

SIGNIFICANCE OF "MANGENNA YAK" AMONG WANEM LIMBUS

A case study of *Piringe*, Dhungesanghu VDC, Taplejung

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Master's Degree in Anthropology**

Submitted by

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DECLARATION

The piece of this work entitled “*Significance of Mangna Yak among Wanem Limbus: A study at Dhungeshanghu village of Taplejung*” is my own work, except wherever acknowledged. Errors if any are the responsibility of my own work. This work has not been submitted to any other university for any academic award.

.....
Nanda Kumar Wanem

April 2016

LETTER TO RECOMMENDATION

It is to certify that Mr. Nanda Kumar Wanem has completed his dissertation on the topic “Significance of *Mangenna Yak* among Wanem Limbus: A study from Dhungesanghu village of Taplejung” under my guidance and supervision. I recommended this thesis for final approval and acceptance.

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LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE

This Thesis entitled “Significance of *Mangenna Yak among Wanem Limbus*: A study at *Dhungesanghu Village of Taplejung*” prepared and submitted by Nanda Kumar Wanem as a partial fulfillment of the requirements of Master’s Degree of Anthropology has been accepted as the partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Anthropology.

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ACRONYMS

BC	Before the year of Christ's birth
BS	Bikram Sambat; a Nepalese yearly Calendar
CBS	Central Bureau of Statistics
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FMYPs	Fagolung Mangenna Yak Piringe Samaj
FT	Feet
HK	Hongkong
ILO	Indigenous Labor Organization
KII	Key Informant Interview
KYC	Kirat Yakthung Chumlung
LLM	Limbuwan Mukti Morcha
MA	Master of Arts
SSF	Sanghiya Samajbadi Forum
TU	Tribhuvan University
UK	United Kingdom
UNDRIP	United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples
VDC	Village Development Committee

CHAPTER: 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction :

Wanem people are one of the sub-clans among Limbu community. Limbu people are one of the indigenous groups in Nepal. They are also one of the Kirata groups in eastern part of Nepal who are known as nature worshippers and believe in animism. Indigenous people claim themselves to be distinct from others especially in terms of language, religion, culture, territory and so on. Each of the Limbu sub-clans has their own distinct Mangenna Yak in different places of eastern development region. As an ancestral land, Wanem Limbus along with other Limbus are striving for constructing, preserving and revitalizing the value and significance of their Mangenna Yak to maintain their distinctiveness and for self-recognition. Mangenna Yak is also the place where Limbu people have been living since immemorial time. Mangenna Yak was established by Limbus' ancestors by clearing bushes. That is why Mangenna Yak is a sacred place/land for them. Mangenna Yak is the place where Limbus created their history. It is a place where they crafted, constructed and reconstructed their language, script, religion, culture, politics, geography, economy, customs, norms and values and; produced a distinct collective identity. In this way, Mangenna Yak is always an icon of culture and base for their existence. By the time, with the change in politics, state's intervention, modernization and globalization, there are many challenges in protecting, preserving and revitalizing such sacred icons. There is crisis in the existence of such ancestral lands.

Hangen (2010) is of the opinion that Since the late 1980s, ethnic activism in Nepal used the category of Janajati to 'denote communities that are outside of the four field of Hindu caste system and... that have their own distinct language, religion or culture'(quoted by Rai, 2013:5-6). English translation of Janajati as 'nationalities' is significant as it emphasizes these communities as 'nations', hence the category challenges the unitary and monolithic construction of Nepal as a Hindu nation and the category of nationalities resonates with the notion of the distinct and collective peoplehood emphasized by the category of 'indigenous people'. In Nepal categories of janajati and adivasi are synonymously used in the sense of 'indigenous people'.

These two terms are now increasingly used together as ‘*adivasi janajati*’ to emphasize the idea of ‘indigenous peoples’ used in the international discourses of indignity and indigenous peoples’ rights. With the ratification of the ILO 169 and the endorsement of the UNDRIP by the Nepali state, the two most important international instruments dealing with the human rights of indigenous peoples, the category of ‘indigenous peoples’ have further become politically salient and important for the historically marginalized groups such as the Limbu. By claiming their territorial identity within their ancestral lands, these Limbu also demanded their rights to political autonomy as ‘indigenous peoples’ or *adivasi janajati*. The category of peoplehood enshrined in those very instruments of human rights endorsed and ratified by Nepal, an expression of its moral commitment and accountability (Rai, 2013 ‘5-6’).

Identity construction process among the indigenous ethnic (*Janajati*) of Nepal has intensified after 1990s people’s movement and the restoration of the democracy. This ‘so called people’s movement’ chance for this repressed diversity to come out into the open. Open criticism over the domination of the high castes of the hills (the *parbatiya*) in every sphere of economic, political and religion became the main issues among the indigenous ethnic groups of Nepal (Sales, 2000:49). Many indigenous ethnic groups began demanding for political rights through establishing social organizations for social and cultural development of their communities. The issue of group began to use cultural codes (Shestakov, 2008) to be different from others. In this process, many cultural codes have been invented and reinvented (Hobsbawm, 1983) and revived from the past. Primordial ideas of being different from others through their physical attributes associated with community groups and attached with their ancestral land were taken as part of the process of constructing a group identity, cohesion within the group was considered important (Magar:1).

This study is about the political significance of Mangenna Yak among Wanem Limbus. Collective efforts and exercise to preserve and identify Mangenna Yak by Wanem Limbus is presented here.

The central arguments of this thesis are:

1. Limbu society was/is affected by external factors i.e. former political situation and other communities. As a result, the Limbu people in the

present have been fighting, demanding for their traditional culture, religion, language etc to get recognized, established and addressed.

2. There is a deep, long and strong interrelationship between community history and the territory, geography, land etc. so it tells us the whole and remote history of Limbu people.
3. The Present Limbu culture and society was formed after a long time when they had separated from their Mangenna Yak and is getting continuity. So, the Mangenna Yak is the root and base of Limbu culture and society development.
4. Mangenna Yak takes back us to Limbus' far ancient stage that how they evolved and expanded their society; how they migrated to their Mangenna Yak how they formed their social cultural customs, values and norms. So this study links Limbus with their myths and rituals which have given them and their society existence to run in a distinct way.
5. This study helps to understand importance of Mangenna Yak among Limbu community in terms of history, myth, geography, identity etc. From the analysis of Mangenna Yak; we can see the image of community history, community migration, genealogy development, kinship system, rituals in terms of Mangenna Yak, politics, economy etc.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

In a number of countries, indigenous peoples have faced discrimination not only in terms of their basic rights to property, language and culture, but also in terms of access to basic services and essential material conditions for their way of life. Socio-economic conditions and access services are often significantly inadequate for indigenous peoples. Not surprisingly, indigenous peoples today are among the poorest and most socially excluded populations in the world (Gautam, Adhikari and Basnet 2002).

Prior to the 1950s, the legal system of Nepal was conducted completely under the extremely influential Hindu principles. As a result, social divisions and

discrimination entrenched in Hindu religion were legally recognized. The 1962 constitution promulgated during the Panchayat regime declared Nepal as a Hindu state for the first time. Attempts were made to end the religious, linguistic and cultural diversity through the policy of one religion-Hindu, one language-Nepali, and then the process of cultural homogenization was accelerated more than ever before (Limbu, 2005) during the Panchayat regime. Honest, generous, and uneducated Limbu were deceived by nation for 238 years long. They have been left behind from the nation's main stream of development till today (Banem, 2007).

Today, Nepal is in the state of restructuring and there is strong demand of proportional representation of excluded groups (Dalits, Madheshi, Janajatis, indigenous peoples and Women) in every sphere of state apparatus which is possible only when addressed from local level. In order to have their full and effective participation in the decision making processes indigenous people in Nepal have been demanding national autonomy or, Jatiya Swoshashan with the rights to self determinism (Gurung, 2005). We argue that the national autonomy should be established on the basis of ethnicity, language and territories (Gurung, 2005). This demands the restructuring of the state that is defective and discriminatory. The present constitution is also communal and discriminatory. It discriminates indigenous peoples on the grounds of ethnicity, sex, religion and language (Gurung, 2005).

Limbu people are one of the ethnic groups of Nepal. Among Limbus, Wanems are one of the sub-clans. They practice a number of rituals, passages, events and ceremonies in their everyday lives to complete their life cycle. Like Limbus', Wanem rituals can also mainly be categorized in three parts; Birth Rituals, Marriage Rituals and Death Rituals. Regarding Mangenna Yak, no anthropological research projects have been conducted yet. Mangenna Yak is mainly related to the myth/Mundhum of Mangenna ritual (an act of worship one's head high).

Ethnic activities in Nepal have grown in sophistication. In the context of emergence and development of ethnicity and identity in Nepal, Gurung (1999) views that the manifestations of ethnic/caste associations and ethnicity in Nepalese politics is due to an improper understanding on the part of the Nepalese government regarding the totality of Nepali culture and society. Discrimination and exploitation of the ethnic groups of Nepal on various grounds are triggering ethnic consciousness and ethnic

movements. The acceleration of ethnic movement as a result of ethnic consciousness, especially after the restoration of democracy, is very much present in Nepal today. The ethnic groups today experience ethnic identity as more important and relevant than class and caste.

Today, Mangenna Yak is of a high importance for Limbus as it is connected with the myth and Mundhum, migratory life style, history, politics and territory of Limbus. It has been a matter of glory, holiness and identity as well. At the community level, peoples sense of place, their locally embedded practices of place-making, and people's understanding of their historical relationships with their territories acquired new political significance (Rai, 2013). The trend and process of preserving ancestral land among Limbu community as historical heritage has emerged in the recent years as a result of ethnic consciousness or, as a culturally transmitted behavior.

The Limbu reaction to domination has been to wage a persistent struggle to defend ancestral lands under the kiptat system of tenure, regarded as an integrate part of their way of life. Limbu customs and values have been reiterated and fostered so that cultural exclusiveness could be mobilized in this all-out struggle (Caplan, 2000). For such trend and process, collectiveness leads to integrate communities. Social and community organizations are being formed and responsible for the preservation and development of language, script, culture and initiate for socio-cultural values and norms. To systematize the whole society, communal efforts are more effective than the individual efforts because society is the web of social relationships.

As Nepal changes, as the different ethnic societies change, much of indigenous culture will be modified or, abandoned (Bista, 2001). Big challenges appear along with the nature of state and its rule and policy. Outside the Kathmandu valley, there are the various ethnic people of Nepal who remain uncouncted and under-considered (Bista, 2001). Limbu people are also facing challenges to preserve their history, culture, territory and identity due to the state's biased and unequal policy for its people and; because of emerging modernization, globalization and development.

My proposed research was guided by the following research questions:

- I. What is the political significance of Mangenna Yak?

II. Has the role of Mangenna Yak changed by the time? And,

III. In what rituals do Wanem people mention Mangenna Yak, and why?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The general objectives of my research project were to find out the different political, socio-cultural and historical aspects/background of Mangenna Yak among the Wanem people such as its relation to their community history, their migration, lineage, territory and identity. The specific objectives of my research are:

I. To describe history of Mangenna Yak.

II. To find out the political significance of Mangenna Yak.

III. To find out the local meaning of Mangenna Yak.

1.4. Conceptual Framework

Mangenna Yak as a topic for my study, its significance can be studied through different angles or perspectives. However I have mainly tried to talk more or less about political significance of the Mangenna Yak among Wanem people. Besides this, any scholars/researchers, of those who are interested in the subject matter can study about social, cultural, religious or, historical significance of Mangenna Yak so that it could be a great academic contribution.

Each of Limbu Minshras (sub-clans) has their own Mangenna Yak. The Mangenna Yak is the place through which different sub-clans/surnames of the Limbus were originated. The anthropologist Paul Liffman reminds us that ‘place’ is the “basic element of territory from the point of the view of the people who inhabit it (Liffman, 2011:19, cited by Rai, 2013). When the number of Limbu people grew they migrated/scattered/spread in different directions and places. Although they obtained different ‘Minshras’ as their identity, they were known to be the descendants of the same ancestor. Each ‘Minshras’ have common rituals and, the Mangenna Yak is common for those Minshras. The Myth/Mundhum and the *Banshawali* Book (genealogy) describes how their ancestors had come/reached/appeared there and began a living and settlement. Genealogy also links how different ‘Minshras’ were

formed. Each Minshras still practice rituals and events related to their Mangenna Yak. In the latter, the collective effort, struggle and voice to construct, reconstruct and establish Mangenna Yak as a new form of institution seems more political consciousness, identity awareness resulting unity as well as majority. In this way, Mangenna Yak has been the centre of history, myth, ritual and identity for Limbu community.

1.5 Importance of the Study

Anthropological studies focusing on Limbu Community's ancestral land which is interrelated with Limbu culture, rituals, history, myth and overall development process of the entire society up to now are very few in Nepal. Moreover, a number of foreign anthropologists deserve the credit of doing such work. A few of the native anthropologists have studied Limbu culture. The proposed research will be significant in the following ways:

- I. Mangenna Yak, as an emerging issue of preservation for Limbu community, this study would signify Mangenna Yak.
- II. An insiders' view on Mangenna Yak and;
- III. Anthropological study on Mangenna Yak has not been conducted yet. So, this study, being an anthropological work, would be helpful in some ways for further anthropological study on the subject.

1.6 Organization of the Study

This thesis is divided into seven chapters. The first chapter is about introduction including statement of the problem, objectives of the study, conceptual framework and importance of the study. The second chapter is about literature review.

The third chapter is about methodology used by the researcher to garner the required information. The fourth chapter is about the people and the place. This chapter deals about socio-demographic feature and economic life of people, naming and transforming the community and their locality. The fifth chapter is about history of Mangenna Yak based on local perception and narratives.

The sixth chapter is about political significance of Mangenna Yak. This chapter deals about what the importance of Mangenna Yak for Wanem Limbus in local level and national level is. The final chapter is about summary and conclusions.

CHAPTER: 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

“Man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun; I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning.” – Clifford Geertz(1973a:5).

Looking at the culture of ethnic groups, the specific terms, rituals and belief systems have meanings and; play a vital role to systematize their life ways. The rituals performed in different occasions by Limbus have specific symbols and meanings; and they are myth/Mundhum centered. The rituals performed in different times can have a purpose and are; guided by Limbu morals, norms and values which have guided Limbu community and inherited generation to generation. The symbols performed by Limbu community also harmonize their relationship with people and nature.

According to Geertz, symbols are the vehicles of culture in which symbols transmit meaning and communicate the ways of people’s seeing, feeling and thinking about the world. They shape the peoples way of thinking and communicating about the world. For Turner, symbols play the role of operators in social process (Ortner, 1984:131). His interest focused on how the symbols operate as active forces in social process. Ritual symbols operate on recognizing reality and at the same time recognizing self.

Studying Mangenna Yak of the Limbu community, we can see the ritual practices of Limbu people which have formed a social and cultural regulation and helps people to get social harmony. Such events and rites performed can systematize the whole society in a distinct way and such acts make their ritual, cultural and historical symbols meaningful and cause to be identified.

According to Harris, the emic (phonemics) characterizes in anthropology which are based on the self view of a culture, and one assumes represents a hermeneutic strategy to cultural analysis. This is opposed to the etic (phonetics) method which represents an exterior and therefore objective and scientific approach. White’s terms (1955: 303), “All human behavior consists of, or is dependent upon, the

use of symbols. Human behavior is symbolic behavior; symbolic behavior is human behavior. The symbol is the universe of humanity.”

Limbu belongs to the Mongoloid physiognomy inhabiting the area popularly known as Limbuwan especially after the annexation of the kirat land into the Gorkha kingdom in 1774. The modern concept of kirat land is east of Kathmandu valley subdivided as wallo Kirat, or near Kirat, the land stretched between eastern border of Kathmandu valley and Makawanpur to the Likhu- Sunkoshi river mostly populated by Murmis or Tamang, Sunuwar, Jirel, Thami; Manjh Kirat or middle Kirat, the land between the river Likhu in the west and Arun in the east mostly inhabited by Khambus or Rais; and Pallo Kirat, the land between the river Arun and Mechi. Limbu people are branch of Kirat segregated by the Gurkha rulers with especial grant of land privileges and local authorities in some particular areas (Limbuwan) from the rest of their kindred. Historical document reveal that the term ‘Limbu’ was used by Gurkha (Nepal) administration after 1774. The decree and letters of Sen Rulers before the unification of Nepal and the genealogies of various clans (Thar) of Limbus also divulge that the Kirata leaders were conferred the titles of Raya and thus they were known as Raya and later Rais (Subba, 1985).

The way of looking at and studying Limbu culture and related issues from emic and etic perspective can vary. To study and give meaning the depth of the culture and its rooted and basic elements should be dug out. In such a way, studying Mangenna Yak as a historical place its inner and concerning issues from different angles should be analyzed. The present symbolic and social behavior is what they practiced in a certain geographical area for long.

An important thing for Limbu people is that how they gain power while or after exercising different rituals. I assume that for them, to propitiate their forefathers for their safety, courage and well being is also an act of getting power which is spiritually a belief system. As an analytical concept, place is more than a physical location or “the setting for action, the stage onto which things happen” Rodman, 1992:643) .Dignifying the land and their ancestors they get proud and spiritually strong. Such acts of worshipping and performing ritual events also gives meaning and keeps order to operate the society.

Fenton, (2003) has argued that ethnic groups come together to work and adapt with new innovations and creativity to deal with any situation. Some kind of pride, attachment, moral obligation and primordial with loyalty is sought out from members. Identity of an individual or group does not stand alone. Cross cutting existence with other components are obvious among groups. “Man is seen as leopard that cannot change his ethnic spots” says McKay (1982:398) in Cornell and Hartmann (2007). Ethnicity is related with blood relationship which is tied up with attachments where perceptions and attributes are given more importance than the presence and absence of members. The concept of primordialism has brought confusion among scholars that ethnicity is linked with culture and its meanings are invented and reinvented according to situations or the increasing level of awareness among a group to bring all members within one community and construct their identity among others. In this process, they are defined by others as a separate group based on their separate identity that they managed to construct among others (Barth 1969, quoted by Magar, 2013).

Ethnic identity has social and political dimensions. They develop their own ethnic associations that provide upward mobility to the group. Such organizations also play a pivotal role in the preservation of ethnic identity by simulating their culture and social mobility by promoting cooperative educational activities (Khurane, 1999:12). However ethnicity is also constructed by external social, economic and political processes and actors as they shape and reshape ethnic categories and definitions. While carrying out identity transformation, collective meaning is created through mythology and history of groups (Nagel, 1994, quoted by Magar 2013)

During the 1990s by contrast; the Nepali state had constitutionally recognized Nepal as a multi-ethnic (yet a Hindu) nation, and had officially made the distinction between the categories of ‘Caste’ (Jat) and ethnicity (Janjati); the latter groups were identified as a “distinct cultural group with its own language, religion, history, custom, and a traditional territory” (Bhattachan, 2008).

Similarly, indigenous peoples’ movement for recognition of their ethnic identity (as nationalities or indigenous peoples), indigenous rights, greater inclusion in all aspects of national life, and especially, indigenous demands for meaningful and equitable participation in the decision making process affecting their lives and communities had strengthened nationally as well as locally (Rai, Janak 2013, p.288).

Nepali history is the history of nation-state which to use Gaenzle (2003/04:13), “leaves no room for local identity.” Harka Gurung writes, “History is the construction of the conquerors while the vanquished are left only with bitter memories. The present Nepalese history is also the story about rulers and their legitimacy” (2003:14) consequently, since the late 18th century, Gurung argues that, “a Hindu theocracy became the state ideology by suppressing ethnic identities in order to consolidate and centralize power” (2003:4-5). Therefore Martin Gaenzle contends that “the memory of the past is not the privilege of professional (or, semi-professional), historians, and there is a broad field of more localized “indigenous” genres of history-making that exists alongside the dominant discourse, complementing, ignoring, (creatively) misunderstanding, and- often—countering the latter”(2003/04:7).

Social and political awareness in indigenous communities came to the mainstream line almost after 1960s and 1970s. Ethnic movement in Nepal effectively raised issues regarding indigenous rights were established slowly and gradually. The state was also positive to address the rights of ethnic clans of Nepal in terms of their language, religion, culture, land, history etc. to the mainstream politics, different social and community organizations had taken their issues and demands to be addressed and established.

Influence of sanskritization, urbanization, mass participation and cultural evolution caused rapid changes in Brahmin and Limbu socio-cultural system in Limbuwan (Uprety, 1976). In the context of Limbu sub-clans, they had been harshly affected by the state’s rule for hundreds of years. Although Limbus along with their own traditional culture and land were frequently affected after the annexation of Prithvi Narayan Shah. Panchayat system, Ranakal and land reform act had reduced/curtailed their rights and made them less powerful. The social organization of the Limbus stood with the demand that the language, script, religion and ancestral and historical land of the Limbus must be preserved from the communal level and the state also should address and establish such heritages of the Limbus. Preserving such historical lands and social cultural heritage is also result of ethnic awareness.

In the latter time, such activities to unite all Limbus, preserve Language, script etc are going ahead as a result of social cultural and political awareness in

Limbu community. The identity politics of Nepal also encourage the social, cultural, historical and other aspects to come to the front line of the state. The movement to establish federalism, religious secularism and republic system also makes such efforts of ethnic clans flourish. What is seen in Nepal is a process of nation-state building. As a result, almost each ethnic clans and sub-clans of Nepal is in the process of identifying and establishing their own distinct culture and society.

I fully agree with the (Rai, 2010) opines that the first decade (1990-2001) of indigenous people's movement can be traced with the identity movement. The main agendas of the movement were exclusively related to the preservation of culture, language and religion in the state. There were no such demands and agendas of each community as separate identity within the same community in the early period of the indigenous movement, e.g. within the Rai community, Gurung community, Sherpa community, but today there are several groups who are demanding distinct identity, each and every community is now demanding for separate identity in the context of democratic federal Nepal. This type of intra ethnic identity debate is a new in the second period of indigenous movement in Nepal. And this shows that Nepalese indigenous people are going to build their identity on the basis of their historical basis/relationship with their own ancestral land, cultural ties, blood relationship and whose essential unity are being expressed in a common culture, which has remained fundamentally unchanged through the centuries despite of intervention of the "modern" state and their one sided policy as one language, one culture, one religion and one dress.

I contend that place-making is inherently a political project for indigenous peoples' movements for the right to self-determination over their collective life, territories, lands and resources (Muchlebach 2003, quoted by Rai 2013). More or less, the Limbu are also guided and inspired by the ethnic politics and awareness especially after 1960s ethnic movement. As a result, collective voice and effort came into action to revitalize and preserve their ancestral lands.

By place-making, I mean the collective practices of individuals and groups to reclaim their historical and lived relationships with place by inscribing new meaning and "structures of feeling" (William 1977, Ahearn, 2001, quoted by Rai 2013) into their lived geographies. Mangenna Yak, as an ancestral land of Limbu People in their

lived geographies, they are integrated to revitalize it so that they might create new meaning.

The present trend among Limbu community is an exercise and attempt to identify themselves with their Mangenna Yak. For that, individual, organizational, community and collective exercise are in action to preserve such historical places, ancestral land in terms of Language, script, rituals etc. Digging out the core historical accounts through research, writing and publishing community documents and pedigrees are fundamental phase. For the exercise of such efforts, social community organizations in different levels play role with their agendas. Registering and forming such organizations among ethnic clans has been a culture guided by self-consciousness and political scenario.

CHAPTER: 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Design

The researcher primarily followed exploratory, descriptive and ethnographic research approaches. To apply the descriptive method, the researcher carefully recorded observed events, debates, local perception, statements made by the locals, problems and activities from the study area and described as faithfully as possible.

3.2 Rationale for the Selection of the study Site/Area

I conducted my ethnographic fieldwork in Dhungesanghu development committee of Taplejung district. Ward no. seven and eight of the VDC were selected as my research sites. The research was conducted in the field around twenty five days. The reasons for selecting the area as my study site were:

- i. I was familiar with the local people and the Mangenna Yak which I was going to study about is located in the same place.
- ii. The VDC is densely populated with the Wanem community and Limbu people. And,
- iii. The local priests, laymen and youths who had knowledge about Mangenna Yak and community history were available there and to get the local and traditional understanding and perception of Mangenna Yak.

3.3 Nature and sources of Data

Both primary and secondary data were used in this study. Required primary data were collected from fieldwork, secondary data from various relevant literatures such as ethnic organizations as well as library, published and unpublished articles, documents, books, internet, CBS reports etc. the nature of data was dominantly qualitative.

3.4 Data collection Techniques

3.4.1 Participant Observation:

As I was familiar with the local people of the study area, I had a good relationship with them. There were some local people with me to narrate or, inform something about the place. Through this observation of that Mangenna Yak, I got some information about the geographical area and setting and; historical account of the Mangenna Yak which I was unknown about before and were useful and relevant for my data. I asked with the persons with whom I had been there that what was important in the Mangenna Yak because I saw nothing there besides some stones, trees, and open and lonely area. I knew about the coming of ancestor in the territory, how Fago sub-clans owned or, possessed the surrounding area and I had noticed the natural and geographical setting of the area during my observation.

3.4.2. Key Informant Interview (KII)

KII is one of the most important and reliable data collection techniques for anthropological research project. KII was mainly conducted to collect the information about historical background of the community. For that I could not confine my field work only in the local area. I had to visit different places and wait for long time because some of persons who were much informed about community history were not available in the village they had temporarily/permanently migrated from there. The persons whom I selected as my key informants were of different sectors. They were social workers, members of community organization, youth, Politicians, laymen, females etc. Some of my informants were historians, Mundhumbid (expert in Limbu Mundhum) and were asked questions systematically preparing list of questions to get the general term about Mangenna Yak its history and meaning. Most of the village people were less known about the community history and Mangenna Yak because valuing Mangenna Yak was a latest trend in the area and there were a few documents published about community profile. Only Old people, educated people, priests and social activists could say something about the regarding issues. Conducting KII was of a really difficult and time taking job for the researcher.

3.4.3. Focus Group Discussion (FGD)

FGD technique was used to generate information on the specific issues about the subjective factors, such as the role of the locals, institutions and community social organizations to protect, preserve and develop Mangenna Yak. It took place in Kathmandu because there was a meeting held about the preservation of Mangenna Yak, most of the members who are in committee were in Kathmandu; it was less possible to conduct FGD in the village because of their less concern on such issues and having no time for meeting and it could also be difficult to gather people in a place at the same time. There was participation of the locals and social mobilizers including two females who have been acting for the preservation and development of Mangenna Yak. To know that why and how such collective and institutional effort was/is being conducted, FGD was held. FGD was effective to get information about the present issues of Mangenna Yak and its advantage to the community because the participants were of *Sastha* and updated with the local social cultural conditions. To know that whether collected information from respondents were/are enough and reliable or not FGD was held as supplementary technique.

3.5. Data Analysis

The data collected from the field study were analyzed by using simple tools. This was conducted at three stages, i.e. reading and transcribing the field descriptive notes and identifying the relevant themes/concepts; concluding relevant materials under relevant themes and developing generalization. Secondary data were analyzed descriptively.

3.6. Ethical Issues

I tried to understand the value of ethical fieldwork and research process. I did not do any harm the safety, dignity and privacy of the local people while doing fieldwork, disseminating and publishing of my research findings. As far as possible I paid due respect and did not violate their local, social, cultural, religious and other moral characters. I tried to seek their informed consent, maintain the anonymity of the research participant as per their wish and academic honesty and; transparency, its nature and intent with both stockholders, i.e. local people and my academic institution. I did not employ any discriminatory measures for the sake of data

collection in any terms of sex, material status, race social class, political convictions, disability, religious and ethnic background or any sexual orientation.

3.7 Limitation of the Study

Due to time and economic constraint, I was not able to cover all the Mangenna Yak of each Limbu sub-clans located in Limbuwan in this research project. It only covered the Mangenna Yak of Fago Banshi Limbus known as Hamyungba/Hamsengba Banshi Limbus' Mangenna Yak which is located at Piringe, Dhungesanghu VDC of Taplejung.

CHAPTER: 4

THE PEOPLE AND THE PLACE

This chapter is chiefly based on secondary data. The primary data is rarely used as complementary only. This chapter is the ethnographic description of the people and place related to my study site.

The Limbu one of the ethnic groups in eastern Nepal, has own distinct culture. This ethnic group is mainly found in Taplejung, Panchthar, Ilam, Jhapa, Morang, Sunsari, Dhankuta, Terathum and Sankhuwasabha districts, in an area of 16,358 sq. kilometers. Historically known as 'Limbuwan', this area lies between the Arun River in the west, the border with Sikkim and west Bengal states of India in the east, the northern parts of the plains of Morang, Sunsari and Jhapa in the south and the border with Tibet, China in the north, almost covering an area of 11,655 sq. kilometers. This region is also known as 'Pallo Kirat'. Limbus are not only confined with the boundary of Nepal, but are also scattered throughout the hill territory of west Bengal, Sikkim, Bhutan, Assam, Meghalaya and Manipur states of India (Subba, 1995).

It might be possible that the reason behind their migration towards these places, that: first the severe situation caused by the Gorkha intervention made them flee there and the most powerful reason may, quoted in Subba, be the implementation of the Land Reform Act in 1966 A.D. Subba also notes that powers, privileges and facilities of Limbus were ended by the implementation of Land Reform Act in 1966. The great majority of Limbu were in vicious cycle of debt and all their properties, including land were mortgaged. The Act compelled them to be displaced from their land and almost 80 percent of the total went into hands of Non-Limbus. The wave of migration of Limbus from Limbuwan to other places, especially to Terai, started since then. Because of this reason, today Limbus are not confined in Limbuwan but are found in Jhapa, Morang and Sunsari and other places as well (Subba, 1985). Despite of their distinct culture, tradition, and religion of their own, they are living together with their Hindu and Buddhist neighbors. They have a long tradition of narrating or reciting Mundhum and performing certain rituals and observing ceremonies in their own distinctive ways. Mundhum is a legend, folklore, pre-historic accounts, sermons and moral or philosophical exhortations in poetic language. There is no doubt that the

Limbu and Rai have, since remote antiquity, been following their own traditional kirati religion, which is quite different from Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam or Christianity. On the other hand Mabohang and Dhungel (1955 in Subba, 1985), opine that the descendents of 'Lilimhang' of Susuwaden (Capital in east Nepal or within the region of seven rivers) or the progeny (offspring) of Limbukhang, great grandson of Lilimhang, were known as Limbus.

Taplejung is one of the remote districts located in Limbuwan in the east Nepal. 'Taplejung' means the 'fort of the king'. It is derived from the two Limbu terms 'Taple' and 'Jung'. Taple was a medieval Limbu king who used to rule the area and 'Jung' means the fort. It marks the border of Tibet (china) in the north and Darjeeling (India) in the east. According to the current administrative division of Nepal, the district lies to the north of Kaveli River that marks the border of Pachthar district and to the east of Tamor River, which also marks the border of Terathum.

The district occupies the geographical area of 3,646 square kilometer with 50 village development committees. The large part of the district in the north covers the beautiful range of Himalayas. The altitude of the district occupies from 670-meter high mountains to 8,586-meter snowy peak of Mt. Kanchanjunga. Most parts of the district have cold climate. However, the climate in lower parts is temperate (Banem, 2007).

Dhungesanghu, the research site/area is located about 5 hours walk from the district head quarter. However the study area now joins with the off-road that joins Gupha - Basantapur Dharan and on the other side Dobhan- Head quarter of Taplejung. Especially, only in dry season transportation is in operation. Opening tracks of road and expanding road in the study area is in progress. The total area of the VDC is 27.49 sq. km. and is surrounded with *Change* VDC on the east, Sanghu VDC on the west, Santhakra VDC and Thinglabu VDC on the north; Sankhuwasabha district on the south. It has a steep slope landscape from southern part to north with widen area. There is an old saying that Dhungesanghu is Nepalikaran of the Limbu word '*Lung Tarang*' because once there used to be many '*Tarang*' (bridge) of '*Lung*' (stone).

Limbu are the majority of the population in Dhungesanghu VDC. Of the total population 11,369, the population of Wanem People in Dhungesanghu is 1989 (see

History and Genealogy of Sindholung Fago Wanem and Mundhum, 2070, p.1048-1049). As my field work, there are also other castes/communities in the VDC like, Tamang, Kami, Sherpa, Brahmin, Newar, Damai, Sunuwar, Magar, Chhetri, Gurung and Rai.

According to my respondent Sangita Wanem 30, the economy of people in Dhungesanghu VDC is primarily rest on the agriculture. The main crops are rice, maize, barley and potatoes. The pattern of agriculture is shifting from cereal crops to cash crops in Dhungesanghu. The major spaces is undertaking by cash crops Cardamom in the VDC. The attraction of planting cardamom is so intensive that the people have started to convert their fertile land for rice into Cardamom plantation if the land seems suitable for it. Now cardamom is playing the primary role to uplift socio-economic standard of the VDC as cash crops.

Premhang Wanem 43, Apart from agriculture, Limbu people have a tradition to involve in foreign employment such as recruiting in British and Indian Army. The number of recruitment in foreign services as army is reducing since the British government is reducing the number of recruitment from Nepal. Now there is increasing new trends of going abroad as labors like other parts of Nepal. The young boys are seeking jobs mainly in Arab countries.

Known as descendants of Hamyungba, Wanem Limbus had migrated to different places from their 'Mangenna Yak' called Piringe, in different times. Wanem Limbus including other Fago Limbus in the study area had obtained 'Fago' as their Mingshra (sub-clan/title). Locally, accepted term/meaning of Fa:go word is constructed from "Fat: lengma or, Fawa chepma" meaning to construct outlet of water/rain drainage so that the established plain land/place by clearing/slashing and burning bushes could be protected from landslide/flood etc (Wanem, 2060). After a long period of time they were identified as distinct Mingsra/sub-clans within Limbu community.

Fago is 'Mingsra' (surname/title/clan) for all Limbu sub-clans who belong to Hamyungba-Hamsengba Bansa or, believed to be the descendants of Hamyungba-Hamsengba. According to Lokman Wanem 48, Mingsra means *Upanam* (Title) given to a person to identify him in another way. Hamyungba-Hamsengba had got Fago as

their Mingsra for the first time. There is still a saying that once, the present Maiwakhola Thum (area) was called Fago Thum.

According to History and Genealogy of Sindholung Fago Wanem and Mundhum there are 13/14 types of Fagos in the area. According to Tanka Wanem 60, thirteen/fourteen types of Limbu '*Thari*' sub-clans are listed as Fago Limbus but it is not sure that the number of Limbu sub-clans who claim or identify themselves as Fagos could be more or less.

'The Gurkhas- 120, - towards 1890 altogether 42 types of Fago Limbus were recruited in Gurkhas' Rifle of UK. But now some of them are not are not existed. In most case, wrong sub-clans of Limbus were registered as Fago and some names were listed repeatedly. Labung and Tumrok Limbus are the residents of Tamorkhola or Panchthar. Coincidentally, some of Labung and Tumrok were recruited from Maiwakhola side. Ganoyangba is perhaps called Neyongba. Tentak, Taklung, Tangdewa, Terathare and Hangun etc. (quoted in History and Genealogy of Sindholung Fago Wanem and Mundhum-2070).

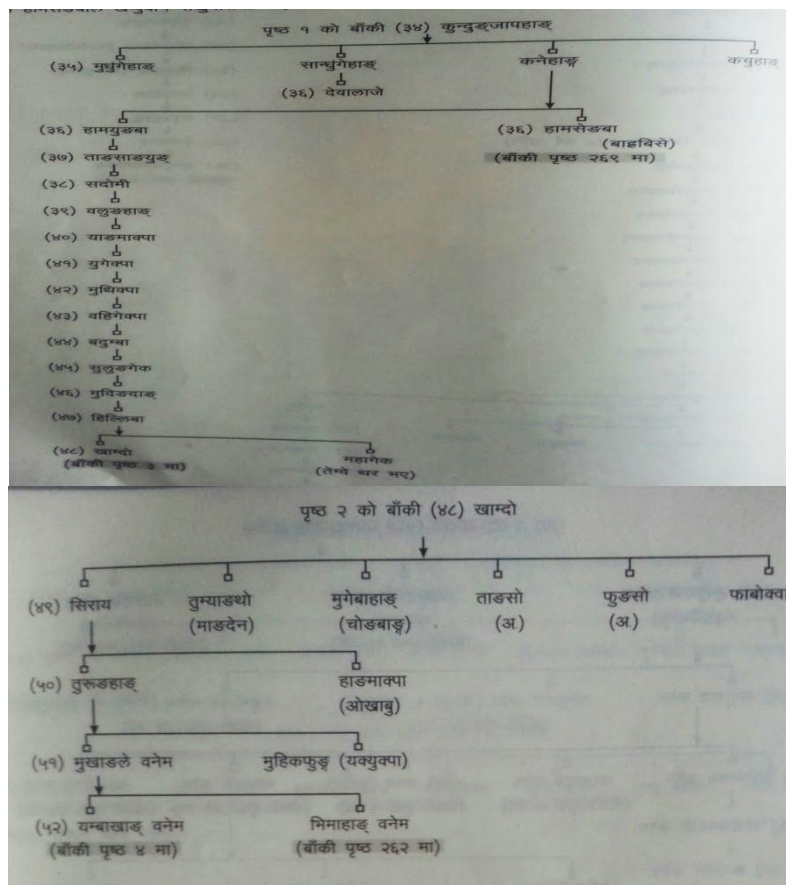
The study area also was/is badly affected by the policy of the state. According to Tanka Wanem 60, until 2016 B.S. the present Maiwakhola Thum which occupies the area of Dhungesanghu, Sanghu, Phakumba and Thinglabu VDCs was under Chainpur Ambal (administrative area of Chainpur). When physical geography of Nepal was classified after the Land Reform Act of Panchayati system in Limbuwan, the Maiwakhola Thum was included in the area of Terathum district. When the country was restructured in 2033 B.S. the Maiwakhola Thum was included under the area of Taplejung district. From this it is understood that the political environment of the study area was not constant. Mainly, Limbus had lost authority on their traditional land 'Kipat' (Ban-jangal, Jagar-Bagar, Bhir-Pahara etc. Traditionally, Kipat Rights were recognized not only on cultivated lands but also and water and forest lands (see, Regmi, 2014 p.90).

Based on History and genealogy of Sindholung Fago Wanem and Mundhum 2070, Wanem is constructed from the word '*Wanene*' which was a place located in between Dhungesanghu VDC 6 and 7 from the southward of Jaiwa Khola and which no longer exists due to landslide. Most clans have defined localities, some of their

names are similar to their localities (Regmi, 1999). Mukhangle was named Wanem for the first time who lived in ‘Wanene’ and at the same time he had got ‘Padawi’ (status) Raya also. His latter descendants known as Fago Wanems achieved status of ‘Raya’. Since Mukhangle’s time his descendants were identified Wanems as well.

The Bangsha Brikahya (Genealogy tree) presented below clearly shows when Hamyungba-Hamsengba Banshi (lineage) became Wanem and; also known as one of the Fago sub-clans were particularly identified Wanem from which of their ancestor’s time/period.

Figure-1 Hamyungba-Hamsengba Bansha Brikshya



(Source: History & Genealogy of Sindholung Fago Wanem and Mundhum 2070.)

The place where Fago Wanems used to live, called Wanene was frequently affected by the earthquake in 1885, 1909, 1954, 1960 and 1990 B.S. Finally, the territory/settlement occupied by Wanems was totally destroyed by the landslide caused by the frequent earthquake (History and Genealogy of Sindholung Fago Wanem and Mundhum, 2070).

Figure-2 Wanem Limbus' Former Settlement



(Source: History & Genealogy of Sindholung Fago Wanem and Mundhum 2070.)

The Wanene village occupied by Fago Wanems later on transformed as 'Hattikhawa'. Literally, *Hatti* means elephant and *Khawa* means the place where elephants live or are kept. There is a story of transforming the name of place. Once, Kamadatta Sen, the king of vijaypur Rajya had announced that he would give his daughter to the person to marry who could bring the trunk of elephant. It was the king's order as bet. Finally, Hangsaraya one of the descendents of Fago Wanem Bangsha won the bet and brought the King's daughter with two elephants as 'Daijo' (Dowry) to his village. He constructed a 'khaldo' (dugout) by digging land for elephants to live in and; so that the elephants could not escape from there. The shed of elephants and surrounding area was called *Hattikhawa* in Nepali since then. As a result the whole village/area named Wanene transformed as *Hattikhawa* (History and Genealogy of Sindholung Fago Wanem and Mundhum, 2070).

Mukhangle had begun a settlement in Wanene (current Dhungesanghu-6) and had two sons. Of his twosons named Yambakhang and Bhimahang, the first had migrated to Yangnam VDC of Panchthar district to search for a better settlement while the second had started settlement at the same place. Bhimhang had three sons named Sukhu Raya, Ananda Raya and Semre Raya. Of three, the second had migrated to 'Fakhongma' now Phakumba VDC. His descendents still live there. The first had begun his settlement in the same village Hattikhawa (formerly, Wanene).

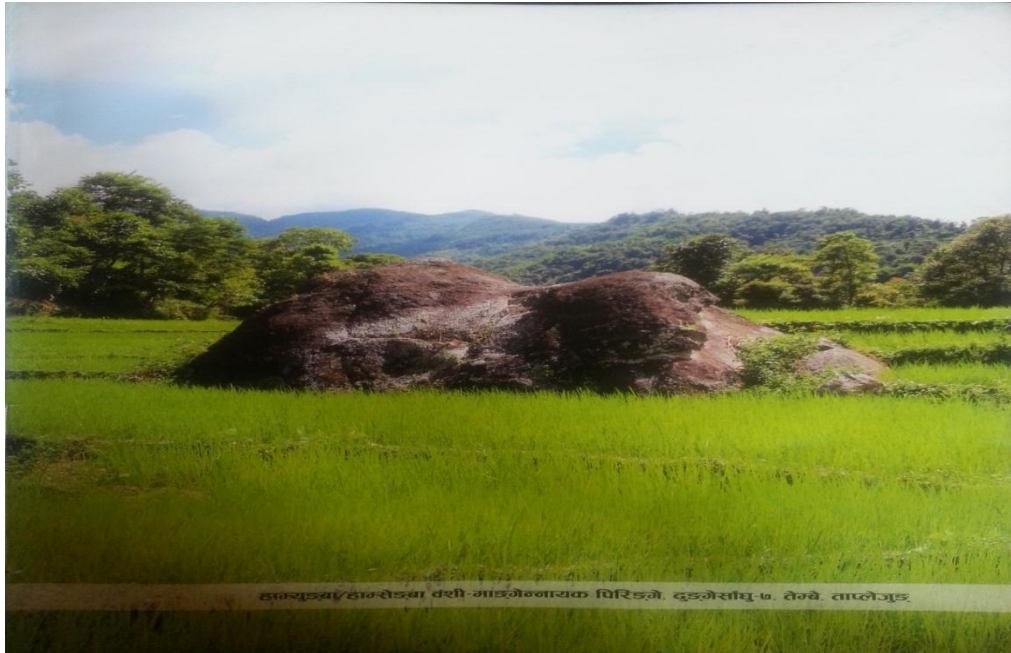
Among Sukhu Raya's three sons, the last son named Semre Raya had two sons named Sajana and Aanandre. The descendents of the first one had migrated to Hangbungtham/Chumluk of Dhungesanghu-8; and the descendants of the second one had started living in Lekwama/Lekuwa, Dhungesanghu-8 (History and Genealogy of Sindholung Fago Wanem and Mundhum, 2070). According to locals the *Lekwama* transformed as *Lekuwa* due to tongue slip and improper pronunciation of Limbu tone by other communities frequently for a long time.

Dhungesanghu is believed to be the original and ancestral land/territory of Wanem people. Hamyungba, the first ancestor of Fagos including Wanem had established the Piringden/Piringe and its surrounding area by slashing and burning the bushes. Many Limbus are agnostics, while others could be classified as true believers. Most Limbus accept the idea that disease, misfortune, crop failure, death and other unexplainable events have supernatural power (see, Hitchcock and Jones 1996, pp. 29). There is a '*Mangenna Lung*' (stone) in Piringe. The Lung is the symbol of their ancestor that they still believe that their ancestors' soul reside in the Lung. The Wanem people have a strong faith and dignity on their Mangenna Lung that the Lung has supernatural power for protecting them. Just because the Lung is FagoLimbus' ancestral Lung, it has been existing in their MangennaYak for centuries, not because it is an individual's/household's authority to break or, preserve in private land like; general stones.

Limbu Religion is animistic and very similar to that of Rai, which mostly involves in the worship of ancestor and nature (Regmi, 1999). Limbu people call their origin place Thamalung/Mangenna Lungdhung which has a spiritual meaning that the 'Lung' protects Limbu people from calamities, sufferings etc. (Mabuhang, 2073). It's a strong proof that the activities/contribution of Wanem's ancestors to establish the Mangenna Yak is vividly interpreted while performing Mangenna Ritual act by the *Phedangmas* (Limbu priests). The ritual is conducted once/twice a year by every Limbu households including Wanems. Even though there is no any written form or documentation of Mangenna Mundhum, there is an oral tradition of reciting Mundhum while conducting rituals. Mangenna revives the myth of migration (Thangden, 2069). According to Subba quoted by Laoti, 2062, the Mangenna Ritual conducted at least once/twice a year by every house-hold related to our customs

depicts the relationship between Limbu people's ancient accounts with their territory. In the same way, the myth of migration of Wanems' ancestors is elaborated in the Wanem Mangenna Mundhum. The name/presence/description of Mangenna Yak should be linked while performing Mangenna Ritual and in Marriage Ceremony (Laoti, 2062, p.129).

Figure-3 Fagolung Mangenna Yak Piringe



(Source:By Premhang Wanem which signifies now as cover page in History & Genealogy of Sindholung Fago Wanem and Mundhum 2070.)

Mangenna ritual is narrating the genealogical accounts of ancestor and worshipping them and nature for the prosperity and longevity of the entire family with the blessing of the ancestors living with the Gods (Thangden, 2069). Through the ritual, Wanem people dignify their ancestors and territory. It proves that since ancient time, Wanem people are the inhabitants of their Mangenna Yak along with its adjacent area and still claim the land/area as their ancestral territory.

The Fago Limbus including Wanem people dignify their ancestors and ancestral land by worshipping the Mangenna Lung particularly on every first day of Magh. Here, below is the picture of worshipping the Lung collectively.

Figure-4 Fago Limbus bowing/worshipping to their Mangenna Lung



(Source: By Santahang Wanem 2071, taken during the celebration of Mela in Fagolung, Mangenna Yak.)

Limbu Religion is animistic (Sagant 1985, Gurung 1996). Wanem Limbu people are nature worshippers. Chasok Tangnam is one of the main festivals. It falls on first week of December of each year. They offer cereals to god first on the festival then pray to have cereals in next year too. Likewise, they propitiate to god for safe plantation in the beginning of summer season as *Yokwa*.

The Limbus perform *Tangsing* once a year or once in every three years depending upon the socio-economic situation. Like Limbus of other areas, the holding of *Tangsing* also becomes rare day by day in Limbuwan due to economic deterioration and scattered living trend of relatives' as said by Kaila (Kaila, 1996). *Ek Raate* (one night) *Tangsing* is performed in the Mangenna Yak every year in the occasion of Maghe Sakranti. Documenting *Tangsing Mundhum* is to make Limbus conscious of their cultural norms and values and perceive its existence through inheritance (Menyangbo and Mabuhang, 2066).

Ya:lang (paddy dance) and *ke:lang* (drum dance) are most common performances in the society. *Ya:lang* is performed in a group of male and female having without blood relation (a marriageable relation) holding hands either sexes. They sing *Palam* (a song) to exchange their feelings to each other with great respect

and love, making a round rhythmic movement. The Mela and other ceremonial events (marriage, death rituals etc) are the places for meeting with fiancés. Though prevalent everywhere, the true spirit and seriousness of *Ya:lang* is fading away and becoming just a throng of light entertainment or romance seekers today (Subba, 1998, pp.59). On the occasion of Maghe Sakranti, Yalang is also conducted at the Mela organized by FMYPS.

Limbu people perform *Ke:lang* in happy ceremonials to bring good luck and wish to achieve success in life. *Ke:lang* is a Limbu cultural dance. It is mainly performed in Marriage ceremonies. At the time of housewarming and festivals *Ke:lang* is performed. Both males and females participate in *Ke:lang*. The dance was performed to save the house from various kinds of *Mudhok Thaknam* (insects) that destroy the wooden portions of the house and to ward off *MuyekYetnam* (evil spirits and ghosts) (shreng 1992, quoted by Subba 1998). Every year *Ke:lang* is also conducted in the Mangenna Yak turning the MangennaLung (Stone) round. It's new trend of culture. The picture below was taken while conducting Mela on the occasion of Maghe Sakranti (1st of Magh).

Figure-5 Fago Limbu Youths Performing Ke:lang



Source: By Lokchandra Wanem 2071, taken during the celebration of Mela in Fagolung, Mangenna Yak.

According to locals, every year, on the occasion of MagheSakranti, Fago Limbus including Wanem people organize one day long Mela in their Mangenna Yak. Of the Fago communities and other communities also observe and participate in the Mela. Respected persons, honorable guests, youths, old people and children in the village and settlement join the 'Mela'. Invitees from different villages also come to observe the Mela. The act is enhancing the value of Mangenna Yak among the communities is enhancing day by day.

CHAPTER: 5

HISTORY OF MANGENNA YAK

This chapter draws the description of Mangenna Yak specifically, in terms of history, pre-history Limbu Mundhum and Myth. The long period of existence of Mangenna Yak from the past to the present and its related migratory, political, socio-cultural, economic and geographical issues are presented. This chapter is mainly based on secondary data and primary data is used as complementary.

Arjunbabu Mabuhang 43, one of my respondents also regarded as Limbu Mundhumbid and Limbu Historian said to me the word Mangenna specifically denotes a kind of Ritual conducted by Limbus to hold their head high and wish self well being, good luck, protection and dignity. However, Mangenna Yak means Limbu clans' *'Thatthalo'* Origin or, Emerging Place. 'Yak' denotes either *'Gadhi'* Fort or, House or, shelter. He further informed me that in general the word Mangenna has multiple meaning. Simering Mangenna denotes the ritual; Lungdhung Mangenna denotes Origin Place and Yangsing Mangenna denotes 'Cheli' pronounced by males to address their blood relation Females in Patrilineal line such as 'Didi-Bahini' (Sisters), 'Fupu' (Auntie) and 'Bhatiji' (Neice). Pathak, 2074, uses the word in broader political sense. He relates Mangenna to Nation-State's Head, dignity and development that the head of the country gets high whenever the state addresses the issues/demands/rights of marginalized and dominated communities.

Mangenna Yak is the place, territory or, ancestral land of Limbu people where their ancestors came for the first time and established the place as their fort, settlement by clearing, slashing and burning bushes, forest or uncultivated land. Each and every Limbu Sub-clans have their own separate MangennaYak in different places of Limbuwan. Interrelationship between Particular lineage groups and their territory not only shows physical/geographical relationship with the land but also shows social, cultural and religious relationship with the land/territory (History, Culture and Genealogy of Munatembe, Tembe Phago and Mundhum 2073, pp. 87).

Mangenna Yak is also called Mangenna Lungdhung. Mangenna Yak means 'Origin Place' and fort for safety and well being. 'Lungdhung' refers to a sacred/holy place located in a sequestered and high land (Laoti2062, p.119). Kaila, 2048, is of the

similar opinion that 'Gadhi' meaning Fort is an area chosen and constructed in 'Dada' High lands. The meaning of the Mangenna Yak of Limbu people is similar to that of Hindu People's Gotra. 'Sam Samaten' the place to rest 'Pitri' (soul of deceased person), 'Sam Lamaten' the place to receive soul of pregnant women, 'Cho:tlung', the place where ancestors' land/destination place is valued are interpreted and linked with Mangenna Yak (Mabuhang 2069, p.3). What I assume now is that the Limbu people regard their Mangenna Yak having spiritual as well as physical and political importance for them in relation to their history. This is more territorial attachment both politically and culturally.

In the far ancient antiquity, Khambongba-Lungbongba (ancient ethnic group of people) had cleared/cut down the bushes of Saptakoshi region and had established as their fort to live and settle in towards 3096 B.C. The empire of this ethnic group had developed their boundary of territory; Tista in the east, and Trishuli in the west. These ethnic group known as Khambonga-Lungbongba had ruled this area bordering Tibet in the north and Jalalghad in the South from 3102 B.C. 300 B.C. (History and Genealogy of Sindholung Fago Wanem and Mundhum, 2070). This paragraph depicts that the ancient period of Limbu people was of migratory types for a better settlement and adaptation politically, geographically and mainly for sustenance living.

After 300 B.C. due to supremacy of Lichhavis over them, they had returned to their own ancient territory, Mahaphedap and had shared/separated the territory in different states/portions to rule. In Mahaphedap, Since 500 B.C. Bhuiphuta Kings had been ruling. Among the Bhuiphuta Kings, Samyokhang was of a dictator type. As a result, he was thrown away from his reign by his own Bhai-Bhardars (administrative officers). After him, his own brother Muimbahang's grandson named Bajdev was selected as the leader/King towards 358 B.S. According to Chemjong in his book 'Kirat Itihas' Samyukhang was assassinated in the revolt and Bajdev became the king of Mahaphedap in 358 B.S. He was a follower of Hinduism. However, he never inspired his Praja (people) to follow Hinduism (History and Genealogy of Sindholung Fago Wanem and Mundhum, 2070).

From the above paragraph I contend that there is more or less impact of politics on Limbu people and their culture and governance within their community. I assert that mainly, the history of Mangenna Yak begins since the reign of Ten Limbu

kings when they divided Limbuwan in ten portions and started ruling their area constructing 'Yak' (Fort) as a capital/kingdom.

After Bajdev's reign, altogether 12 kings named Shankhadev, Devshankha, Dewapur, Devbhiksyuk, Devbalk, Yoktehang, Limbuhang, Lijehang, Muphang, Dendehang and Kandunjaphang had ruled the Mahaphedap/Limbuwan kingdom. Kandunjaphang had four sons named Mundhunge, Sandhunge, Kanehang and Kachuhang. Before he had died, Kandunjaphang divided his kingdom Mahaphedap to his sons; villages of Tamorkhola and Mewakhola for the first son, Panthar/Pacnchthar and Yangwarak/Yangruk for the second, Maiwakhola for the third and northwards villages of Sankhuwasabha for the last one and, Lower parts of Mahaphedap for himself (History and Genealogy of Sindholung Fago Wanem and Mundhum, 2070).

Kachuhang expanded his kingdom by occupying the area west of Arun River. Once, the north border of Tamor, eastward Yangrok, southward Jalalgadhand westward Dudhkoshi was under the rule of the Limbu kings. From this above historical evidences, it is proved that 14th generation of Kanehang Bangshi descendants ruled and spread around Milkhu/MilkeDanda area towards the century (History and Genealogy of Sindholung Fago Wanem and Mundhum, 2070).

The study area/site was once called 'FagoThum' and people who lived in Fago Thum were given identity of Fagos as their 'Mingshra' clan, nickname or, title. Literally, 'Fago' means *Fago/ko* in Nepali Bhasme Phadera Rungnu, *Fa:tLe:ngma* in Nepali Bhasme phadera Dadaaunu: Dadhaera sapha garnu meaning clean the bushy land burning and guard it to settle in or, *Fawa:chepma*, to drainage the rainfall and flood in the sense that the place surrounded by 'Fa' (Bamboo) was cleared by the people. As a result, Fago word had come into use to address the people of the surrounding area (History and Genealogy of Sindholung Fago Wanem and Mundhum, 2070).

In the process of development of the society, after a long period of time Mingsra and Mangenna Yak were established as institutions. In Mundhum, it's mentioned that the universe was created first. Gradually, the earth was originated; Jalchar, Thalchar, (Ubhaychar Pranis, living beings) came into existence. At the early stage of human evolution human beings were just biological like other creatures

i.e. free to do anything, go anywhere, to have sexual intercourse with anyone. But later on, through addressing and respecting one another, they were transformed as social beings and more confined as a form of society (Kaila, 2069).

The coming of Hamyungba towards the Mangenna Yak is mentioned in the Mangenna Mundhum of Wanem Limbu. This links the history of Fagos and separation and linkage with Limbus. It tells about the migratory living style of the ancestors of Fagos and search for a better, secured and permanent place to settle. It is difficult to perform Mangenna Ritual for any Phedangmas or, Sambas. Those who perform the ritual should know the history or mythical accounts of the particular clan for whom the Mangenna Ritual is going to be performed. He should recite the myth of migration of the Ten Limbus and the establishment each in a certain area (Sagant, 1976; Subba, 1998). A local Limbu priest, one of my respondents named Chhatra Wanem 65, said to me Wanem Mangenna Mundhum/Myth chanted by Limbu priests describes the myth of Wanem ancestors' migration. He further described the Mangenna Mundhum of Wanem community in short that...

“At the beginning of civilization, a group of people had crossed the eastern Himalaya from Hangvaru Hang Tembe (one of the places in china), and reached the valley of Bramha Putra, *Tingri* plain area of Tibet, Taklamakan and *Mansarobar*, and finally to Sindhu Maidan (Plain area of Sindhu). Hamyungbais linked as the descendants of the Kings of Mahaphedap. He along with his brother, Hamsengba had journey through Aruna Baruna, HENCHHINGO, FAKHANGWA, UKALO HANGANGSE (GhodaKhari), *Lungsumphe* (a going round stone alike, in Nepali *Jato jasto Dhunga*), *Punamla* (place where birds bask in the sun), Yangkhonjwa, Katle Bhanjyang, Swajik Koshwa, Padaklung (a frog like stone), Hangthana, Musakharka, Yangsijang, Thatlung, La:sa re Ku:ssa Kaprungba, Milke Bhanjyang, Nerwa Chaphat Thungwa, Manglaksu, Sangluppa, Suyen Miksolung Thegu, Hamyungba Fukku, Khatyae (Karte Dovan) and had crossed Nerwa khola and Mangmaya Khola and had arrived at ‘Piringe Yak’, present Mangenna Yak” (History and Genealogy of Sindholung Fago Wanem and Mundhum, 2070).

The above quoted paragraph presents how Hamyungba-Hamsengba, Wanems' ancestor had arrived to the Present Mangenna Yak. What places and ways he had visited during his journey to Mangenna Yak. It represents a kind of migrating pattern of early Limbu society.

One of my respondents, Tanka Wanem 60, said to me, Some of his signs and forts are Padak-lung (frog stone), Siddhilung (destiny stone), La:sare Ku:ssa Kaprungha (a stone where Hamyungba once had moved around for three days, located in Sankhuwasabha district), Hamyungba and HamsengbaBangsi 'Mangenna Lung' located at east southward of Mapmya/Mangmaya and Nerwa/Neruwa and Piringe Benshi (Bay/lap of Piringe) are still in existence. There is local saying that in the process of crossing of Saya Pokhari (a kind of grounded *Trichosathes Himalensis*) from either of the sides of Jaljale Dada, the pond was named as SayaWarak (Sabha Pokhari). The locals say a Gupha (cave) used by Hamyungba to live inside is still in existence in Sanghu-1, Khapichaur. Usually the story of Mangenna ends with brief description of movements towards 'Pangwanaden' or just naming the place or village where Mangenna Performer (client) is living (see, Subba 1998, pp. 112). I assume that some places where Hamyungba sometimes would live, shift and move are his Pangwanaden. It is believed that Hamyungba would bring Karang pits (young cows) through Khappichaur and would kill for eating in Gupha, Sankhuwasabha.

The above paragraph delineates that there still exists some places with its peculiar names still have historical importance and are in need of preserving and valuing. Naming places has been major problem that most places are losing their traditional names. It is a loss for preserving historical identity.

My research finds that the Wanem's Mangenna Mundhum is the source of their genealogy and there is a strong and alienable bonding within Wanem Community as what Subba (1998) that Mangenna is a source of genealogy of a particular clan. It creates a strong bond of love, care and counseling among siblings. It is very restricted to family members for in-depth knowledge of self-identification. It conveys the historical facts of the individuals' exodus from the originating land to the current settlement. The ritual carries a genealogical account.

Piringe is the place known as Mangenna Yak of Fago Limbus and situated at the bank of Maiwakhola, Neruwakhola and Mangmaya Khola. Its area is plain and lies in 48 feet height from the sea level. The area of 73 ft length and 36 ft breadth occupied by the 'Lung' (stone) is the Mangenna Yak of Fago Limbus. It's believed that Hamyungba had built his *Katero/Goth* (shed) basing this 'Lung'. Hamyungba's *Cheli* (sister) named Taghaplungna had dignified the Lung as the symbol of their

forefathers as 'Aaradhyadev' or as a form of 'Theba Saam' meaning spiritually powerful god. She had wished her brother victory in the war and had wished/hoisted his brother's head high (History and Genealogy of Sindholung Fago Wanem and Mundhum 2070).

Premhang Wanem 43, Secretary of FMYPS said, Regarding the issues of Mangenna Yak, a 'Sastha' named 'Fagolung Mangenna Yak Piringe Samaj' was established and registered in Lagankhel, Lalitpur in 2070 under the government of Nepal as a social organization. Twenty One Ropani *Jagga* was bought in the name of Sastha costing thirteen Lakhs. Altogether twenty four Wanems in UK had collected money individually to buy *Jagga* in co-ordination of Tanka Wanem. The main objectives of the *Sastha* was/is to establish Mangenna Yak as a historical heritage/place with its sacredness/holiness in order that its natural and traditional form could be safe without any manmade/artificial permanent structures.

Dambar Kumar Wanem, 65, informed me that Mangenna Yak of Fago Limbus has been existing in Piringe for ages. Each and every Limbu community as well as other communities in the study area knows that Mangenna Yak of Fagos is located in Piringe. He along with some other respondents said to me that the trend of worshipping Mangenna Yak is a new culture. However, the dignity and belief of Wanem community on their MangennaYak was alive. He further said to me the land that the Mangenna Yak occupies is owned by Wanem community since long ago. He said that once, one of the owners of the land around there, of Wanem community named Jaljale Budo would stop people especially, those who belong to other villages and communities and those who are unknown about the Mangenna Yak from climbing up the Mangenna Lung and from doing misdeeds closed area around there by reminding and threatening that the area is the Mangenna Yak belonging to Fago sub-clans and; is their ancestral land.

Narapati Wanem, 74 said since twelve/thirteen generations, the surrounding area of Mangenna Yak is being owned by Wanem community as patriarchal property. He further said the land was individual land although it was of ownership communally, as Mangenna Yak. As a result, The Mangenna Lung was protected through both individual and community level and valued spiritually and culturally.

Tanka Wanem, the former founding coordinator of Piringe Fagolung Mangenna Yak Piringe Samaj said to me, it took me years to convince Jagga Dhanis (land owners) to persuade for selling their land in the name of Sastha (institution) and it took long to convince persons for purposing the land around the Mangenna Yak which was a paddy cultivating field in the name of *Sastha*. He further said to me, anyway, some Wanems who are in UK had provided money as much as they could to buy '*Jagga*' in the name of *sastha*; and land owners even sold their land in low cost for *Sastha* as they belonged to Wanem community.

'Wanem Mangenna Sangjumbho' particularly, a Wanem community '*Sastha*' of Wanem females have constructed 'Dhara' Water Tap closed to the Mangenna Yak in 2071. Jhuma Wanem 35, one of the members of the '*Sastha*' said to me, with the purpose of 'Samaj Sewa' (social welfare), 'Kharcha' Cost for constructing Water Tap was collected as 'Chanda' donation, altogether by fifteen 'Wanem Chelis' (females of Wanem community) who are in HK for foreign employment. The Purpose of constructing water tap in Mangenna Yak was to provide the comers with drinking water there.

According to the secretary of the Sastha, the master plan of Sastha is to establish the Mangenna Yak as '*Mujoklung*' (Siddhi Sthal in Nepali). No permanent and physical structures besides Water Tap and Toilet would be constructed in the Yak. The Limbu are neither Hindu nor Buddhist, even though numerous synthetic elements appear in their beliefs. Their religion is termed animistic having own mythology, pantheon of gods and goddesses with its own groups of priests (see Hitchcock and Jones 1996, pp.58). They do not construct Math/Mandir/Devasthal (Temples) etc. The 'Mangenna Lung' is enough in its natural form to worship or pray to.

According to the Bidhan/norms of their Sastha documented as Leaflet they would pray, worship or bow to the 'Mangenna Lung' without slaughtering any animals or blood sacrifice. They would go round the Mangenna Lung thrice with Diyo-Kalash and Phul-Paati on their hands. One informant said to me, in 2069 some old men of Tembe and Wanem community went there on the occasion of 'Kakfekwa Tangnam' (Maghe Sakranti in Nepali) which is also known '*Yele Tangbe*' (new year for Limbus), and worshipped in the Mangenna Yak.

Consequently, in the following year, 2070 B.S. there was a festival 'Mela' organized by Fagos' 'Samiti' committee, during the ceremony, Ke:lang (Drum dance), Ya:lang (Paddy dance) were also conducted, a local Tumyahang said to me, *Ek Rate* Tangsing (one night stand Tangsing) which is Known as the greatest rite (Anusthan in Nepali) of Limbus like Hindus' Purana was also conducted. Fago Limbus of different regions/areas and Thari/sub-clans associated with different fields such as *Phedangma* , *Samba*, *Yeba/Yema* (Limbu Priests), *Tumyahangs* (old, gentle and well versed people in Mundhum who have knowledge in Limbu myth and history), Youths and people of different age and gender were present in 'Mela' festival.

Tanka Wanem former co-ordinator of the *Sastha* also one of my respondents told me that heSastha regulates thatMela should be conducted once a year on the occasion of '*Kakfekwa Tangnam*' (Limbu New Year) on first day of Magh so that Fagos from different places could gather and express feelings, greetings and; establish and exchange brotherhood; and give continuity of Limbu rituals and rites on the occasion.

Secretary of Sastha, FMYPS told me that the *Sastha* would go ahead in co-ordination with other Fago sub-clans' community organizations, such as Wanem Kalyan Sastha, Tembe Samaj, Fago Chongbang Sewa Samiti etc if necessary. He further said to me, the MLSS would step forward with the suggestions, advice and guidance of local Tumyahangs, Priests, experts, Youths etc.

In this way, different Fago sub-clans' community institutions and organizations as well as social local activists and youths have played an important role to establish Sastha and regarding issues of Mangenna Yak. As a result, after the establishment of Sastha, the importance of Mangenna Yak and view/perspective of local people and Fago community is changing. According to most of my respondents, Nowadays, youths, students and those who are related to Fago sub-clans and those who have spread over the country and foreign land are more informed and conscious about the Mangenna Yak and its importance.

CHAPTER: 6

POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF 'MANGENNA YAK'

This chapter is totally based on my primary data and research findings. To compare and contrast, different theories, perspectives and opinions are presented anthropologically. The chapter presents both theoretical and empirical knowledge, experience and opinion. The chapter mainly talks about how and why Wanem people preserve their Mangenna Yak, what the importance of Mangenna Yak for Wanem Limbus in local level and national level is.

The Mangenna Ritual of Limbu people is preserving the history and traditional culture of Limbu clan which I have mentioned in the early chapters. Many scholars say that Mangenna Mundhum connects particular Sub-clans with their ancient accounts. Many anthropologists agree that no ritual is functionless. As Mangenna itself is holding head high, it offers power, strength and energy to the individual, community to live in their surrounding society with high dignity. Although Mundhum is orally transmitted from generation to generation, it is reviving the Limbu history. I now argue that Wanem Mangenna Mundhum has revitalized and preserved their history. On the basis of existing Mundhum, they openly can claim their identity.

As my field research, Wanem of the study area still accept that their Mangenna Yak in the early time just had spiritual importance. Local Phedangma (priest), Chhatra, Wanem 65, one of my informants said to me the Mangenna Yak is especially linked and described while performing Mangenna Ritual and '*Mekkam*' (Lagan in Nepali) meaning Marriage ritual. It proves that the Mangenna Yak was necessary for doing ritual acts.

I saw some symbols of organizing ritual acts and gathering in the Mangenna Yak of Wanem Limbus during my participatory observation. The place seemed less decorated, perfect, and attractive and concrete than that of Hindus' and Buddhists' Mandirs, Gumbas etc. This turned me to will about something. It was evening. Somebody told me old aged persons to be more informed about Limbu history and Myth/Mundhum. Later, I asked one of my informants local *Tumyahang*, (old, gentle and well versed in Mundhum) named Narapati Wanem 74 what and since when Wanem including other Fago Limbus are doing for their Mangenna Yak. He replied to

me in Limbu “*Menna ho uile ga Yakthungba:re Mangenna Yak:o khamdangba puja-
aaja choknaba:ga mennimna:ro Mela pogeba ga nimna hoptya ho. Kara sang aani
Yakthung hare Mangenna Yak ka nesse:Sakka ho. Aani Fago Yakthungba haa:re
Mangenna Yak ka Piringya saaka ho, uile:ba kappoba haa:re jaile Mebatu Aani:ga
Piringya nu abondeba: ro ho Khan ani Mangenna Yak ro ho, khan Paan:ha ani
Mangenna Mundhum:me:yo ta.*” Meaning, in the past, such act of organizing festivals
and worshipping publicly, did not take place in the Mangenna Yak. However, Fago
Limbus originated and grew large in number from the Mangenna Yak that since long
ago, their last generations uttered to them frequently; their Mangenna Mundhum
would link their Yak. It proves that the trend and act of preserving Mangenna Yak
among Limbu community has been a new culture, although Mangenna Yak existed
since long ago as frequent utterance of Mangenna Yak by their seniors.

It is politics which can affect and impress each and every sector such as,
culture, economy, history, tradition, customs etc of the society. In the context of
Nepal, almost all the indigenous communities and their society have been victim of
political turmoil. As a result, they have lost their traditional culture, religion,
language, customs, norms and values. Limbus along with their traditional land,
'Limbuwan' have been facing political turmoil for centuries. Especially, Limbuwan
has been affected politically by Rulers, State and other communities after the
annexation of Nepal by Prithvi Narayan Shah.

One of my informants named Dambar Kumar Wanem 65, In
Limbuwan, the Land Reform Act was implemented in 2023 B.S. and the Law of
Panchadhikar was enacted in 2033 B.S. He further said after the enactment of
Panchadhikar, the trend of writing clan and Bansha, in different communities, was
begun. Mainly, samajka Aguwa (the leaders of community) had started to write their
Thar/clan along with their names. At the beginning both Bansha and Thar such as
Fago and Wanem would be written, later on only Thar was written by many ethnic
groups and communities. Even in Rai community, they would only write their
Pachhaor, Thar with their names. My informant said to me, most of the documents
during Sen Kal (reign of Sens), some Limbus had written *Thar* 'Rai' whereas some
had written 'Raya'.

The identity of Bansa in written culture came into existence after the enactment of Land Reform Act and Law of Panchadhikar (Panchadhikarko Kanun). Such changes in political order, Limbus had lost their traditional land along with their language, rituals, cultures etc. they were socially, culturally backwarded.

Change in political situation and indigenous movement caused many indigenous groups and communities of Nepal to come to the mainstream politics which encouraged many ethnic groups to knock the door of state policy. They were empowered by human rights as well. Mainly, identity politics in Nepal flourished after Janayudhha inspired and led by Maoists and indigenous movement of Nepal 2063/2064.

We can conclude that the historical account of Fagos in terms of their myth and Mundhum which is a traditional document has determined their history and the present identity. To know the present reality we should go back to the past.

Limbus also made their demands in terms of identity, land and history to get back their rights. For that the supreme social organization of Limbus KYC has been playing initiating role. Some of other political parties with identity-based political demand, raised their issues to get federal states with autonomous authority in terms of land, history and economy etc.

KYC has been demanding and fighting for the preservation of Limbu Language, religion, historical places, festival to be addressed and valued. In its political Prastabana, - 'it is written that Limbus must get back their traditional authority over land and its natural resources. Furthermore, as Limbus must dispose dead body in the forest, Danda, Pakha land etc. such places known as 'Samadhi sthal' were existed since long ago. Such properties and heritages should not be interfered by the state in the name of Ban Upabhokta Samiti (forest users group).

In the prastabana of a political party, LMM, it is written that Limbuwan state must have authority to use natural resources of its land. My informant, an activist of SSF said to me, as a whole, in the latter time, issues of preserving such historical places of indigenous groups were raised. But political parties have not shown their sincerity and responsibility about how such 'Aitihisik That Thalo' (historical Places), cultural heritages could be managed properly. Generally, it is seen on the Pamphlets parties

that such places must be preserved. But, no activities regarding preservation of such places have been conducted yet. In the surface, political parties have made it a political issue only. He further said that '*Limbuwan Bhanne Padaawali Nai Naswikarneharule Yasto Kuraamaa Sambedansilata Dekhauna Sakdainan*'. Meaning such parties and politicians who never accepted Limbuwan could not be sincere and responsible in such matters/issues.

Another informant said to me currently the *Sastha* is a distinct pure social organization and acts how other social and community organization does. As it also covers and concerns the language, culture, rituals, education of entire community, it can work for the uplift of Limbu society. Its main aim is to connect the Mangenna Yak with the history and preserve Mangenna Yak in its natural form. Doing so, in the days to come it could be concerned with advocacy, empowerment and; of course it could touch or raise a political issue.

In this way, changes in politics, mainly identity politics has developed everywhere and it concerns with identity such as land/territory, history, culture. MangennaYak among Limbu community has been of a great importance.

According to my informant, Fago Wanems including other Fago sub-clans (Fago Chongbang, Tembe, Yakyukpa, Mangden, Okhrabu in Fago Thum or, Maiwakhola Thum) would know or, hear that Piringe was the place where Hamyungba first prepared his Goth/ Katero in Nepali 'Goth', on the base of the Mangenna Lung located in Piringe Benshi and later on he developed the surrounding area as his 'Yak' Gadhi (Fort). Since then it was believed that The 'Lung' stone and surrounding area occupied by Hamyungba, their forefather/ancestor as the Mangenna Yak of all Thari Limbus who were Fagos or Hamyungba-Hamsengba Banshi Limbus. Since then the descendents of Hamyungba/Hamsengba would take the place as a Pabitra sthal (holy place) and *Utpati Thalo* (Origin Place). Due to distance of geography from the Fago Limbus' settlement area and limitation and congested area in that place, The Yak could not be established as issue of preservation by FagoBanshiLimbus. Although Fagos were aware and informed about their Mangenna Yak, the value of such historical and holy places could not be identified. Firstly, the trend of preserving and valuing such heritages in Limbu community developed as a new activity inspired by other communities and cultures. As a result, it took them

years to be aware and responsible in such matters. Secondly, like other places/areas of Limbuwan, the study area was also affected by state's rule such as kpat system, Napi, Panchayat, Land Reform Act etc, and, it was not possible for Fagos to be united due to scattered settlement, migration, ignorance, poverty etc.

Having passed the time, political movement in different communities of Nepal became aware. Education, awareness and economic accessibility also caused/inspired them to be united. Finally they came to know that they had to fight for the preservation and development of their language, script, tradition and culture. Indigenous movement and rights as well as identity politics in Nepal has made such issues stronger to keep continuity.

The importance of Mangenna Yak can be viewed from various aspects of Limbu community. This chapter mainly focuses on my primary data. This chapter talks about importance of Mangenna Yak among Wanem Limbus in terms of preservation of culture and ancestral land i.e. writing genealogy, politics, ritual-cultural acts, organizational and communal attempts and other encouraging and inspiring factors.

In course of time, the the number of Limbu clans increased day by day rapidly. Generally, Banshawali is the document of any Bansha/Thar (Sub-clan) written in a form of book which records the name lists of members of a Sub-clan from their ancestor's time to present generation in descending line. Banshawali is written to know the relationship within clan or community which generation they are related to or, what to address to other members of the same clan. In other way, Banshawali connects the present generation with the ancient antiquity, where and when they came/originated from, which did they evolve from. The act of writing Banshawali helps finding history of a clan of any castes. For Limbus, to prepare or, write a Banshawali, they must go back to their ancient history and origin place. To go to ancient antiquity is to find their reliable history and identify themselves as descendents of certain ancestor. In this way, Mangenna Yak is the most important base for Limbu clans to relate their genealogy with their territory/geography that where they evolved and spread from, which Bansha they are related to. For Limbus, if there is MangennaYak, it's difficult/meaningless to write Banshawali, said, one of my informant. In this sense Banshawali (Genealogy) links Limbu people with their ancient history, myth, migration and Mangenna Yak.

According to my informant, the act of preserving Mangenna Yak came into process when one of the Fago Banshi Limbus known as Fago Wanem started a community effort to write or publish their Banshawali so that Fago Wanems who are scattered along the country or, world can be united and informed history, myth, traditional land, kinship (saino, sambandha, Pustakoadharma) on the basis of generation and can keep record of myths, Mundhums, history, politics, migration, geography, migration and economy associated with Fago Wanems related to clans and entire Limbu community history.

Wanem community among Fago Banshi Limbu clans seem to play an initiating role to preserve as they enacted the process of writing Banshawali as a communal effort. Wanem Banshawali not only consists of 'Bansha Brikshya' of Wanem Limbus but history, Mundhum, myth, politics, migration etc in relation to ancient antiquity too. Another informant said that the act of writing or publishing Banshawali, as a continuing process documenting history itself among entire Limbu communities, in the area other Tharis (sub-clans) have not started to work for publishing or writing Banshawali; another reason the Wanem community initiated this work as they are more in number than other Fago Limbus.

Finally along with the act of writing Banshawali, the preservation of Mangenna Yak came into action. In the area of Mangenna Yak, Wanems including other Fago Banshi Limbus have started a communal effort in a collective way to preserve it. In the beginning, Wanem Limbus in UK had collected money as a donation to buy the land around 'Mangenna Lung' which had been cultivated and was under the ownership of individuals. Such communal efforts, as much as possible, are in progress and process to integrate other Fago Limbus to unity.

Cultural and ritual activities also had/have played an essential role to keep the continuity of the value of Mangenna Yak as it was continuously chanted and mentioned by Tumyahangs (gentle men, well versed in Mundhum) and Phedangma, Sambas, Yebas/Yemas (Limbu Priests) in various ritual acts and occasions and; was transmitted orally from one generation to another since long ago. The description of Mangenna Yak would take place in the performance of rituals and rites as 'Mundhum of Mangenna Yak'. This chapter shows the connection and relationship between Mangenna Yak and the cultural-ritual events and acts of Limbu people.

According to my informant who is also an old local Phedangma (priest), Mangenna Yak must be mentioned in some ritual acts conducted by Limbus as their life cycles and yearly/monthly conducted rituals. Such as, Mangenna ritual (raise head high), Sappok Chomen (womb worshipping), Bibaha Lagan (wedding rite), Samsama (hand over the dead's soul to ancestor), Tangsing (the act of separating the souls of dead and living people) are rituals on which Mangenna Yak must be Chanted by Limbu priests as Mundhum. Without mentioning Mangenna Yak, the surrounding territory, the ways prepared by the forefathers to appear at the place and deeds/acts which were done by forefathers and were incredible for living such rituals cannot be conducted and completed.

I conclude that the importance of Mangenna Yak in the past and for last generations was only confined in ritual activities that would transmitted from generation to generation through oral tradition as a result that kept up surviving the culture of Limbus and conducted the cultural aspects of people.

Another informant who is regarded expert in Mundhum and a writer/researcher of Mundhum and history of Limbus named Arjunbabu Mabuhang said to me,- *'Mangenna Yak ko charcha phedangma, samba, yeba harule junsukai sanskar ani anusthan haruma garnu parne ho tara hijo aja katipaya sanga gyan chhaina bhane katipayale janera pani Mundhum lambinchha bhanera katipaya anusthanma charcha gardainan'*. Meaning Mangenna Yak must be mentioned while conducting most of the rituals and rites by Limbu priests. But these days Limbu priests do not do so thinking that Mundhum would be lengthy, time taking and some are not well versed in Mundhum.

We can conclude that having passed the time the importance, concern and knowledge about Mundhum decreased and lost rapidly. Due to lack of written tradition of Limbu Mundhum, its originality disappeared day by day and people's belief in Mundhum is diverting.

One of my female informants, who is Mundhum researcher said to me even if Limbus do not perform any rituals in Mangenna Yak its importance and value is high for them because wherever Limbus perform rituals and rites, the priests must mention the Yak, and the conductor of ritual (known as *upakari* in Nepali) reaches to his Yak

spiritually and keeps deep respect for that and gets self satisfaction no matter where s/he is or, conducts such acts. There is no point in conducting such rituals if there is no satisfaction. So, Limbu people have a strong belief and respect in their Mangenna Yak. She further said, Limbus are nature worshippers, they do not construct Manghim, Thaan (temples) etc to worship. They worship Mato (soil), khola (stream, rivulet), Pahara Bhir (steep land), Ban-Jangal (forests) etc. They do not construct temples and do not believe in manmade religious structures, these days some go to temples, its assimilation and impression of Hinduism and other religions. They keep respect in their Mangenna Yak as they believe that their forefathers' soul rests there.

We can say that the trend believe in spiritual power for Limbus is different from Hinduism and other religious clan groups. However, at present, the trend of worshipping and believing in spiritualism is diverting due to what we say cultural assimilation and also cultural hegemony by dominant society.

Arjunbabu Mabuhang, one of my respondents said to me although Mangenna and Mangenna Yak are different concepts, MangennaYak is especially mentioned in Mangenna, a ritual performed once or twice a year (in udhaulti and ubhaulti). It is performed by Phedangma inside house to raise house holder's or family members' head high. It's believed that conducting this ritual, *upakari*(conductor)can get rid of crisis, accident, and obnoxious acts, and gets courage to succeed in desired mission. Mundhum of Mangenna trace back to the creation of the universe, emergence and evolution of creatures and human beings. The myth of migration of Limbu is narrated in detail that how he had got to their Mangenna Yak.

Based on Mangenna Mundhum chanted by Phedangmas, after the creation, the forefathers struggled and lived a nomadic life to reach their Mangenna Yak. I argue the period while they were in the process of settlement in their Yak, they lived hunting and gathering stage of lives, after centuries they started farming and husbandry. Since then the Limbu society mainly depends on agriculture. It took them hundreds of years to come to civilization and modernization.

In the ritual phedangma chanted Mangenna Mundhum that person of such Mangenna Yak, person of such Bansha, son/daughter of such person, named such person has graced you, accept his/her Mangenna and save/protect him/her.

In another ritual of wedding ceremony 'Lagan Khama', the priest addressed groom's and bride groom's Mangenna Yak in such a way that person of such Mangenna Yak descendant of such Bansha, son of such person and named such person has married person of such Mangenna Yak, person of such Banshi, daughter of such person and named such person.

According to Chhatra Wanem 65 in a death ritual called 'SamSama' Phedangma hand over the soul of deceased to his forefathers. Like... person of such Mangenna Yak, descendent of such Bansha son of such person has left this World and come to you, this is all what his destiny was... take his soul and keep, love him, protect him as your descendent. I/We have handed over, he is no more with his family, community and society etc.

In this way, MangennaYak is mentioned in life cycle rituals and other rites of Limbus. Due to use and mention in daily cultural and ritual activities, it continued to be in the tongue of Limbu priests and *Tumyahangs* and orally transmitted from one generation to another, later Limbus thought and realized its value and got inspired to preserve and establish as a holy and historical place.

Fago Limbu sub-clans have formed their own community organizations for the service and welfare of their own community. Such organizations mainly work for the social unity and development of the specific clans. Those community organizations operate to conduct the social and cultural activities of the community. There are some non profitable and non-governmental community organizations or, Sasthas like, Wanem Kalyan Sastha, Tembe Sewa Samaj, Fago Chongbang Utthan Tatha Samrakshyan Manch, Phaben Fago Limbu Samaj, Yakthung Phedangma Sangchumbho etc. These community organizations co-operate with the Fagolung Mangenna Yak Piringe Samaj if necessary. Generally, FMYPS has been formed to gather and include all the Fago Banshi Limbus who regard 'Piringe' as their Mangenna Yak.

According to Tanka Wanem 60who is also the founding co-coordinator of 'Piringe Fagolung Mangenna Yak Samrakshyan Samiti', Limbus who had been living in Maiwakhola Thum also also called Fago Thum were known or identified as Fagos. From this, I came to know that Limbu community inside the surrounding area of

Maiwakhola Thum were called Fago as their Minsra (Title/Nick name), or they identified themselves as Fago. The villages (Dhungesanghu, Sanghu, Phakumba and Thinglabu village development committees) were known as 'Fago' Thum and Limbus in these villages were called Fagos.

Although all Fago Limbus who belong to Hamyungba-Hamsengba Bansha or, Piringe Mangenna Yak as their origin place from where they were evolved do not exist in Fago or Maiwakhola Thum. Fago Wanems including Fago Chongbang, Tembe have been acting collectively with the help and co-ordination of each other. This is all what I witnessed when I attended in a meeting organized by the Sastha or, organization. The aim of the Sastha committee was to give continuity the process of preserving and developing the Mangenna Yak; and to make the committee proactive and integrative, in their own term, - *'Hamile Yas Sasthalai Kasari Agadi Lana Sakinchha Ani Anya Fago Harulai Pani Jati Sakdo Samabesh Garera Kam Garna Sakyo Bhane Ramro Ra Prabhabkari Hunchha'* said, was one of the Tembe Thari who was also an Aguwa (head or leader of community). In the meeting, Wanems, Tembes and Fago Chongbangs were present and were of the field, teaching, social service, students etc including two females. The meeting went on around two hours discussing what they could do to act for preserving MangennaYak individually and from Sastha's side. The members said to me, *'Yo sastha ko meeting Ardhabarsik wa barsik rupama chalchha.'* Meaning, the committee would conduct or hold meeting in every six months or, once a year. If needed frequently such meeting is held.

CHAPTER: 7

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

7.1. Summary

In the first chapter I have discussed the background of the study, statement of the problems, objectives of the study, importance of the study etc. in this chapter, short ethnographic introduction of the study, meaning and importance of Mangenna Yak among Wanem Limbus in Dhungesanghu VDC of Taplejung district and reasons for its study and its relevance with the people's historical background and attempt for preserving culture and history have been presented.

In the second chapter, I have discussed about the literature review for which the theoretical approaches of anthropology have been contrasted and compared with the concept of study. I have tried to show linkage of the study with anthropological theory i.e. symbolic interpretive theory of Geertz's idea, cultural ecological theory of Harris's idea, power relation theory of Foucault's idea and anthropology of ethnicity in the context of Nepal is also linked.

In the third chapter, I have talked about methodology that anthropologists apply. I have done ethnographic study of Wanem Limbus in terms of preservation of culture and Mangenna Yak. I have done participatory observation in the study area, conducted Key informant interview with different peoples from different age group, sex group and of different fields to get the primary data. I have also conducted Focus group discussion as data collection technique to supplement data. I have also read different books, articles related to the study to get idea for the analysis.

In the fourth chapter, I have shortly introduced about the study area, people of study area, their cultural background, historical account, mythical account. This is general introduction and secondary data books, documents and articles have been analyzed.

In the fifth chapter, I have talked about importance of Mangenna Yak among Wanem Limbus in Dhungesanghu VDC of Taplejung in terms of preservation of culture and Mangenna Yak as an ancestral, historical and holy land. Meaning and importance of Mangenna Yak for them has been interpreted and analyzed on the basis

of their historical, mythical accounts, migratory pattern, genealogy writing, organizational attempts and efforts, political consciousness etc.

I have attempted to find out the meaning and importance of Mangenna Yak of Wanem community; local understanding on Mangenna Yak, collective effort and activities done by the community to preserve and develop and identify, its prospects for the community and its relevance in the present context.

7.2. Conclusion

This dissertation has examined the different socio-cultural importance of Mangenna Yak and its historical accounts and present relevance among Wanem people, an indigenous people from Nepal's easternmost hill area. The present study was conducted in the Dhungesanghu Village development committee, ward no. seven and eight named Tembe and Lekuwa were selected as study area using ethnographic fieldwork method for nearly about a month during 2016.

In the dissertation, I have drawn on the theoretical concept of 'interpretation of culture' of Clifford Geertz which is based on the rituals conducted by Wanem community and its meaning and importance to form and run the society.

In this conclusion, I discuss mainly three arguments that I make in my dissertation. Firstly, I argue that my dissertation contributes to fill the knowledge gap in the existing literatures on the Limbu people especially focusing on historical/mythical accounts and culture, Mangenna Yak, its location, historical background, social-cultural, political, economic and environmental conditions in the past. Based on the field observation, and conversation with the local senior people and local experts, in this dissertation, my ethnographic research particularly demonstrate how the cultural practices related with the Mangenna Yak, how Mangenna Yak reflects community history and culture. Historical, socio-cultural and political aspects and character of Mangenna Yak should be linked with the traditional way of lives of the Wanem people, their social and community organizations, traditional and customary practices as a whole. My dissertation also shows that the socio-cultural and historical World of Wanem people are not separated but they are interrelated.

Secondly, I argue that this dissertation contributes to the anthropology of the Mangenna Yak by way of highlighting its historical, political, socio-cultural, environmental, geographical and ritual context and meaning for the wanem people. For that my dissertation contributes to show that the currently conducted rituals on the Mangenna Yak and current organizational and communal efforts. Wanem people including other Fago Banshi Limbus conduct ritual events on the Mangenna Yak every year.

Thirdly, my dissertation contributes to show how economic and political factors and especially associated economic policies directly ties historical ties and relationship especially the traditional ways of lives and practices of the local community. Political changes especially, since the entrance of Shaha regime, Panchayat and land reform act took place among the Wanem people over the last century. I link political policy by state on land and culture had subsequent effects on socio-cultural condition of the Limbu people.

GLOSSARY

Aitihasuk That Thalo	Historical place
Ambal	Administrative area
Ban-jangal	Forest
Bansha	Descendants
Bansha Brikshya	Genealogy Tree
Beshi	Bay
Bidhan	Manifesto
Chanda	Donation
Chasok Tangnam	One of the main Limbu festival
Cheli	Females from paternal line
Cho:tlung	A kind of success
Dhara	Water Tap
Daijo	Dowry
Fa	Bamboo
Fawa Chepma	To construct outlet
Gadhi	Fort
Goth	Hurt
Gufa	Cave
Jagga	Land
Jaggadhani	land owner/holder
Kakfekwa Tangnam	A Limbu festival on the day of 1 st Magh
Karang pits	Young cows
Kelang	Drum Dance
Khaldo	Dugout
Kharcha	Cost
Khawa	Shed for elephants
Khola	Stream/ Rivulet
Kipat	A land tenure system in Limbuwan; esp, privilege land
Lagan	Limbu Marriage ritual
Lung	Stone
Mangenna	An act of worship one's head high
Manghim	Limbu Temple

Mato	Soil
Mekkam	Wedding rite
Mudhok Thaknam	Insects
Mundhum	Religious scripture of Limbus
Mundhumbid	Expert in Mundhum
Muyek Yetnam	Evil spirits/Ghosts
Mela	Festival
Naapi	Land Survey
Padawi	A tribute
Pahara Bhir	Steep land
Palam	A kind of Limbu song
Pitri	Soul of deceased person
Rajya	State
Ropani	Unit of measurement of land
Samaj	Society
Sam lamaten	A place to receive soul of pregnant women
Sam sama	To hand over the soul of deceased person to his/her ancestors
Sappok Chomen	Womb worshipping
Sastha	Organization
Siddhi Lung	Destiny stone
Tangsing	One of Limbu people's ritual
Tarang	Bridge
Than	Temples
Thari	Sub-clan
Theba sam	A spiritually powerful God
Thum	Administrative area
Tumyahang	Gentlemen, well versed in Mundhum
Yak	Hurt/house/shelter
Yeba/Yema	A category within Limbu Priests
Ya:lang	Paddy Dance
Yokwa	A kind of ritual

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