
The Legacy of the Khasa Chhetris: Unraveling Ancient Roots, and Cultural Traditions of an Ethnic Group in Nepal

Chakra Bahadur Karki¹, Neel Kumar Chetri^{2*}

¹Bhojpur, Koshi Province, Nepal

²Kathmandu, Bagamati Province, Nepal

*Corresponding Author: neelchetri@gmail.com

<https://doi.org/10.3126/oas.v2i1.65608>

Abstract

The Khasa Chhetris are an integral group of the Nepali society. The Nepali language (Khaskura) is believed to have sprung from the tongues of the Khasas such as Mugali, Achhami, and mainly Sinjali or Jumli spoken in the Karnali region. This paper seeks to make the representation of the Chhetris as the direct descendants of the ancient Khasas, and to highlight their distinct traditions and customs from the historical perspective. It argues that the Khasas are the ancient settlers of western Nepal having the amalgamation of shamanic and Vedic traditions. Their matrilineal society transformed into patrilineal framework owing to the accumulation of wealth in the hands of males and the consequent idea of private property. This study would encourage the scholars to look at this issue from the perspectives or the oral narratives of the Khasa Chhetris.

Keywords: Khasa, Chhetri, identity, tradition, Karnali

Introduction

Existing studies on Khasa history by scholars like Ram Niwas Pandey, Atkinson, Surya Mani Adhikary, and Dor Bahadur Bista, etc, have overlooked the dialectical relationship between the Khasa warrior tradition, Shamanism, and the Vedic tradition of Rudra and Devi. They have predominantly focused on singular aspects of Khasa culture, and historical events without exploring their interconnectedness. Additionally, these scholars have neglected the oral narratives of the Khasa Chhetri, resulting in a skewed understanding influenced by Western knowledge systems. This oversight undermines the authenticity of Khasa heritage and limits the depth of analysis. Hence, there is a critical gap in literature regarding the Khasa Chhetri perspective, demanding a comprehensive examination of their cultural dynamics, including oral narratives, to provide a more accurate portrayal of their history and heritage.

This study has the objective of tracing the lineage of Khasa Chhetris from the Ancient Khasas of western Nepal, and to highlight the amalgamation of Shamanic and Vedic traditions in their culture. It seeks to explore the following research questions: - What is the etymology and genesis of the Khasa Chhetris? Why is the contribution of Khasas important to Nepali history? How do the Shamanic and Vedic traditions influence the Khasa Chhetri culture?

Methodology

This study is based on published archives, and the oral traditions of the Chhetris on the assumption that knowledge is not exclusively etched on the written texts. However, knowledge is also disseminated through oral narratives, and thus, while studying history and society, oral narratives should not be ignored. There are two interviews: - one of Puspa Bahadur Karki of Bhaishpankha village in Khurila (Bhojpur municipality 10) taken on February 8, 2024, and another is that of Mrigendra Bahadur Karki, the executive director of Center for Nepal and

Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur, taken on February 23, 2024. Similarly, the works of scholars dealing with Khasas are also included in this study.

Etymology and the identity of the Khasas

The Nepali socio-cultural discourse identifies the Chhetris as Khasas, who appear to be living in Mahakali and Karnali regions from the ancient times. In the Manusmriti (10. 21, 22, 43-44), the Khasas are categorized as Vratya Kshatriyas along with the Kirata, Kamboja, Yavanas, Sakas, Paradas, Chinese, Pahlavas, and Daradas because they neglected the smriti rules regarding caste hierarchy (*Manu Smriti*, 2024). In the vedic tradition, Rudra is called *ek Vratya* as seen in chants of Artharva Veda. The Khasas worship Rudra Masto along with nava Durga bhavani. In the Drona parva (section 11) of Mahabharata, the Khasas are mentioned along with mountainous groups like Pisachas, Mallas, and Daradas who came from different regions to help Duryodhana in the war at Kurukshetra (*Drona Parva*, 2024).

In the Karna parva of Mahabharata, the Khasas are called Vahika belonging to the Jarttika clan who lived in a town of Sakala near the river Apaga. They used liquor called Gauda with fried barley, and that they prepared rotis of flour mixed with meat, and they had to buy rice. (*Karna Parva*, 2024). The Vahika women are described as beautiful with high cheekbones, with red tikas and kajal (black collyrium) on their eyes. They had wide hips and heavy thighs wearing clothes of wool and leather (*Karna Parva*, 2024). They had big wooden vessels to store barley and corn, and they ate in earthen plates (*Karna Parva*, 2024).

The Karna Parva informs us that among the Vahikas caste depended on profession, and that they had a tradition of making Brahmana from at least one family meaning a priest, shaman or an intellectual (*Karna Parva*, 2024). This parva mentions that among the Khasas property was inherited in matrilineal lineage, and they protected the Himalayan region.

Even today, the people of Kashmir call their land in their local language as Khasira, and we find names like Kashgarh in central Asia, which may have been settled by the Khasas in ancient times. The Kirata Mundhum mentions that the Khasas came from Tarim basin of western China during the Kirata rule in Nepal. Their fort called Khasgarh in Tarim basin was attacked by the tribe of Laghu Yuehchi Kushan, so when they came to the Himalayan region, the Kirata rulers allowed them to settle in the region- west of Trisuli River. Gradually they spread to the regions up to Kashmir (Chemjong, 2003, pp. 240–242). In the Xing Xiang of western China, in the Tarim basin, scholars have excavated mummies most of that belong to R1a1 haplogroup (Li et al., 2018). From Tibet, the Khasas came to Humla through the gap between Takh Himal and Changla Himal, and they established their first state (Pradhan, 1991, p. 33). All this shows that the Khasas came to Himalayan region from Xing Xiang in remote past through Tibet.

The British colonial ethnographers also give us information about the Khasas. Vansittart mentions the Khasas as the warlike people, very nationalistic in their feelings, jealously guarding their country, and among them, a person who ran away from the battle was made outcast, and his wife was unable to eat with him (Vansittart, 1992, pp. 10, 15–27). William Kirkpatrick calls the Khasas as Chhetri. He found them in the Trisuli region of western Nepal living along with the Brahmanas, and Rajputs. He tells us that these Khasiyas settled in the Nepal Valley (Kathmandu Valley) in the fifteenth century (Kirkpatrick, 1811, pp. 55–56, 256, 264, 265, 275, 285). Hamilton says that the region between Nepal Valley and Kashmir was known as the country of the Khasa, and the people as Khasiyas. The descendants of the Brahmanas and the Mongoloid women were mixed up with these Khasas, and they came to be known as Chhetris and Khatris (Hamilton, 1819, p. 7,8,17,18,19,20,22,23,24). Brian H. Hodgson holds similar view about the Khasas saying that they were orthodox Hindus like the Brahmanas (Hodgson, 1971, pp. 35–45). These colonial writers have ignored the shamanic

traditions of the Khasas, and dubbed them as orthodox Hindus comparing them with Brahmanas

Results and Discussion

The Greek scholar, Pliny who completed his work in about 79 AD says that the Casiri lived in the interiors of Himalayan region (Atkinson, 1974, p. 353). Ptolemy, who completed his work in 151 AD, also mentions the Cesi living in the Himalayan region (Atkinson, 1974, p. 279). These Casiri and Cesi were clearly the Khasas. Ptolemy writes that the country of the Cesi was located in the trans-Himalayan tract viewing from the north-west of India (Adhikari, 1997, p. 28). Herodotus locates the Khasas as living in the north from other Indians who traded to bring gold from northern areas (Nautiyal, 1969, p. 17). It seems that they had trade relations with Tibet from where they procured gold.

The Chinese pilgrim, Yuan Chwang informs us about the Karnali region that the climate was slightly cold, and most of the people were traders, and only few of them were interested in literature (Atkinson, 1974, p. 452). The region was called the Suvarnabhumi or Suvarnagotra also known as Stree rajya or dominion ruled by women. Yuan Chwang tells us that gold of superior quality was found there. The men attended only to the suppression of revolts and the cultivation of the fields (Watters, 2004, p. 330). The important Chinese account is the Eastern Nu annals of 586 AD of the Sui period about the Stree rajya, which mentions that the Khasas were ruled by queen who had the title of Supi. The palace was nine storeys tall. There were women attendants and officers. The court was held in every five days. The males only become soldiers and farmers. The region was rich in copper, gold ore, cinnabar, musk, yaks, and two breeds of horses. They also exported salt to India. They were in conflict with Tanghsiang (Tibet) and Indian rulers. The queen was called Pinchiu, and the female minister as Kaopali. They had matrilineal society. They used Indian script (devnagari) and Chinese calendar (Atkinson, 1974, pp. 458–459). There was a queen named Tang Pang in 618–626 AD, who paid tribute to China. In 742 AD, they elected a king, and after few years Lhasa (Tibet) conquered them (Atkinson, 1974, pp. 458–459). Here we can see that the name and titles of the rulers are given in Chinese, we do not know their Khasa names. On the basis of the products mentioned in the Chinese Eastern Nu Annals, Pandey opines that "the mineral wealth of Jumla and Parvat, the horses of Jumla and Mustang, and the salt of the Salt Range (Khari Pradesa) and of the lakes of northwestern part were the main commodities of exchange of western Nepal in the local marts till the beginning of the nineteenth century" (Pandey, 1997a, p. 99). This indicates that the Stree rajya extended from Karnali region to Parvat in the east.

Pandey argues that the Stree rajya was ruled by the rulers belonging to Lig dynasty based on Tibetan chronicles. The Tibetan emperor, Srong-tsan-Gampo (624–47 AD) was able to dominate whole of the Himalayan region. However, the Khasas under Lig Snasur fought against the Tibetans in 644 AD. The Tibetan ruler, Kri-sron-Ide-btsan gave his daughter, Sad-mar-Kar in marriage to Lig Mji-rhya, the prince of Stree rajya. Pandey says that Stree rajya was under Tibetan dominance from 650–850 AD (Pandey, 1997a, p. 100). An Indian historian, RC Majumdar says that in the Pala Empire of the north Indian plains that existed from eighth to eleventh century AD, the Khasas of the hills were employed in the Pala army as soldiers (Majumdar, 1936, p. 132). There are two separate genealogies mentioned in the inscriptions of Dullu pillar; one begins with Adi Pala and ends with Pratap Malla, and the other begins with Nagaraja who conquered Jumla in the eleventh century, and comes down to Prithvi Malla by whom the pillar was installed in 1357 AD (Adhikari, 1997, pp. 185–188). There is an idol of Gautama Buddha dated 1000 AD, where it is inscribed La-tsun Nagaraja, which shows that Nagaraja brought it from Khari Pradesha of Tibet (Sharma, 2012, pp. 36–39). The Tibetan chronicles mention that Nagaraja was the second son of Bha-re, the tenth descendant of Ni-ma-mgon-the founder of the Ide family of Tibet (Pandey, 1997a, p. 118). It shows that Nagaraja

had ancestors who probably migrated to Guge from the plains at least two centuries earlier than 11th century AD. Ni-ma-mgon's first son was dPala-ide, so the mention of the word Pala indicates that the Ide or Deva family of Guge was Pala.

An inscription of 1278 AD at Bodhgaya (Bihar) mentions Sahanapala to be the younger brother of Asoka Challa, who is inscribed as the raja of Khasadesa (Adhikari, 1997, pp. 165–166) meaning the country of the Khasas, and the Gopesvar (Garhwal) inscription belonging to 1251 AD of Asokachalla describes him as belonging to Gauda (Bengali) family, and the lord of Khasamandala (Pandey, 1997a, pp. 113–114), the realm of the Khasas. The copperplate inscription of Krachalla belonging to 1223 AD, found in the Baleswar temple of Sui in Kumaon, refers to him as a brave warrior belonging to Raghukula (Adhikari, 1997, pp. 159–163). What is important is that he is identified by the name of his mother, Sira, in this copperplate. It is only in the Dullu pillar inscription of 1357 AD and the Tibetan accounts that the rulers are identified through the male line (Tucci, 1956, pp. 49–92). Such a society may have helped the Kurus, various clans of Rajputs as well as the Pala/Challa/Malla rulers to be accepted among the Khasas.

The Gopala raja vamshavali belonging to fourteenth century AD mentions the Khasas or Khasiyas as attacking the Kathmandu valley under rulers such as Jayatari (Asoka Challa's son Jitari Malla), Ripu Malla, Aditya Malla, and Punya Malla. These rulers belonged to thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, who may have wanted to plunder and receive tributes from the valley rulers (Adhikari, 1997, pp. 37, 57–63). It seems that the Lig dynasty which was under Tibetan vassalage was at some point of time overthrown by the Palas mentioned in Dullu inscription above. These Palas of Purang or upper Karnali region were conquered by the Guge (southwestern Tibet) ruler Nagaraja from another Pala family who captured Jumla in eleventh century AD. The successors of Nagaraja created a Khasa empire centered in Karnali region with its twin capitals at Sinja and Dullu. The empire existed until the end of fourteenth century, and in its heyday i.e. thirteenth century, it had extended from Himachal Pradesh in the west to Trisuli River, south-west Tibet in the north, and outer-Tarai south of Sivalik range in the south, as there are two inscriptions of Ripu Malla in Lumbini and Kapilvastu (Adhikari, 1997, pp. 44–45). Prithvi Malla was the last emperor of the Khasa desa, after his death, the empire began to break up into pieces, and for four hundred years until the rise of Prithvinarayan Shaha in the middle of eighteenth century, there was no single socio-political framework. What we get in the period of four hundred years is the existence of various political formations often called Baise-Chaubise, and the three Newari Malla political formations of Kathmandu Valley. In these formations, the Khasas used to serve as soldiers, ministers, and army generals.

In the inscriptions of Khasadesa, the Khasas are identified by their professions, and clan names such as Raula or Raulo (chiefs), Karki (accountant and tax collector), Khadga gaha (Sword fighter or body guard of the palace), and Thapa (clan name-soldier or paikela), (Adhikari, 1997, pp. 63, 82, 86–87), etc. In the middle of sixteenth century, few Khasas were allowed to wear janai with the title of Chhatra by the Kalyal raja Gaganiraja of Jumla (Naraharinath, 2013, pp. 345–357). Ram Shah's ninth code (1614-1636 AD), the raja of Gorkha, dictates that the recommendation of the Kajis is necessary while giving birta or landgrants to the Brahmanas. These Kajis were the Khasa members of the raja's council. In the eleventh code, the Khasa families of Pandey and Bohra are mentioned as tharghar or nobility of Gorkha (*Bada Maharajadhiraj Sri Paanch Prithvinarayan Shaha Ko Divya Upadesh*, 2061, pp. 107–108). All this shows that the Khasa were prominent warriors and nobles in medieval times influenced by the smriti tradition of wearing a sacred thread that was considered a symbol of high status.

In the sixteenth century, Babur, the founder of the Mughal dynasty in India writes in his Babur Nama that beyond Kashmir there were people doing agriculture in the hills. He

exactly locates the Khasas as living north of the Hindustan in mountains, and Tibet "lies to the north of the unknown horde called Kas"(Babur & Beveridge, 1922). He says that they traded in musk-bags, bhri-qutas (yaks or the tassels of yak), saffron, lead, and copper. He mentions that the people of Hindustan called the abode of the Khasas as Sawalaka Mountains, which meant one-lakh twenty five thousand hills, where snow fell. Babur writes that he had sent news-reporters to know about the Khasas but none of them returned alive (Babur & Beveridge, 1922). In the another work of sixteenth century, Malik Muhammad Jaisi's *Padmavati*, the Khasiyas and Magars from hills are said to have fought in support of the Delhi sultan, Alauddin Khalji against the Rajputs in Chittor (Jaisi, 1944, p. 291).

In the *Divya Upadesh*, Prithvinarayan Shaha compares the Khasas with Tajik Turki horse that would accomplish the work of conquering Nepal faster. He says that he won Nepal with the shield of Pandey, and the sword of Basnyat, both of whom were the Khasas. (*Bada Maharajadhiraj Sri Paanch Prithvinarayan Shaha Ko Divya Upadesh*, 2061, pp. 35–37). In 1836 AD, a code was introduced forbidding the Khasa, Rajput Kshatriya, Upadhyaya Brahmana, Jaisi, Magar, Ghale and Gurung, etc, to marry the widow of their elder brother. Only the people of Jumla, and the Kirati Limbus and Lepchas were exempted from it on the plea that caste arrangements had not been made in those regions (Nepali, 2060, p. 144). This also shows that in Jumla not all the Khasas wore the janai. The *Muluki Ain* of 1853-54 AD gives the title of Chhetri to the Khasas, and they are ranked below the Upadhyaya Brahmana and the Thakuris in the ritual hierarchy of Nepal (Regmi, 2002, p. 62). We can get the fairly good idea that the Khasas were the warriors, and leaders of political unification. From sixteenth century onwards, they underwent systematic sanskritisation process owing to the fancy of the ruling elite towards Smriti traditions.

Traditions and customs of the Khasas

The Chhetri religion is the amalgamation of vedic and local shamanic traditions. In the Karnali region, the oral narratives say that there are two kinds of Chhetris: *jiula* who live in irrigated land and *pavai* living in rain fed hills. The *pavai* are influenced by northern Tibetan culture; so they celebrate *dashain*, *Tihar* along with *Lhosar* (Tibetan New Year). The Chhetris celebrate *Dasain* (Durga puja), and *Tihar* (Diwali), which is well known. The earliest inscription about these festivals is that of Malaya Varma belonging to 1389 AD, which mentions *Dashain*, and *Tiyar* or *Tihar* (Adhikari, 1997, p. 108). In western Nepal, for instance in *Darchula*, the Chhetris have *jatras* or festivals like *dogra bhoneli jatra* during the months of *Magh* (January-February), and *Asoj* (September-October). In addition, they also celebrate *Saileswari Shikar jatra*, and *Malika Arjun jatra* in *Shrawn* (July-August), and *Kartik* (October-November).

Amalgamation of Shamanic and Vedic traditions

Almost all the Chhetris have their clan deity called *kuldevata*, who is often a *masto* or a *devi*. We learn from the oral narratives that there are *barah masta* or twelve *mastos* who are brothers and these *mastas* have the nine *devis* or goddesses as their sisters who are called *nau durga bhawani*. *Dor Bahadur Bista* in his research found that the bulk of *Jumla's Khas* continue to live with their shamanic ritual practices, making alcohol at home, offering it to their deities, and drinking themselves (Bista, 1995). The *mastos* are worshipped either in *ghara mandu* (shrine near the house or in house), or in *bana mandu* (shrine in the forest). The *dhami* (shaman or a healer) acts as the medium or a priest of the *Masto*, which means God in the Khasa language. The *Mudula Karki dhami* of *kalosilto masto* in *Bhojpur* also sucks the blood from the sacrificed goat, which is called *bhog khani*. According to the oral narrative of *Mudula Karkis* as narrated by the *dhami* named *Puspa Bahadur Karki* of *Bhaisipankha* village in *Bhojpu*, the *kul puja* of *Masto* brings prosperity, and fulfills the desires of the humans.

A person becomes a *dhami* when the *masto* or a *devi* inspires him, and his body sags;

a person also becomes a dhama when the devata appears in his dream granting him the knowledge of herbal medicines, and mantras or powerful chants. Puspa Bahadur told these authors that a dhama also trains his sister's son or a bhanja to be a dhama. A dhama has chamar (yak tail) and a bell as his marks of being a healer. There is a shrine of Kalosilto masto that is one hundred eleven years old in the village of Puspa Bahadur Karki who is the head dhama of the Kalo Silto masto in Bhojpur. He informed us that the kul puja of Mudula Karkis takes place once in three years during the day of Mangsir purnima (when full moon appears at night), the puja starts early in the morning and lasts till twilight. The day before puja, the male uncastrated goat is purified by sprinkling water. Such goat should not have injury marks, and not fed *jutho* or food contaminated by humans. Humans should not kick or touch that goat with leg. Failing to observe such rules, the dhama shakes his body and point out the mistakes on the day of puja. From every house of Mudula Karkis, at least one goat is sacrificed on the day of puja. Menstruating women are not allowed to take part in the puja. Similarly, married daughters of Mudula Karkis are not allowed to take part in the puja as they are not considered as the members of the clan. Newly married women have to offer a piece of cloth or a thread of the sari worn by them at the time of marriage to masto. Similarly, Mrigendra Bahadur Karki informed us that the Sutar Karkis worship Jalpa Kalika devi as their kul devi. They perform the kul puja once in every three years during Shrawan purnima. They sacrifice a black she-goat called mul-medo (main sacrificial animal). After that a boka or he-goat can be sacrificed according to the will of worshippers. Unlike the Mudula Karkis, the Sutaras have a Brahmins priest belonging to Ghimire clan for ritualistic purity. A *sila* or stone representing Jalpa Kalika is kept in the shrine of the Sutar Karkis.

In the past, when a person becomes a dhama, he made pilgrimages of holy shrines: Rinamokse, Chhayanaath, Muktinath, and Thakurjee. He had to bring a seal (dhito chhap) of the reputed dhama to show a validity of his claim of being a dhama of a particular masto (Pandey, 1997b, p. 592). The oral narratives of Jumla and Mugu indicate that a person has to learn forty chapters of Shukla Yajur Veda to become a dhama, and that the masto does not have idols or images, and it is to be worshipped by lighting lamps in the walls of the house. However, nowadays, wooden or stone idols can be seen of masto. The gayatri mantra of Rudra masto reads: Om tatpurashaya vidyameha Mahadevaya dhimahi Rudra prachodayat, which means, "I worship the powerful God who is an ideal purusha, o Mahadeva bless me with knowledge, and open the door of education for me". Satyamohan Joshi gives three lists of the twelve names of mastos, and two lists of the names of nine devis (Joshi, n.d., p. 51), but his lists contains repetitions of names of deities.

These lists are given below without repetitions.

- Dhandara masto, Kava masto, Kalosilto masto, Dhavalapuro masto, Dudhesilto masto, Dadhe masto, Larichala masto, Tharpa masto, Budu masto, Kailasha masto, Lankhuro masto, and Sukilohasa masto.
- Banni masto, Kiundala masto, Lato masto, Babiro masto, Bano masto, Banskota masto, Saina masto.
- Sima masto, Sunaragoan masto, Puvanle masto, Ukhadi masto, Talikote masto, Ba masto, Liudi masto, Ramala masto, Dhurapani masto, Guro masto, and Vijayi masto.

The nine devis are:-

- Malika, Kanakasundari, Tripurasundari, Jalpadevi, Kalika, Khesamalini, Thingyalini, Dulleni, and Vindu Vasini.
- Bhavani, Khemamalini, Pugelini, Himalini.

We can see that the mastas and devis are brothers and sisters that show the high status of women in Khasa society in the past; however, it is a matter of future research that how did

the Khasas came to have male dominated society. We can imagine that when the Khasa empire under the Challa/Mallas began to grow in the thirteenth century, the contact with the southern plains through trade, and the accumulation of wealth; and the concept of private property led the Khasas to have patriarchal society where children came to be known by the names of their father as we can see in the Dullu pillar of fourteenth century as mentioned above. Gradually, the property rights, and forms of wealth came in the hands of males, and women became depended on males.

Conclusion

Today the Khasa Chhetris live in a patriarchal society; however, they do not suppress women as compared to the Tarai, and the Indian plains. Rahul Sankrityanan gives some of the traditions and customs of the Khasas of the Himalayas that show the liberal treatment of the women. These are as follows; marrying the widow of the elder brother, paying wealth to the parents of bride instead of asking money in dowry, divorce was accepted among them, marrying through elopement, that is known as tipni in western Nepal, sacred thread was not necessary for them, the husband living in the house of the bride, and inheritance to property by the daughter and her children. Again there was a tradition of Jhatela that is, if a woman takes a second husband then the children of first husband have the right to property of the second husband; and tekuwa system, when a widow takes a second husband, and keeps him in her house. He has no right to property of his wife but his sons have the right to property of the mother (Sankrityanan, 1952, pp. 160–161). The Khasa Chhetris do not follow many of these traditions today, however, divorce is traditionally accepted among them that a wife can elope with her lover, and the husband can bring another wife, etc. Thus, we can see that they have their distinct traditions and customs since the early times.

References

- Adhikari, S. M. (1997). *The Khasa Kingdom*. Nirala Publications.
- Atkinson, E. T. (1974). *Kumaon hills: Its history, geography and anthropology with reference to Garhwal and Nepal*. Cosmo Publications.
- Babur, E. of H., & Beveridge, A. S. (1922). *The Babur-nama in English (Memoirs of Babur)*. London, Luzac. <http://archive.org/details/baburnamainengli01babuuoft>
- Bada Maharajadhiraj Sri Paanch Prithvinarayan Shaha ko Divya Upadesh* (Baburam Acharya, and Yogi Naraharinath). (2061). Krishna Acharya.
- Bista, D. B. (1995). Khas of Chaudabisa. *Himal*, 3(May-June).
- Chauhan, R. (1989). *Society and state building in Nepal*. Sterling Publishers PVT.
- Chemjong, I. S. (2003). *History and culture of the Kirat people* (4th ed.). Kirat Yakthung Chumlung, Central Office, Mahalaxmasthan.
- Gayden, T., Cadenas, A. M., Regueiro, M., Singh, N. B., Zhivotovsky, L. A., Underhill, P. A., Cavall-sforza, L. L., & Herrera, R. J. (2007). The Himalayas as a directional barrier to gene flow. *The American Journal of Human Genetics*, 80, 884–894. <https://www.nature.com/articles/ejhg201450.pdf>
- Hamilton, F. B. (1819). *An account of the Kingdom of Nepal* (1st ed.). Constable.
- Hodgson, B. H. (1971). *Essays on the language, literature, and religion of Nepal, and Tibet* (Reprinted). KL Sachdeva, Skylark printers.
- Itihas Prakash* (Itihas Prakash Mandal, Vol. 2). (2012). The Mandal.

- Jaisi, M. M. (1944). *Padmavati* (A.G. Shirreff). The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- Joshi, J. (n.d.). Karnali lokasamskriti: Mastaka Alanaharu. *Prajna, Anka 3*(Varsa 2).
- Karna Parva*. (2024). www.sacred-texts.com/hin/m08045htm
- Kirkpatrick, W. (1811). *An account of the Kingdom of Nepal* (1st ed.). William Millar, London.
- Li, C., Li, H., Cui, Y., Xie, C., Cai, D., Li, W., Mair, V. H., Xu, Z., Zhang, Q., Abuduresule, I., Jin, L., Zhu, H., & Zhou, H. (2018). *Evidence that a West-East admixed population lived in the Tarim Basin as early as the early Bronze Age*. <https://www.slavorum.org/tarim-basin-in-china-mummies-of-proto-slavs-4000-years-old/>
- Majumdar, R. C. (1936). The Dacca University Studies. *The Dacca University, 1*(No.2).
- Manu Smriti*. (2024). www.sacred-texts.com/hin/manu/10.htm
- Naraharinath, Y. (2013). *Itihas Prakash: Vol I: Kathmandu Itihas Prakash Samgha*.
- National Statistics Office. (2021). *National population and housing census 2021: National Report on Caste/Ethnicity, Language and Religion* [Census]. Government of Nepal.
- Nautiyal, K. P. (1969). *The archaeology of Kumaon* (1st ed.). The Chaukhamba Sanskrit Series Office.
- Nepali, C. (2060). *Jarnel Bhimsen Thapa ra tatkalin Nepal*. Ratna Pustak Bhandar.
- Pandey, R. N. (1997a). *Making of modern Nepal: A study of history, art and culture of the principalities of western Nepal*. Nirala.
- Pandey, R. N. (1997b). *Making of Modern Nepal: A Study of history, art and culture of the principalities of Western Nepal*. Nirala Publications.
- Pradhan, K. (1991). *The Gorkha Conquests: The process and consequences of the unification of Nepal, with particular reference to Eastern Nepal*. Oxford University press.
- Regmi, M. C. (2002). *Nepal: An Historical Miscellany*. Adroit publishers.
- Sankrityanan, R. (1952). *Kumaon* (First edition). Law Journal Press.
- Sharma, D. R. (2012). *Heritage of Western Nepal: Art and Architecture*. Center for Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur.
- Tilouine, M. L. C. (2009). *The hudke Bard as Genealogist: The Raskoti Vamshavalis and their context of performance* (Marie Le Comte-Tilouine, Bards and Mediums: History, Culture and Politics in the central Himalayan Kingdom). Almora Book Depot.
- Tucci, G. (1956). *Preliminary report on two scientific expeditions in Nepal* (First edition). Cosmo Publications.
- Vaidya, C. V. (1924). *History of Medieval Hindu India, Vol II*. The Oriental Book Supplying Agency.
- Vaidya, C. V. (1987). *History of Medieval Hindu India, Vol 15 (ii)*. Cosmo Publications.
- Vansittart, E. (1992). *Tribes, clans and castes of Nepal*. Vintage Books.
- Watters, T. (2004). *On Yuan Chwang's travels in India (629-645 AD)* (Reprint). Low Price Publications.