

The Phedangmas: Their Roles, Symbols and Meanings in Limbu Society of Chhathar

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LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION

This is to recommend that the dissertation entitled “**The Phedangmas: Their Roles, Symbols and Meanings in Limbu Society of Chhathar**” has been carried out by Dil Prasad Limbu for the partial fulfillment of M.A. Degree in Sociology. The original work was conducted under my supervision. To the best of my knowledge, this dissertation work has not been submitted for any other degree.

Date 2011-09-02

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APPROVAL LETTER

This thesis entitled “**The Phedangmas: Their Roles, Symbols and Meanings in Limbu Society of Chhathar**” submitted by Mr. Dil Prasad Limbu has been evaluated and accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirement for the Master Degree of Arts in Sociology/Anthropology by evaluation committee comprised of :

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The Limbu peoples of the east Nepal have their own cultural and religious heritage. Their main religious priest among the Limbus is called Phedangma. The Phedangma in Chhathar region refers to a group of Limbu Shamans. There are various myths about origin, function, power, and role of the Phedangmas, which have been developing for long period. To study about their different dimensions, this research has been done. This study on the Phedangmas, is overall general study of meanings, symbols, gears and the materials of them.

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CHAPTER – 1

INTRODUCTION

I) Background

The Limbu is one of the major indigenous groups of Nepal, dwelling in Limbuwan (East Nepal). They have been living there for a long period. Before their rule, the eight kings (Khambongba Kings) believed to have ruled over the territory. Later, 10 Kirat (Limbu) kings ruled over in different Thums (Province) of Limbuwan (Chemjong 2063 BS). At that time, Chhathar was one of the ten Thums.

Limbus have their own religious and cultural heritage. Limbus are animist as they worship nature or natural phenomenon. According to Tylor (1871) it was the primary phase of the religious development. Limbus use Phedangma/Chanaba as their priests to perform various religious and cultural rituals. In different parts of Limbuwan, the Limbu priests are called by different names. For the example, 'Chanaba' in Chhathar, 'Mangkadenba' in Phedap etc, and 'Phedangma' in Panthar. The 'Phedangma' however, is more common terminology everywhere in Limbuwan because of wider use of Panthare Limbu dialect. The term 'Phedangma' is similar to 'Pandit' in Hindu, 'Lama' in Buddhists, and 'Pastor' in Christian religion. Similarly 'Puimbo' or 'Ngiami' in the Sunuwar, 'Jhankri' in the Thulung Rai, 'Jhankri' in the Nepali, 'Gurua' in the Tharu (Hitchcock & John 1976), and 'Bombo' in Tamang (Peters 1998 p: 55) societies.

To become a Phedangma/Chanaba of Limbu community, one is selected by the spirit (God) and can follow the same lineage of Phedangmas (Sagant 1996, Subba 1998 p: 98). Generally, in Limbus both male and female are found as the priest. In their beliefs they receive Mundhum (Unwritten religious Story or Text - *Mundhum is a legend, a folk lore, prehistoric accounts, sermons and moral or philosophical exhortations in poetic language. It is a scripture living in oral tradition* - Subba.) from their *Guru* (Teacher) Phedangma as well as in dream. The Phedangmas use oral spell (Mundhum) to perform all their religious and ritual activities. A Phedangma is

not taken only as religious priest but also as a healer (or Protector) in the Limbu society. It is similar to the Dhimal, Rai, Thakali, Sattar and Chaudhari communities. Many Himalayan tribal groups have full or partial practice of the Dhami/Jhankri (shaman).

Dhamis/Jhankris are prevalent in other societies or tribal groups, but they partially perform religious ritual. However the Phedangmas play all religious/ritual performance in Limbu society. They have various gears (paraphernalia) and they use different materials based on their types. They recite or spell the Mundhum during their performance. That means the Phedangmas are taken as the main sources of the Mundhum in Limbu society. S/he is specialist in human soul and therefore fulfills the function of a doctor, a psychiatrist and shamanistic priest in the Limbu society (Subba 1998:19)

Because of their different types, the Phedangmas have different rituals or religious roles. They use different materials to perform different rituals, which have various symbolic meanings or interpretations. However, because of disregard for them by the so-called educated Limbus and Government in contemporary mainstream society, interference of other communities' activities and westernization these activities; meanings and importance are becoming weaker. That means it can soon become endangered. It is not only the property of the Limbus, but also property of the human communities in general. How is it important for them? What is the importance of the Phedangmas in Limbu community? Are some issues. Apart from healing and performing rituals, they have specific social roles also in society. How do the Phedangmas play social roles and they are rituals and Mundhum specialist? The Current situations of the Phedangmas in Limbu community, changing pattern and motivating factors to be a Phedangma are also issues of this study. It should be kept alive for next generation with its originality. Phedangmas' activities are not meaningless and wastage of time. They have specific meanings which have been developing for very primitive age of human civilization. After facing many challenges and experiments such activities have been reformed and developed as indigenous knowledge (Dahit 2008) in Limbu community. This tradition gives the idea and the knowledge about human civilization and cultural development as well carry on

specific identity. How can it be made more meaningful in its originality? How do people behave and react it? This study attempts to seek answer to these questions.

The Limbu peoples of Chhathar, which covers 19 VDCs of Terthum and Dhankuta districts, are regarded as Chhathare Limbu. In Chhathar the all types of Phedangmas (shamans) are called only Chanaba (Subba 2067 BS p: 19). They have separate roles and functions as per their types.

This study has analyzed or described the symbolic meanings and social importance of Phedangmas' ritual performance of 11 VDCs of Chhathar by using descriptive research design. It is to describe and analyze the underlying meanings of Phedangmas' ritual, so that it can raise awareness to the Limbus on the need for its continuity. Similarly, the research also describes the symbolic meanings and social roles of the Phedangmas.

II) Statement of the Problem

The Limbus accept themselves as shamanistic or animistic people. But some people do not accept this statement. Their religious priests the Phedangmas have various roles to contribute to the Limbu society. However, they have not taken it as their occupation. The shamanism in Limbu community has great historical meaning and impotence. But nowadays the various changing aspects have entered in the same rituals, performances and goods (materials) which are used or performed by Phedangmas.

The Phedangmas emerged through various ways to help the Limbu people. That is why they (the group of shaman) are called the protector of Limbu society. They have great importance and role to society. Only Phedangmas are responsible to perform all religious and ritual activities of Limbus. But day-by-day their roles and trance performances are being less important matter and beliefs in Limbu society. Similarly, behaviors of people to them are also changing. The Limbus' religious activities are based on Mundhum and the Phedangmas are taken as source of the Mundhum (Subba 2000), exchanger of knowledge, knower and interpreter of rituals.

But nowadays the role, demand and belief on Phedengma have been changed. It helps to decrease the attention on Mundhum and Phedangma. On other hand so called educated Limbus and sect of *Sattyahangma* peoples charge the Phedangmas as uneducated, superstitious, cheater, meaningless, uncivilized and unscientific persons. Ultimately it helps to decrease their importance, roles, numbers, functions and ritual activities. Similarly, it underestimates their gears, used materials and their meanings. In addition, because of external influence the Limbus religious, cultural activities and customs have been changed or going to disappear. That means the Phedangmas' gears and their meanings or interpretations, also changed with new meanings. These are great problems. Therefore, the interpretations or original meanings of the rituals and materials are in danger, which can't be recovered if once lost. In one side, people's interest does not fall on it and other symbolic meaning and its importance is disappearing. Their great importance or meanings are being lost. There are many crisis and problems about the Phedangmas. However, in this research mainly I have seeked the answers to the following questions.

1. Who are Phedangmas and what are their types, separate roles, functions and its meanings?
2. What are the rituals Phedangmas perform, including materials used by them and their underlying symbolic meanings?
3. What are the social roles of Phedangmas in the Limbu society? How do Phedangmas integrate the Limbu society and manage the conflict?
4. What are the processes and motivating factors to be a Phedamanga in Limbu society in Chhathar?
5. What are the causes and effects of changing pattern of the Phedangma?

To get the answers to these research problems, Chhathare Limbu community was selected for the study.

III) Objectives of the Study

The primary objectives of the research are to explore the social role and symbolic meaning of ritual performance of Phedangma in Limbu society. More specifically, the research attempts to find out the Phedangmas their changing pattern,

current situation, behavior, beliefs, importance, contribution, types, motivating factor, functions and their ritual variations among of them.

Specific Objectives

1. To analyze meaning of rituals performed by the Phedangma in Chhathare Limbu society.
2. To analyze the social, religious, cultural and others roles of the Phedangma in Limbu society including the process of change.

IV) Importance of the Study

This research has explored the roles and importance of Phedangmas and the symbolic meanings of performance in Chhathare Limbu society. It studies Phedangmas' present condition, behavior and people's beliefs about them, which helps to know the perception of the people about various aspects of the Phedangmas. This study analyses various types of Phedamngmas as well as their social and cultural roles. It presents the importance of Phedangma and their materials. Similarly, it shows the close interrelationship between the Phedangma and the Limbu society. It has presented importance and symbolic meanings of used materials in the rituals. It also discusses importance of such activities in the society. To people, it creates the awareness to seek more importance and interpretations of Phedangmas, their roles, performances and symbolic meanings of those phenomenon for Limbus' cultural continuity and development.

This study has explored the information about symbols, roles, meanings and importance of the Phedangmas. It discusses the implication for psychological treatment and healing activities of Phedangma as an indigenous knowledge of the Limbu people. It explores causes and effects of changing aspects of such shamanic activities. Similarly, it helps to encourage the society by raising awareness for protection and conversation of typical worshipping materials and gears of Phedangmas. It also draws the attention of all parties (individuals, Phedangmas, Government, activists, policymakers, academicians etc) for preservation and

protection of such cultural and religious heritages to communities and human societies.

The traditional Limbus society can exist only with meaningful shamanic rituals in new context. This study motivates to all parties to flourish and continue the Phedangmas' importance. That means integrated, traditional existence of new Limbus society. It is not property of only Limbus but important to all societies and countries. As a whole, this research has disclosed the roles, importance and behaviors of the Phedangma in the Limbu society. Similarly, it has interpreted the symbolic meanings of their ritual performance. That's why this study has great sense and importance.

VI) Limitation of the Study

1. Due to limited time to cover the large area and variation of the Chanabas/Phedangmas, this study particularly hasn't gone in depth about symbols and meanings of Phedangmas' performance and materials. That means it is an exploratory and general analysis of Phedangmas and their rituals, gears, materials, and roles.

2. Because of some negative perceptions about the Phedangmas, Mundhum and rituals elicitation informants from the people with little knowledge, misinformation could be transmitted.

3. This research has not touched the 'Sattyahangma' the reformed religious sect in Limbu society.

CHAPTER – 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Symbolic anthropologists believe that every human culture, creation, symbol and sign have not only a single and specific meaning. These need an interpretation for more understanding of the human culture and the human development or the underlying meanings of related symbols.

Geertz (1973) says – Culture is not something locked into people's mind rather it is embodied in the public symbol through which the members of a society communicate their worldviews and value-orientation ethos, and all the rest to one another, to future generations. So he talks about 'thick' and 'thin' description. According to Turner (1967), symbols are operators in the social process. Symbols are dynamic having negative and positive meaning. Similarly, symbols can unify various elements and norms of society and resolve conflict. Schneider (1980) describes culture as a system of symbols and meanings, whereas Douglas (1966) describes it as 'Purity and Danger' or 'Profane' and 'Polluted'. That means symbols provide both meanings of culture/rituals. The culture has materialistic meaning or material aspect. Any material things and physical space convey some sort of messages for the society in the form of culture.

The Limbus, an ethnic group of Limbuwan of the Himalayan region of Asia are followers of animism (Sagant 1996 p: 90). Kandangwa (2066 BS) however, says Limbus are not animistic, it is only illusion. Anyway, they agree that Limbus use shamans as their religious priest. In general, almost all ethnic/tribal groups of the Himalayan region are animists and use Tantric shaman in some aspects of their life cycle. Some studies have been done on Limbu Phedangamas and many more on different shamans of Nepal. They have explored various issues of the Phedanmas and their origin, type, function, role, altar and gear etc.

About the origin of Phedangmas, Sagant (1996 p-113) writes-

‘When the first men (Yet Hang) fell ill they sent one of their number to ask the creator god, Ningwaphuma to come to their aid, they emissary spent a night with

the deity. He had a dream. He saw the first Phedangma perform a ceremony at the Junction of the three ways (Sumlamdoma), on behalf of a patient who was recuperating. The next morning the creator god listened as he related his dream and then sent him on his way. As he was going back down to his fellow men, he found the Phedangma, waiting for him at the Junction of the three ways. He was to take him back to his group and behave towards him as he had in the dream.'

He was the first Phedangma the 'Khadamang'. His particular name or sub-kind of Phedangma was *Sudukyu Khedukyu* (Kainla 2052 BS: 15).

According to Menyangbo (2003 vol 1/9), after the incestuous sexual relationship between Lahadangna (ancient human female, sister) and Suhangpheba (ancient human male, brother) they had 17 children. When they separated, they divided their children into two parts. Their one daughter was late to get her place as she was not sure to whether to choose father or mother? The parents didn't accept her into their lots. So being helpless, she appealed to the supreme god and got the power to be a 'Guru' Seere (dozing creator) of the Phedangma. The myth thus says that it is then due to the Guru Seree, the Phedangmas originated in Limbu society.

In the Limbu society, various types of Phedangmas exist to help and care the Limbu people. They have separate roles and functions, but they are not alternative to one another. Subba (2000) points out three types of Phedangmas who are sources of Mundhum, specialists of ritual and tradition, healers of sickness and supporters in trouble. They are a major or an indispensable part of the cultural, rituals and religious activities of the Limbu community.

A shaman is a person who at his will can enter into a non-ordinary psychic state in which his soul undertake a journey to the spirit in order to make contact with the spirit world on behalf of the member of his community (Hitchcock & Jones 1976:16). It indicates that the shaman is a mediator between Limbus and spirits. They offer materials to *Mang Sammang* (god) on behalf of the individual/household. They have various aspect and history, role and importance. Subba (2067 BS: 19-20) says the Phedangma is a group of all types of the Limbu shamans. But from which stage

of the Limbu civilization, Phedangma/Chanaba emerged, is still unknown. According to the listener of the 'Mundhum' the Limbu shaman has a long history.

In Limbu shamanism, it is seen there are different perspectives on the types of the Limbu Phedangmas/Chanabas. Some literatures present in this way– there are two types - Phedangma and Bijuwa (Sagant 1996 p: 90). According to Subba (2000) there are three types- Phedangma, Samba and Yeba/Yema. Four types- Phedangma, Samba, Yeba/Yema and Yuma (Subba 1998 p: 22). In Chhathar five types of Phedangmas - Khadamang, Samba, Yeba/Yema Mangba and Yuma are in existence. But the Mangba does not exist in throughout Limbuwan. It is exist in only in Chhathar and some part of Phedap (Terthum). Similarly, somewhere the Khadamang and Phedangma are kept in the same basket of only Phedangma.

The Phedangmas are Mundhum reciter and spirit or Tantra mantra players too. Where Tantra is 'Tana', which controls the body, similarly mantra is 'Mana', which controls the mind. So that, the two must be used in conjunction (Angela 1996). Phedangmas are Mundhum knower or Mundhumsaba like 'Tambas' in Tamang society. *Tamang genealogy knower is called 'Tamba' the oral history chanted by them is 'Tamba Kaiten'* (Tamang 2060 BS p-51). Similarly, in the Limbu society, such oral text (on overall human evolution and civilization) is called 'Mundhum' and the Mudhum knower is called 'Mundhumsaba' or 'Phedangma'. But all Mundhumsabas are not Phedangmas because a Mundhumsaba cannot be a Phedangma if s/he has not been selected by the god. The Phedangmas are main sources or actors of such 'Mundhum'. The next interesting thing is that if a person is not selected as a Phedangma/Chanaba formally, s/he can't perform any (in general) ritual activities even though s/he is a knower of the Mundhum.

Phedengmas execute various religious and ritual functions in Limbu society. According to Menyangbo and Mabuhang (2009 p: 10-11) the Tummihangs direct the Phedangmas (Phedangma, Samba and Yeba/Yema) in religious performance but they do not take share of ritual work like Phedangma. That's why Limbu people say Tummihangs are higher than the Phedangmas, they are their directors or monitors.

Peters (1998) points out that shamanism represent a virtual substratum of religious belief and practice in Nepal. It is an animistic religion that postulates numerous categories of spirit being. Throughout Nepal among all the various groups, whether Aryan or Tibetan extraction, there is an underlying belief in spirit being. When a Nepalese is ill, he is likely to turn first to a shaman, the religious specialist who can effectively deal with the spirits. Of course, Limbu shamans such as Phedanmas play both roles as religious leader and psychological and physical healer. That is why they have mainly two types of roles and functions in society, based on the Mundhum. They are-

- I) Ritual/Religious and
- II) Healing (psychologically/physical)

Phedangmas are (Khadamang, Yeba/Yema, Samba, Mangba and Yuma) the priest of the Limbu society as well as protector and spirit controller (Sagant 1996 p: 339-367). Normally all Chanabas/Phedangmas are qualified for simple healing performance. This is called '*Sargem*', using simple materials and chanting only Mundhum. But major functions require specific type of Phedangma and long performance (like Yayemma/Tongsing). The religious roles are main roles of the Phedangma. During their ritual and religious performance, they use different materials and individuals gears. According to Hitchcock and Jones (1976), these materials have deeper meanings. But these symbolic meanings are not clearly presented by them.

The shamans of other tribal groups in the Himalayan region, generally, don't use shaman as their single religious priest. But in the Limbu society the Phedangmas are used as single religious priest. The previous literatures have described about origin, functions and types of the Phedangmas. But they have hardly focused on political, social and religious roles of Phedangma in Limbu society and their role for social integration and conflict management. These works (literature) seldom analyze symbolic meanings of the materials and goods (materials) which are used by the Phedangmas in their rituals and religious performances. Why do Phedangmas use them in their performances? It is rarely studied. Dauglas (1966) says that symbols of the rituals have the meanings of 'Purity' and 'Danger'. The Limbu Phedangmas in Chhathar region also use or perform various ritual performances which have deep symbolic meaning, close with purity and danger.

The previous literatures about the Phedangmas have addressed and explored various aspects of Phedangmas' of Limbu society. Subba (1998) says they are specialists, physic doctors and sources of the Mumndhum. However, the varieties of their performing materials, their symbolic meaning and functional roles their performance are rarely studied. Especially symbolic meanings of such materials have little analyzed in previous literatures. In addition, case of Chhathar (the different dialect area of Limbus) such study have not done.

CHAPTER – 3

METHODOLOGY

In this study, following research methodology has been applied to find out the proposed objectives.

I) Rationale of the Site Selection

To meet the objectives of the study, research site had been selected 11 VDCs – (Basantpur, Dagapa, Sudap, Okhre, Phakchamara, Panchakanya, Hamarjung, Aangdim, Parewadin, Teliya and Tankhuwa) of Chhathar (Terthum and Dhankuta) and Limbus people of these villages. Chhathar was a separate administrative Thum of Limbuwan in past. Generally, in Chhathar common Limbu dialect and ritual are in practice. But little cultural and linguistic variation of Limbus also is found on the basis of geo-social context. So to include these variations, 11 VDCs of Chhathar were selected as the site of this study. It has included almost all types of the shamanic variation.

II) Nature & Sources of the Data

This study consists of the both primary and secondary sources of information. Primary data were collected through observation, focus group discussion and interview (unstructured) with key respondents. The secondary data were collected from library, published/unpublished articles, books, films, internet etc. Natures of the data are qualitative as well as quantitative.

III) Data Analysis Method

The collected data had been analyzed by using simple statistical tools and techniques. This process had been done at three stages via: reading the field descriptive notes and identifying the relevant (classification of the data) themes/concepts, including relevant (comparing and contrasting data) materials under relevant themes and developing generalization.

CHAPTER – 4

THE CONTEXT: PEOPLE AND SOCIETY IN CHHATHAR LIMBUWAN

I) Location of Chhathar Region

Chhathar is one Thum (Province) of Satra (17) Thums of Ten Limbuwan (Das Limbuwan). It extends up to Nobhu (Lambu) and Tamor rivers in the east, Arun river in the west, Tankhuwa and Tamor rivers in the south and Tinjure, Basantapur in the north. It covers 19 VDCs (Bashantpur, Phulek, Dagapa, Sudap, Okhre, Phakchamara, Panchakanya, Hamarjung, Aangdim (*Terthum*) Parewadin, Teliya, Tankhuwa, Hattikharka, Murtidhunga, Sanne, Ghorlikharka, Leguwa, Arkhaule Jitpur and Maarekatara (*Dhankuta*)), from Terthum and Dhankuta Districts. But mainly the Limbus live in 13 VDCs of Chhathar Thum.

Why this region is called Chhathar? There are various sayings about it. According to Subba (2067 p: 15)

a. The Limbu terminology '*Thang Tharu*' (to halt war) changed as the Chhathar after a long period.

b. Once the Hindu priests reached in this area with 'Janai' (Sacred thread for Hindus) to give it to the Limbus. But to whom it was given, he fell in confusion and wanted to ask his senior or elder. So that to make them to wait, he said that '*Chhappara*' (wait a movement) and runway but he did not return. This term '*Chhappara*' changed into Chhathar.

c. The two Limbus clans (Thar), Khewa and Khajum have 6 sub-clans. The six is pronounced in Nepali '*Chha*' and clan is '*Thar*'. So *Chha+Thar= Chhathar*, means it is land of six clans or Chhathare Limbus. Thus, the name of this area changed as Chhathar.

The Chhathar is located in the mid hill of Nepal. Forest, land structure, climate of Chhathare is not different than other part of hilly region of Nepal.

II) Society and People

Within 19 VDCs in Chhathar the most Limbu-populated are Bashantpur, Dagapa, Sudap, Okhre, Phakchamara, Panchakanya, Hamarjung, Aangdim, Parewadin, Teliya, Tankhuwa, Hattikharka and Murtidhunga. Besides the Limbu, Kshetri, Brahamin, Thakuri, Kami, Damai, Sarki, Bhujel, Newar, Sherpa, Tamang, Rai, Yakkha, Gurung, Magar, Majhi also live in Chhathar (Subba 2067 p: 14). According to the population census of 2001 the total Limbu population of Chhathar is 17,752 (CBS). The main habitant indigenous people of Chhathar are called the Chhathare Limbu. But traditionally all Limbu people of Chhathar are not called Chhathare. In this region two clans *Khewa* and *Khajum* each have six sub-clans are only called Chhathare Limbu. Nowadays such concept has been changed so the Limbu peoples who are in Chhathar from unknown past are called Chhathare. They speak Chhathare Limbu dialect.

People in this area are mainly depended on agriculture based occupation like farming, animal rearing, gardening (plantation) etc. For their subsistence economy main cash crops such as tea, cardamom, potato, ginger, *Amliso (Setlu)*, almond, vegetables items, *Chireto* (bitter plant) are playing vital role. Besides these occupations, foreign employment is another strong economic base for this area. All most all VDCs are connected with electricity, communication and primary health services. Basantapur, Sindhuwa, Shukrabare, Jorpati and Chulachuli are main market centers to address local needs. Road transport is extending rapidly in this region. Because of participation of local people and subsidy of Government every VDC is rapidly constructing dusty road to connect with local market/city or Koshi highway. Some large or medium scales of irrigation canals are in operation and in Dagapa VDC and Banchare in Tankhuwak VDC micro hydro project are in operation.

Peoples of this region follow Kirat, Hindu, Buddhist, Christian religions. As they follow the religion *Chasok*, *Yakwa*, *Kakphekwa*, *Sisekwa Tangnams*, *Dashain*, *Tihar*, *Teej*, *Lhosar*, *Buddhajayanti*, *Ramnavami* etc festivals are mainly celebrated.

In this way in Chhathare societies various opinions, philosophies, cultures, creeds, customs, beliefs, occupations, are in practice and existence.

III) Limbus of Chhathar

Before going about the Limbu of Chhathar there is given brief history of origin of Limbu peoples.

a) Origin of the Limbus

When did the Limbu start to live in Limbuwan? Or from where they had come in Limbuwan? There are numerous explanations to these questions. According to Chemjong (2063 BS) the Limbus people are mixture of main three lineage (Vansa) groups are – *Kashi*, *Lhasa* and *Shyan*. The Kashi Vansi (Kashi Lineage) originally was from Munatembe (china) who had come in the south-west of Persia in 1300 BC. They named that place as ‘Kashi’. Some groups moved toward Simangad, Doti, Pyuthan, Palpa, Kathmandu Valley and Jiri. Some of them moved through Drayage river and changed themselves as the *Khambonja* (Rai) and some of them moved toward Phedap Limbuwan and changed themselves as *Khambongba* (originated from earth) are called Kashi Vansi (Chemjong Vansawali 2065 BS).

Second is Tai Shyan Vansi – in 8698 BC one tribal group arrived in China. Because of tribal war, defeated tribal group moved toward Thailand and Burma. In that movement (Flow), one tribal group arrived in Assam. They called themselves as Shyan Makawan. Later some people of this tribal group came in Ilam Limbuwan. They are Tai Shyan Vansi, (Chemjong 2063 BS: 41-44).

And last is Lhasa Vansi – one grandson of the last Kirat king Yoknehang of Kathmandu had gone Digarcha (Tibet). After long period in that dynasty, a brave person Munaphen emerged. His son was Lhasa Hang who became king of Upajong (place). He had two sons. But when he died the youngest son elected as a king. So disappointed the elder son with his followers moved towards Taplejong. He captured various small forts or provinces and ruled from Chemphujong (Limbuwan). His

people are called Lhasa Vansi (Chemjong 2059 BS). That's why the Limbu people of the Limuwan are called mixture of different Mongolian groups.

The Khambongbas were in Limbuwan from very nomadic age of human evolution. After long period of human/cultural evolution, some leaders of them established their domination on people of Limbuwan. They established eight different states in Limbuwan. The Khambongba leaders of last phase were (They were called Sawa Yethang)-

1. Hondenhang
2. Yoketethang
3. Chesbihang
4. Lasharohang
5. Khesibahang
6. Ikangsohang
7. Khadihang
8. Imehang¹

They ruled in land between Dhudkoshi River in the west and Tista River in the east.

According to Mabohang and Dhungel (2047 BS), the last king of Kathmandu Valley, Yaknehang had two sons Lilimhang (King of Banepa) and Khamsohang. Because of grown dispute between the two brothers, Lilimhang left the Banepa to Limbuwan. He moved along with his 52 thousands people via the edge of Sunkoshi river, Tamakoshi river, Hangsemlung (Dhankuta), Sagokmari and on 9th day they reached in Tawalung Susuwaden (Okhre, Terthum). He made Tawalung as a capital or fort. But according to the Thebe (2067 BS), Lilimhang reached in Phedap with his people and company.

Some scholars believe that, already there were Khambongba kings and some believe peoples of Lilimhang changed as Eight Khambongba kings. But found graves,

¹ Imansing Chemjong (Kirat History and Culture – 41)

caves and oral history show before arrival of Lilimhang there were Khambongbas. According to Chemjong (2063 BS: 43-44) under a command of ten leaders *Tai Syan Vansi* people arrived in Assam. They found the land of Assam was captured by the people like themselves. So they moved toward Limbuwan Nepal via Morang, Hangsemmalung (Dhankuta, Bodhe) during 100-200 BC.

Those ten Leaders were-

1. Thosoing Kanlainghang
2. Thindang Sawarohang
3. Thosoding Hamleba Sawarohang
4. Thoding Tangsak Sawarohang
5. Moguplungma Khambek Sawarohang
6. Yokphoding Sawarohang
7. Yokoding Sawarohang
8. Moguplungma Langsoding Sawarohang
9. Yokphoding Ighang Laingbohang
10. Tottoli Toingbohang

Along with ten leaders, there were three priests too. They were -

1. Phejikum Phedangma
2. Sambahang, Yeplihang
3. Sammundhum Yepmundhum

When they reached in Libuwan the eight kings granted habitation them and their people. They were travelers or immigrants, so they were experienced and skilled or cleverer than Khambongba peoples (Subba 2067 BS: 42), which made the eight Khambongbas to suspect on their activities. Due to suspicion, the eight Khambongbas started to suppress them. As a result, ten leaders committed to revolute against the eight kings and they did so. In that revolution, the ten leaders got victory over eight Khambongbas. After having victory over the Khambongba they cruelly suppressed and killed them. So large number of Khambongba peoples left this land and flew to Assam Nagaland and a few of them changed as the Limbu. Then ten leaders divided

the Limbuwan into 10 principalities (province) and selected rulers to rule in *Das Limbuwan*. They were:

1. Samlupli Sambahang in *Tambar*
2. Sisiyen Seringhang in *Mewa & Mauwa*
3. Thakthatso Aangbohang in *Athari* (Thaplaso Papohang – according to Ingnam)
4. Thindolung Khokyahang in *Yangrak*
5. Yengso Papohang in *Panthar*
6. Shengsengum Phedaphang in *Phedap*
7. Mung Tai Chi Imehang in *Ilam*
8. Soiyakladonghang in *Chaubis*
9. Tappeso Peruhang in *Thalagad*
10. Khewahang in *Chhathar*

(Chemjong 2063 BS: 45-48)

After that event, the land was changed into 10 Limbuwan (Das Limbuwan). At that time, Khewahang (Somewhere Khajumhang also written) ruled in Chhathar. Later ten Limbuwan was divided into 17 Thums (Satra Thum) and the Chhathar was one of the 17 Thums (District).

About the naming of Limbu and Limbuwan there are various beliefs. According to Chemjong (2063 BS) in Limbu language, 'Li' means bow, 'Aabu' means arrow shooting and 'wan' means place or land. So the land won (captured) through arrow- shooting is called Limbuwan and People of this land are called 'Limbu'.

According to Tigela and Baral (2064 BS) the people of the Limbuwan were people of the king Lilimhang. This 'Lilimhang' terminology changed as 'Limbu' because of miss pronunciation of Hindus. Officially, King Prithvi Narayan used the term 'Limbu' as a written form in *Tamra Patra* (Royal decree, written in copper sheet) in 1814 BS, while he had given that to Limbu leaders. Later it changed as tribal identity of Limbus. Particularly the Limbu people do not call themselves as Limbu. Instead, they use 'Yakthung' or 'Yakthungba' (Subba 2067 BS: 45). It means other people gave them the 'Limbu' name. They were not as Limbu at first.

During that historical rising and falling of tribal groups, Limbu peoples of Chhathar had come from various directions- Lhasa, Kashi etc.

IV) Limbu Clan System in Chhathar

In this Chhathar *Thum* various groups of people are living. However, the Limbu is the main indigenous tribal group of Chhathar. In Chhathar according to Subba (2067 BS: 76) mainly three types of the Limbu peoples are found. First is a group who has developed its identity, clan and civilization/evolution in Chhathar. The second one is the group who has developed its clan identity in other parts of Limbuwan. But because of various causes they immigrated and developed their habitation in Chhathar, and the third group is the nominal Limbu tribal groups who have assimilated with the Limbu people in the last 100-200 years (Subba 2067 BS: 76). They are Thamba (Limbu), Dewan (Limbu) Yakkha (Limbu) etc. Even though, they have different cultural identities, in other parts of east Nepal. So the Chhathare Limbus are a combination of three types of the Limbus.

The Limbus who live in the territory of Phedap are called Phedape Limbus. Who live in Panchathar are called Panthare, and who live in Chhathar are called Chhathare. However, among the Limbus there is no any vast cultural difference but little variation can be found among them. Because Limbu rites and rituals are based on Mundhum, which is in unwritten form. So some differences can be found in cultural ritual performance but not in thematic meaning, only in behavior.

1) Clan

The Limbu, a tribal group has been divided into various clan groups and subgroups. The term 'clan' stands to connote the smallest named descent group, which in the ideal case is equivalent to the agnatic exogamous unit (Gaenszle 2000). It indicates that the smallest unit and sub unit of the people. Such division of the people is found in Chhathar Limbuwan too. Likewise the Mewahang (Rai) clans are further subdivided into lineages, whose members trace their descent back to a single real ancestor (ibid). In the case of Athpahariya society, it is divided into 12 clans. In order

of seniority, they are Hombarak, Chhara, Pangsung, Mangbung, Phokim, Khawaduk, Lenksuwa, Chilinge, Kimdang, Charingme, Chongden and Patre (Dahal 1985 p: 28). Whereas in Chhatthar the Khewa and Khajum each Limbu gorup is divided in to 6 sub clans category from their single ancestor. Hangberu and Tilling are divided into two, Haberu and Homrake are in three sub-clans and other are one - one. But Homrakes are in Athpahariya Rai's identity in Dhankuta and Khanwas are in Phedap (Terthum) with identity of non-Chhathare Limbu. Similarly, Waya Khajums are not found in Chhathar. They had left Chhathar to Chaubish of Dhankuta in unknown past.

The Chhathare Limbus clans are as follows:

❖ **Khewa clans**

Anglabang, Maden, Mangyak, Tigela, Tumba and Chongbang,

❖ **Khajum clans**

Kurumphang, Parghari, Lekwa, Chongbang, Imsang and *Waya Khajum*.

❖ **Hangberu clans**

Sawna (Tumsawna and Paksawna)

❖ **Haberuhang clans**

Tumbangphe, Thoklen and Angla,

❖ **Tilling clans**

Maden and Chongbang.

❖ **Homrake clans**

Tumbahang and *Khanwa* (it is not in Chhathar) *Homrake* it is not Limbu

❖ **Others clans**

Mabuhang, Kebhuk, Khadi, Myangbhu, Khoyang, other small group Kambang, Sherma, Yonghang, non-Limbu but in Libmbu cultural groups are Thamba, Yakkha, Dewan and Chhara.

V) **Religions Among the Limbus**

Limbu peoples are traditionally and culturally animist. They respect nature and natural things as gods and goddesses. "The Limbus of eastern Nepal are neither Hindus nor Buddhists, though many elements of both religions figure among their beliefs. They have their own religion, a 'nameless', traditional religion which might

once have been called ‘animism’ (Sagant 1996 p: 90). Their religious priest is Phedangma. In another word, they have Phedangma to execute all religious and cultural activities. They call their religion is **Kirat**, which is accepted by other Mongolian peoples Rai, Sunuwar, Yakkha, Dhimal etc also as their religion. According to CBS census 2001 the total population of Kirati was 8,18,106 (3.60%). Whereas total population of Limbu was 3,59,379 (1.58%).

This data shows the whole shape of Limbus and their religion. Now the Limbus religion or the Kirat Limbus’ religion has divided into two sects- *Yumaism and Sattyahangma*. The Yumaism (somewhere it is called shamanism) is oldest one and covers large population. This requires the Phedangma as religious priest and demands some animal sacrifices in some religious functions. The Sattyahangma is new religious sect reformed by *Guru Phalgunanda* in the last century. This sect does not require any sacrifices of animals. Instead it demands some materials- rice, bread, ghee, lamp etc. Some functions are organized like Pandit in yard of house. They recite the written Mundhum in their religious and rituals activities. However, both sects accept the Tagera Ningwaphuma is the supreme god of them. Similarly, same types of gods and goddesses are worshipped.

Nowadays in Limbuwan some Limbus are changing their religion into Christian. It is not in large number but every part even in Chhathar Limbus are changing their religion to Christian. So, in Chhathar Limbus are divided into various religious sects or beliefs. But large number of Limbus are following shamanic or Yumism sects because it is their oldest and original practice. The Limbus of Chhhathar are follower of different religious groups as well as sects.

CHAPTER – 5

PHEDANGMAS IN CHHATHAR: NUMBER AND TYPE

In Chhathar Limbuwan in last few decades, the number or the Phedangmas are decreasing. In general, there is no any economical attraction, special respect, religious hierarchy, direct political influence of Phedangmas in society at present. Because of westernization, mass media, education and state's policy to humiliate non-Hindus culture – youths are not giving interest on shamanism. So less number of shamans is being produced or only few are being selected as the Phedangmas in Chhathar. It means the number of Phadangmas is decreasing than past (10/15 years). One my respondent told me in last 10/15 years, no one has been selected as a shaman in his ward No (VDC). There are 83 households of Limbus and same matter is found in 130 households of next ward No. It creates the burden for the Phedangmas because they have to care many Limbu households.

Gender and VDC wise Phedangmas' Number

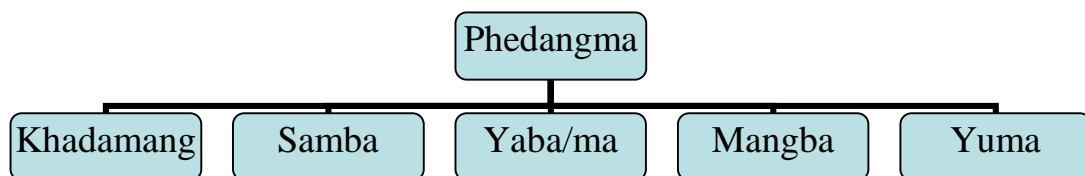
S. N.	VDC/Ward No.	No. of Phedangma	Female	Male	Limbu houses
1	Hamarjung -9	3	-	3	20
2	'' -5	13	4	9	115
3	Sudap -9	10	1	9	130
4	Okhre -3	5	1	4	65
5	Dagapa -1	9	-	9	19
6	" -2	2	-	2	16
7	" -3	1	-	1	8
8	" -4	1	1	-	6
9	" -8	3	1	2	35
10	Basantapur -5	2	2	-	50
11	" -4	9	1	8	72
12	Panchakanya -2	4	-	4	23
13	Phakchamara -3	3	-	3	32
14	Angdim (whole VDC)	10	-	10	65
15	Parewadin -2	8	-	8	83
16	Tankhuwa -4	1	-	1	23
17	Teliya -4	2	-	2	28
18	" -9	1	-	1	16
	Total	87	11	76	806

Table No- (1), (Source: field survey 2067 BS)

This table No (1) above shows the number of Phedangmas and the households of Limbus in 11 VDCs. But it is not necessary only a shaman from same ward should be the priest of households of respective ward. The households are free to choose any Phedangma for their rituals. The table No (1) shows, 87 Phedangmas are for 806 Limbu households. It is 9.26 households for per Phedangma. It is satisfactory but main thing is- number of new shaman, which is not satisfactory. Not all Phedangmas are youth and there is low speed to produce the Phedangma. It may create crisis for continuity of the Limbus' social and cultural activities.

The Limbu Phedangmas are divided in various groups and sub-groups. But there are different views about it. Sagant (1996 p: 90) says there are two kinds of Limbu priest are *Phedangmas* and *Bijuwas*. Similarly Subba (2000) points out three types are *Phedangma*, *Samba* and *Yeba/ma*. Subba (1998 p: 75) says four kinds are *Phedangma*, *Samba*, *Yeba/ma* and *Yuma*. But Subba (2067 BS: 19) points out five types of shamans are in Chhathar – *Khadamang*, *Samba/Chhamba*, *Yeba/ma*, *Mangba* and *Yuma*, which are collectively called *Phedangma*. Obviously, in Chhathar there are *Yumas* shamans but they do not have specific role for ritual performance. Only one type of shaman- the *Yuma* cannot perform all religious ritual of the Limbu society.

Types of Phedangmas in Chhathar



This given below table No (2) shows in Chhathar five types of Phedangmas are existed. The large number is Samba (41) than Khadamang (17) and smallest is Yaba/ma only (3). Nowadays all types of Phdeangmas are playing roles for all types of rituals. So the large number of Phedanmas has multiple roles. But on basis of their specification in Chhathar Yaba/ma is in small number.

The table of professional specification of the Phedangmas

S. N.	VDC/Ward No.	No of Phedangma	Khad-mang	Samb-a	Yaba/Yama	Mang-ba	Yuma
1	Hamarjung -9	3	1	2	-	-	-
2	” -5	13	1	8	1	-	3
3	Sudap -9	10	2	5	1	1	1
4	Okhre -3	5	1	2	-	-	2
5	Dagapa -1	9	3	3	-	2	1
6	" -2	2	1	-	-	-	1
7	" -3	1	1	-	-	-	-
8	" -4	1	-	-	-	-	1
9	" -8	3	1	1	-	1	-
10	Basantapur -5	2	-	2	-	-	-
11	" -4	9	1	4	-	1	3
12	Panchakanya-2	4	2	2	-	-	-
13	Phakchamara-3	3	1	1	-	1	-
14	Angdim (VDC)	10	1	5	-	2	2
15	Parewadin -2	8	-	5	1	1	1
16	Tankhuwa -4	1	-	1	-	-	-
17	Teliya -4	2	-	-	-	2	-
18	" -9	1	1	-	-	-	-
	Total	87	17	41	3	11	15

Table No – (2), (Source: field data survey 2067 BS)

CHAPTER – 6

ORIGIN AND BECOMING OF PHEDANGMAS

In the Limbu community of Limbuwan, various beliefs are prevalent about the origin of Phedangmas. But the almost all beliefs include close single thematic resolution. About the shaman origin, Peters (1998 p: 7-18) quotes some writers as “The shamanism, is thought to be mankind’s earliest religion, possibly dating back 100,000 years or more, it may well have been the relation of Neanderthal man (Frust 1972 viii-ix). Shamanism originated in association with the hunting and gathering way of life (LaBarre 1972a :162-63) and many researchers believe that the shaman’s role is portrayed in the Upper Paleolithic cave art of southern France (Campbell 1979) indicates that the first profession was that of shaman curer (Moerman 1997:59)”. So it is known as very ancient activities of human civilization.

Context of the Limbu shaman’s origin, Menenyangbo (2062 BS vol-9:1) says *Lahadangna* (ancient human female, the sister) and *Suhangpheba* (ancient human male, the brother) had been committed into consanguinal sexual contact and gave birth to 17 children. After the 9th generation of human being creation, *Sawa Yet Hang* (Wise saint/Eight Kings) received the *Mundhum* and it learned, incestuous sexual relationship is a sin. So father and mother should have separated from one another. Then all the children were put on *Chilingma* (Net to sieve) to divide into two groups for mother and father. The children who had fallen through the pore of the *Chilingma* (*Net*) joined with their mother and who remained on the *Chilingma* (*Net*), joined with their father (it is also said, same number of oil seed *Teel* were put on that net as the representative of children.). At last one daughter of them hanged on *Chilingma*. When she hardly fell down, went to her mother. But the mother didn't accept her. Then she went to her father, he also did not accept her. So she went to the supreme god *Tagera Ningwaphuma* (God) to appeal. The god gave her power to be a 'Guru' of shaman as a 'Sheere' (Yema Seere). Then the 'Seere' shamans emerged in the Limbu society. The children of *Lahadangna* (the mother) became *Tummihang*, *Phejikum Phedangma*, *Samma* and *Yema/Yeba* (*Yaba/Yama*).

The first Limbu shaman 'Khadamang' is also referred to only as Phedangma who was sent by supreme god/goddess 'Tagera Ningwaphuma' along with the sun rays to take care of human beings (her child). The second is Samba (Chhamba); the third is Yaba/Yama (Subba 1998 p: 92-96). This division is on the basis of their origin. But Mangba is known as youngest shaman in Limbu society. Hitchcock and John (1974) say Mangba is a specialist in dealing with the spirits of people who have died by violence *Sogha*, women who have died during childbirth *Sugup* and still birth *Sasik*. The Mangba was originally a Rai Shaman and recently came to Limbuwan. Kainla (2052 BS: 20) says Mangba was from Yakkha Rai. These sayings show the Mangba was not originated in Limbu society.

According to one my respondent a 77 years old Phedangma, the first Limbu Phedangma Khadamang emerged for healing to the human. He was appointed by the Tummihang to serve people. So he is an assistance of the society. The Khadmang only could not solve the all shamanic challenges because he did not have enough skills and power or right to perform some religious functions. Then next shamans were emerged. Kainla (2052 BS: 15) says the role of the first Phedangma (Khadmang) was for performing *Chasok* ritual and second was for the birth to death rituals.

Sagant (1996 p: 113) says Yet Hang got Phedangma as their protector by Tagera Ningwaphuma. It shows that the Phedangma was emerged to help or support to the human beings. According to Tylor (1871) on the first stage of religious development, people (human) believed in 'Spirit' and they thought the spirit was caring and observing them, their family and their behaviors as well. So that people started to talk with spirit, which developed the tradition of praying or worshipping rituals in human civilization. It could be possible, the skilled persons to talk with spirits, changed into the Phedangmas/shamans. Peters (1998 p: 7-18) quotes – Maddox (1923) also described the shaman as the great man of primitive times. Some of the earliest forms of shamanism, dating back to the Paleolithic may have involved the ingestion of hallucinogenic substances (Wasson 1968 etc).

In the context of Limbus, there are other sayings about the Phedangmas' origin. According to the Limbu Mundhum the 'Tagera Ningwaphuma' is the supreme god as well as helpful to people. Similarly, the second one is the 'Porokmi'. There

(world) are many monsters/giants spirits, which are always creating the bother to human being. So the Phedangmas are needed to satisfy such giant spirits. The Limbu Phedangmas are selected by god/goddess or spirit not by an artificial training (Sagant 1996, Subba 2000, Subba 2067 BS, Mabuhang etc). So they receive Divine power/knowledge from their Guru (Yema Seere) in dream. In this way, Limbu Phedangmas emerged to help the Limbu People. Many societies in the world possess the shaman in their civilization or evolution process. May be there are different ways about an origination of shaman in different societies in the world.

Peters (1998 p: 7-18) puts some opinions of scholars like this “The term shaman comes to us through Russian from the Siberian Tungusic term *saman* Meaning ‘one who is excited, moved, raised’. This is descriptive of the most salient aspect of the shaman’s trance. Shaking (Casanowicz 1924).), Firth (1959) applies the term shaman to describe those who enter into controlled trances and manipulate spirits in socially recognized ways (master of spirits), in this way also distinguishes between shamans and spirit mediums. While the origin of the term is Asian, it is used by researchers to describe similar phenomena in many parts of the world (Eliade 1964 etc), occurring not only among hunters but in contemporary peasant, nomadic and urban communities as well.” But about the Limbus, similar terminology of the shaman is Phedangma. His/her function is to heal and perform ritual activities. But ritual activities also might be developed through only the healing functions or processes. “The function the shaman fulfills in the community is often equated with that of healer/psychotherapist (Levi-Strauss 1963) while important healing is not the only defining characteristic of shamanism. Park (1938) suggests that witchcraft may be as important a part of shamanism as the curing of disease or the charming of game. Similarly, the Tamang shaman employs his powers primarily in trance curing only secondarily for witchcraft, and infrequently in securing the food supply.”

The Limbu people and the Phedangmas say that the Phedangmas are selected by the gods/spirits. To be a Limbus Phedangma/Chanaba personal interest is not enough or does not matter. Subba (1998 p: 98), and Sagant (1996) say such selection can follow to the same lineage of the Phedangmas. That means in their future generation Phedangma may emerge. It is not guarantee but more possibility will remain. Therefore, god selects people as Phedangmas. In this selection processes they

may fall in sick, body trembling, or out of control and they can go to forest or taken by spirits to the forest. Later the guru (teacher shaman) guides him/her, but they have learnt many more mantras in their dream. The Guru teaches or shows the ways about materials and processes of rituals.

In my observation in field, I found maximum Phedangmas are from same lineage, within 2 to 5 generation of a Phedangma. Mostly they appeared in 2nd generation. That means son/daughter of a Phedangma may become Phedangma. But s/he can't be a same type of Phedangma as his/her father/mother. S/he must follow different types e.g. Samba's son/daughter must not be a Samba. It is believed that becoming of Phedangma is due to the god and it follows to lineage. But it is hard to find in modern/western education receiver educated, city dwellers and in foreign migrated Limbu. Normally they are not selected as a Phedangma. It shows psychological factor is also an important motivating aspect to become a Phedangma. It means a person who does not believe in those spirits or trance of Phedangma is seldom selected as the Phedangma. The person who is in process of being Phedangma but unable to be success is called *Sikya*. Like witch, they are dangerous to human. It seems like Douglas view of *purity* and *danger*. The person if becomes shaman, s/he is to control witch or spirit or *pure*, but unsuccessful shaman is changed as witch or *danger*.

In the other hand, some educated Limbu persons are started to look their own cultural and religious identity. So they are giving emphasis to protect the Limbu shamanism. Moreover, some are acting as shaman by reading written Mundhum too. They are performing religious ritual functions. But they are not selected by god. However main motivating factor to become a Phedangma is more psychological or spiritual rather than social, cultural, economical or political issues. These are only supporting factors.

CHAPTER - 7

THE RITUALS THAT PHEDANGMAS PERFORM AND THEIR SYMBOLIC MEANINGS

The Phedangmas as religious priest perform almost all religious functions of Limbus. The classification of functions is based on their shamanic types. As already mentioned in Chhathar there are five types of Phedangmas. They have separate roles and functions but some functions are normally performed by different Phedandmas – Khadamang, Samba, and Mangba. These are *Phak Seppma/Phaksote*, *Chasok*, *Yakwa*, *Manggena Khama*, *Mekkam Thim Khama*, *Okwama*, *Sappok Chomen*, *Taap Thekma* rituals and healing function. Any way the Phedangmas have specific roles based on their shamanic type.

They emerged having separate functions and roles in the beginning. But gradually society developed into more advanced. So the functions and roles of Phedangmas also became mixture of all kinds of Phedangmas' functions. Besides this, it got some crises like scarcity of Phedangmas as per their type and role. That means if one type of Phedangma is needed the next type or other is available in society. In the other hand somewhere Phedangmas also became jobless. So Phedangmas developed the system to perform all types of religious and ritual functions, such as the function of Khadamang can be performed by Samba and Mangba. Now on the basis of their types which are the specific their functions are in confusion.

All Limbus shamans generally use common materials for same kind of their ritual performance. Basically *Sapsing*, *Mukto*, *Shya*, *Saree*, *Diyo*, *Dhup*, *Laso*, *Sangbhe*, *Saptok (Peheng)*, *Wadumpakwa*, *Thee/Mukum Theema*, *Yabo/Mainam*, *Khee* etc. *Sapsing* is used to make *Liso* (adhesive gum) to create obstacle to the bad spirits and to protect the needy person or service taker. Its small bunch (like buckeye) is used as specific weapons by the Chanabas (but Khadamang, Yuma don't use). It can not be dry immediately and not so soft and weak leaves. The *Sapsing* is compulsory in various shamanic rituals. *Mukto* is commonly used like *Sapsing* in their ritual performance. According to type of ritual 1, 3, 7, 9 *Thunge* (step) *Mukto* sticks are

needed to construct the Samba altar. *Samba Thare* is made of two (Full body) *Muktos*. Where four steps are tied like ladder using by lives of *Sapsing* and small sticks of *Mukto*. The *Mukto* is also used to make weapons like spears. Nine *Thunge* is symbol of nine Graha (planet) or nine elders.

Shya and *Saree* are offered as food and water as well as decoration to summon the spirits at altar. *Shya* is kept in plate as food and *Saree* is kept on this *Shya*. The *Saree* is put to serve water. It is a symbol of beauty, peace or coldness. *Shya* is used as important weapons of the Phedangma and symbolic food for spirits too. Without the *Shya*, no any shamanic ritual completed. *Diyo* and *Dhup* are symbol of light and brightness. *Dhup* is specifically indication of activeness or processes. It is to make weaker to control and satisfy to the spirits, by providing smokes.

Laso and *Shangve* are important instruments or materials needed and used by the Phedanmas in their maximum ritual functions. *Laso* is specifically taken as plate. *Laso* has also symbolic meaning. If it has been already placed or put at altar means to forbid the extra entrance of people in this ritual. Where they serve *Shya*, *Tak* (cooked rice), *Sa* (meat) or blood etc to the god (mang sammang). It gives ancient scene of human civilization, when there was no any metal plate; people used like bananas' leaves as plate. *Shangve* is used in some rituals especially to *Theba Samang*. It is symbol of up-storied flat. In this *Shangve* Phedangma offers the goods or materials to the *Sammang*.

Saptok and *Wadumpakwa* are used to offer water to Mang Sammang. The *Saptok* is taken as a pot/jar to serve water or beer to the Sammang like *Tongba*. It indicates the very primitive utensil of the human society. *Wadumpakwa* is taken as symbol of water offering like spring system (*Abhisek* in Nepali). It is offered using by *Laaik*. The *Wadumpakwa* offered once to god is impure to next god.

Thee and *Mukum Theema* are used alternatively. *Thee* is local beer of Limbu community. The Limbus people believe that their gods and goddesses drink such beer and it should be offered. The *Thee/Mukum Theema* is symbolic beverage for the *Mang Sammang*. They had given way to drink to people so these goods are offered to the god and goddess. *Khee* (Thread) is also used as cloth or flag of the Mang Sammang.

Especially it should be made up pure cotton, un-boiled or uncooked. The cooked *Khee* is considered as impure or polluted. It can be used as the indication of the relation between Limbu people and spirit. In *Khadko Cheppma* or breaking ritual the *Khee* between person and symbol of *Khadko* is cut off. That means relation between spirit and individual is cut off.

The Phedangmas use *Yabo/Mainam* (Cloth) as representative of the person. If the same person is presented, at that time also *Mainam/Yabo* is kept at alter. The Phedangma perform on behalf of the same person. It is a symbol of the representation and sign of the service taker. By getting the *Mainam* of the person, the Phedangma can do needy treatment to that person from far distance. The animals sacrifice is the symbol of life offering. If the bad spirits try to eat the human life or soul, at that time, instead of the human life animal's life is offered. Phedangma pacify them by offering blood, flesh, heart, liver, hands, legs, mouth, ears, eyes and meat of animals instead of human organs. This is also symbolic representation of the person.

By seeing the situation of sacrificed animals the Phedangmas can make prediction of the future events too. They think sign is given by *Mang Sammang*. They pour blood of the sacrificed animals on *Laso*. If they find any small spot or bubble in side the poured blood, is called *Mikwa* (tear). It is taken as impure or danger. *Mikwa* is a sign of the probable trouble, sickness, loss of property, animals and crops, injury and death that would create *Mikwa* (tear) in this household. And it needs again another offering to *Mang Sammang*. It is also the symbols of demand of the gods or spirits.

In *Manggena* ritual chickens are beaten to sacrifice. The joints of the sacrificed chickens should not be broken. That means the service taker (person) will get same condition. It means legs, heads breaking or unable to perform duty successfully in future. If the heart, liver and gall are not in good or natural condition, there won't be good prosperity of the respective person.

Sargem and Jokhana – Sargem is healing process of the Phedangmas to cure sickness. It is an appeal to the god. Where Jokhana is prophecy of the Phedangma

during their rituals, they got the messages of god to the people. And they suggest the cause of current, past or future events or accidents etc and cause and effects of them.

The Phedangmas have also specific meaning of direction east and west. For the good spirits, they pray towards the east, for the danger or bad spirits towards the west. For example, *Lambhova* is located in the west. Similarly, Phedangmas perform their ritual activities either early in the morning or evening. The morning is sign of baby/child or infancy of the spirits and the evening is a symbol of old age of spirits. So in their child and old age, it becomes easy to control or pacify them. The day is the adulthood of the spirits. So in this time it is hard to control and pacify them. The nighttime is taken as reasonable for the shamanic performance. It has specific meanings. At night, all spirits are come in their regular activities and in daytime they disappear. It become easy to control or pacify in the night. So only in night, the Phedangmas perform special ritual functions. Some the Phedangmas don't perform in some specific days, such as on Sunday. According to their thought on that day, no one spirit listens to them.

The Khadamag, Chhamba and Mangba generally perform maximum Limbus's offering or worshipping ritual related with *Pangoma* (insider) and *Pakhama* (outsider) deities. They are *Yuma*, *Theba Sammang*, *Tamphungma* (Na), *Taksangba* and *Tembima* etc.

1) The Rituals and Worshipping Which Need Animals Sacrifice Are:

Chasok, Yakwa, Okwama, Manggena, Nahangma, Pichamma, Sappok Chomen, Dhung Dunge, Khadko, Cheppma, Lambhoba, Faksote/Fakseppma etc.

2) Followings Rituals are Partially Related With Animal Sacrifice.

Yayemma/Tongsing, Sogha, Sugup(t), Sasik, Lechham, Nahen, Kachipa, Kae Sodok,

The Phedangmas and their performing rituals based on their types are as follows:

A) The Khadamang

The origin of the Khadamang was at first and considered as a blind shaman in the Limbu community. He doesn't use gear for forecasting or diagnosis of the illness or any other effects or ritual performance. But he uses some methods or symbols to find out cause of illness or for forecasting or *Jokhana*. Such as by holding wrist (Right at first and left) of patient he can estimate the causes of illness. During the ritual performance and offering sacrifice, s/he pours blood on *Lasho*. If there is spot or bubble within a poured blood, it is called *Mikwa* (tear). The condition of the liver of sacrificed animal (chickens), *Wa Khing* (gall of chicken), *Wa Chakrakpa* (small pimple of the stomach), and *Shangsimma* (shaking head or body, when he pours water on its head) are the things to know about the good or bad future of the house or the person. They have specific meaning or those symbols give specific meanings like follows-

- If there is not complete shape of the liver (*Wa Lungma*); it means that, it does not have sign of proper prosperity but symbol of un-satisfaction of any spirits. Mainly sign of future illness or bad health or any physical loss or trouble.
- If the sacrificed animals' stomach doesn't have the *Wa Khing* (gall), it is not good message. It is indication of bad future or trouble or bad luck, loss in agriculture products or unsuccessful.
- If the on going sacrificed chickens, animals denied the '*Sangsimma*' the offering is not properly accepted by god/sprits. This means sign of illness or trouble or not proper systematic offering.

These are methods of their prophecy to estimate the possible troubles of future sorrow. But other types of Phedangmas have different bases or ways for their forecasting.

Main functions of the Khadamangs are:

The main function of the Khadamang is divided in two parts are – ritual and healing process. S/he is a first important and more required priest in the Limbu community. But s/he does not have any shamanic gears or dresses, only in person during the performance (worshipping). The Khadamangs have right and power for Chasok (ceremony before new harvesting) or offering new grains to nature or gods. Before the Chasok the grain crop is taken as danger but after the Chasok taken it as pure. It is a ritual to get permission to use or eat the new grains. The Khadmangs are the mediator between the farmers (Limbus) and gods because s/he can talk and convince them (gods). The Chasok worshipping is a symbol of kindness and respect to givers. Yakwa is a ritual for praying to the nature or god to get permission to sow seeds (crops) and appeal to future goodness of the crops, which is performed by the Khadamang. Other functions of the Khadamang are:

1) Phaksote Khama/Chokma (Killing Pig or Offering Piglets to the Gods.)

In Limbu community pigs are considered as animals of the gods/goddess. To kill pigs or piglets, Limbus required the Phedangma to talk with gods. Similarly, while a female pig bears the piglets, her one/two piglets should be sacrificed to offer to the goddess as the share. Otherwise, it may cause of trouble of family or the loss in pig rearing (keeping). This offering is called *Fakshote*, which is completed by Khadamang as a mediator between goddess and pig keeper family, especially on behalf of woman. It is done for much prosperity of pig keeping. If there are more piglets, it is a symbol of the god's happiness.

2) Taap Thekma

The Khadamang does this function at out side of the house by sacrificing the chicken. It is for the protection of the family members from outsider deity Tamphungma. Otherwise, the family members may fall in an accident or get hurt. In the offering chickens are sacrificed which is the symbol of the blood offering to the out side spirits of houses instead of human blood.

3) **Okwama**

Okwama is an earth god or house god of Limbu community. The Limbu peoples should offer or worship him for betterment of the house. It stands to protect house from the thunder, storm, fire, earthquake and landslide etc. In which, offering is organized inside the house by sacrificing a piglet or offering only foods and fruits. For this performance a hole is made in earth at bottom of the main pillar of house. It requires Khayar (special wood) and copper coin too. The Khadamang executes this shamanic ritual. This *Khayar* is memorandum of the ancient specific wood, which was used at first time as a pillar of house. The coin stands for price of land and wage to hold or protect the house. The animal sacrifice is to satisfy to the spirits/god.

4) **Manggena, Nahangma, Mekkam Thim**

For both male and female's Manggena rituals require senior Phedangma (the Khadamang) than the person (Manggena owner) to perform ritual. In this ritual, the Khadamang sacrifices the chickens or piglet. It is done for prosperity, progress and empowerment of the individual. Similarly, s/he performs the rituals in marriage, which one is main ritual of the marriage ceremony. Without this ritual marriage can't be completed. In this ritual two chickens are sacrificed. The blood of chickens is taken out by biting. The blood is symbol of *Nahen*. So, to reduce the *Nahen* or protect from *Nahen* blood is offered in marriage.

5) **Sappok Chomen**

The Kadamang performs the rituals for the Sappok Chomen (worship for pregnancy). It is an important ritual of combination of various sets of rites. This function is organized for successful child-delivery and good health of mother and child. It is a ritual to ask the power and goodness for the woman.

B) Samba/Chhamba

Like the Khadamang, Yaba/ma and the Mangba the Samba is another important priest or Chanaba/Phedangma. Without the Samba, the Limbus religious and ritual activities won't be completed. Hitchcock & Jones (1976) say the

Samba/Chhamba is a specialist in the oral literature and methodology of the Limbu, collectively called the Mundhum. Many people believe his/her power is in the ‘word’. So his/her ability is to recite the proper myth or spell mantra. That is needed in pacifying any angry spirit, god or goddess. This statement also proves that Samba is a source of the Mundhum or Mundhum knower. Orally they pray and pacify the spirits offering by some things or materials. The Phedangmas – Samba is taken Mahila (Second) Limbu shaman (ibid), Subba (1998). But in Chhathar some people believe that the Samba stands at last. But they didn’t know either the Samba originated after the Khadamang or after the Yaba. On the basis of their rituals/religious function they are in various categories. The Shaman *Sajuwet Mundanwet* Samba is said to be the senior most among Sambas (ibid).

Some specific sambas their roles & specialization are -

Sigonda Thegonda Samba – *as avoiding death among the descendants of Sawa Yethang*

Thappura Tehyonge Samba-

Tangseri Musedi Teannang Samb - *as having the wired power of causing thunder bolt and cracking earth.*

Sikiling Kambokling Samba-

The following are the famous Sambas who are invoked as *Sam Seere* by Sambas, during *Thiphimma* ritual:

- 1) Nawala Sidengna Samba
- 2) Mukumlung Aamgba Samba
- 3) Namthingo Yekten Samba etc.

According to way of the performance and characteristics the Sambas are

Seremu Phiphama Samba. -	(having characteristics of trembling
Theremu Yakphama Samba	violently or active possession)
Namdhinngo Linglingo Samba.-	(having dreadful personality)

- Tetlara Labhungyang Samba. - (user of leaves of plants in the rituals)
- Miktikke Suhengang Samba. - (users of flowers as *Miktikke*)
- Sapsingbung Yeyenam Samba.- (users of branches of *Sapsing*)
- Muktubung Sangphullum Samba.- (users of Mukto)
- Setlobung Sangsere Samba. - (users of Setlu)
- Phenjetet Kejang Khingkhinglung Samba. – (sambas, wearing cloths made of iron nets)
- Sehotel kejang Khangkhanglung Samba. - (sambas, wearing cloths made of leather)
- Siwetet kejang Chingchinglung Samba.- (samba, wearing clothes made of stinging nettle)
- Lapchami Yetle Suhenga Samba.- (samba, who can fly)
- Phugbltte Tanglangma Samba. – (samba, who can dance like a Yak)
- (*Subba 1998:32-35*)

These categories of sambas are only on the basis of their characteristics. But they have same type of roles and functions in each their performances.

The altar of the Chhamba is different from other Chanabas/Phedangmas' altar. Samba's altar also has different elements. According to Hitchcock & Jones (1976) the type of altar varies with the shaman and the occasion but a number of elements remain constant such case occurs in Samba altar. Basically Sambas' altar is constructed at main pillar in house. But it can be constructed outside too. It is contextual on the basis of type of rituals. The foot of the main pillar of house should be made pure (chokho) and an earthen mound filled basket is kept at the base as symbol of earth or cosmic world. In the center of basket, two *Muktos* (a kind of plants) erected having with four steps as a ladder, called *Samba Thare* (Ladder of Samba) during such sear the shaman's soul is believed to ascend this ladder and seek out spirits that are to be summoned to his aid (Ibid). This erected *Mukto* is a symbol of the Phedangma's ladder to travel to heaven or next world.

This main ladder is surrounded by small (5/6 inches) *Mukto's* sticks. They are erected as one another in cross structure. It is a symbol of security to protect the altar from bad spirits. Near the main ladder, *Nissa* (the flag) should be erected. It is called *Tummihang Nissa* too. That means elders witnesses are there to see or monitor the

Samba. So this *Nissa* is also a symbolic presentation of the *Tummihang*. Inside the security bar, *Tosing* (3/4 steps mukto) is erected. It is a symbol of *Muee Semma* (to divided death spirit and live soul); it means Samba separates the death soul from his/her relatives or cosmic world. Besides these, *Silam Sakma* (instrument to check way of death) and other *Diyo* (Lamp), Saree, some specific stones and animals' horns are kept, which give full structure of Samba altar.

Costume and material of Samaba are- *Pembo* (garland) of *Ganti* (bell), *Utraksha* (Rudraksha a king of nut), *Ya Thala* (plate), *Aplak* (Kaudi), *Oee thing* (thorn of porcupine) etc. They are symbols of the weapons and for protection of Samba. By using these instruments, Samba gets power to perform rituals and can protect the Limbu society.

Main functions of the Samba

The Sambas have specific function of halting or driving away the *Shoga*, *Sugup*, *Sasik* and *Nahen*. But they can't kill or leak those bad spirits like Yaba/ma (Subba 1998: 30). Specially, these are not functions of the Samba. Mainly Samba's functions are –

1) Yayemma (Tongsing Takma)

In this ceremony, a Samba performs one night or three nights or seven nights Tongsing performance. This is for protection, progression and prosperity of Limbu peoples. It is one kind of protection ritual from varies bad spirits and ghosts. This is a set of many parts of rituals. *Muee Semma* (to separate death and alive spirits), *Krahakakma* (To cross or pass over the Graha (planet), *Khadko Cheppma* (To give sacrifice an animal- chicken, goat instead of the man), *Sakmura Wadenma* (to follow out the cursed) *Silam Sakma* (to close the way of death), *Sam Lingma & Sam lakma* (to take the spirits), *Phungwa Changma* (to rise flower, which is on the name of youth -boy/girl). The flower plants are kept in a glass (vase) as the symbolic representative of persons in *Phungwa Changma*. If the flower rises or becomes live it is good sign for this person. But if the flower fades, it is not the good symptom to flower owner. Then for the betterment of the faded person, Samba recites the Mundhum.

2) Mikwana Sangma

The Mikwana Sangma is related with death of a person in Limbu community. According to Subba (2000) the death ritual is combination of - *Khauma Phaje* (last funeral ceremony), *Sam Sama* (separate between death and live spirits), *Yum Sa* (pre purification after death) and *Mikawana Sangma* (wash the tear). Not all ritual activities compulsory require the Samba or Phedangma. Some of them can be performed by the *Tummihang* also but *Mikawana Sangma* compulsorily requires the Samba.

Mikwana Sangma is to wash tearful face due to death sorrow. The Samba symbolically washes the face or body of relatives of dead person. S/he uses *Sapsing* (a kind of plant) buckeye and warm water to wash their face. It is a symbol of purification. In this ritual, *Tongsing/Yayemma Mundhum* is recited or sang in brief (Ibid). It is also a kind of Yayemma. Many activities and performance are common with *Yayemma* and *Mikwana Sangma* in Chhathar Limbuwan. It takes whole night where various activities are included. But main task is *Sam Sama*. According to Mundhum knower, the Samba takes death spirits to *Khema Pangbhe* (heaven) where all death spirits are. Then he requests the leader of the *Khema Pangbhe* to take this new spirit. And the Samba takes back other live spirits or Sam in the earth. If the Samba loses any spirits of live people, it may be dangerous (ibid). Besides this ritual function *Kraha Kakma* and *Silam Sakma* also are executed during the *Mikwana Sangma* performance. Generally, in Chhathar altar of the Samba is erected in *Lakhum* (yard) for this function. The Samba is taken as the symbol of purification maker in Limbu Society. S/he can separate the dead and live spirits/soul. He can halt and drive away the dead spirits, so s/he is symbol of the security too. If they (spirits) don't get proper ritual farewell they can't go to *Khema Pangbhe*. They get sorrow and trouble and create trouble to people too. So Samba makes relief for the dead spirit and sends his/her to heaven during this ritual.

3) Dungdunge or Other Samang-Chyang Chokma

Besides these above-mentioned, a Samba works for the other religious ritual function such as *Dung Dunge Sammang*. It is a special worshipping to appeal the god

Dung Dunge. Where heart, liver of a live goat is taken out to offer the god, on the memory of that god had taken heart of human in unknown past. But it is appeared in some families not in all people. If it is unsatisfied, some losses or illnesses etc are created in the family. In every three years, it requires a goat or cock to sacrifice. The Samba stands as a protector and healer of society. S/he also deals Lambhoba (a ritual in western path), where he/she blocks the bad spirits. It is for protection from any type of Physical injuries or accidents. The Yaba/ma and other shamans also can perform it during their performance.

In his /her all rituals Chhamba uses *Sapshing*, *Mukto*, *Samba Sama* (gears), *Sya* (rice) on the basis of the functional requirement of the Samba. They are to fight with bad spirits and to protect himself and community or people. Without those equipments, neither Samba can get support of his/her *Guru Seere* for shamanic power nor can do any rituals or religious and healing practices. That means Samba in person is not enough without the instruments and gears. During the *Lambhoba*, *Kraha Khdko*, *Dungduge*, *Pichamma*, *Sing Sammang* etc *Khama* (worshipping) Samba sacrifices animals chicken or goats etc but *Pichamma* worshipping needs a cow to sacrifice. This is symbol of human spirit sacrificing. Samba says to satisfy the spirits, instead of head, to head, legs for legs, heart for heart, mouth for mouth etc. Therefore, it is a symbolic representation of the person, and other instruments are symbols of power.

C) Yaba/Yama (Yeba/Yema)

The Yaba (Male), Yama (Female) shamanic priest of the Limbu community has next great importance. Particularly there are some rituals, which should be done by Yaba/Yama (Yaba/ma). Among the Limbu Phedangmas' when was the Yaba/ma emerged is unknown. But some oral legend of Chhathar says when the spirits created trouble to human beings then to cure with those troubles the Yaba/ma emerged. The Yaba/ma is *Sahila* -Third oldest (Hitchcock & Jones 1976) in ranking of Limbu shamans. It shows it was emerged as third generation of the Phedangmas in the Limbu community. But according to Subba (1998: 42) Yaba/ma is the second (Mahila) Limbus' shamanic priests. That means Yaba/mas have second shamanic ranking in

Limbu community. But which one is right? I didn't find actual answer in my field study, only different thoughts are there.

While because of jealousy, between Yethang (eight kings) and Phedangmas their (yethangs) lineage couldn't be expanded. So Sodhogen Lepmuhang (Their father) sent powerful Yaba/ma like Yavoko, Yasiri Samba in the earth. In this way, Yaba/ma emerged at first time. However, different sayings are there about their origin. According to Menyangbo and Mabhuhang (2066 BS: 12-13) there are different places or position of the Yaba/ma's origin. Long ago in Ikhabu (Taplejung) one wingless or feather less bird tried to fly after having feather of tree's leaves. But he could not fly. Later Sappari/Membari (Plant) tree's leaves helped the bird to fly. When a hunter *Pujiyo Sajiyo* Samba killed that flying bird and took the feathers as the Kalki (crown), to fly but he could not fly and he went to his father to request for help. So that he had been given instruments or equipments of Yaba in *Murisla Theringsla* (name of place) so he became powerful Yaba.

Similarly, according to next myth long ago in Thinglabung (Taplejung), there was a boy. When he became adult, he made wings of fern to fly. But his mother thought that it was not good deed. So she took out the feather of fern. Then people charged him as a witch. They killed and kept inside a box and let the river flow it. A Pomu (man) hooked out small *Ghanti* (Bell) from river (which is might be touched by dead body) in Athatharai (Terthum). When he touched that *Ghanti*, his body started to tremble (vibrate) and became popular Yaba/ma. In this ways, Yaba/ma originated in Limbu community. But Menyangbo (2003) has some different aspects about Yaba/ma origin. He says by extracting the Mundhum, once in a house of the village of *Sawa Yethang* Phedangma/Chanaba gathered to perform the Tongsing ritual. But they couldn't get support of their Guru Yuma Seere. So they requested to Tagera Ningwaphuma to get shamanic power. Then they got Yuma Seere for only eight days. The Chanaba/Phedangma got Sakti (power) and properly performed their rituals. But they forgot to return the Yuma Seere to Tagera Ningwaphuma. Form the ninth day, Yuma Seere changed herself as a black cat and started to eat the kids. No one could neither chase away nor kill it. The Ningwaphuma also refused to take back the man-eater Yuma Seere and ordered them to bring a branch of one tree from Sammba's grave in the high land (Sodhung Tembe, Lepmuhang Tembe). It was to erect in yard

and make altar, where Yuma Seere could dance or be satisfied. Then once in every year it should be provided the new Yagrangsing (altar). So every year the Phedangmas perform such rituals or activities. It was initiation of the Yaba/ma origin. These were ways of the Yaba/ma origin for Limbus society.

On the basis of their ritual works and social requirement Yaba/ma are divided in many categories. However, there is no any restriction or specification to perform the rituals. Even how many categories are in yaba/ma is also unknown. But Yabhoko Yaba and Yebhung Yama respectively are called to male and female.

The Yabas/mas use various gears during their performance. According to Subba (1998 p: 77-79) Yaba/ma uses *Phengbo* (A garland of Rudraksha) where Ghanti, claws of tiger, teeth of boar are hanged. This is the symbol of security and power of the Yaba/ma. *Mekli* (long gown), *Ya Phae* (Belt of cloth), *Aaplak* (cross shoulder to waist belt right to left vice versa), *Washang* (the feather's crown) and *Ya Thala* (Bronze plate), *Paga* (Muffler), *Ya ke* (large tom tom), *Ya Phejha* (Sword), *Ya Sukwa* (Small bags). These all are called *Ya Saman* (gears), which have separate meanings and interpretations.

Mekli and *Ya Phae* are symbols of security. They tie the *Phae* at waist for *Thak Iephuma* (to tie of the body for protection) to store the energy. *Washang* is symbol of magical power of Yaba/ma. It is the symbol of wings to fly. That means s/he uses it to terrify the bad spirits too. Boar's teeth and garland materials are used as weapons to attack and be protected from bad spirits. Similarly garland and *Aaplak* protect them from the enemy or bad spirits. These gears help him/her to act as a dead person and speak out on behalf of the dead person. That means s/he can enter into death spirit and explain detail about his/her death incidents and sorrows. S/he can change his structure like enemy. If souls/spirits change as a snake Yaba/ma also changes as a snake and so on and playing with bronze plate, s/he follows to chase them. Their supportive Guru Seeres are *Osek Seere* (snake guru), *Phikcho Seere* (Hawk Guru), *Myaba/Muya Seere* (Eagle Guru), *Myang Seere* (Cat Guru) and *Saba Seere* (Monkey Guru) main gurus for Yaba/ma. (These Gurus help them for their functions.) The headdress of Yaba is symbolic of celestial flight tool (Jone & Hitchcock 1976).

Functions of Yaba/ma

Main ritual function of the Yaba/ma is *Nahen Lakma* (To leak the jealousy). In this ritual Yaba/ma leaks (eats) all types of the jealousies and envies. In the Limbus' sense, if jealousy/envy falls it would invite loss, trouble, sickness and death in family or individuals. The Yaba leaks the *Nahen* to protect from those spirits. During this ritual, magically Yaba/ma takes out or shows the blood in the playing plate (Ya Thala) and leaks it. The blood or red is the symbol of *Nahen*. So if someone sees the blood or red color in dream is know the *Nahen* is falling on the family. It falls because of prosperity, property and much progress etc. The *Nahen* normally doesn't fall on low family or individual status. It means the falling of *Nahen* is sign of having more progress, prosperity and success or high status.

1) Kachipa/Kanamba/Kathamba

The Yaba/ma performs the ritual to control the Kachipa (the spirits of death infant or child it is called *Mach* in Nepali). The Kachipa creates trouble to the child/baby so it should be controlled. In this controlling performance, they offer foods, beverage to the spirits, and convince them not to afraid with him/her. When they come, s/he controls or kills them. In this ritual performance also, Yaba/ma magically shows some living things (rat, insects etc) and by burning or without burning s/he eats them. It is symbol of Kachipa controlling.

2) Kae Sodhok Khengma / Soma Pang Yama

The Limbu Mundhum describes story about the human being from very earlier time. This is rarely described in other religions. So in the earlier past of the human evolution, there was incestuous sexual relationship between the sister and brother too.

Mundhum says Suhangpheba (brother) and Lahadangna (sister) had committed the incestuous sexual relationship. They gave birth to animals (dogs, rhino, frogs, elephants) but because of sin they could not be separated. Suhangpheba carried Lahadangna by his penis and kept continue that relationship by joining like snakes and dogs. Then Jupiter (god) came to separate them. They used *Betko louri* (stick of

Bet plant) of hillsides, *Khayar tree* of foot hill and branch of *Aderi* (plant) as a liver. But they couldn't separate them. At last they used *Harkoto* to cut and made them separate. After separating they started to regret (Menyangbo and Mabuhang 2066 BS p: 88) for such consanguineal sexual relationship. Such relationship is called *Kaee Phekma* in Limbu term. So also to stop such sexual relationship Yaba/ma is needed in Limbu society.

In the ritual of Soma Pang Yama (house of sin), there should be made small roofless house with four floors as a symbol of the world. At top or 4th floor red cloths is woven. In 3rd *Musli* and *Okhli* as a symbols of penis and vagina or male and female and in 2nd floor the embraced model image of animals, snakes, crabs, frogs etc are kept. That gives the symbolic memory of the ancient consanguineal sexual relationship and child birth like such animals. Lastly in ground floor only *Saree* (flower vase with water) is kept. It gives meaning of natural setting. At last this is destroyed by the Yaba/ma as a symbol of the sin house to stop such *Kaee Phekma* and trouble by such sin. So Yaba/ma is taken as the reducer and controller of such sinful sexual relationship or cause of sexual motivator spirits. In this praying or appealing to Yuma Seere (Guru *uthaune*) s/he starts in this way –

*A...he...a... Sodhugen Lepmuhangba A... Thabe panu Yamba A... Thillilung
Thhamdet Lungma A... Thamera Yamma A...Kuhiraso phingandangma
A.....Huksowa lahgsa sotdhi...Harawa mingso sotchi...aajik langdhung
kerang. Phurup loksang kerang. Ain kapmo sorikk. Sibhak yebotangba ha re.
Aaplung tangsepwa lamma.....Sapsingbung ye:ye: nambegnu. Muktobung
hamuktibenu..... Tingding nahen aanyukki. Sikya makya ha re.....Sibhak
yemisa inn. Singdung khara menya. Hara miksi menlengne. Ling Khi: yo
menbote. Kudasing khamelekke. Sakwa mueng nurik. Chuge chuwa pisang
aadhaseo.*

(*He...a...a... Sodhugen Lepmugagba A.. equal guru like my mother, grandmother goddess of the earth..... Come, I will stimulate you and have sex with you. I have brought body of pig gift to you... I m in front of you. Protect the Mainam (yebo) owners. My supreme guru (spirit) equips me and my pupil to satisfy the bad spirits and forecast successfully. Empower us to dance without any hesitation and any*

obstacle.....if Sapsing, Setlu and Mukto fade, take out water by kicking at ground and serve to raise them. Make us closed and protect us (Ibid p: 72).

Besides these, the Yaba/ma has *Mukum Semi Seppma* (killing soul of fire), *Sogha*, *Sugup*, *Lechham Seppma* functions (ibid). However, in Chhathar *Sogha*, *Sugup* and *Lechham* are killed or controlled by the Mangba. The Limbus' ritual functions can't be completed without Yaba/ma. But Yaba/ma is taken unable as well as impure for other religious/rituals functions, especially to the Mang Sammang. Yaba/ma is taken as a *Laso Kalakpa* (Laso leakier). So other god and goddess (mang samang) don't accept the Yaba/ma.

E) **Mangba**

In Limbuwan not all Limbus communities have the Mangba. But in Chhathar and some parts of Phedap Mangba is also prevalent (Hitchcock & Jones 1976). It has important role in Chhathare Limbu community. Mangbas are believed to have come from the Khambu Land (Middle Kirat or Rai land). Their roles are similar to Yabas and Yamas. Mangba is a specialist in dealing with the spirits of people who have died by violence *Sogha*, women who died child birth *Sugup(t)* and still birth *Sasik* (Hitchcock & Jeons 1974). And in Chhathar unseen death spirit is called *Lechham*. That means when person died no one was there to see or care him/her. The dead person might be touched by dog, cat, chicken etc such dead spirit becomes the *Lechham*. It is also controlled by the Managba.

The Limbus accept Mangba tradition was derived or adopted from Rai community. But it is unknown when the process was started. The Limbu peoples believe the Rai women married with Limbu men were sources of the Mangbas' origin. The Mangba is taken as *Kanchha* (youngest) shaman who has specific ritual functions in Chhathare Limbu society. So in Chhathar Mangba and Yaba have not similar task in practices. There are various types and classes of the Mangbas based on their roles, such as *Biree* (Biri) Mangba, *Laso* Mangba, *Chekchek* Mangba, *Siring* Mangba, *Kesu*

Mangba etc. *Biree* is mainly taken as a controller or killer of the Sogha. But there is no hierarchy among of them. They are only the ways to occupy the rituals.

The main functions of the Mangbas are -

1) Sogha, Sugup(t), Sasik and Lechham Seppma

It has long history (unknown past), when two brothers and a sister were constructing a house. The brothers were trying to erect the wooden pillar, by accidentally the bottom of pillar stroked their sister to death. So her spirits became Sogha. The Sogha spirits couldn't go to heaven and got trouble which created the trouble to people. It means the person dies by violence such spirits is called Sogha. It is symbol of danger. The Sogha spirit wanders to look friends then creates accident to death of other persons to make friends. So people prayed to the god for its controlling. Then god sent the Mangba to control or kill the Sogha. But somewhere (especially besides Chhathar) people said he was the Yaba. This Sogha killing function is organized, when death of a person occurs by violence (any accident etc). Then as soon as possible, it should be killed within 1, 2 or 3 days. Early period is easy to control or kill. During the ritual, Mangba offers to Lammbhoba at first where he asks the power with guru. His altar is constructed in ground of dead person by using bamboos like ladder. A death body of a piglet or goat is hanged on these bamboos altar. But it is same like Yaba's altar in height and different is Mangba doesn't use *Lommbho* (basket) and *Ke* (tom tom).

The whole night Mangba performs all his activities surrounded of alter. Delicious foods, beverage and ornaments of dead person are shown to summon the Sogha. When the Sogha comes to have them the Mangba strikes (attack) the *Oee thing* (Hair or thorn of porcupine) or *Mukto* to kill him/her. Later magically Mangba shows the live pierced rat, frog or butterfly etc. These are the symbol of the dead spirit or Sogha. But some Mangbas don't show such symbol of the Sogha. They control only by Mundhum.

One shaman told me by extracting Mundhum about the Sogha killing – In past there was agreement between Sogha and the Mangba. According to this agreement, Mangbas cannot kill Sogha etc but only control or make blocked for six months. If

they kill them at once, they would be jobless. After each six month, Mangba should be performed rituals to make blockade to the Sogha. It means Mangba gets a job. But in Chhathar it is not following strictly by the Limbus. Only some people do so. Otherwise, only once Mangba perform the Sogha killing or controlling performance. But according to Hitchcock and Jones (1976) in each three years and then the ceremony must be performed again to make blocked the Sogha. Generally, the Mangba performs same ways like Sogha controlling to kill or control the *Sugup*, *Sasik* and *Lechham*.

Mangbas uses same gears like Yaba/ma. But he uses the *Dhyangro* instead *Ya Thala* of Yaba/ma and don't use *Washang* like Yaba/ma. His specific weapon is *Thrumi* (like spear) to attack bad spirits or be protected from them. These weapons and gears are symbols of power. The Mangbas are the symbol of bad sprits controller. Normally their altar is constructed out side of house or at yard. It is sign of pollution.

F) Yuma

The literary term 'Yuma' in Limbu language, stands for grandmother. The Limbus understand the Yuma as their main god/goddess '*Yuma Sammang*' also. This is related or taken as Tagera Ningwaphuma the supreme god of the Limbus. The Yuma a type of Phedangma/Chanaba does not directly stand for this *Yuma Sammang*. But s/he is not so far from Yuma Sammang too. Subba (1998 p: 40) says *Yuma Sam* is the supreme divinity of Limbus and the Yuma and sole devotees of *Yuma Sam*. That means Yumas were originated because of *Yuma Sammang*. They are ultimately follower and worshipper of the *Yuma Sammang*. Particularly they don't have enough rituals and religious function to Limbu community. So it also said that they don't have professional shamanic activates. Yuma does not perform as a curer or a healer of the sickness in the society. She is always a female religious priest (shaman) and remains confined on her altar with prayer (ibid). They have not other specific function or rituals. In Chhathar both sex are found as Yuma shaman but large number is female. And partially they involve for some healing performance or forecasting.

Yumas have some instruments, tools or equipments to perform their own activities. They are *Lombho*, *Khurmi*, *Chhamar*, *Jhymta* (ibid). Yuma Samang is also like grandmother or old woman. She has long white hair and stoop body wanders by carrying a *Lommbho* (a kind of large basket). *Khurmi* (a small sickle) a tool to Yuma's (grandmother) harvest. Symbolically Yuma shamans use *Khurmi* as their tools to harvest and as their weapons too fight against jealousy. *Jhyamta* is their playing instrument. According to Hitchcock & Jones (1976) Yumas use Damaru (drum), small cymbals (*jhyamta*), bell, bone, horn of animals, *Thrumi* (dagger), red cloth (*paga*), various spears, sword and yak's tail as their gears. But in Chhathar such gears are only partially used or some of these gears aren't used too.

To perform their trance performance Yumas use their separate hut (as a temple). Inside the temple they put *Ya Shya* (dish with rice) *Phung Saree* (flower vase) *Ya Diyo* (Lamp) or *Dhup* and other materials. There s/he can pray to the *Yuma Samang* (her guru).

They do not go to out side of the hut for shamanic performance. They can pray or make healing and prophecy or forecasting (*jokhana*) by performing *Mundhum* reciting inside the hut. As a representation of the patient or service-taker, they need name or *Yabo/Mainam* (cloth of those people). According to Chemjong (1963 BS), Yuma Samang ordered her subjects to make periodic offering of fruits and flowers but not to animal sacrifice. So they don't sacrifice animal like other Limbu Phedangmas in their rituals performance. They are taken as representative or messenger of *Yuma Samang* or in Limbu language called *Yuma Samangna Thukkusiba* (created by Yuma). Really they are symbols of calm and saint shamanic group in Limbu society. They never sacrifice the animals, means they don't participate in violence.

This tables No (3) given below shows summary of types of Phedangmas, the rituals performed by them and meanings of rituals. But some rituals are performed by all types of shamans. This division is only as per their types.

Summary table of Phedangmas with their respective functions/meanings

S.N.	Phedangmas	Rituals	Meanings
a	Khadamang		
	1	Chasok	It is offering new corps before the haversting.
	2	Phaksote Chokma	Piglets offering/sacrificing ceremony to the god as his/her share while a pig bears piglets. For betterment or good future of pig rearing.
	3	Taap Thekma	The ritual to protect the family or family member form forest spirits. Or outsiders spirit.
	4	Okwama Khama	The worshipping function at main pillar of house. For protection of family and house.
	5	Manggena/Mekkam Thim	Manggena is the worshipping for individual's progress, prosperity, good lucks, bravery. Mekkam Thim or Khama is main marriage ritual. It is as heart of marriage of couple.
	6	Sappok Chomen	It is the ritual in pregnancy of woman to have good health for mother and child.
b	Samba		
	1	Yayemma (Tongsing)	It is a combination of various rites performed in 1 or 3 or 7 nights for protection and good future of family and society.
	2	Mikwana Sangma	After a death of a person the relatives become sad and tearful as well impure also. It is a one-night performance like Yayemma, to make them pure and wash their tear (sadness) as well as separation with dead spirits.
	3	Dungdunge	It is a ceremony to satisfy the Dungdunge god in each three year. But it is not appeared in each Limbu's family. <i>Morning to Day time.</i>
c	Yaba/Yama		
	1	Kachipa Kanamba	It is to control the dead spirits of child and still birth to protect mother and child. It is organized at night like Yayemma.
	2	Kae Sodhok Pang Yama	It is to protect individuals from keeping incest relation and separate live soul from dead spirits.
	3	Nahen Lakma	It is a rite to control the jealousies an envies foe individuals or family's betterment.
d	Mangba		
	1	Sogha Seppma	It is ritual to control the dead spirit by violence.
	2	Sugup Seppma	It is the ritual to control dead sprit of woman who died during the child delivery.
	3	Lechham/Sasik Seppma	It is rituals to control the spirit of un-seen dead person.
e	Yuma	Healing and prophecy	To heal the people or making prophecy.

Table No - 3

CHAPTER – 8

CHANGING PATTERNS OF THE PHEDANGMAS

During my fieldwork in Chhathar, I found many Phedangmas and Tumminhangs believe that changes are taking place in the world of the Phedangmas and Tumminhangs. Nowadays some roles of Phedangma have been changed. So some shamans perform the rituals of different types of Phedangma rather than their own typical functions. In the other hand, some Limbus have reformed or developed 'Sattyahangma' sect in the Limbu society. They don't use the Phedangma as their religious priest. Therefore, the Phedangma is not only single priest for Limbus society in new context. In past, the Phedangma was all in all in the Limbus religious society. Many changes have occurred in the Phedangmas' gears, materials or instruments. Similarly, changes have occurred in Mundhum or use of Mundhum, use and beliefs of Phedangmas and becoming Phedangma.

Many changes have occurred in various aspects of shamanic activities than past. The roles for healing patient, performing rituals, keeping alive unwritten Mundhum, are changing. Now some aware people started to give emphasis to protect the Limbus shamanism as their own historical cultural and religious identity. Some of them are acting as shaman by reading written Mundhum too. But they are not selected by god. In this case also processes to become Shaman are changing. In this way the motivating factors to become a Phedangma is more psychological or spiritual rather than social, cultural, economical or political issues- are changing. But it is not far from these too.

My entire respondents accepted till 15/20 years ago there was more power of spirits or mantra. So the Phedangmas also were powerful. The god selected them and took to forest (some of them) to teach them. But youth who are influenced by western (modern) education, culture, language, they don't or little believe on spirits, god and goddess (Mang Sammang). They think it is no more than superstitious thought and tradition. In this way power and belief on Phedangmas also has been changed.

The Limbus believe that Sodhungen Lepmuhang sent the Phedangmas for human (Limbus) welfare (Subba 2000). This statement is being weaker now, because of the westernization and its influence in every field- education, culture, health, religion etc. So the thinking pattern of Limbus about Phedangmas and their rituals also have been changed. The thinking of welfare to human of Phedangma is being weaker. It is believed that culture is dynamic phenomenon so it is changing. Such changes are occurring in the Limbu shamanism. The changes bring positive and negative both consequences. Particularly in following points, changes have been seen in Limbus shamanism or about the Phedangma.

a) Beliefs and Power on Phedangmas

In Chhathar peoples (Limbus) accept that the beliefs of the Limbus on the Phedangmas have been decreasing day by day. A few people have charged them as cheater too. The frequency of ritual, social, cultural, religious activities have been decreasing, where the Phedangmas are needed. Hardly sometimes people organized the Yayemma/Tongsing for peace, progress and protection of the people. In past (15/20 years ago) it was annually organized. The people do not have any more trusts on Phedangmas as their real protectors. The collective *Chasok* (Dhulpuja in Nepali), Yakwa worshipping are disappearing from society. Three or seven nights Yayemma/Tongsing Takma was more popular in past going to be disappeared because of the westernization, acculturation and state's policy of one religion/culture (Subba 067 p: 21). People only from old generation (over 40/45 years) believe the Phedangmas are as their healer and protector. Youth or new generation do not believe like so. They accept only that it is an old tradition.

In the other hand in past the Chanabas/Phedangmas were more powerful and magical also. They could make well to patients, could take out disease from stomach by biting. They could show the proofs to people. Sometimes like hair, stone or flesh etc. They could stitch the person in his/her sitting. One my respondent told me about shaman's magic power.

“Once in my childhood, my one neighbor was shaman he had some plants of yam. But those yams were being stolen one by one at night. One evening the shaman

made (chanted) a Mundhum and slept. In the next morning, he saw the thief was catching the yam. He was unable to run away. Such type of shamans (Phedangma) were in past. Similarly, the powerful shamans could halt hail, could change themselves into tiger if they want to eat meat. But now even they don't know simple Mundhum too.”

It indicates power of the shaman and beliefs of the people to Phedangmas in both sectors, changes have occurred.

b) Changing in Materials Use and Phedangma

In Chhathar many people don't believe that only few changes have occurred in shamanic performing sectors. But changes have been seen on the basis of their categories in past they used –*Pomai, Osek Pomai, Sera Ha, Mekli, Ya Thala, Dyangro* (a kind of drum), *Thurmi, Wasang, Aplak, Ya Sukwa* etc as their costume. These gears are also not far from changes. The meanings, restrictions and uses are changing.

The Phedangmas themselves also do not have strong interest to use and manage all these shamanic gears. Without or with partial use of gears they perform their activities. Similarly somewhere in Chhathar meanings and importance of such gears and materials also are misinterpreted. Changes have occurred in materials use such as instead of *Mukto*, bamboo is used. For *Sapsing, Setlu* or other is used, instead of *Waso Phunget* (gourd), *bottle* is used or other, instead of animal a pumpkin is sacrificed in *Khodko* etc. Such changes occur because of migration, unavailability of required traditional materials and for comfort of user or lacks of knowledge (Mundhum) of such materials. The Phedangmas also are changed as per their easiness. Such as in Manggena ritual Phedangma inspires to mix the salt in meat cooking, which was prohibited in past. Processes of becoming shaman have changed in present than past. The Phedangmas were completely selected or sometimes taken to forest or riverside by the god. They could get mantra in dream but now such events are rarely seen. Some interested persons read a written book or listen to some shamans to learn Mundhum and change themselves as Phedangma.

c) Reciting the Mundhum

Almost all my respondents accept that in the Mundhum spelling or reciting process many changes have been occurred. In past Phedangmas were really collection of the Mundhum like encyclopedia of it. Now only they know little bit about the Mundhum. The Phedangmas don't teach Mundhum to their pupil perfectly because they suspect their pupil may become more powerful or skillful than themselves. This thought produced little Mundhum knower Phedangmas (Subba 2067 p: 17). Some my respondent shamans also were less knower of Mundhum than their *Guru* (teacher) it is a reality.

At present some Phedangmas are not active devotees and detail knower of Mundhum. So they do not have enough and detail skill of Mundhum too. They have only skill for taking care. Even they cannot perform their own functions or rituals such as all Mangbas cannot controls the Sogha, Sugup etc. Not all Sambas can perform Tongisng Takma/Yayemma for three and seven nights due to lack of knowledge (Mundhum) and skill. Peoples believe during the last 15/20 years many more changes have occurred in Limbu shamanism. The Phedangmas themselves have started to behave it only as a tradition. Because their ancestor had done so thus they are doing like children playing. Particularly there is not any meaning or importance for them. They do not know detail Mundhum, only spell or recite little of it. In this way, there are many changes occurring.

CHAPTER – 9

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

I) CONCLUSION

The observed activities and collected opinions show that the Limbus has their own social, cultural and religious identity. Their religious rites and ritual functions are executed by the Phedangmas. Without the Phedangmas their religious and ritual functions can't be completed. The Phedangmas are taken as mediator between the Limbu people and gods. Therefore Limbus and Phedangmas are closely linked. Without the Phedangma the Limbu society can't exist in its original form. It shows great importance of Phedangmas in Limbus community. Even today, the Phedangmas are being taken one important part of Limbu social, cultural, religious identity. They are taken as specialists of Mundhum (Subba 2000) and healers for sickness.

Because of westernization, globalization, migration, modern education and medical system and economical competency, each individual is in race of competition. S/he may be anywhere in the world, has experienced of materialistic things and influenced from science and technology. So s/he can think such types of spiritual, traditional and religious matters are meaningless in 21st century. Due to such influenced the Limbus either do not follow rituals or only partially.

In other hand, even educated scholars people say these social, cultural activities are important knowledge or skills of Limbu peoples. It should be long life. They want to develop and keep it alive as indigenous knowledge and scientifically as a psychotherapist. However, it is not creating more awareness to the people. So the number and beliefs of the Phedangmas are decreasing.

According to Subba (1998 p: 76-80), the Limbu Phedangmas are using various tools, instruments (gears) on the basis of their class or type. In my study in Chhathar I found various such gears of the Phedangmas as their costume or ritual materials. Such materials and instruments have specific history and meanings. Without specific

reasons and meanings, they did not apply these gears. These hidden meanings or symbolic meanings of the shamanic gears and materials have great importance in human or cosmic life.

In Limbu shamanic group - Phedangma/Chanaba is a collection of five types of shamans. They have separate role or function as their kind. They use different gears and materials during their performance, which have different meanings. Especially shamanic gears, weapons, equipments are to attack the bad spirits and protect themselves from these spirits. They use these to get shamanic power or Tantra mantra. Such gears are the symbols of shamanic variations too, such as *Dyangro* is used by only Mangba. If *Dyangro* is being played, anyone can say there is a Mangba. These gears have long historical meanings. The materials they used in their rituals have also different symbolic meanings. They offer goods, foods and bloods of animal to spirits to gratify them. Animal sacrifice is symbolic offering of human life through the animals' life. The used materials also have different symbolic meanings.

Nevertheless, people even some Phedangmas are being careless for such important symbolic meaning of the Phedangmas' gears and materials. They know to use such materials but why are they using? They do not know. Why are they using them? They say they are using such materials because it is their tradition. It means the great importance and the meaning of such gears or materials are being unknown for young generation. Why and for what purpose they are used? What are the meanings or signs or symbols of them? Such materials and their meanings are not being common among the Phedanmags too. They have partial knowledge about them and sometimes in only some cases. That means it is the symbols of carelessness or ignorance about the shamanic activities.

The Phedangmas have great social role also. They are taken as social leaders to assist society, healer for psychotherapist treatment of illness and tension. Similarly, they are religious, social integrator, protector of community, Mundhum knower, knowledge and information spreader or conveyer. They are the parts of social, religious continuity of Limbu society.

But both religious/ritual and social aspect of Phedangmas and their activities are being changed. Because of various causes, importance and number of Phedangmas are decreasing. The Limbus themselves also are being influenced by others' religions and cultures. So, some of them take shamanic performance as the burden.

Some Limbu peoples have started to ignore these activities. But in the corner some conscious literate or aware persons are emphasizing on the role and importance of the Phedangma and their skills. They are linking it with identity of the Limbu people. But due to various causes hardly they focus on symbolic meanings and importance. There are no more differences in the Limbu shamans in Chhathare than other of Limbuwan. Only in Chhathar and some parts of Phedap people use Mangba. In other parts, only the Khadamang is considered as the Phedangma and other are differently by type like samba, Yuma etc.

This study in Chhathar has found various external and internal cultural, religious, political and social influences. This brought many changers in the Phedangmas' life styles, uses of them and in their Mundhum. Similarly in their used materials, healing and psychological, religious, ritual, social aspects. However, still shamanism has great importance in the Limbu community. So the Phedangmas are indispensable part for them. They are taken as symbol of Limbus' religious and cultural leader as well as integrator and protector. As a healer they play vital role to provide psychological security to people. They play the role to manage mental conflict and tension of people and society. That means they manage the social conflict in Limbu community.

II) RECOMMENDATIONS

The Phedangmas are found special or indispensable part of the Limbus community. However, there many changes are found on them from past to now. Because of influence of westernization, migration, western pattern of education, media, medical treatment, external religious and cultural interference, the deviation have found on Phedangmas. However, historical importance, cultural and symbolic

meaning of the Phedangmas have great significance. It should be continued for an identity of the Limbu indigenous people. So followings are some recommendations of the study.

The Limbu peoples, Government and others parties should understand its (Phedangmas') social, cultural, religious and rituals importance and should take action for its development and original continuity in new sense or time.

The Phedangmas are social service provider; they are not only cheater and agent of superstitious thoughts in society. They have great role for society and social integrity. It should be respected or recognized by Limbu and state.

They are not playing only their traditional roles to cure in sickness or social healing. But they are curing psychologically. It should be recognized.

They, their gears and materials have great symbolic meanings and interpretations; which provide various symbolic signs for various sectors. These are indigenous knowledge have been developed for a long period. In society awareness, education should be spread; it is not only for Limbu but also for other communities. Government should make state's policy to co-operate, protect and enhance the important of such indigenous knowledge of the community for its continuity.

The shamanic or religious and ritual performance of them should be made more systematic, frugal and sameness ritual according to time and situation within its originality.

The symbolic and historical meanings and interpretations of the Phedangmas, their roles, gears and materials should be identified deeply and widely.

The all religious, ritual activities and Mundhum of the Phedangmas should be recorded in audio, video or written document for its continuity or long life. These are recommendations of this study.

The End

Glossary

- Aplak** – The cross cloths belt made up with small shells of the sea animals.
- Chasok** – The offering new crops to goddess before harvesting.
- Dhup** – Burning specific plants leaves on fire coal to create smoke
- Dyangro** – A drum which is played by Mangba
- Kaee Phekma** – To have sexual contact in blood relationship
- Ke** – The typical drum of Limbu community.
- Khadko Cheppma**– Ritual to dissolve the evil spirit
- Kraha** – Trouble creator in human life
- Laaik** – The small tube made up piece of banana's leave to offer water to god.
- Lahadangna** – The ancient female.
- Laso** – Pieces of the leave of banana, is used to make altar
- Liso** – Liquid, made of Sapsing's leave and water like adhesive gum
- Mainam/Yaba** –The upper cloth/dress of a person is used as his/her representation.
- Manggena** – The ritual for progress, prosperity, and bravery to Limbu.
- Mang Samang** – The god/goddess of Limbus.
- Muee Semma** - To separate the dead and live soul .
- Mukto** – A kind of plant like small bamboo that is compulsory for
Tongsing/Yayemma.
- Mukum Thee** – Symbolic beer, mixture of millet and herbal, offer to the god.
- Nahen** – Jealousy and envies.
- Oee thing** – Thorn or hair of porcupine.
- Pomai** – Garland of *Rudrakaha* or skeleton of snakes.
- Sam** - soul
- Sapsing** – A kind of tree, its branches with leaves are compulsory for Tongsing
- Saptok** – Small jar of bamboo to serve water or beer to Mang Samang
- Sera Ha** – Teeth of the boar.
- Saree** – Flower in vase.
- Sasik** – The spirits of the stillbirth.
- Setlu** – The plant its flowers are used as broom.
- Shangve** - It is a small flat shape weaved bamboos' sticks to put plate and

Saree which is hanged with wall.

Sikya – The person who failed to become a Phedangma.

Sugup – The spirits of dead woman during child devilry.

Suhangpheba – The ancient male.

Sogha – The spirits of dead person by violence.

Tamphungma- The forest deity.

Theba – The grandfather god of Limbus.

Thurmi – A small spear a weapon of shaman.

Tongba – Small jar made up from bamboo to drink beer.

Tongsing –^{3/4} steps of Mukto symbol for Muee semma. Or Yayemma

Tumminhang – The Limbu elder

Wachakrak – Small pimple hanging on chicken stomach.

Wadumpakwa – Pure water in small bowl or cup to offer god by *Laaik*.

Yagrangsing – The altar of Yaba/ma or Phedangma (Yabung).

Yakwa – The ritual to appeal god to sow the seeds of crops.

Ya-sukwa – The bag (1/2) to use in shamanic performance.

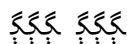
Ya -thala – The bronze plate which is played by shaman.

Yuma – The main or grandmother goddess of Limbus.

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Annex (1) - The Photos Related With **Phedangmas** and Their Performance



(Yaba at altar)



(A complete altar of Yaba/ma)



(A erected banana plant for *Khadko Cheppma*)



(A Yaba in his performance)



(A respondent, *Tummihang* of Chhathar)



(The Saree, *flower vase* for *Phungwachangma*)

ANNEXES (2)

Check list for the focus group discussion and informal interview.

- ① फेदाड्माको क्रम अनुसार उत्पतिको बारेमा तिनमा को पहिलो दोस्रो किन र कसरी आए?
- ① तिनको कामका प्रकारहरु के के र कसले के, केका लागि काम गर्छन ?
- ① तिनीहरुले प्रयोग गर्ने मुन्धुम, कुन अवसरमा र संस्कारहरुमा प्रयोग गर्छन र किन गर्छन?
- ① उनको (फेदाड्मा) अनुभव र फेदाड्मा हुने तरिका के के छन ? को फेदाड्मा हुन योग्य हुन्छ?
- ① उनिहरुले चलाउने समानहरु र त्यसको इतिहास र अर्थहरु के के छन?
- ① उनिहरुको काम प्रतिको लिम्बूहरुको विश्वास र सन्तुष्टी कति छ?
- ① पहिला १५/२० वर्ष अगाडि र हाल फेदाड्मा र तिन प्रतिको विश्वास, मुन्धुम र तिनका सामानमा कति परिवर्तन भएको महसुस हुन्छ ? के कारणले परिवर्तन भयो होला ?

(सामान प्रयोगको सन्दर्भ, मुन्धुम वाचन गर्न जान्ने धामी, लिम्बूको धामीप्रतिको विश्वास र प्रयोग, तिनको संख्यामा धामी बन्ने पकृया)

- ① मान्ने लिम्बूले पुज्ने देवी देउता के के र तिनलाई मनाउन कुन खाले फेदाड्मा चाहिन्छ?
के को लागि त्यो पूजा गरिन्छ ?
- ① गर्ने कर्म संस्कारमा कुनमा कुन कार्यमा कुन फेदाड्मा चाहिन्छ? तिनको अर्थ के के छ ?
- ① माड्साम्माड् रिसाउदा हुने विरामी दुखविराममा -कुन देवता रिसाए के हुने ।
- ① फेदाड्माको प्रयोगमा संख्यात्मक रुपमा के कस्तो फेरबदल आएको छ ?
- ① फेदाड्माहरुको संख्या र लिम्बूहरु घर संख्या विचको अनुपातरु ।

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