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Magar Performance Culture: A Nexus between Global and Local

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By

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Letter of Approval

Thesis entitled “Magar Performance Culture: A Nexus between Global and Local” submitted to the central Department of English Tribhuvan University by Bimal Gaire has been approved by the under designed member of the research committee.

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Letter of Recommendation

This thesis entitled “Magar Performance Culture: A Nexus between Global and Local” by Mr. Bimal Gaire has been completed under my supervision. I recommend it for viva- voce.

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Abstract

This thesis mainly focuses the Magar performance culture. Despite their cultural uniqueness, their tribal performance culture is getting transformed day by day. Although a rise of new consciousness for cultural nationalism, which predominate the Magar of Gulmi district too, has great impact on them, the pressure of external forces is tending to make their primitive cultural boundary vulnerable.

Among various cultural performance Sorathi and Maruni are the important song and dance which performance every occasion in their cultural performance such as marriage ceremony, annual dance party etc. Particularly this thesis focus on this performance culture and its different mode and aspect of performance.

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I. Places and Performances Magar Live By

Magar Culture: Continuity and State

Nepal, a small country with full of diversities in every aspects, is landlocked which is situated on the northern slope of mid-Himalayas with two third of land occupied by hills and mountains; it is a land of multiple cultural diversity and multiple ethnic groups which has a long complex and diverse history and the social and cultural life of people has unique features

Magar is one of the Sino Tibetan ethnic groups living in Palpa and its neighboring districts of western Nepal. Geographically the area is located on the section of Dhablagiri Himal and High hill of Mahabharat range. Most of the Magar villages are at an altitude of Between 1200-2500 meters in the high hill area though in the recent years some have migrated to the plain area .According to the CBS report (2001) the total numbers of the Magar population of Nepal are 16,22,421. It has been covered 7.14% of the total population of Nepal The physical structure of the Magar is not vast different from that of other local ethnic groups. In this regard Dor Bahadur Bist stated, "...one of the ethnic groups living in western hilly region of Nepal. They have flat and short nose round face and dark eyes" (45). There are many myth about the origin of the Magar which are based on legend and conjectures .In this regard. Harsa Buda says, "Magar are the descended of the 'Mayar' who is the elder of "Hun", the person who are the chief of the nomad of central Asia"(24). Thousand years ago Magars had established their kingdom Near by the Kali Gandaki river and rule the certain territory which is still known as the 'Magarat' region

The Magars are rich in performance culture, such as Folk song and dance. They have their own separate language and culture which is unique in itself. There are many dances and songs sing and dance by the Magars on their special occasions of

the festival .Sorthi and Maruni are the two important Magar dance and song which are not only popular among themselves but also famous in Nepali folk dance and song of Nepal.

Nepal, a small country with full of diversities in every aspects, is landlocked which, is situated on the northern slope of mid-Himalayas with two third of land occupied by hills and mountains. It is a land of multiple cultural diversity and multiple ethnic groups, which has a long complex and diverse history, and the social and cultural life of people has unique features.

Magar is one of the many ancient indigenous nationalities of Nepal. It is one of the bravest of the brave community. Magar is an ethnic group of Nepal and northern India whose homeland extends from the western and southern edges of the Dhaulagiri section of the high Himalayas range south to the prominent Mahabharat foothill range and eastward into the Gandaki basin.

Large numbers of Magars live in Palpa, Tanahun, Myagdi, Pyuthan and Rolpa. They are also found in Arghakhanchi, Syangja, Parbat, Baglung, Dolpa, Surkhet, Sindhuli and Udayapur. Their ancestral land is known as Magarat. Researchers opine that the Sen Kings and Thakuris of the Magarat districts are also Magars. These facts make the Magars as one of the most pervasive ethnic groups of Nepal (Thapa, 2006:1). According to Nepal's 2001 census, 1,622,421 people identified themselves as belonging to the Magar ethno- linguistic group, representing 7.14% of Nepal's population. Magar is largest among the indigenous ethnic groups and nationally third largest group after Chhetri (15.80%), and Bahun (12.74%). The population of Magar has increased by 21.1%; from 1,339,308 in 1991 census to 1,622,421 in 2001 census.

Many years ago, Magar entered Nepal from different directions and in different time periods and at that time, there were no settlements so Magars are the people who firstly settled here.

The Magar Raja, by name Mukunda Sena, a brave and powerful monarch, having heard of this, came to Nepal from the west with a large number of mounted troops, and subdued Hari Deva, the son of Rama Sinha Deva. His strong Magar appearance, his not wearing the thread, and his eating and drinking freely with the real Magars, all tend to prove him to be what he almost invariably claims to be, viz., a real Magar. Since the conquest of Nepal, Magars are to be found anywhere from the Sarda in the west, to the Michi on the east, but their proper habitat is west of the Nepal Valley, and there undoubtedly the best and purest Magars are found to this day in large numbers.

Magars, in their primary days, used to do works in mines and agricultural lands but after the stoppage of mine works, agriculture and foreign labor are the chief sources of income. They were heavily deported to the foreign lands after the permission given by Rana rulers for opening the Gorkha Bharti Kendra and that affected the community adversely.

Buddhist and Hindu practices are best developed among Magars living in contact with Tibetan Buddhists and Indo-Aryan Hindus respectively. They are less evident in Kham hinterlands particularly in rugged 3-4,000 meter ranges along the boundary between Rukum and Pyuthan-Rolpa districts. These hinterlands are geographically and therefore culturally isolated from the beaten tracks of transhimalayan trade routes and from rice-growing lowlands colonized by Hindu Indo-Aryans. (en.wikipedia.org)

More than three hundreds years ago, there were Magar kings and their kingdoms. At that time, many small states run by Magar rulers, namely, Bhumi, Dhor, Bhirkot, Jatahun(?), Garahun etc., were in Magarat, the ancestral land of Magars, and there, in the whole region, were only Magar states so they were called “Bahra Magarat”.

Magars of the community settled by Bahra Magar kings at Parakot (Sapta Gandaki) region were later called “Bahrpanthi Magars”. At that time, there were many states of Magar kings, namely, Parkot, Gorkha, Tanahun, Rishing, Palpa, Pyuthan, Makawanpur, Nishibhuji etc. Even though there are no details of the Magar kingdoms and Magar kings, it can be perceived that there were many states run by Magar kings.

Magars of Nepal speak three different Magar languages- 1) Magar Dhut Bhasa - which is spoken in Gulmi, Myagdi, Palpa, Baglung etc, 2) Kham Bhasa - which is spoken in the Mid Western region like Rolpa, Rukum, Salyan etc, 3) Kaike - which is spoken in few Wadas, politically subdivisions of VDC, of Dolpa district only. The latter are a branch of the Magar tribe, and totally neglect the rules of Hindu purity.

The Magars are one of the oldest known tribes of Nepal, but their origin is not yet known. Traditionally, the Magars were Animists, but due to the influence of the Brahmin Hindus over time, the Magars have been hinduised to one degree or another.

The vast majority of Magars has little or no concept of who God is and has never even heard the name of Jesus.

Origin of Magar Tribe

The origin of Mangar tribe as mentioned in Kirat chronology is a place in the north called Shin. From there a group of people under the leadership of two leaders came to the south. The names of the leaders were Shing Mangar and Chitu Mangar.

The people of the southern country called them Tangsang Thapa which means the people came from the far away north. Later on, these Mangar tribes multiplied and were divided into 12 groups under twelve leaders and called themselves Barah Mangars.

The names of the twelve Mangars were Shinjali Thapa, Hongjali Thapa, Hungchun Thapa, Chhoday Thapa, Pudkey Thapa, Munday Thapa, Udhro Thapa, Bairong Thapa, Ishar Thapa, Barahi Thapa, Hangyung Thapa and Hangshe Thapa.

When they came to Sikkim, they settled there permanently. They built Jongs or forts or castles, wherever they settled and called them Mangar Jong, or the fort of Mangars or the castles of Mangars.

The legend which he heard of the Mangar tribe and the ruins of their forts and towns in the Valley of Kangbachhan River in the east Nepal is very interesting; people said that the account is correct and true.

The upper valley of the Kangbachhan River was occupied by people of Tibetan stock and the lower valley was occupied by the Mangar tribe whose king was called Sintu Sati Shen. The Mangar king attacked the Tibetan people and ruled over them. He extracted a heavy tax from them.

His Deputies always oppressed the people to squeeze out money from them, so the Tibetan people started to conspire against the Mangar king. One day when the Mangar chief had gone to visit the Tibetan village with many followers, they were surrounded and killed by the Bhutias. When the Mangar queen heard this sad news of her husband, she planned to take revenge on the Bhutia subject. She, therefore, ordered for a grand funeral observance for the honour and benefit of the departed soul. The funeral was appointed to take place six miles up river, midway between the

two great villages of the Kangbachhan valley, so that all the villagers might assemble there.

After the queen's followers had finished drinking, poisoned wine was given plentifully to the Bhutia villagers, who suspecting nothing, drank freely and all died. In this way nearly one thousand men and women died. The infants in arms were taken away by the queen's followers. The place where this foul deed was committed was now called 'Tongsong phug' or the place, which witnessed one thousand corpses. In consequence of this, a Tibetan army invaded several Jongs belonging to the Mangar queen. She had no preparation to fight the enemy, so she shut herself in one of her castles or Jongs, and her soldiers defended the castle for three months.

In the east, Nepal and Sikkim the Mangars are so called because they were the children of Mang or Mong or Mongol people. The Chinese and Burmese people call Mang or Mong for Mongolians; and or arui means children. So Mangar means the children of Mongols. Most probably it can be correct interpretation, because their complexion proves that they are no other than scattered Mongolians although, before the 12th century A.D. there was no tribe in Central Asia called the Mongolians. There were many nomadic tribes called Kin, Kir, Kirait, Karakhitai, Khitai, Uigur or Hor, Manchu, Mongku, Tungut, Seljuk, Karluk, Turk, Burun, Sak, Kushan, Hun, Abar, Uichi, Kajak, Chin, Khas, Thak, Gyarung and Mangyak. They were all nomads except China. They used to live in tents and had no permanent habitat. Frequent antagonism and plundering among themselves was their main object. There was no such name Mongol in the world up to 12th century A.D.

It was only in the 12th century A.D., when Chengiz Khan called a meeting of all the above mentioned tribes, and when all the tribes also unanimously elected him to be their Gurkhan or the Khan of Khans or the king of kings, he proposed that a

common name for all the separate tribes of Central Asia should be Mongol, then all the tribes unanimously agreed and from that time only, the people of central Asia began to call themselves Mongol. Chengiz Khan himself belonged to Mong Ki tribe and Chinese people used to call them Mong ku tata. A branch of this race settled in Hungary in Europe and called themselves Magiar tribe.

According to Brian Hodgson and Captain T. Smith:

The league of Twelve Magars were consisted of Satahung, Payahung, Bhirkot, Dhor, Garahung, Rising, Ghiring, Gulmi, Argha, Khanchi, Musikot and Isma. Each of these twelve districts had its own Khan or king, though they had agreed by common consent to regard the Khan of Bhirkot as their Overlord. But in the later period this system of government was ceased as the kings of Palpa, Rising, Ghiring, and Rajarkot claimed independence kings with the title of Shan Hang. Thus they were broken into two prominent Kings of Khan dynasty and Shan dynasty. They had their own language and culture. Dhami was their religious priest. Long before the coming of the Hindu influence into their kingdoms, there was a Kirat King called Balihang, who had an extensive kingdom from Pokhara to Gorakhpur and the Magars had spread from the hilly region to the Terai region. The Mundhum mentions that it was this Kirat king Bali Hang who introduced the festival of Dipawali. (23)

Michael Witzel mentions, "Magars were apparently known already to the Mahabharata as Maga, to the Puranas under the name of Mangara, and in a Nepalese copper plate inscription of 1100/1 A.D. as Mangvara." Even in the heartland of the speakers of Western Nepali (the-gad area) indicate a Magar settlement that must have

extended much more towards the west before the immigration of the Nepali speaking Khasa/Khas in the Middle Ages. These details go together with the presumption that an original population, probably of Tibeto-Burman ethnicity, lived in Nepal some 2500 years ago. From the linguistic point of view, there are three types of Magars living in Nepal. Kaike Magars living in Dolpa district who speak Kaike; Kham Magars who live in Atharha Magarat region and speak Kham; and the Magars who live in Bahra Magarat and speak Dhut Magar dialects. Many foreign anthropologists and sociologists have accomplished their studies or written books on all these three types of Magars. Therefore, it is imperative that we also look at them accordingly.

M.S. Thapa Magar is of the opinion that Magars came from East Pamir of China. Likewise, many writers advocate Magars "have no legends of origin from another place." There is yet another myth about the Magars. According to this, the first Magar was the youngest of four brothers. The eldest worshipped Kalika and became the ancestor of the Thakuris and the youngest sacrificed a pig to Bhairabi and hence became a Magar

Vansittart is of the view that "the aboriginal stock of Nepal is most undoubtedly Mongolian. This fact is inscribed in very plain characters, in their faces, forms, and languages." He is also of the opinion that "the principal seat of the Magars was most of the central and lower parts of the mountains between the Jhingrak (Rapti of Gorakhpur) and Marsiangdi Rivers. That they resided about Palpa from time immemorial is well known.

Hitchcock is of the view that "the tribe seems to have been part of a very ancient influx of Mongoloid, Tibeto-Burman speaking peoples into Nepal, probably from the north and east. It also seems probable, in view of differences between its northern and southern halves, that the tribe represents two different streams of

migration.”¹ He finds differences “especially on each side of a line that divides their homeland roughly into northern and southern halves. The Magar tribe is split into a number of sub tribes. In the southern half of the region, the sub tribes that predominate almost to the exclusion of any others are the Ale, Rana, Thapa, and Burathoki....Magars in the northern half of the area belong to a different groups of sub tribes, Bura, Gharti, Pun, and Rokha .

Sub-clans of the Pun Magars found within the Parvat and Myagdi districts, sub-clans written in Kirat Bansha ra Magar haru ek etihask Sharwrekshan by Dr. Harsha Bahadur Buda Magar are: Armaja, Orpajangi, Ulunge, Kathi, Kaude, Khoraja, Gore, Garbuja, Chochangi, Chitaur, Chhochangi, Jagale, Jankati, Jugjali, Tajali, Tage, Tirkhe, Tilija, Tengi, Bhakale, Thani, Dagal, Daga, Darlami, Dudh, Natha, Namjali, Pangi, Pajansi, Pahare, Paija, Pare, Pun, Purja, Perali, Paingi, Phakami, Phiriyal, Phungalo, Bapal, Barangi, Balami, Bata, Bakas Koti, Birkali, Buduja, Bajani, Ratuwa, Rantija, Ramkam, Ramja, Ramjali, Righu, Ruha, Lamichhane, Sabangi, Sai, Saime, Same, Sijali, Sijapati, Surjebansi, Sutpahare, Sumitra, Serpuja, Soshree, Hunali, Hulungi, Hojali, Holangi.

There is a general trend of migration from west to east because the land in the west is old and overcrowded. In addition, many Magar men are skilled craftsmen in masonry, carpentry, building, stonecutting, quarrying, et cetera, and they tend to migrate in search of employment. As evidence of this, there are several sizeable Magar villages in the eastern hill areas near copper mines and slate quarries.

Language Factor

Magarkura is the language of many of the Magars. According to Fisher, “Magar is an unwritten Tibeto-Burman language, distantly related to Tibetan and other Tibeto- Burman dialects spoken elsewhere in Nepal” (10).

David E. Watters has been a known figure in the contribution of the study of Kham language of Magars. According to him, “The Kham is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in the upper valleys of the Rukum, Rolpa, and Baglung districts of Mid-Western Nepal by more than 50,000 people. Scattered populations also exist in Jajarkot, Dailekh, Kalikot, Achham, and Doti. The language should not be confused with the Tibetan Khams of eastern Tibet. The majority of Kham speakers are Budhas, Puns, Ghartis, and Rokhas—all classified ethnically as subtribes or clans of the Magar tribe. It should not be assumed apriori, however, that because speakers of Kham are Magars their language too is a dialect of Magars. Kham and Magar are vastly different languages. Thus, to avoid confusion with Tibetan Kham, and to link the language with the ethnicity of its speakers, the language has sometimes been referred to as Kham-Magar”.

Cultural Festivities

Magar is one of the rich cultured ethnic communities of Nepal. There are many cultural festivities, which are as follows.

Dashain

They (Hindu Magars) celebrate all the Hindu festivals like Maghe Sānkranti, Srawāne Sānkranti, Teej, Chāitā Dāsāi, Bāisakh Purnima, Kushe Āusi, Jānmā Ās t hāmi, Dāsāi, Tihar, and such. They worship the Hindu god and other female deities representing fertility and power - Chān d i, Deurali Maē, Kalika, Bhāwani, etc.

The Dāsāi festival is celebrated by the Magar people and this is the time when they offer blood sacrifices of pigs to their deities, especially the female Shākti and they drink alcohol and make merry. Families visit their mul or main houses and wear tika from the hands of their elders or parents and meet their relatives and kin after an interval of a year. The significance of the Dāsāi period among the Magar people is one where the Lord has given them time to let out steam after the whole year's suppression and to make up on the time lost during the year with separation of the kin. People travel from one place to the other carrying gifts or Koseli which are essential when going for tika.

It is said that the custom of playing Bhāilo in Tihar is a tradition started by the Magar king Balihang who lived in the west of the country of which the eastern border was Pokhāra, the southern border Gorākhāpur, the western one being Pyutāhan and the northern border Gālkot.

Tihar

The Magar celebrates Tihar by singing and dancing various song and dances. Maruni Dance is one of the important dances which usuallu start in the evening of Kag tihar and continues in to Ekadashi. It is one of the longest dances of Magar community. Except that many others songs such as Sorathi and Nachri also singing on the occasion of Tihar.

Saune Sankranti

Saune Sankrti is known as the important festival of Magar on the festival the sing Sorathi song and performance various dance and Worship the god and goddess. Specially, the festival is taken as the end of sorrow and pain.

Kul pooja

The Kul Puja of the Magar people is one of great importance to them this is gleaned from their oral tradition. Unlike the other traditions of different tribes the Magar tribe does not have these traditional injunctions and customs made at a sitting by a group of people but it has evolved through centuries of situations and circumstances through which the Magar have passed and gradually changed into the form they are seen as today.

Than (Shrine) Ut□ haunet is an ending ceremony of the Kul Puja when the male head of the house picked the masses of the Jād; 3 and 3 in two times and then, only 2 masses are picked leaving one in the Than (shrine). The female head of the house spreads her Phin/Bārko (a kind of shawl which is worn by knotting the two ends of the same side; it goes around the neck and down to the armpit of one arm) and the male head of the house picked the masses saying “Sāhā aū – Sāhā aū” meaning summons of good luck. After picking all masses leaving only one behind, the door of the Than/Shrine is closed with the big stone slate just in front of the door of shrine, where incense is burnt, promising “the door will be opened after three years” and all the materials are picked. The male head of the house carries the Sholi and rounds the fire pit thrice and after doing that, all moves to the house. Before entering directly into the house, people round the house thrice making it on the right side. The masses of Jād offered to the Kul Devta and Nāu Sita (Dohoro Roti) are distributed to all guests as Prāsad (the blessed offering). In this way, the Kul Puja is ended.

Ritual Festivities

Various ritual performances are in practiced in the various occasion of the life episode. In Magar community certain rituals are practiced in different age of life since birth to death.

Birth Ceremony

Cutting of Navel String or Umbilical Cord

Leaving three fingers' distance from the navel of a child, the umbilical cord is cut with the help of sterilized tools within 10 minutes of the birth and the placenta is buried somewhere inaccessible. After the cut of umbilical cord, Sutak, a period of impurity, starts.

Chhaithau Jagaune

In the evening of the sixth day from the birth of a child, Diyos, a kind of candles, are lighted because, according to Pun Magars' religious belief, on that evening, god comes to decide the fate of the baby. On that day, Shastika, god of fortune, is worshipped and for that 1 manna (1 pound weight of corn) rice grains which is poured on a Thal, a circular and flat utensil, especially, used for eating rice, and a Diyo is lightened and again, fruits, Bheti, an offering of money, papers and pens are put on the same Thal. Prashad, a mixture of fruits or other things which have been offered to the god and distributed to the visitors of the Puja after the completion of the Puja as a blessing of god, is prepared and is distributed to all the visitors until the night of the sixth day but after the dawn of the next day, the Prasad cannot be eaten by people of another Gotra, divisions within the sub-clans, because then after Sutak starts.

Nwaran

According to the religious belief, Nwaran is a ceremony when the house is purified from the Sutak and that is done after the 11th day of the birth. In this ceremony, the child is taken out from the house along with fruits and other Prasad, when the child is worn a Kandani, a kind of rope which goes on round the waist and Tunas, a kind of rope, are tied on the hands and feet and on neck.

Gahut, urine of cow, or instead of which, if not available, Sun Pani, water dipped with gold and Pathi, a kind of shrub, can be used for purifying house. For this purpose, Gahut or Sun Pani is sprinkled on the house.

After ten days of a child birth, s/he is named according to the Ghadi, Pala (a form of time in eastern astrology) of the birthday.

To feed the Child Rice; Bhat Khuwai

According to Magars' religious belief, rice is fed to a female after 5 months and for a male child after 6 months. On the contrary, scientists have different notions on the beginning of rice-eating age of a child, which is 4 months.

In this ceremony, an astrologer decides the day of "Bhat Khuwai". The following points must be taken under consideration, while celebrating the ceremony. A crowing rooster is sacrificed at the fire place/oven/fire pit on a name of Kul Devata, the youngest son of Karpakeli Baba namely Kul. 3 mannas (1 manna = 1 pound weight of corn) cooked rice is put on a Tapari, a bowl-shaped vessel made up of Sal leaves. The sacrificed cock is cooked but one whole thigh of the cock is cooked without being chopped. Uncooked rice and milk are mixed and is offered to Pitri or Bayu, supreme spirit of the family who still suppose to protect the house from evil. For "Bayu Barmase", spirits of elders who have already died but they are supposed to live in the same family protecting the family from evils and checking his present descendents doing acts against family rules, all recipes prepared at home are offered putting these all on leaves and for "Aase Gase", male and female witches, and "Chhyaune Bhyaune", ghosts and evil spirits, all recipes are offered putting these all on a Tapari, a kind of bowl made up of leaves of Sal, which is kept on a nearby roads or footpaths. These offerings must be made by the houses' Mukhiya, the head of the house. After giving the child bath, the child is attired by new clothes. A silver bangle or

“Pancharatna”, a bangle which is made up of five different metals, is given to wear to the child from the side of child’s maternal home. Putting one manna (1 pound weight of corn) rice grain on a Thal, a Diyo is lightened and with different fruits, the Thal/Thali with rice and Diyo are put on a Nanglo, a flat and circular vessel which is especially used for husking rice. The mother keeps her child on her lap pointing towards the direction prescribed by the astrologer. For a male child and a female child, a virgin boy or girl are selected respectively according to the horoscope and name. The process is called “Nam rashi milaune”. Keeping prepared foods nearby, the selected virgin boy or girl makes him/her taste the foods with putting “Tika”, a mixture of rice grains and curd which is stuck on forehead with blessings. Then, it is elders’ turn to make the child taste foods putting Tika with blessings. On this occasion, Sudeni, a woman who helps in the time of delivery of a baby and takes out placenta and cuts the umbilical cord, is made happy giving a nice feast. On this celebration, all guests, who are invited, are fed in accordance with own status.

Chhewar

Chhewar is one important ritual performance of the Magar. The festival is specially held for male child. During the festival, the head of the child is shaved by maternal uncle. Different dance and song are performance on the occasion. After Chhewar Male child is known as the matured.

Marriage ceremony

Marriage is one of the important events of life. It is a kind of ritual performance that signifies the mode of human life.

Abduction Marriage

Around more than 90 years ago, there was a different kind of marriage to which people were accustomed with than what prevails in the present communities.

At that time boys, after being matured enough to marry, were asked to select the girl who he likes and boys used to say to their parents about the girl who he likes (or he was ordered to marry someone who is liked by his parents). After the decision of which girl, some people from the side of the boy started to follow the girl and when they found the girl alone in a jungle, where she went to fetch fuel woods and grasses for her animals, she was abducted and then, she was brought to the house of boy..

With time, the system of marriage has been changing, many factors, especially migration, are considered responsible. Many Pun Magar people, who have been migrated to Kathmandu, Pokhara and to the Terai belt, are influenced by the culture of Indo-Aryan community and adopting their culture.

Arranged Marriage, Magi Bibaha

Boys, who are mature enough to marry, are asked by their parents to choose a girl and after choosing a girl, his parents decides a day and with some kinfolk and senior people, his parents move to the house of the girl at night. They told the reasons behind their coming to the parents of the girl and the talk starts between two parties where the girl is also signified and can express her verdicts upon the topic. The talk may last an hour or a night or several days but the decision of marriage is done only after their agreement on the topic. After getting a marriage decision, all the people, who are attending the talk, are sponsored Raksi by the boy's parents and they, noy's relatives, bring the girl to the boy's house and marriage ceremony begins. Deciding an auspicious day for marriage, the bride enters the home of her husband; keti bhitraune, Pitri are offered; Pitra chadhaune and the couple take Tika from elders. After all these ceremonies, a feast is organized according to their own status.

After celebrating the feast, some people from boy's side go to meet the girl's parents and relatives with offering Raksi, locally brewed wine, Sel Roti, a circular

ring made up of rice flour mixing with ghee, sugar and other ingredients, flesh or goat and new clothes as gifts and the ceremony is called Dhog garna jane. Bride and grooms with bridegroom's parents, sisters and brothers, and close relatives, they go to the girl's house and they offer some gifts to the couple. In this way, the marriage ceremony is celebrated.

Love Marriage

This kind of marriage is a completely new trend and is dominating Magar's community rapidly. Boys and girls get closer in different functions and parties which are organized by the community, they fall in love, and then, they make a marriage.

A man can marry another woman, if he dislikes his first wife and keeps more than one wife. But if a woman dislikes her first husband, she elopes with another man. Her previous husband cannot compel to live with him rather he can claim a compensation of the expenditure he made while marrying her from her new husband. This cost paid by a man to his wife's ex-husband is called 'Jarry'. Such practice is in existence even today. The cost of 'Jarry' may comprise cash, ornaments and clothing.

The Magar society practices and accepts polygamy one after another or simultaneously. A woman can marry with multiple husbands but at different times. It seems that there is no social barrier for such practices. Nevertheless, many married men and women, especially young girls and boys, might change their spouses.

Death Rituals

When a man is going to die, he is kept by a plant called Tulashi, a Hindu's sacred shrub, and water, where Saligram (a kind of black stone) is dipped, is given to the man.

If any female dies before the three days of her menstruation, she will be bathed with the water of 108 Muls (springs/origins) and then, the death ritual is

executed. If any child dies before the age of 3 years, s/he will not be burnt; instead of that, s/he will be buried and impure period is only up-to 3 days.

Shaving Heads

Ignoring nail, armpit's hair growth, and short Tuppi, a small bunch of hair left at the back of the head as of Pundit, all hair of the body of the sons of deceased are shaved. The sons, who complete the death rites of the deceased, take bath after being shaved and do not mingle with others; remain isolated and wear new white cloths. If the son of the deceased is not available, the funeral and all death rituals will be performed by the deceased's brothers/brother-in-laws and they will be performing all rites.

After burning the corpse, all funeral goers take bath and water is offered upto 108th times on a name of deceased. While returning from ghat on the half way, all malami (funeral goers) step on a stone, which is pressing a plant full of thorns, by their left foot; each at a time. When they arrive near to the house of deceased, they touch fried corns and smoke/cloud of incense.

Sas Thapne

On the evening after the return from the ghat (cemetery), 'sas thapne', knowing what the deceased will be in his next birth, is performed by the deceased's son-in-laws. For this purpose, different varieties, which used to like by the deceased, are prepared and fine powder of ashes is evenly distributed on a Nanglo (winnowing fan) which is placed on the main entrance so that nobody can ignore it before entering into the house through main entrance. The Nanglo (winnowing fan) is covered by a Doko (an open-mouthed cylinder made up of bamboo) with the help of a rope in a manner so that when a man pulls the rope attached with the Doko, the Doko tilts back opening the mouth half.

All people keep quiet and all lights are switched off and a man with rope pulls the rope so that the Doko opens half and another one keeps all prepared varieties. Then, a man whistles and calls the spirit of the deceased by his/her name and says that foods are ready; come in.

All keep quiet and the spirit comes with different kinds of sounds and then, all lights are switched on. Then, the Nanglo, which is covered with Doko, is brought inside the house and the footprints on the evenly distributed ashes will tell that what s/he becomes in her/his next birth.

Making a Pyre Ready

Clearing the ground, where a pyre is supposed to be prepared, is drawn by Kush, a sacred shrub, a rectangular shape on and within the rectangle ç (Om) is written. For the death rituals of the deceased, the piece of land is bought from nature mother while some

While doing this, gold/gold-rubbed coin (money) is put in the mouth of the corpse with firing camphor incenses by the deceased's son. If the son is not available, deceased's own brother will perform the Dag Batti and after doing this, water is given to the corpse carrying Kush, a sacred shrub, on the hand through the right thumb.

If the death does not fall in Panchak, the above mentioned process will be following and the son rounds the pyre thrice carrying a Mashal (a club-like structure with fire on one end; an ancient torch light) and the pyre is put on fire.

Dan Dakshina (gifts) are offered to Kutumba (brother-in-laws, and nephews) and cheli (daughters, nieces, sisters, and Phupu meaning father's sisters) Chelibeti (daughters, nieces, sisters, phupu) offer new caps and clothes to koropatra.

Gaidan (a gift to brahmin or Kutumba, who helps to perform the kriyakram, and the gift entails a cow, clothes (a cap, a shirt, a pant, a shoe, and an umbrella),

utensils (Kasaudi, karai, thal, glass, kachaura/bowl, plates, dadu laddle, and paniu/serving spoon of copper or brass), ochhyaune saman (things for sitting on, gundri/a hand-made mat, mattress, bed sheet, pillow and quilt) and money.

On the 45th day from the death of the deceased, chelibeti (daughters) light batti (lamp) and lightens the night and by doing this on the name of the deceased, chelibeti are supposed to be free from the debt of mother and father. After one year of the death on the same thiti when the man died, sons of the deceased offer Pinda of the year and lights batti and this makes the spirit on a right direction to heaven.

Clothes and Ornaments

The Magar of the low hills wear the ordinary Kāchhād or wrap-on-loincloth, a Bhotā o or ashirt of vest and the usual Nepali Tā opi. The women wear the Phāriya or sari-like dress above the ankles, Chāubāndi Cholo or a closed blouse and the heavy Pātā uka or waist band or girdle and the Mujetro or shawl like garment. The higher altitude Magars wear an additional Boku similar to the Gurung shepherders and the ones living in Tarakot area even wear the Tibetanish Chhuba. The ornaments are the Mundri on the ears, Bulaki on the nose and the Phuli on the left nostril, the silver coin necklace and the Pote with the Tilāhāri gold cylinder. Some are seen to wear the Kālli on the ankles but it is out of style nowadays. Magar males do not wear ornaments but some are seen to have earrings or silver and gold hanging from their ear lobes. The amulet or locket necklace is worn by the Magar girls and women of the lower hills and the high altitude ones wear these made of silver with Muga stones imbedded in them. The bangles of gold and glass are also worn on their hands along with the Sirbāndi and Sirphuli on their heads. These are large pieces of gold beaten in elongated and circular shapes.

Food Habit

The food cultural of Manger is based on ecosystem. Most of them are farmer. They use corn porridge as the main source food .Except that Magar have specially knowledge of food making. Magar women have special knowledge of wine making. Except that, their Magar people use common Nepali food as the daily meal.

Present Social Condition

Magars are the people who suffer the most among all the ethnic groups of Nepal. They are farmers, they are illiterate, they do not have access to authority, their lands are impoverished because of different kinds of erosions, namely, air and water erosion, but they hardly know the reasons behind their low production, they have no idea about the side effects of different chemicals. There are still many things, which they do not understand but for farming, these things should be understood. They, Magars, simply just cannot relate the cause and effect relationship; that is because they are illiterate/ uneducated. For transforming the technology they have been using, there is a need of a big bulk of money, which can only be invested by government but the government side is busy on taking therapy for overcoming the paralysis.

Magars are primarily farmers and they have been practicing it for over many years. They are becoming poor and poor day by day because they are losing their land's productivity and they could not be able to find out reasons behind it; simply cannot relate the effects with its causes. Eventually, they got frustrated because they cannot earn just a bare necessity by doing farming after paying so much time and labor and becomes psychologically depressed which leads them to make an end to their traditional profession and queue on a line to get visa to foreign lands.

Household

The household of is unique because they like to live in joint family. Generation and generation live in a same house. They like to live joint family. The number of family members of such household is ten to fifty. In the modern time, The Magar of Santipur and Bishukharka like o live in a small household. The numbers of family members are two to five in that family.

Magar people's houses are built according to the style of the areas they live in, a standard which varies from one locale to the next. Most traditional is the two-storey stone house with thatch or in some cases slate roofing. Many of the smaller houses in the western communities are round or oval in shape and washed with ochre or reddish mud. Magar houses in the eastern hills are never round and are most often white washed. They have stone walls, wooden single roofs, and are two-storied with a verandah along the front.

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Agriculture and Economic Factors

The agricultural economy of the Magars is largely self-sufficient. Besides many varieties of vegetables and fruits, they grow the standard food grains: maize, millet, and wheat in the dry terraced fields surrounding the villages along the higher mountain sides, and rice in the wet fields down the slopes and along the river valleys.

Most of the Magars are craftsman, though some Magars, who have their own land, take up agriculture, some work as Miher, some as basket weaver or painter, wine keeping, engraving design of flowers by round slender bamboo pens and manufacturing Nepali paper.

The basis of Magar economy in all areas is agriculture. Some also work as craftsmen, either as carpenters or stonecutters. However, the copper mines in the east have closed with the importation of less expensive copper sheeting from India. And were it not for their role in the Gurkha regiments of the Indian and British armies, their self-sufficiency might be endangered. Magars constitute the largest number of Gurkha soldiers outside Nepal. Every Magar village has a number of Gurkhas on active duty in India and Malaysia remitting regular money to their families, as well as retired soldiers drawing pensions from various military sources. Quite a number of Magar Gurkhas have attained the ranks of commanding officers, as Colonels and Majors, in Indian and British regiments as well as in the Royal Nepal Army. They are renowned for their honesty, discipline, and good humour, which account for their military success. (Bista, 1967:58)

The Magars of Banyan hill are subsistence farmer and buck of their food comes from maize, millet, wheat, and barely. They grow rice in irrigated lands.

Almost all Magar carry on sedentary agriculture with emphasis on millet, maize, and rice in irrigated land. They have strong influence of Hinduism. Their house language in Tibeto-Burman dialect is called Magarkura.

Economic Status

This sub-heading describes the economic status of the Magar people of the study area (Santi pur and Bishukharka VDC) which will definitely help to understand

the constraints and necessities for the development of the community. This analysis part assists to relate different variables playing in the community.

History of Contact

Brahmins have traditionally dominated Nepal and Chhetris and the language and culture projected from the center have been those of the Hindu populations of the hill and Kathmandu valley regions. Those hill peoples who speak Tibeto-Burman languages (Rai, Limbu, Tamang, Magar, Gurung, and others) have been underrepresented in government, while the Terai populations in the south, mainly Hindus and Hindi-speakers, have also felt themselves to be poorly served in terms of the distribution of public resources (Minority Rights Group, 1997:572).

The ancestors of Magars were considered to be migrated from the east of Pamir to the north of the Indian along with other tribes. Though the sharp time of the migration cannot be found, historians consider it to be before 2,800 years ago.

At that time, king was selected through the free competitions where each candidate used to present their physical strength, wisdom, and skill via different games, such as running, jumping, breaking bull eye by arrows et cetera, and whoever would get the best remarks would be the king of that year. There were no ownership upon lands and people made a Goth, a small temporary hut-like structure made up of leaves and woods. They used to make utensils carving woods and they used to get metals from mines to make Hasiya, a kind of grass cutting tools, Khukuri, Spears, Ghunyatro and bows and arrows as their prime weapons.

For food, they usually went for hunting and they used to collect wild vegetables, such as mushroom, wild fruits et cetera. People of many tribes were forced to change their caste and made them wear Janai, a sacred thread of Hindu religion, forcefully. The ruler of that time made the caste discrimination prosperous.

The caste discrimination is prevalent everywhere in Nepal. For example, out of five martyrs, one was saved just because he was a son of a Brahmin, Tanka Prasad Acharya, in 1996 BS.

Magar of Magdi, Gulmi, Arghakhanchi and Baglung of west of Nepal were banned to speak in their own language, Khamkura, and if anybody offended it, he would be fined of Char Paisa. Whoever in Limbu community did not want to change their caste wearing Janai was fined of Dui Prasa. Privatizing the ownership of lands, owners were taxed in accordance with their caste.

II. Modernity and Global Performance Culture

Globalization and its impact

Advent of modernity with science and technology has brought a global uniformity in case of travel, tourism and life style of people everywhere. There is the high chance of intermingling of people in any corner of the world. In present scenario, the sharing of ideas, cultural fragments and knowledge among the people of different localities, fostered by migration and tourism, imposes a change in the prevalent culture. Arjun Appadurai credits the five dimensions of global cultural flows, which –for him- render global cultural corpus complex, overlapping and disjunctive in order. The world we live is shifting day by day. According to him tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guest-workers and other moving groups and persons appear to affect the cultural forms of and between nations. He names this as “ethnoscapes”, which has a pivotal role in the modern cultural pattern (231). Similarly, in this age of technology, it has been the backbone of modern society. Daniel A. Yergin and Joseph Stanislaw look at computers and appraise information technology that for them has woven the world into a wreath. Modern world is so interlinked that:

Information is creating a woven world of distant encounters and instant connections. Knowledge and information do not have to wait. Within outside, and across organizations and national boundaries people are tied together sharing information and points of view, working in virtual teams, bartering goods and services, swapping bonds and currencies, exchanging chatter and banalities, and passing the time. (319)

Not only this, technology has become a common property among the nations throughout the world. Multinational companies use technology across the world.

Modern equipments and skilled man-power to handle them are the property of all nations. So, because of this “technoscapes”, there is global link in every nation. Like technology, economy has become a common factor now. Transnational investment policy and migration of people from one location to another has brought a common monetary impact. Financial crisis in one nation hampers the economic policy of a far off nations. This “finanoscapes” also challenges the traditional notion of unified nation-state with monoculture without any touch from others. In the same manner, “mediascopes” too becomes a next agent of global flows for Appadurai (232). He takes the modern media like newspapers, magazines, television, etc. as the agents to crisscross the authentic culture of a location. It is common now to see a man wearing Nepali cap, Italian shoes, American dress and rejoicing Indian dishes in a Pakistani restaurant. Media have brought the world into a single screen to place the audience everywhere and nowhere at the same time. Lastly, Appadurai takes “ideoscopes” to be one of the agents to bring modern cultural conglomerate. Ideas, beliefs and versions of one locality do not confine to that location only. They, too, travel from one location to another. One interview of American President in CNN can bring political turmoil in Nepal. Thus, it is the age of intermittent flows of ideas, media, money, technology and people from one location to another. Here, no nation and no culture can remain untainted from the external influences of abroad and across the national boundaries. Because of this global impact on cultures, every local culture is bound to create a new facet which is neither akin to its previous form nor to the dominant impact of the foreign culture. Then the cultural boundary of nation-state gets shattered in the currents of outside culture. In congruent with the views of Arjun Appadurai, the words of Andrew McGrew, too, refer that,

[. . .] globalization – simply the intensification of global interconnectedness- is transforming the existing world order most conspicuously through its direct challenge to the primacy of the nation-state in its present form [. . .] the question of whether humanity is witnessing the unfolding of a new historical epoch or alternatively whether the present “phase” of globalization simply conceals a renewed strengthening of the existing structures of western modernity- capitalism, industrialism, and the nation-state system. (McGrew 2)

The new culture that comes at the crisscross of the local issues and the global trend gets assimilated and brings a new one at the changing form. Now is the time of loose boundary in regard to different phases of modern conditions of life. The impact of “global flow” has imposed a new network, which undermines the traditional location of social, cultural and geographical boundary. It has even washed up the veil of demarcation between different racial or ethnic boundaries. Andrew McGrew further asserts:

The dynamics of the global financial system; the tremendous expansion of transnational corporate activity; the existence of global communications and media networks; the global production and dissemination of knowledge, combined with (among other factors) the escalating significance of transnational religious and ethnic ties; the enormous flows of peoples across national boundaries; and the emerging authority of institutions and communities above the nation-state: all these factors provide a powerful case for reassessing the traditional conception of society as a bounded, ordered, and unified social space- a coherent totality. (Mc Grew 3)

The boundary that was supposed to be protecting all the communal groups pure and intact from others has declined delicately day per day. The concept of geographical location as a deterministic factor for cultural and socio-economic identity has got blurred due to the unrestrained forces erupted from different corners of the world. It is not only giving a serious blow at the present setting of cultural location, but also the future of every “society” and the “nation state”.

While early phases of globalization brought about the physical unification of the world, more recent phases have remade the world into a single global system in which previously distinct historical societies or civilizations have been thrust together. This should not be taken to imply that globalization involves global cultural homogenization or global political integration. Rather, it defines a far more complex condition, one in which patterns of human interaction, interconnectedness, and awareness are reconstituting the world as a single social space. The earlier notion that there would come a uniform social order globally and the unevenness among the cultural trends would be evened has been questioned severely now. The global impact on local culture has, in one sense, brought a temporary solution. Side by side, it has posed a problem, too.

When different local cultures get mixed up with the global currents of cultural flows, they appear in changed colors with differences in texture and size among themselves. This situation further complicates the cult of evenness. It also produces different fragments losing the traces of both parents. It is the fact that globalization refers to the multiplicity of linkages and interconnections that transcend the nation-states which make up the modern values of the world system. It defines a process through which events, decisions, and activities in one part of the world can come to

have significant consequences for individuals and communities in quite distant parts of the globe.

Transnational networks, social movements, and relationships are extensive in virtually all areas of human activity from the academic to the sexual. Moreover, the existence of global systems of trade, finance, and production binds together in very complicated ways the prosperity and fate of households, communities, and nations across the globe. Today's global impact manifests "Catch 22" situation because the upheaval of one location perturbs not only that locality, but many other parts of the world. Capitalism has also played vital role in the formation of intricate global relations and to bridge the gaps between nations. Giddens is commendable for his awareness to this situation because, for him, "larger and larger numbers of people live in circumstances in which disembedded institutions, linking local practices with globalized social relations, organize major aspects of day to day life" (Giddens 79). Similarly Wallerstein states that the capitalism has acquired a truly global reach inasmuch as, nowadays, "the entire globe is operating within the framework of this singular social division of labour we are calling the capitalist world-economy" (Wallerstein 18).

Along with the contribution of capitalism and the interconnectedness of the global and local issues, the technology, to talk once again, has maintained its role in the linking of different fragments together creating a contact zone for both the dominant as well as the marginal cultural threads. Technology also has so greatly diminished geographic and social distances through the "jet-powered airliner, the computer, the orbiting satellite, and the many other innovations that now move people, ideas and goods more rapidly and surely across space and time than ever

before” (Rosenau 17). This relocation of the cultural fragments, in the new world, boosts up multicultural situation. The following lines make this claim further clear:

World society is a much more pluralistic and de-centered construct that our traditional “models” of the hierarchical, ordered nature of domestic society [. . .] globalization is re-articulation on a global scale the pluralism, syncretism, and diversity of contemporary domestic society. Thus, the first “global civilization” may be a post-modern one.

(McGrew 482)

The global grip of capitalism now appears firmer than ever. Thus, rather than representing the present epoch as the dawning of a “global civilization,” it might be more accurate to describe it as the final consolidation of a “capitalist world society.

[. . .] globalization is understood to be compromising four critical aspects of the modern nation-state: its competence; its form; its autonomy; and, ultimately, its authority or legitimacy. . . In global economic system in which productive capital, finance, and trade flow across national boundaries, the traditional distinction between the internal and external domains no longer holds. Such interconnectedness creates a situation in which decisions in one state can produce major consequences for the citizens of many other states.

(McGrew 488)

Enlightenment Project and Global Performance Culture

The attempt of the Enlightenment project seems to have focused on the official, objective and abstract knowledge based on empirical observation and critical analysis from distanced perspective in the form of objective knowledge consolidated in texts. This ground of knowledge has fostered “epictemic violence” repressing the

other ways of knowing that are rooted in embodied experience, orality and local contingency. This epistemic violence has been critiqued by the performance studies foregrounding the “local know how that circulated on the ground within a communities of memory and practice” (Conquergood 70). In reality, the performance of cultural rites encompasses the oral tales, folklores, legendary subject matters and palimpsest communal talks. Verbal as well as physical references of the performances excavate the hidden truths of the communal groups, their land and authority over it, the struggles made to retain and preserve their cultural folklores and racial as well as historical memories. Owing to this tendency of performance culture, it evokes the Foucauldian notion of knowledge.

The fact is that movement of people renders the movement of cultures. It is a continual process since the time immemorial. Globalization of culture, thus, bears a long history. In the past, cultures traveled from one location to another with the spread of religions, ideas and beliefs. Similarly the development of empires and the colonization practices gave rise to the movement of cultures. Later, the commercial motives of business policy fostered this feat with the rise of industrialism and global markets. Coca Cola, Mcdonald’s and Microsoft are the instances of this. Because of all these, the condition of the national cultures became vulnerable. Now the world has become a place of competing cultures. Every culture is investing their own symbolic resources and also seeking to enlarge their spheres of cultures. In this situation of “global village” mobility has become ordinary in the emerging global order (McLuhan 195). With mobility comes encounter. Global encounters and interactions are producing inventive new cultural forms and repertoires. So, there occurs the origin of a third culture. In this “creolization of global culture”, there is the development of an ‘inter-continental crossover culture’ (Robins 196). Globalization from this

perspective is conceived in terms of a process of creative and conjoining hybridization. The encounter between cultures can produce tension and friction. This results for a confrontation and collision of cultures on the one hand and "westoxification" of society on the other (Robins 196). Indeed, globalization and global encounter constitute a new logic of economic and cultural development. Firstly, globalization does not supersede and displace everything that preceded it. Here globalization has been seen in terms of accumulation of cultural phenomena. Again, new global elements coexist alongside existing and established local or national cultural forms. Secondly, globalization enhances complexity and diversity. The processes of global change are multifarious. All those, who confront them, experience them differently. Global shift has profound implications for the way we make sense of our lives and of the changing world we live in. Cultural encounters across frontiers can create new and productive kinds of cultural fusion and hybridity. Some envisage and enjoy cosmopolitan complexities but others perceive it as cultural homogenization and the erosion of cultural specificity. Anyway, globalization is transforming our apprehension of the world in sharply contrasting ways. Old certainties and hierarchies of identity are called into question. One very powerful dimension of global cultural change has been that which has sought to dissolve the frontiers and divisions between different cultures.

Cultures are transformed by the incorporations they make from other cultures in the world. This process of hybridization is particularly apparent now in developments within popular culture. A 'global sense of place' involves openness to global dynamics and also an acceptance of cultural diversity and the possibilities of cultural encounter within (Robins 197). The role of media is intensively significant as they have played a great deal of roles. Now distance has been eclipsed by

proliferating networks of communication. There is reordering of time and space brought about by the development of the media (Thompson 203). Therefore, globalization is a sort of “internationalization” and “transnationalization” (Thompson 204). The global media like AP, UPI, AFP, Reuters are working worldwide. In the beginning, there was telegraph. Then, came international news agencies. Now there is the development of new means of transmitting information via electromagnetic waves. Thus, there is global diffusion. The local also appropriate it. In this act of appropriation, the significance and uses of media messages depend on the resources and materials that the recipients bring to bear on the reception process. Similarly, there is the impact of the distant for the condition of their day-to-day life. Also the globalized media products become source of tension and potential conflict. It is tension because images and messages conveyed by media products clash with the values associated with the traditional way of life. They help individuals to take a distance to imaging alternatives and to question traditional practices.

Travel as performed art in the practice of adventure tourism is largely imbued with the performance of place, site and body. The commodified nature of adventure tourism rests on the scales of circulation. It is widely acknowledged that tourism is largely about the performance of ‘place myths’ which become reinforced through touristic practice (Shields 1991). Maruni can be the instance of this, in which the tourists internal or international undertake a walk or jip-drive and visit the place. The ritual importance of the place gets transformed into a place of cultural tourism. The fixed day, according to the lunar calendar, of Ram Nawami in Chaitra (March-April) becomes a day of conglomerate between cultural as well as touristic performances. Similarly, images of adventure tourism are powerful in encouraging particular kinds of engagement. So, the art of place-oriented destination marketers is to encourage

performances that reinforce a destination's reputation for a particular touristic experience. An important aspect of world constitution is the opening of a space of places at which activities can intelligibly be performed.

Gulmi, thus, has become world-renowned as a site of adventure tourism, and a destination for adventurous activity. Adventure also transforms nature-places more generally, turning them into something more dangerous and exciting than they used to be. Not only have some of the most scenic and spectacular places in Nepal been protected by the state from sprawling tourist-related development, these same places have been made available for specific adventurous activities. In this way, adventurers benefit from unspoilt natural settings in which to combat the forces of nature, but at the same time nature is practised and performed as adventurous, exciting and a place to be conquered via active tourism.

In Gulmi the ideals of adventure are further inscribed at the level of the sites at which adventure activity takes place in the form of Junlge walk, village walk, canoeing, elephant safari, camping and jeep drive in the heart of the national park. Fundamental to this process is the presence of guides, who are the gatekeepers for the negotiation of these experiences. The participants have an expected idea of the person who will lead them through the activity – typically active, outdoorsy, knowledgeable and larger than life, acting as the 'exemplars of the bodily habitus expected of and desired by tourists' (Crang 151). This image is enhanced by the company advertising, an advertisement for a rafting markets the company's drivers as being 'personality plus', clearly referring to their distinctive characters, enhanced by company dress. Evidence suggests that adventure operators seek to employ individuals who conform to a particular kind of look that corresponds to tourists' expectations. In addition,

these guides undoubtedly enhance the desire to ‘look good’ during the practice of the activity.

Performing Adventure

Viewing platforms for activities that are easily observed, Jungle walking and canoeing, are carefully constructed to facilitate the presence of an audience and to create an attraction in their own right. Quite often it may be the presence of an audience, possibly one which includes peers and relations, that is the catalyst for performance, supporting and willing participants to successful completion of their adventure. Denzin discusses the fluidity of the participant/audience boundary in the following lines:

Audiences are neither pure voyeurs of nor passive recipients of performance events [...] [they] interpret and live through performances – they are performers of their own interpretations and witnesses of the performed [...] the audience is an interactive structure. Although members bring their own interpretative frameworks as audience members to a performance, the audience-as-a-performer can also enact its own performance aesthetic. (101)

In this way, the audience is both the performer and observer of ongoing performance. This audience is not just confined to the sites of adventure, for the availability of souvenirs of the experience ensures that the performance continues beyond the boundaries of the adventure itself. A wide variety of personalized multimedia formats, as well as significant clothing and merchandise, ensures that the world knows that the participant is an adventurer. The way that these items form props in a narrative construction of self should not be overlooked.

However, it is at the level of the body that adventurous performance is truly felt. Performing various roles in public space is the dominant way that individuals make sense of their worlds and, especially, of their own bodies. Performance is thus many things at once – an interpretation, a public act, a way of knowing and an embodied form of understanding. These embodied performances shape, and are shaped by, the spaces they inhabit, thus reifying the reputations previously inscribed. Rose says that the body is entangled with fantasy and discourse. Fantasy mobilizes bodies and is expressed through discourse and discourse is disrupted by fantasy and interrupted by the body (258). Certainly, the participants seem to be fully aware of what is expected of them in their enacted role. Respondents are undeniably aware of the desire to bring this expression of having the ‘right stuff’ into their performances, expressing a need to look good for both the audience and the souvenir video. The ‘dressing up’, involved in many adventure tourism activities, is a central part of their performative nature, as there is often a need to feel that the participant is wearing suitable attire for the experience.

Costumes, such as proper dress up of the guide attired with a binocular, a Dang (a bamboo stick), a Khukuri (a kind of Nepali sickle)lifejackets, help participants get into their roles as adventurers, even when their use is not strictly necessary. We must also consider the ways in which these performing bodies have their own power over the experience. Indeed Probyn observes that we can never really know our own bodies, and adventure experiences are full of surprises. The mystery of how our bodies will respond to the adventurous environment is undeniably part of the attraction. That is, via its elusive nature, the body configures many different spheres of experience. This acknowledgement is important since it challenges the phenomenological preoccupation with consciousness as the locus of intentionality.

Often it was a particular part of the body which would seem to lead an often resistant mind into the experience. The richness of these experiences makes adventure tourism a fascinating area of enquiry for anthropologists and other social scientists. The way in which adventure pervades contemporary conceptions of identity, on a variety of scales, is a useful marker for the study of society. It is also important to consider that these activities are fundamentally about pleasure and fun, for to ignore the importance of hedonism is to miss the principal aim of such pursuits. It would appear therefore that what has been detailed above is the experiential manifestation of what Cloke and Perkins define as ‘eager experimentation’ (210).

Adventure tourists cross boundaries in pursuit of thrills, so that the places and the experiences that result may be defined as playfully exploring.

Transgressing Boundaries

Tourism brings a contact zone of motley colored cultures. It is a common ground for performance and travel of cultures from one geographical location to another. The tourists cross various geographical demarcations and merge the boundaries in between them. In this regard, Heike Roms and Richard Gough say:

The notion of “culture as travel” has emerged alongside that of “culture as performance” to destabilize the fixed, and ethnocentric, categories of traditional theories on culture. And through the temporary and displaced performing and traveling cultures of contemporary and displaced, performing and travelling cultures of contemporary ethnography enders the “tourist/” playing the role of de-essentialized postmodern subjectivity, in the company of Benjamin’s “flaneur,” Kristeva’s “stranger” and Deleuze’s “monad.” (Qtd in Tomlin 136)

Here we find the political implications of the performative status imposed on the inhabitants of the city, and the power dynamic between watching and the watched, authorizing and authored getting shifts over the course of changes in demographic location and the geographic situation. This switch in authorial control represents clearly the move from native to tour guide, from biography to diction, from that framed as real to that which was self-evidently theatrical. In this way the living person gets transformed into a passive element of an art work getting reduction of a “speaking” subject into a “spoken” object. This subject, a colonized being, in posterity, once objectified, refuses to such objectification and tries to assert their right to self-representation. As Ivan Karp argues:

This struggle is not over what is to be represented, but over who will control the means of representing [. . .]. What is at stake in struggles for control over objects and the moves of exhibiting them, finally, is the articulation of identity [. . .]. When cultural “others” are implicated, exhibitions tell us who we are and perhaps most significant, who we are not. Exhibitions are privileged arenas for presenting images of self and “others.” (15)

Here,

The lines between writing and unwriting participants were either drawn along conventional rules of performance – that is, the watched were the consenting performers, the watching the consenting viewers – or the participants’ actions were so imperceptible as performance as to make the distinction between witting and unwitting participant impossible for either to discern, thus invalidating the potential power relationship between them. (147)

This contact zone of the performer and audience makes them both transgress the boundary of the cultural location so as to mold them both in the new form.

III. Performativity of Magar Culture

Magar Performances in Santipur Gulmi

Among the cultural performances of the Magars the two cultural dances- Maruni and Sorathi - come with prime importance here. These performances are the activities that people find themselves in while accomplishing their day to day life. They (performances) also explore several artistic disciplines and are works that may cross traditional media boundaries such as works that include aspects of theater, music and the visual arts including video. Many performances cross the perceived boundary between art and life such as thinking of everyday activities in an artistic manner. Not only on the stage and culture houses, performances happen anywhere, at any time, or for any length of time involving four basic elements: time, space, the performer's body and a relationship between performer and audience. Cultural history of Gulmi suggests that Magar people in Sandspur have a rich amalgamation of body and language in their performances. Their two dances are of prime importance in this research work.

Maruni

The festival, Maruni , for the Magar people of Gulmi has now become a performance of rituals to the tourists so as to reaffirm their unique cultural identity. The performance of body at the dance evokes a religious milieu uniting Magar people to enhance tourism in Gulmi. The songs that women sing in their group (known as Maruni) for this dance carry a unique view of women's cultural position in the family and society. Roila songs - with their critique of domestic relations, ritual practices, and intuitive expression of female pangs - constitute a medium for the performance of body and identity for Magar women. Magar performances, now, also evoke the issues of identity, culture, rituals and histories to tell the tourists that they should be looked,

observed, and studied to do something for them. Body has a sort of cultural semblance in almost all of their performance activities.

Maruni is a festival, and importantly a ritual event for Magar , celebrated on the second day after the new moon in the Nepali month of Kartik , especially on the first , second and third day after the full moon of Kartik (known as Karike Unshi) in Nepali calendar - ie, during the mid- October to mid-November according to the English calendar). Maruni is, thus, presented as a ritual that reinforces the notion of cultural and gender relation of Magar religious ideology and helps produce a society, which willingly and compliantly formulate performance retaining the cultural logos and foregrounding the seer significance of bodies. On the one hand, the women are performing rituals that endorse the ideology of traditional notion of body-privilege, while on the other they are voicing, through the songs, dances and bodily movements that they create a new society which tries to maintain the harmony critiquing the commentary against social relations and the wider political situation that has marginalized them.

Their songs also codify a voice that is critical of the expected life path and of the adversities and misfortunes that it brings to women. They reflect the burden of domestic chores and their fear of unknown that confines them when they are bound to go to a new house after marriage. Likewise, the songs express a woman's carefulness for the domestic chores and their resentment at their male members of the family lacking the sense of carefulness at the domestic affairs of the house. The daughter may also complain that she works hard all day, doing all the domestic chores, while her brothers are in school or playing with their friends. She is given nice clothes only grudgingly, while her brothers receive so many that they rot away in a box. She is told by her parents that her property and her appropriate place are at her husband's home,

where she is to be sent empty-handed and sad-hearted. The songs also provide a commentary, an alternative perspective, on women's position in society. The verses disclose the problems wives and daughters face, the anguish they feel, the criticisms they have of their malefactors, and the implicit or explicit protests they have against the social system that places them in their powerless and vulnerable position.

In the past females generally used to gather to a house of a Mukhiya) and sing songs and dance in group. This process of “gathering, performing and dispersing” used to open ground for theatre without any addition to it. As they do not give emphasis to anything, their performance gives the flavor of “poor theatre” (Grotowsky 24). But now it has become a commodity to serve the tourists. All females of the group dance in the rhythm of the music and songs moving in circle while singing and clapping along with the activities. Songs are all sung to the same tune and cadence, and the movements and clapping of the dancers evoke the meaning of the songs. Maruni , thus, has now become a performance of an item for tourists where the females come to special place managed by the tourists centre, do something and finally go to their own place. Tourists are found encircling the women's groups or standing on the periphery of the entire crowd, watching, listening, and sometimes video-taping the songs. Now a days, newer songs are composed in influence with the contemporary socio-political situation of nation too. They may differ slightly in content from one moment to another as there come various influences as per the consciousness of time, culture and politics including the impact of tourism. Since tourism involves “travel, a cross-cultural encounter, it is inevitably produced, and is the social transactions involved in this encounter that provide a key to the anthropological understanding of tourism” (Nash 462).

The old story of the origin of the ritual performance is also there among the Magar community. The past Maruni songs used to be marked with the people's faith that they will get their future generation as brave and good-natured like Gulmeli king, Khan – the mythical character of their culture worshipping whom everything will be fulfilled in the family. Along with this cultural notion, they even sing about women's hardship, sadness, trouble, and suffering, recent events, or even erotic songs replicating teenagers' clandestine love. But now it has not limited to this domain only. It has become a cultural commodity to sold in the culture house for the economic growth of not only the Magar people, but also the whole stakeholders of tourism including the nation itself.

Sorathi

The another cultural commodity that has become the object of study is the Sorathi Nachha . Each local and particular 'Magar ' culture has developed in a wider context with a different geopolitical niche revoking the past in performing role. These mine groups, who made Gulmi their home for over 800 years, are found sustaining their life from mine digging and farming. In the past, these people seemed to have involved with the digging mine. History suggests that, when mine digging parties arrived from the late 1700's to the 1950's, they were welcomed to help by others. Sorathi has become a significant part of life among the Magar people in Gulmi. This tool, which was used in the past as the surest weapon to guarantee the protection of their ability to dig mine as well as their lives has got amalgamation into the cultural dance of these ethnic tribes. As a result, they have included this fact in the cultural location of their life and developed it as a festival to commemorate the indigenous discipline of their communal life.

Among all these cultural performances two cultural dances of Gulmeli Magar, as a common cultural display of them, marks the domain of cultural display of body politics to the tourists in Gulmi. The Sorathi (A dance gathering sixteen people Dance) weaves the tales and memories of the ancestry with the flavor of modern global flows and socio-economic influence. The dance, usually performed by young men, takes place in a circle with rhythmic tune of musical instruments like Maadal and Jhurma. The group of dancer whirls and clash in a fantastic display of precision handling and timing. The dance projects its origin of a war culture that they underwent while coming to encompass their folks and safeguard them from the foreign attacks and preservation of the chase after a long effort for meal to their members. Not only this, the dance also manifests the part of an effort that they used to make to fend off and frighten wild animals away from crops when they had turned to the agrarian society in the beginning. Males with traditional costumes appear in the circle and start singing and dancing showing adroitness in the performance of wary nature with agile body and swift motion.

The participants run in circle and dance in the pretense of chasing the quarry and at a time, protecting oneself from the impending attacks from the enemy. Manifested in the posture of both attacking the opponents and defending oneself the dance draws the attention of the audience as if they are watching a real battle in sticks. Their songs reflect the mood of festivities along with the tales of glorious past and its relation to the present context.

Hence, the Magar performance culture in Gulmi has a long history of its ethnic memories and cultural segments that they weave upon to attract tourists in Gulmi. Unlike their past ways of life, today's Magar are more or less under the impact of modern trend of life and the global flows from the foreign cultures. The impact of

tourism is no less than a vigorous force impacting its motion in the diverting way. In this research work, I have planned to sketch the present scenario of the Magar life in Santipur along with the changing trend of their socio-economic life guided with the modern flows of science and technology. The Magar dances, their ways of life, their ritual practices have remained the central concern of this thesis. As a man can never be free from the religious codifications and ritual proceedings of their communal life, I have made the attempt of recording them and observing the sight glances put upon them by both the Magar and non-Magar in equal parlance. In them all, the central concern goes to the attempts of Magar performing activities to make their cultural ways of life a commodity to be sold easily.

Cultural performs in Gulmi Santipur

Gulmi being a place of profound Magar culture is rich in cultural performances and manifestations of them in the enhancement of tourism. The rites and rituals, the Magar undergo, as well as the performative role of the mixed-up society preserves many sectors for tourism development. These developments by which coincidental tourist experience of Magar performed culture becomes a highly organized and government-sanctioned enterprise is known as ‘cultural tourism’, and it gets well documented resulting from market forces and the presence of tourists on the area. As MacCannell puts his opinion that tourism is to be understood in terms of the “cultural production” around which it is organized, Abbeele further highlights the issue giving priority in tripartite relation in tourism (Qtd. in Abbeele 4). Abbeele develops his issue of tourist attraction with the claim that:

Basically a tourist attraction has three components: a sight, a marker, and a tourist. The most important and interesting component of the tourist attraction is the marker, without which the tourist would not

only be unable to recognize the sight but the sight itself could not exist as such. Markers can be either “on sight” (signposts, commemorative plaques, inscriptions etc.) or “off-sight” (postcards, picture books, advertisements). (Abbeele 4)

As an offering is the usual practice at cultural performances, indeed at all performances touristic or not, this seems to be a pre-performance event, one tourists witness regularly. Sacrificing of animals or birds to appease the wrath and hunger of their deities is the common practice that we find in many of the Magar performance pieces. The touristic performances cannot incorporate this phenomenon as it is only a fake maneuvering of replicating the cultural trend to boost up tourism by making the tourists perplexed, happy and content.

Since Gulmi has become now a centre for tourists as well as migrant people from other culture, it has appeared as a place to make intermingling of the people of different levels and places so as to render a new cultural mold. There is also the global, outward flow of younger populations from other localities, who seek jobs here, often leaving older, unsupported family members behind. The relocation of financial and service sector employers and corporate service employers in the countryside leaves them still firmly integrated into urban-centred networks and specialist labour markets.

Consequently, in some areas an urban imported service class culture infiltrates the rural social landscape. Contrasts can be drawn between those residents, who are excluded and deprived, lacking the power to alter their lives in rural areas, and those who are privileged and enjoying a comfortable lifestyle. Tourists seeking the rural idyll and affluent Magar performance culture, move into this place for entertainment. Again, performance practices, especially made for the tourists, focus on the

contrasting values associated with the prevalent dominant cultures. Queries shower on how Magar culture is socially constructed and expressed by idyllic symbols, associated conservative traditional values, pastoral signs, and notions about rural bliss and the proverbial agrarian and hunting life and settlement. All these factors, taken together, can help formulate an eclectic, holistic approach that incorporates the key concepts of space, power and values in countryside peripheries beyond urban centers.

As we enter the new millennium with its prospect of increased cultural complexity, it should be remembered that we are by no means the first generation to feel overwhelmed by the speed, scope, intensity and volume of cultural production and reproduction. Thus emerges the typical problematic condition of modern humanity. The feeling of being surrounded by an immense number of cultural elements makes an individual unable to assimilate every individual thing on the one hand, and also incapable to reject it on the other since they belong potentially to the sphere of his or her cultural development. Thus, cultural tourism takes birth to shape and consolidate the notion of culture as commodity to be studied and understood for its life and longevity.

Cultural tourism is a vehement way to develop a nation fostering the cultural commodity but there are many things that are to be counted beforehand. The concern with the overload of cultural production, the loss of a sense of cultural boundedness, centricity and order, the fragmentation of culture, the dominance of life over form, the overload of culture are the major issues that come under severe questioning. There is also the sense of an expanding consumer culture and the genesis of world cities that leads to the globalization of culture and the increase in the volume of cultural production and reproduction beyond our capacity to recover the various cultural objects, images and fragments into a framework through which we can make sense of

it. The contiguity of objects and styles in a physical location also gives it an illusory objective unity and finitude summoned up in his use of terms such as ‘totality’, ‘single whole’, and ‘copy’ (Simmel 256).

In this modern world, cyberspace is a global electronic information network, ‘the matrix’, which operators can access (‘jack-in’) through headsets (‘trodes’) via a computer terminal (‘cyberspace deck’). Here, we are currently being faced by the ‘digitalization of culture,’ which promises enormous gains in the speed and mobility of access to information. If libraries, museums, archives and other cultural repositories developed in conjunction with the state we need to consider the trajectory of the power struggles between state elites, administrators and wider publics over their aims and purposes. Yet the cultural frame of reference gets widened beyond the authority of the state, and gets intermingled with the account of globalization processes - the increased flow of information, images, goods, money and people. This, ultimately, transforms the culture of a state into transnational level leading towards the development of global cultural institutions. Here, the driving impetus behind globalization becomes the use of information technologies by transnational corporations extending their scope through the development of electronic networks (Appadurai 122). Information and culture are valuable commodities; hence, corporations have been setting up their own electronic archives and databases for commercial purposes. One of the potentials of the new information technologies such as the Internet is for new principles of classification and connectivity to develop, such as hypertext, which favours serendipity and the establishment of less hierarchical linkages.

Magar Performance Culture Encounter of the Global with the Local

Magar Performance is a mold of the global and the local making the both arrive a zone of criss-cross reshaping the pre-existing systems of thought. The Magar culture of Gulmi gets touched with the impact of tourism, which comes as an integral part of globalism. In case of Abbeelee too becomes aware of this reality in the world, where the ethnic boundary becomes the goal for tourism as he says:

Tourism is thus an institutional practice which assures the tourist's allegiance to the state through an activity which discreetly effaces whatever grievances, discontent or "alienation" that the tourist might have felt in regards to society. The tourist enslaves himself at the very moment he believes himself to have attained the greatest liberty.

(Abbeelee 5)

Then, the surveyor becomes the surveyed and vice versa. There is mutual look and mutual learnings. As a result, the tourism in Gulmi has brought a third culture in which there is no traditional notion of culture. Giving example of Bishukharka, one Magar village of Gulmi ,

Thus, in the mythic landscape of the ritual performance too, we find the traces of modern influx brought by modernity and tourism. The past legends and memories are there, but newness is equally in practice in the performances of Magar community. In place of the house yard of Mukhiya (the symbolic king of the village), now the dances are in the court yard of the star hotel (the symbolic modern capitalist king). The trends, songs and music are now under the foreign influence as the tourists can understand and participate easily. There are not the songs but the parody of the songs with the motive of selling them in the shopping malls of star hotels. Similarly, in place of marrying the women of their own caste, they have settled themselves with

the foreign women cherishing the hybrid culture derives partly from the both. The global impact of capitalism has made them remain agape at this alluring, but hybrid culture.

Performivity and Cultural Change

In south Asia, societies are deeply divided culturally and tourism has taken up culture as a major marketable attraction (Wood 562). Gulmi exemplifies of this fact as the cultural communities, here, are divided locationally. As a homeland of Magar , most of the names are from Magar vocabulary. Many places are from Magar words and Magar histories. But, later due to the advent of tourism, the older historiography has been renamed with the redrawing of the cultural and locational boundary. Even the cultural demarcation came in the new scenario. Because of this fact of tourism, Bugnicourt accuses tourism of demeaning and distorting culture:

[. . .] it encourages the imitation of foreigners and the downgrading of local inhabitants in relation to foreign tourists; it incites the pillage of artwork and other historical artifacts; it leads to the degeneration of classical and popular dancing, the profanation and vulgarization of places of worship, and the perversion of religious ceremonies; and it creates a sense of inferiority and a cultural demoralization which “fans the flames of anti-development through the acquisition of undesirable cultural traits. (564)

The impact of tourism brings a manifold of opinions. One the one hand it makes people earn their living from different income generating activities due to the tourist flow. Similarly, it also brings some changing impacts on the society. As there come different kinds of people in Gulmi , they leave separate influences in the society. The locals imitate the activities of the tourists and try to shape themselves as the “mimic

men” of the community. They change their food habit, dress ups and ways of life. Sometimes there comes a great impact on the location of their culture. The acts of cultural manifestations become tinged with the modern influx of foreign cultures. The local try to mold the pattern of their culture not as the pattern of their origin requires but as the tourists can understand better and give fabulous wealth.

Although different voices are growing nowadays for the integrity of the original past and reassessing of their location so as not to let it manipulated, the attempts appear only as the extra burden without any remarkable solution. Getting back to the past is only the melancholy that only remains in hope, but remains as unfulfilled desire. Fanon stands as a well aware critic about this fact of the cultural location in the modern nation state. He puts his opinion:

The struggle (for national sovereignty) itself in its development and in its internal progression sends culture along different paths and traces out entirely new ones for it. The struggle of freedom does not give back to the national culture its former value and shapes; this struggle which aims at a fundamentally different set of relations between men cannot leave intact either the form or the content of the people’s culture. (Fanon 187)

The aim of bringing the past in the present and the remnants of the historical memories always remain hidden. The entry of tourist in the inert cultural location brings a new role for its interpretive dimension. The tourist as a voyeur puts glance and records it in his/her cultural understanding. Even the role of the local to reveal the cultural meaning becomes infected with the power dynamic of the voyeur. Here tourism acts as an agent that breaks the cultural threads and reshapes them according

as the mutual understanding of both the local and the tourist. It is because of this Robert E. Wood says that,

[. . .] a moving object (tourism) acts upon an inert one (culture), at best through the intermediary of a third object (culture brokers). The assumption is that culture is unitary, passive and inert. Such an approach to culture in Southeast Asia missed the dynamic context tourism enters and the variety of active responses to tourism which shape its cultural meaning. (Wood 565)

In the context of Magar culture in Santipur, Gulmi tourism has come as a part of an externally oriented approach to development which includes reliance on foreign aid and investment, imported technology, and many other links with the advanced capitalist countries. The notion that ‘tourists are our gods’ (Atithi Devo Bhava) has a direct link to commercialism. Because of tourism, people are getting advancement in all field of social mobility. The performances and ritual activities done to show the tourists are getting mixed up with the notion of novelty and simplicity. They lack the sole motive of cultural and ritual values, but only as the parody of the authentic values. Here we find that the “dance performances for tourists are altered in subtle ways which change their religious meaning so as to avoid profaning these normality sacred events, and proceeds are channeled into voluntary cultural associations” (Wood 567).

Tourism causes for the sharing and mingling of the ideas one the one hand but it also makes culture transgress the boundary on the other. As a catalyst for new ideas, the growth of a tourism industry “not only introduces new groups from outside the society but also transforms the relationships between members of the society itself” (Wood 569). It is the participation of people in an altered social and cultural system

resulting from tourism which is most important for cultural change. In this regard tourism represents “a new relationship with both the national and world economy and, because of this, nearly always involves a greatly expanded role of the state” (Wood 569). In this way, the state’s role becomes an instrumental to project the national culture so as to enhance cultural tourism:

The state’s perceived self-interest in presenting a particular view of the national culture may conflict with the tendency of cultural tourism to spread to the most isolated- and hence least “modere” – peoples [. . .]. In addition to being an arbiter of living culture, the state also organizes cultural reproductions [. . .]. In Southeast Asia, the museum idea has been extended to artificial reproductions of traditional houses, craftsmen’s ateliers, and often whole villages or minisocieties spread out over many acres [. . .]. Such projects provide an interesting example of the link between international and domestic tourism . . . Part of marketing cultural experiences to tourists involves interpreting them. Most Southeast Asian governments license official guides and in some areas insist that cultural tourpes performing for tourists be approved by a government agency. Government tourist boards spent millions of dollars annually to attract tourists, partly by presenting a picture of the local culture. (Wood 570-571)

It is the fact that in Magar performance of Santipur, Gulmi tourism has been an “export” industry. Here the local culture is being sold to tourists so as to gain commercial profit.

The geographic landscape along with the performance culture of the locals becomes the point of attraction to the tourists. They pick up the ‘fit’ issue of

performance culture and buy it from the locals. Here neither the locals nor the tourists are able to grasp the real image of the commodity. There is transformation as it has entered a new ground for a new purpose, i.e. leaving its authentic ground of rituals to the realm of commercial values. The fact speaks that:

For most tourists to experience the culture of a foreign society, it must be produced and marketed in some way. The transformation of culture into a commodity for sale is a fundamental process cited in a number of tourism studies. There are two major ways in which cultural experiences are marketed to tourists. One may be called “tours of living culture.” These consist of guided groups which venture out to see cultural forms in their natural settings: religious, shrines, markets, ceremonies, etc. [. . .]. Cultural experiences are also marketed to tourists through staged productions. These include dance and theater performances, ceremonies, craftsmen working, chefs cooking etc.(i.e, “natural” and “staged”) [. . .]. In fact, one result of cultural tourism may be the “staging” of daily life, to the extent that forms of dress, architecture, etc, are deliberately preserved for the sake of tourism.

(Wood 575)

Magar culture of Gulmi Santipur is not in exception. The aim of the locals to please the tourists, they must deign to the ground of easiness and simplicity. Here they must discard some threads of the performance culture that appear to be mysterious and illegible to the buyers. Here, culture turns to be custom because “culture is never the translucidity of custom as it abhors all simplification. ...it is opposed to custom for custom is always the deterioration of culture” (Fanon 180). As a result the very

performance culture turns to be a zone of mutual placing of the both tourists and the local Magar .

In short, among various performances of Magar, Maruni and Sorathi has long historical and cultural significance which play important role to live Magar culture in the present form and identified the ethnic identity of the community.

IV. Magar Performance Culture: A Rigmarole of Glocal Commodity Culture

Gulmi offers a very rich Magar performance culture to the outsiders. The Magar are living in their communities with their cultural sense of the past, changes have taken place in their cultural modes expression. Due to the impact of modernization and the advent of modern science, their culture is getting modified day by day. On the one hand they are continually following the past. On the other, there is the criss-cross of the different cultural threads because of the in-migration of people from hills and the flow of tourists to observe the nature and culture of this place. There is no uniformity in their present sense of culture and that of the past. Due to the commercial motive and the influence of global capitalism, they know the pragmatics of preserving their culture as cultural commodity to stage it to the tourists and earn from it. The songs and the dances that they cherish are for their cultural integrity as well as for the commodification of it to get economic benefit. Magar performance culture retains the sense of dances, songs, languages, religious ceremonies and ritual practices. In the field of dances Maruni (Dance by male wearing female dress) appears as the manifestation of their commodified cultural product to stage it in the open tourist market so as to earn money from it. Similarly, the performance of Sorathi (dancing in group by sixteen females) ensues the sense of marketable cultural product for commercial gain. Likewise there are other performance activities that mark the changing trend in their today's performances in comparison to the past ritual practices. They celebrate to invoke their deities and get their blessings as well as please the foreign tourists.

Maruni and Sorathi and many others are the cultural festivals but in the context of regular performance , they have become a performance in which spectacles matters much. On the basis of the songs examined in this research, we can assume

that all these performance cultures and songs are probably the continuation of their material culture. But now they are found getting improvised in accordance with everyday reality and the matter of “global flows”. The songs are not homogeneous in content, nor do they emerge from a single antecedent form of the genre. This continual process of creation combines with the yearly periods of practice and performance to provide with a resource to redefine meanings of identities and the sense of history among Magar people within changing socio-historical and political contexts. In all the performances Magar people express their culture-consciousness foregrounding their bodies and enact the group's experiential views in regard to their community development. All are, therefore, a site of dynamic performance in which men and women (all alike) tell the history of their civilization incorporating the need of body in the process of defense mechanism and settlement of society. All the festivities and cultural manifestations are the product of body that matters for them.

Maruni and sorathi are performative in regard to bodily action or commands made against the authority of gender or social discrimination. The songs reflect the time in a woman's life when she is growing up and making the transition from daughter, unequally treated in comparison with her brothers, to young married woman, without socially given power or resources in an alien family. Today these cultural notions of the songs are also found to be influenced by the general political incidents of the society. In the contemporary political climate with its stress on human rights, Sorathi songs have taken up the cause of women's rights as a matter for redress by the government. Instead of focusing on domestic problems and relationships, it orients its performers toward the national and international arena of economic development and takes up the question of women's roles in this broader world. Magar women want the opportunity to advance like women of other countries,

and they rail against the patriarchal and political systems that relegate them to household work and child care. Not only this, their cultural performances are the cultural commodity to sell them in the tourist markets every day. In reality, the performances in both Maruni and Sorathi are a fresh start that have left the mark of action in society.

Gulmi district is a major participant in the current global tourist boom and the district's rich Magar cultural resources are a key asset with significant tourism development potential. International evidence reveals that tourism, particularly nature-based tourism, has become an important strategy for rural development. However, the evidence examined here suggests, while the natural environment can serve as a base for a pro-poor approach to tourism development, it cannot be assumed to serve as a panacea or that widespread benefits will ensue. Issues such as the limited number of jobs created and the risk of grant dependence need to be balanced against the positive gains of development, partnership formation, the collaborative roles of a variety of key organizations and government funding to support community based projects.

Despite the anticipated growth of the tourism industry globally, it is important to note that tourism as a development option should not be taken in isolation from other sectors, but incorporated into a holistic economic and development planning process. Skills development is routinely cited as an essential prerequisite for the initiation of effective, community-based tourism projects. This raises the question of whether or not external agencies should tailor projects to suit local skills, or if reskilling should be part of any development intervention to allow for empowerment. Thus, although tourism is not the solution for all development challenges, tourism planning needs to look beyond narrow confines and incorporate broader economic,

political, social, cultural and environmental issues. Then only there will be a positive path for the uplifting of the position of the Magar in Gulmi.

This condition of postnational situation brings them to the point of multicultural demarcation. Obviously, a postnational movement implies a thorough revision of the relationship between citizen and polity, while maintaining vigilance toward imperialist and exploitative forms of transnationalism. At the very least, it poses the important question of the forms and validity of a postmodern political intervention in terms of the nation. Phenomena such as globalization and internationalism have come to be associated with the logic of empire, ruthless capitalism, economic exploitation, and reckless ecological waste. Keeping those forms of intervention strong may help us make a distinction between transnationalism and globalization. The former distinguishes itself from the latter in that it signals political and economic equality for minorities, access to the polis, and the belief in a common humanity over and against the promulgation of Eurocentric universalism. It is this form of internationalism, in which forms of global feeling are continuous with forms of national feeling that lurks on the horizon of the today's performance culture.

Rather than being grounded in a particular ethnic origin, defined by a mode or consciousness which envisions it as an "imagined community," the nation is constituted by its striving for universality in opposition to what is exceptional or antithetical to it. The nation takes its identity or coherence through its negation of the other which is not sufficient for the establishment and survival of nationalism. Although it fulfills other functions and responds to other needs, ethnicity always collaborates with the nation, which builds its political and cultural unity or purity over against what it sees or constructs as a representative of difference and impurity. A more radically postmodern outlook on the nation and on geopolitics in general, could

be one that relies on two themes, the impact of globalisation on state sovereignty, and the deterritorialisation of the state thesis. In this view, the increased globalization of economics, trade, and culture as well as the attempt to move toward federal states of the country as the outcome of the second General Movement 2062, and nation's unstable political structure, are undermining the sovereignty of the nation state. Under all these circumstances, the Magar nationalism is under pressure to regain its ethnic national boundary. The Magar movements to distinct themselves from others. Due to this fact there is the possibility of moving beyond the concept of the geographical nation now. But this is not so easy because Gulmi has become a multicultural location. No culture has its unique and distinct features. Every culture is sharing the common features of others.

In the Magar performance culture, there is the impact of global situation. Today, the Magar in Gulmi are following their culture guised with the modern trend of commerce and multicultural global flows. The cultural manifestations of the Maruni and Sorathi are also the cultural performances of Magar culture of Santipur Gulmi , but there is the trend of changes in them.

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