Nepali Democratic Congress in 1948, was a senior diplomat as well as a member of King Mahendra’s government in the early 60s before emerging as a dissident. Some of his many essays and articles are included in *Nepali Politics: Retrospect and Prospect* (2nd ed., Delhi: OUP, 1978), *Essays in the Practice of Government in Nepal* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1982) and *Politics in Nepal, 1980-1990*, New Delhi: Manohar, 1990. Durga Pokhrel, a Congress activist frequently imprisoned between 1974 and 1982, who is now (January 2006) a member of King Gyanendra’s cabinet, has, together with her British husband, Anthony Willett, written *Shadow over Shangri-la: a Woman’s Quest for Freedom* (Washington, London: Brassey’s, 1996).


Stephen Mikesell’s *Class, State and Struggle in Nepal* (Kathmandu: Manohar, 1999) is a collection of writings by an American Marxist. He is not a supporter of the Maoists “People’s War” but his views are close to some of the more radical Nepalese Leftists.

The vexed question of policy towards India is dealt with in Lok Raj Baral’s *Looking to the future: Indo-Nepalese relations in perspective* (New Delhi: Anmoll Publications, 1996), whose contributors are representative of thinking on the issues amongst the political elites of both countries. The author himself was Nepal ambassador in Delhi under Sher Bahadur Deuba’s first government. Dipak Gyawali (later a member of Gyanendra’s November 2002 government) and Aayya Dixit analyze the process leading to ratification of the controversial Mahakali Treaty on water resources sharing in “How not to do a South Asian Treaty” (*Himal*, April 2001, pp.8-19). A more detached analysis of water issues is provided by Bhim Subba in his contribution to Kanak Dixit and Ramachandran Shastri’s *State of Nepal* (see below).

For the Maoists, the starting point is R. Andrew Nickson’s ‘Democratization and the Growth of Communism in Nepal: a Peruvian Scenario in the Making?’ (*Journal of Common Wealth and Comparative Politics* 30 (3), 1992, p.358-86) a prescient paper forecasting the outbreak of the ‘People’s War’. Deepak Thapa and Bandita Sijapati’s *A Kingdom Under Siege: Nepal’s Maoist Insurgency, 1996-2004* (2nd ed. London: Zed Books, 2005) provides a detailed account of both the origins and development of the insurgency. Robert Gersony’s *Sowing the Wind… History and Dynamics of the Maoist Revolt in Nepal’s Rapti Hills* (Report for Mercy Corps International, downloadable from http://www2.mercycorps.org/items/1662/) has attracted suspicion because of its funding by U.S.A.I.D. and the author (like Mahesh Chandra Regmi before him) has even been accused of being a C.I.A. agent. However, it provides valuable background on the growth of Maoist influence in their core area on the Rolpa-Rukum border, a plausible explanation of their success outside their heartland and also excellent maps. At the other end of the political spectrum, Li Onesto’s *Dispatches from the People’s...*

The royal massacre of 2001 sparked a flood of articles and several books. Among them Jonathan Gregson, Blood against the Snows: the Tragic Story of Nepal’s Royal Dynasty (London: Fourth Estate, 2002) makes good use of interviews with palace “insiders” and also offers a rather less valuable general history of the dynasty. Prakash A. Raj’s “Kay Gardeko?” The Royal Massacre in Nepal (New Delhi: Rupa) is a brief, clear account published soon after the event. Gregson clearly does not share the suspicion that Gyanendra or his son were behind the massacre and Raj merely presents the facts as officially revealed. Most Nepalese probably still privately assumed there was some kind of conspiracy. This fact, and the discounting of such suspicions by many western observers, are the subject of Bipin Adhikari and S.B.Mathé’s “The Global Media, the Probe Commission, and the Assassination of Nepal’s Royal Family: Questions Unasked and Unanswered” and rejoinders to it (Himalayan Research Bulletin, 21 (1), 2001, pp. 45-66)

Although occurring outside Nepal itself, developments amongst ‘ethnic Nepalese’ communities in other parts of South Asia have impacted on Nepal’s own politics. Tanka B.Subba, himself a Darjeeling Nepali, offers a sympathetic account of the struggle to detach the region from West Bengal’s control in his Ethnicity, State and Development: a Case Study of Gorkhaland Movement in Darjeeling (New Delhi: Dhar Anand, 1992). For the Bhutan crisis, D.N.S.Dhakal and Christopher Straw’s Bhutan: a Movement in Exile (New Delhi and Jaipur: Nirala, 1994) is similarly supportive of the Nepalese refugees case. Michael J.Hutt’s sympathies in Unbecoming Citizens: Culture, Nationhood, and the Flight of Refugees from Bhutan (Delhi: OUP, 2003) are also with the refugees but the approach is more academic. He also includes detailed investigation of the development of the Lhotsampa (ethnic Nepalese) community of southern Bhutan from the late 19th century onwards.

For Nepali citizens serving in Britain’s Brigade of Gurkhas, the general works mentioned in ‘Basic narratives’ can be supplemented with In Gurkha Company: The British Army Gurkhas, 1948 to the Present (London: Arms and Armour, 1986), an enthusiastic account by J.P. Cross, a retired Gurkha officer now living in Nepal with an adopted Nepalese family. Another ex-Gurkha officer, Nigel Collet, provides an official British view of the future of the Brigade in his contribution to Michael Hutt’s Nepal in the Nineties (see above)

THE ECONOMY

For a specialist in economic history a very obvious and relatively accessible source is the many reports produced by or for UN agencies and other arms of the international development industry. There are also, however, important published studies. Eugene Bramer Mihaly’s Foreign Aid and Politics in Nepal: a Case Study (London: Oxford University Press, 1965) is one of the earliest and was recently re-issued with an update by Sudhinda Sharma (Kathmandu: HIMAL Books, 2002). Although not uncritical of foreign, and particularly American approaches, the book is unpopular with many in Nepal because it puts much of the blame for development failure on Nepalese attitudes. For the later role of foreign aid there is Narayan Khadka’s Foreign Aid and Foreign Policy: Major Powers and Nepal (New Delhi: Vikash Publishing House, 1997). Piers Blaikie, John Cameron and David Seddon’s Nepal in Crisis – Growth and Stagnation at the Periphery (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), owes its origins to an aid project as the authors were commissioned by the British Government’s Overseas Development Agency to investigate the economic effects of a road-building programme. The wider study they eventually produced sees the obstacles to progress in social relations within Nepal and in the country’s dependent position within the international system. The book’s unrelieved pessimism is slightly modified in later work by the East Anglian team, including Peasants and Workers in Nepal (Warminster: Aris & Philips, 1979) and David Seddon’s Nepal—a State of Poverty (Delhi: Vikas, 1987). Useful on changing economic policies in the Panchayat years and also as a guide to the thinking of the man later to become Sher Bahadur Deuba’s economic advisor is Narayan Khadka’s Politics and Development in Nepal (Jaipur: Nirala, 1994).

Not strongly committed to any particular theoretical standpoint but useful as a general survey is Pradyumna Prasad Karan and Hiroshi Ishii’s Nepal: a Himalayan Kingdom in Transition (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 1996; Delhi: Bookwell, 1997), which deals mainly with natural resources, population movements and economic development. Another very useful reference source, dealing with broad social trends as well as the economy, is NESAC’s Nepal Human Development Report 1998 (Kathmandu: Nepal South Asia Centre, 1998). This was commissioned by the UN and produced by a team including Devendra Panday, a former Finance Secretary and Finance Minister, and former Planning Commission member Chaitanya Mishra and recommends a more welfarist approach than the broadly neo-liberal policies implemented after 1990. Panday himself is also the author of Nepal’s Failed Development: Reflections on the Mission and the Maladies (Kathmandu: Nepal South Asia Centre, 1999).

This is very well-written and impressive for Panday’s frank admission of failure by the educated class, himself included, but does not go into detail on decisions in which he was himself involved. Another contribution from a policy practitioner is Harka Gurung’s Regional Patterns of Migration in Nepal (Honolulu: East-West Centre, 1989), a scholarly but readable
analysis by a geographer and former minister who also led the commission that produced a controversial report on the citizenship issue in 1984.

Finally, Laurie Zivetz’s *Private Enterprise and the State in Modern Nepal* (Madras: Oxford University Press, 1992) gives a private sector perspective on economic policy in the Panchayat era as, in addition to extensive interviews with entrepreneurs, she can draw on her own experience running a small enterprise in Nepal.

**SOCIAL DEVELOPMENTS**

Any selection out of the enormous amount published on Nepalese society over the last fifty years has to be particularly arbitrary but a good collection of essays on the country at the end of the century is Kanak Dixit and Ramachandran Shastri’s *State of Nepal* (Kathmandu: Himal Books, 2002), the many topics covered including education and the media. Dor Bahadur Bista’s *Fatality and Development: Nepal’s Struggle for Modernization* (Hyderabad, India: Orient Longman, 1991) is a controversial work that attempts to explain Nepal’s development failure as the result of the value-system of high-caste Hindus. Gellner et al’s *Nationalism and Ethnicity in a Hindu Kingdom* (already referred to for analysis of long-term trends) focuses also on the recent phenomenon of ethnic activism; groups covered include the Tharus, Tamangs, Gurungs and Maithils. Village-level response to increasing state control as well as ethnic movements and the Maoist rebellion are all treated in another work edited by David Gellner, *Resistance and the State: Nepalese Experiences* (New Delhi: Social Science, 2003). Mark Liechty focuses on a cross-ethnic section of urban society in his *Suitably Modern: Making Middle-Class Culture in a New Consumer Society* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), a fascinating exploration of the values and anxieties of the Kathmandu Valley’s middle-class. Laura Ahearn’s *Invitations to Love: Literacy, Love Letters, and Social Change in Nepal* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002) looks at changing gender relations and courtship patterns amongst educated Magars in Palpa district but much of the analysis applies to Nepalese society more widely. Also of general relevance is Todd Ragsdale’s *Once a Hermit Kingdom: Ethnicity, Education and National Integration in Nepal* (Kathmandu: Ratna Pustak Bhandar, 1989), which examines the impact of the New Education System Plan on a Gurung village and its school. Another controversial issue has been the rapid increase in the Christian community since 1991. Background to this is supplied by the latest edition of Jonathan Lindell’s *Nepal and the Gospel of God* (Kathmandu: United Mission to Nepal/Pilgrim Book House 1997), which deals with the activities of Protestant missionaries in Nepal from the 1950s onwards. Controversy is deliberately courted in John Frederick’s “Deconstructing Gita” (*Himal* (11 (10) (October 1998), pp.12-23). He argues that, rather than being the unknowing victims of traffickers, families often know their daughters are being taken into prostitution but feel poverty leaves them no alternative.

There have been several important studies of the Tharus, one of Nepal’s largest ethnic groups. Arjun Guneratne’s *Many Tongues, One People: the Making of Tharu Identity in Nepal* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002) examines how the indigenous inhabitants of the Tarai were subordinated by Parbatiya settlers and how originally very different groups came to see themselves as a single people. Tatsuro Fujikura’s “Emancipation of Kamaiyas: Development, Social Movement, and Youth Activism in Post-Jana-Andolan Nepal” (*Himalayan Research Bulletin* 2(1), 2001, pp. 29-35) is an interesting study of how Tharu activists organized effectively by alternately working the international “aid establishment” and taking direct political action. An alternative, less enthusiastic view of the NGO involved is provided by Gisèle Krauskopf’s contribution to David Gellner’s *Resistance and the State*.


**ENDNOTES**

1. I am grateful for assistance from David Gellner and Marie Lecomte-Tiloine but am myself solely responsible for opinions expressed in this article.

2. Strictly speaking ‘Brigade’ is accurate as a collective term for British Gurkha units only after 1949.

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ERRATA: A HISTORY OF NEPAL

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p. xx, l.3-4: ‘Ram Krishna Poudel’ should be ‘Ram Chandra Poudel’
p. 1, para 2, line 2: ‘eighty’ should be ‘fifty’
p. 19, para 3, line 7: ‘Brikuti’ should be ‘Bhrikuti’
p. 45, 3 lines from bottom: ‘Chautara’ should be ‘Chautaria’
p. 49, para 1, l.2: ‘chautara’ should be ‘chautaria’
p. 64, para 2, line 2: ‘Before moving against Dhir’ should be ‘before moving against Dev’.
p. 70, para last: line 2 from below: ‘Sarat Chandra Bose’ should be ‘Subhas Chandra Bose’
p. 71, para 3, l.1: ‘the king’s youngest grandson’ should be ‘Crown Prince Mahendra’s second son’ (Gyanendra was born in 1947 and Dhirendra in 1950, so ‘youngest grandson’ is certainly wrong and, as I’m not sure if Mahendra’s brothers had had children before the flight to India, just referring to Gyanendra as Mahendra’s second son is safest).
p. 81, para 2, l.11: Delete the first ‘such’
p. 82, l.8: ‘Marichman’ should be ‘Ratna Man’
p. 83, l.8: delete ‘temporary’ (some of them returned, others stayed in the tarai)
p. 102, 3rd line from bottom: ‘Lepcha’ should be ‘Bhotiya’
p. 111, l.3: ‘king’s sister’ should be ‘king’s aunt’ (this is Helen Shah, wife of Mahendra’s brother, Prince Basundhara. The error was in People, Politics and Ideology but nobody spotted it before)
p. 135, para 1, l.3: ‘Pakrabas’ should be ‘Pakhribas’
p. 139, para 1, l.3: ‘Airlines’ should be ‘airlines’ (because those involved at the start were small private airlines, not the present state-owned ‘Indian Airlines’ company.)
p. 164, para 2, l.8: ‘how girls ending up in the sex trade’ should be ‘how far girls ending up in the sex trade’
p. 166, l.3: ‘Department’ should be ‘Ministry’
p. 167, para 2, l.7: ‘Budhanilkantie’ should be ‘Budhanilkantia’
p. 168, para 2, l.5: ‘Tanka Prasad Acharya’s 1956-57 government’ should be ‘K.L.Singh’s 1957 government’
p. 185, 2 lines from bottom: ‘Gurkha’ should be ‘Gorkha’
p. 186, line 4: Gurkha should be ‘Gorkha’
p. 187, para 2, line 14: ‘1984’ should be ‘1983’ (Harka Gurung’s own correction!)
p. 211, para 2, l.21: ‘Gorakbikram Shah’ should be ‘Gorakshamshor Rana’ (with consequent deletion of ‘Shah, Gorakbikram’ from the index (p 294) and insertion of new entry ‘Rana, Gorakshamshor’ on page 293.

The author has compiled this list of corrections to errors that appeared in A History of Nepal. 
Editor

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