

CHAPTER I

Introduction

1.1. Background

The study of human society immediately and necessarily leads us to the study of its culture. The study of society of any aspect of it becomes incomplete without a proper understanding of the culture of that society. “Every man is born into a society is the same as saying that every man is born into a culture. The dictum *man is a social being* can thus be redefined as ‘man is a cultural being’ (Rao, 2005:189). Therefore, culture and society go together. They are inseparable.

A society develops a culture through shared norms, customs, values, traditions, social roles, symbols and languages. In addition, the culture is controlled, guided and instructed by social institutions. Therefore, culture has a deep relationship with social institutions.

For the first time, an anthropological definition of culture was given by Edward Bennett Tylor (1832-1917) in his famous book “Primitive Culture” (1871) which runs as “culture or civilization, taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of the society.”

“An institution is common response in the community or life habit of the community and social institution is organized forms of group or social activity” (Mead, 1934:261). Thus, social institution is an organization of people formed to achieve certain goal.

Scholars have talked on social institution in their own ways that social institution refers to “forms of standardized action or behavior linked to a set of complex and interdependent norms and roles and applying to a relatively large proportion of persons within a society or territory” (Seymour-Smith, 1986:153). “A social institution consists of all the structural components of a society through which the main concerns and activities are organized, and social needs are met. In addition to more global and theoretical concerns, there is also a tradition of the ethnographic study of institutions that constrain, or form some points of view determine, the behaviors of specific groups” (Marshall, 2005:317).

Indigenous people of the world and organizations have been talking about the existence and role of traditional indigenous institutions. “Indigenous peoples’ right to retain and develop their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions is a fundamental right under international human rights law. The existence of such institutions is also a core element in description of indigenous peoples.” (ILO, 2009: 49). This “Indigenous’ term refers to the original inhabitants of an area, which has subsequently been occupied by migrants. It is thus synonymous with the term natives” (Seymour-Smith, 1986:149). The term indigenous institution refers to the structures and the units of organization in a community and encompasses the norms, values, beliefs and cosmology that guide social interaction. Traditional institutions shape the local organization, while the leadership structures within the community and their functional roles ensure compliance with the rules, norms and beliefs on the part of the populace. Traditional institutions are concerned with the wider changes in society. In the rural community, they are assisting to achieve improvements in socio-economic conditions (Kendie and Guri, 2006).

“Most traditional institutional structures are perceived to encompass indigenous resource management practices, knowledge, and form a part of the socioeconomic structure of a given community” (Sadéeque, 1999). Thus, “their social recognition depends on the fact that they are understood to be a part of tradition and customs of a community” (Mehra, 2006:5). “Traditional institutions, social capital, and multi-institutional partnerships have become the dominant concepts of international development lexicon, over the last decade. After decades of neglect and near disdain for local level institutions and the social capital they embody, development agencies worldwide, including most public sector extension systems, now realize that partnership with local level or traditional institutions is crucial to the achievement of the goal of sustainable development” (Alonge, 2002:2). “Traditional institutions comprise all the structures, systems and processes that communities have evolved in the course of their history and development to govern them. These are distinct from national governance authorities, which are creations of the modern state” (Stephen, and Guri, 2007: 337).

“In many parts of the world, customary institutions remain important. Yet indigenous institutions, while deeply rooted and resistant to change are not immutable. Traditional leaders have been inventive in their efforts to adapt and thrive, and their

own legacies are ambiguous and historically layered” (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983; Vail 1989). “Neither are contemporary political systems necessarily coherent. State and society are not always hermetically sealed from one another and in many contexts indigenous institutions co-exist or compete with other forms of social and political organization” (J. Beall and M. Ngonyama, 2009:2). “In the case of Nepal, intensifying processes of westernization and marketization have marginalized indigenous and traditional institutions, culture and practices. The main socio-cultural-political fault line in the past and the present, irrespective of political systems, is the ideology, policy and practice of *Bahunbad* (Brahmanism)” (Bhattachan, 2005). Bhattachan defines *Bahunbad* as “an ideology, policy and practice of domination of one caste (Bahun-Chhetri), one religion (Hindu), one language (Khasa-Nepali), one culture (Hindu), one region (the Kathmandu Valley), and one sex (male) over others.”

As this study is on Study of *Limbu Social Political Institution in Limbuwan: A study of Sawa Yethang Chumlung*, here needs to clarify on Limbus and Limbuwan. “Limbus are an indigenous ethnic (tribal) peoples of Eastern Nepal. The Limbu tribe have an area traditionally called *Pallo-Kirat* (Far Kirat) or even more commonly just Limbuwan, the ‘land of the Limbus” (Bista, 1967:47). “The groups of ten chiefs were called Limbus or Archers and the land, which they won with the help of *Li* or bow and arrows were called Limbuwan” (Chemjong, 1948). “Limbuwan includes the area east of the Arun River extending to Nepal’s eastern boarder with Indias’s west Bengal” (Bista, 1967:47).

“Limbu, one of the ethnic groups of east Nepal, has its distinct culture. This ethnic group is mainly lived in Taplejung, Panchthar, Ilam, Jhapa, Morang, Sunsari, Dhankuta, Terhathum and Sangkhuwasabha districts” (Subba, 1998:1). Today, Limbus are categorised in several (clans) groupings. According to Khadgendra Singh Angbohang (1978), there are several (218) subgroupings among sixteen major groups of Limbus.

“Limbus have a distinct culture, tradition and religion of their own. They have a long tradition of narrating or reciting *Mundhums* and performing certain rituals and observing ceremonies in their own distinctive ways. *Mundhum* is legend, folklore, prehistoric accounts, sermons and moral or philosophical exhortations in poetic language. It is a scripture living in oral tradition” (Weiddert & Subba, 1985: 293).

“A sacred oral and written text *Mundhum* is the ancient religious scripture and folk literature of the Limbu (Kirat) peoples of Nepal. The earlier parts of the *Mundhum* indicate the eight branches of Sawa *Yethang Sa* (Kiratas) and the later part- two branches namely the progeny of *Laik Khambuhang* and *Susuwa Lilim Yakthunghang* inhabiting around the basin of Sunkoshi and Arun river to the east of present Sikkim and Bhutan” (Subba, 1998:13).

Limbus have their own way of performing rituals, healing diseases and illness and preventing befalling misfortunes. They have priests or sacred specialists with various roles. Such priests are called *Phedangama*, *Samba*, *Yeba* (male) or *Yema* (female), *Mangba*, *Yuma* and *Ongsi*, etc. These are resource persons of Limbu culture, tradition, traditional indigenous institution and oral literature.

The ritual performance of *Phedangma*, *Samba*, *Yeba*, *Yema*, *Yuma*, *Mangba*, *Ongsi* and *Tummyangs* are unique, and are guided by their indigenous traditions, distinctive performance genres, mythological themes and religious-philosophic base. Rituals of Limbus like *Sappok Chomen* (ceremonies preceding the birth), *Yangdang Phongma* (raising cradle-birth Ritual), *Mangenna* (warding of evil influences), *Nahangma* (anointing the family head), *Mekhim* (marriage), *Khauma* (purification from death ritual), *Tongsing* (a link with the ancestor and present), etc. also show the existence, role and importance of their social political institutions.

Folklores of Limbu people like *Yalang* (dhan naach) and *Palam*(song), *Ke* and *Kelang*(*Chyabrung naach*), *Hakpare Samlo* (*Hakpare Song*), *Sewa Samlo* (*Sewa Song*); *Manglang* (*Goddess Dance*), as well as festivals like *Chasok Tangnam* (harvest festival), *Yakwa Tangnam* (worship of nature and ancestors), etc. also refer indigenous social political institutions of Limbus from the beginning. By performing and celebrating such festival and rituals, Limbu people retain and enhance their social traditional indigenous institutions.

“In the *Mundhum* of cosmology and eschatology, it is stated that the Limbus’ civilized culture evolved during the period of *Sawa Yethang* in the remote antiquity and flourished during empirical rule of *Kandehang* (Sinyukhang) at the later ages” (Subba, 1998:293). Moreover, if we see and understand in-depth on Limbus’ way of life now, we can assume the evolution of Limbus’ society, culture and institutions in a way in the past in Limbuwan. “By the seventeenth century, Hinduization of the

indigenous Himalayan ethnic or tribal culture became widespread, more persuasive and state-patronized. When Limbuwan came under the rule of Gorkha dynasty, Nepalization, a process of integration of different communities into an organized single structure, introduction of vertical hierarchical caste system and concretization of diverse and variegated folk culture, language and lifestyle' (Bista, 1982), became the political priority of the government and such temerarious process accelerated pace of culture change which placed the heritage of Limbus in peril" (Subba, 1998:294). So, Limbu peoples of Limbuwan, together with others, are upraising their socio-political movement, by organizing social and political organizations for the establishment and assurance of socio-political as well indigenous-cultural rights.

As the existing international laws like International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention No. 169 and United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) suggest that the traditional institutions of the indigenous peoples represent them the best to the state mechanism. In addition, requires the states to obtain the free informed prior consent through the traditional indigenous institutions. So, there needs to explore, identify and develop the social traditional indigenous institutions of Limbus from the base of their own socio-cultural basis.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

The progeny of *Sawa Yethangs* now *Thibong Yakthng* "Limbus" had to face so many problems and challenges to protect and promote their socio-cultural and political institutions in the past and even now. However, the small section of *Phedangma*, *Samba*, *Yeba*, *Yema*, *Mangba*, *Yuma*, *Ongsi* and *Tummyangs* are trying their best to preserve or promote the traditional indigenous Limbus' *Sawa Yethang* culture and traditions through their own ways of austere academic pursuits.

The customs, traditions, lifestyle, rites and rituals of Limbus as well as all of indigenous groups have been greatly affected by various factors and forces of cultural change since the last five decades. However, "modernization is slow in Nepal and development efforts are not effective enough to bring changes in the quality of life of Limbus in general, it is affecting their cultural heritage insidiously. It denied the role and importance of traditional reference group (religious leaders, priests, healers, traditional authority, communal leaders or heads, executer and interpreter of customary law, maintainer and defender of social order and cohesion, latter *Subbas*,

Rais, Karbaris, etc.) and replaced it by modern political leadership or institution” (Subba, 1998:302).

“After the inception of multiparty politics, the influence or encroachment of political institutions has weakened some of local traditions, norms and institutions in Nepal” (Dhakal, 2007:22). According to Lawoti (2010), “formal institutions have failed to adequately explain many political behaviors and out comes, and informal institutions have begun to attract the attentions of political scientists too.” It shows that the problem of such institution and institutional role is being widespread now.

There are various kinds of traditional voluntary organizations exist, but little effort has been made to study them in detail. As mentioned by Krishna B. Bhattachn (2002:28), some of traditional voluntary organizations of indigenous peoples of Nepal are *Posang* of indigenous people Syangtan (Panch Gaule) of Jhongsamba (Jomsom), *Mirchang* of Marhpatan (Panch Gaule) of southern Mustang, *Dhikur* of Thaklis, Gurungs and Bhotes of the western mountains and hills, Kipat of Limbu, Rai, Majhiya, Bhote, Yakha, Tamang, Hayu, Chepang, Baramu, Danuwar, Sunuwar, Kumhal, Pahari, Thami, Sherpa, Majhi, and Lepchas of Nepal; *Chhattis Mauja* Irrigation System of Thaur of Chhattis Mauja are in Rupandehi, *Parma/Nogyar/Porima* of Gurungs, Limbus and caste groups in the hills; *Bheja* of Magars of western Nepal, *Khyal* of Tharus of mid-western Terai of Nepal, Guthi of Newars of Kathmandu valley, *Choho* of Tamangs of surrounding the Kathmandu Valley; *Ttho*, *Gola* and *Ro-Dhin* (Rodi) of Gurungs, and *Aama Samuha* (Mother’s Group) of whole Nepal.

As opined by Chaitanya Subba (1998), the new health care system and introduction of new technology in place of old ones in the many areas have minimized the importance and roles of *Phedangmas*, *Sambas* and *Yas*. To a large context, modernization was meant for obliteration of old values and condemnation for traditional priests. The system of healing and warding off misfortune by *Phedangmas*, *Sambas* and *Yas* are becoming obsolete everyday. So-called social reforms, emerging application for new means of communication, expansion of modern education and various campaigns of social and political awakening are also pushing these traditional healers, priests and misfortune preventers behind the scene. These phenomena of modernization are extremely-limiting roles. The increasing economic inter-dependence and increasing volume of trade as well as other financial activities, the influx of non-Limbus and

their increased settlements, urbanization, increased social interaction and mobility, increased exposure to the outside world and gradual expansion of transformational facilities have further contributed on it. Because of these all, social political institution of Limbu people is on the way of becoming extinct in a sense. Moreover, if there is not done any of academic research on this field, then there will not be found any adequate sources in near future.

1.3. Research Questions

Therefore, the researcher, in this study, will search to find the answers of following research questions on the course of this research:

1. What is the main social political institution of Limbu People?
2. How does it work as social-political institution in Limbus' life and their community?
3. What is the present condition of the institution and its causes and consequences in Limbus in Limbuwan?

1.4. Research Objectives

The objective of this study is to explore the existence of social political institution and practices as well as present condition and its causes and consequences of the institution in Limbu people and their community. The specific objectives of the study are mentioned as follows:

1. To explore the main social political institution of Limbu people,
2. To study the practices of the institution in Limbus' life and their community,
3. To investigate the present condition of the institution and its causes and consequences in Limbus in Limbuwan,

1.5. Rational of the Study

This proposed study is significant in the following ways:

Firstly, this study is significant to Limbus for identifying their social political institution its parts and whole. Limbus will understand their socio-cultural norms and values with relation to their social traditional indigenous institution. In the history of Limbuwan, "the more numbers of people from another community increased to migrate in Limbuwan, the more social, cultural and linguistic distinctness of Limbus being vanished after the encroachment of Limbuwan into Gorkha kingdom after

1774” (Chemjong, 2000:54). It means that own type of social traditional institution of Limbus has also been replaced by the culture of new comers in Limbuwan after 1774. Therefore, this study will encourage them to understand their social traditional institution in-depth, to conduct the life and society as it and develop it for the sake of their community and society by preserving it more seriously now.

Secondly, it is significant to all Indigenous People of Nepal. All indigenous peoples have their own political institution. “There is a *mukhiya* genealogically and who follows the tradition and customs. To keep control of these rule and regulations, he manages punishment for those who disobey the social rules. There seems a council of elders to cooperate the *mukhiya* in some of tribal peoples. All most, they are not seen effected with outer politics. But, there is seen some of change in it now a days” (Bhandari, Krishna P. 2058, p 278). But, in the case of Limbus, there is not a single man to lead the institutions. It seems to be the common leadership being all parts together such as *Phedangma, Samba, Yeba, Yema, Mangba, Yuma, Sidasaba, Ongsi* and *Tumyangs*. Each of them has own specific role and responsibility to perform in society being a member of that institution. And, combinations of these all is known as *Sawa Yethang Chumlung*, a council of *Sawa Yethangs* or all eight leaders.

Thirdly, it is significant regarding National and international laws, convention and declarations to ensure the right of indigenous peoples through their social traditional indigenous institutions. “Nepal has made commitments at international forums to implement international human rights instruments and to eliminate all forms of discrimination and that different groups of minorities are more aware about rights and developed determination to fight against all forms of discrimination against them” (Bhattachan, 2008, P 92). ILO Convention 169 has taken the customs and traditions of indigenous peoples as the fundamental basis of recognition. Advocating the continuity of these customs and traditions, it has given recognition to cultural diversity and to social, environmental and human harmony. The Convention mentions that the customs and traditions of indigenous peoples should be respected, their traditional institutions should be given recognition [Article 2(2)] and that special measures should be adopted for the protection and promotion of such institution and cultures [Article 1(1)]. The convention stipulates that these customs and traditions should find continuity by remaining within the norms of national and international instruments [Article 9 (1)] (Subba, 2005, P 60). ILO Convention 169 has given

recognition to the customary laws of indigenous peoples for use in judicial administration [Article 9 (2)].

As the same way, the United Nations Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation (UN REDD) Program publication states that the “international law provides specific guidance on the rights of Indigenous Peoples to represent themselves through their own institutions. Approaches may vary from one cultural context to the next, and these should be identified and respected.” The existing international laws do indeed suggest that “the traditional institutions of the indigenous peoples represent them the best. Article 32(2) of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) requires the states to obtain the free informed prior consent through the traditional indigenous institutions” (Kant, 2010). These international conventions and declarations with their provisions for the right of indigenous peoples of the world also show the importance such of social traditional indigenous institutions. In addition, it shows the significance of this study.

Fourth, it is significant to politicians and policy makers of the state. Nepalese policy makers have not ever identified the indigenous peoples and their way of life with their own social traditional institutions yet. Indigenous peoples have their own way of understanding and doing development activities. They have own indigenous perspective to understand and use the natural resources such as land, forest, water and others so on. But, the policy makers, in unitary system, till now, have been encroached their harmful ways in the name of development into indigenous community. These harmful ideas encroached by unitarists, in the name development, have just been destroying the norms, values and indigenous institutions until now. So, if indigenous people can reemerge their own institutions regarding all activities of the society, then they will able to reject the enforced ideas against their traditional values, and the policy makers also compel to understand and work as the people’s wish for development which will be sustainable and acceptable development for all.

Fifth, it is also significant to other researcher and scholars to understand the social traditional indigenous institution of Limbu people and such institution of all other *indigenous communities in reference to this study so far. In this regard, this study will be a milestone.*

CHAPTER II

Review of Literature

As the literature review is usually concerned primarily with the research and writing connected with the main subject matter of the research study, “it seeks to lay a foundation for the current research by setting the thesis within a research context consisting of relevant research studies and other analysis of related ideas” (Oliver, 2006). So, it needs here to mention the literatures related to the topic done previously.

Firstly, the researcher of this study has not found any specific researched documents and finding literatures on this topic and subject matters. Therefore, this study is, perhaps, the first one for this topic and subject matter on study of *Limbu Social Political Institution in Limbuwan: A study of Sawa Yethang Chumlung*.

However, many scholars from Limbus and non-Limbus, indigenous community and some of foreign researcher and writers have mentioned some matters related on social traditional indigenous institution of Limbus directly and indirectly. Therefore, these matters concerning to the topic and the literatures, same as to the social traditional institutions of other indigenous communities from national and international level, will be the literatures to be reviewed here to support this study.

2.1. The Limbus and Limbuwan

According to oral tradition of *Mundhum* and other literatures, even Limbu people now were not called and recognized as Limbus in the past. Moreover, even today, if we ask any Limbu saying who you are in Limbu language referring his/her race or ethnicity. Then he/she does not say, “I’m Limbu”. Instead, he/she says, “I’m *Yakthungba*”, if he/she is also a Limbu language speaker Limbu. It means the ethnic name ‘Limbu’ is also named by others, not original of Limbus. *Mundhum* just talks about *Thibong Yakthungs*, *Yakthungs* and more *Sawa yethangs* for Limbu (Kirat) people now.

The progenies of *Yethangs* are the “*Yakthungbas*” of present days. “The word ‘*athrai*’ (<ath raya<yethang) denotes the Khas Nepalization of their main land. There is not found the sure decided derivational meaning of the word ‘*yakthung*’. From addressing as “*timi tutu tumyang yakhang santan hau*” you are the ‘*tutu tumyang Yakhangs*’ progenies” (Chemjong, 2003b:97) by Prithivi Narayan Shaha too, it might said ‘*yakhang*’ <(yak+hang) to those rulers who ruled their state by making as a *Yak*

or fort. Even it can be said that the word used by Prithvi Narayana Shaha on *Lalmohor* is somehow older, it cannot be got the use of the word “yakthungba” anywhere in ancient *Mundhum*. However, we get being used of the word, “*Sawa Yethang*” or “*yethang*” in many places. Therefore, it will not be meddlesome or interfering if we guess as the derrivational form of “*Yethang*” may be the “*yakthunghang*” too. The use of the word “*Yakthungba*” is started to be used as “*thibong yakthungba*” (Ten Limbus) later on, with which there can be guessed that Limbus are the progenies of ancient *Sawa Yethangs*. In the course of performing any worshiping rituals according to *Mundhum*, the story of *Sawa Yethangs*, and moral as well as social norms and values established by them, have been followed by saying “*Yetchham thim*” or “*Yetchham Bacha*” untill now (Kainla, 2004).

Locally, “we find the designation Limbu prefixed by *das*, as Das- Limbuwan, meaning the ‘ten Limbus’, referring to the common belief that at one time in the early days there were ten Limbu *rajas*” (Bista, 1967, P 47). “Limbus are well known for comprising of ten brothers or leaders. The ten leaders were-*Thosoing Kanglaing Hang, Thindang Sawaro Hang, Thosoding Hamleba Sawaro Hang, Thoding Tangsak Sawaro Hang, Yokoding Sawaro Hang, Moguplungma Khambek Sawaro Hang, Yokphoding Sawaro Hang, Moguplungma Langsoding Sawaro Hang, Yokphoding Ighang Laing bo Hang* and *Totoli Toingbo Hang*. And, they had three spiritual advisor priests among them. They were- *Phejikkum Phedangma, Sambahang Iplihang Samba* and *Sammundhum Yepmundhum*. These people and their leaders were guided by these priests” (Vansittart, 1906a, p.107; Chemjong, 2003:50). It shows that *Sawa Yethang*, socio-political Leaders used to take those priests as their advisor or facilitators.

“The Limbus are divided into number of clans, *thars*. Some of the Limbu *thars* are further sub-divided, each sub-division having a separate name of its own. Most of the *thar* members live together in more or less well defined locales” (Bista, 1967, P 51). In Limbus, “whether a marriage is arranged by parents or by the couple, a Limbu boy first sets our ‘in search of a bride’ by himself on a day fixed by his *fedangma* priest. Another person is employed by the boy’s parents to act as middleman in the marriage negotiations after a prospective partner is found. This middleman is called *ingmiba*, and he is usually a relative of the boy” (Bista, 1967:51-52). This system also indicates the role of social institutions in Limbus.

2.2. Sawa Yethang Chumlung: Definition and Origin of the Term

2.2.1. Definition of Sawa Yethang Chumlung

According to Limbu-Nepali-English Dictionary (Royal Nepal Academy, 2002:481), “*sawa*” means all, whole, all around; on all (four or eight) sides/directions and the word “*Sawa Yethang*” refers to *Yethang*’s descendants. Similarly, *Chumlung* means meet; gathering; convention; conference; assembly. (Royal Nepal Academy, 2002:144). As mentioned on Nepali Brihat Shabdakosh (Nepal Rajkeeya Pragma Pratisthan, 1995:421), a meeting, gathering or an assembly seated for discussion on any agenda or subject matter.

As this way, *sawa yethang* refers to all descendants or progenies of Yakthung/Yakhungbas or presently Limbus’ ancestors. In addition, *Sawa Yethang Chumlung* refers to a gathering, assembly, council or an institution of all *Sawa Yethangs descendant* Limbus’ now.

2.2.2. Origin of the term Sawa Yethang Chumlung

According to Kirat historian Iman Singh Chemjong (1961a), some of the mythological interpretation mentions that the supreme goddess, *Tagera Ningwaphuma* gave away various ways and sources of sacred knowledge and scripture to the eight wise leaders *Sawa Yethang*, the progeny of *Tetlara Lahadongna*. They were *Mohikkum Ongsi*, *Phejikkum Phedangma*, *Sawali Samba*, *Yebhung Yeba* or *Yema*, *Sam Mundhum Yepmundhum* (singers or persons who recite Mundhum) and *Siyanding Sida Lam* (users of medicinal herbs), and they have to care of *Sawa Yethang* and their people. According to Chaitanya Subba (1998:75), one class of *Phejikkum Phedangma* called *Mangyamding Sodinghungma* also uses medicinal herbs, bones and other parts of the body, amulets, talismans, etc. along with other oral means. This shows the art or musical and medicinal or health and other parts of Limbus’ social traditional institution in *Sawa Yethangs*.

Someone understands and say the words *Yethang* and *Yehang* as the same way and same meaning. However, these are not same and have different meaning and use. *Yehang* is the first enlightened person, as described in Mundhum, who got the knowledge of (was versed about) God and creation. Priest well versed in the conducting/performance of rites and ceremonies of passage of rites. In addition, the script written by *Yehang* or passage of rites is called *yehang pacha* as well as the

scripture containing the story of creation and the conduct of passage of rites and other ceremonies is taken as *Yehang Mundhum* (LNED, 2002:389).

Again, as opined by Iman Singh Chemjong (2003:19), the *Yehang Mundhum* contains the story of the first leader of mankind who made laws for the sake of human beings from the stage of animal life to the enlightened life and ways to control them by giving philosophy on spiritualism. He (Chemjong, 1961) further writes, “Yehang, the first religious leader of mankind made the rules for marriage, birth and death ceremonies. Here, the writer has just talked on the first leaders of humankind and making laws for the sake of human beings.”

As mentioned by H. H. Risly’s on his book *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. II (1891/1981), in which he refers to the existence of tribal council among the Limbus. He wrongly calls it *thumthum*; the correct term is *chumlung*. *Chumlung*, according to Khangendra Sambahangphe, an advisor to *Sarva Kirant Chumlung*, consist of two Limbu words– *chum* and *lung*– the first connoting ‘friends or like-minded persons coming together or assembling’, and the second meaning to thrash out, reveal, express, or to be concrete like a stone’. The antiquity of this council can be assessed from the fact that it is mentioned in the *mundhum* recited by their sacred priest called *phedangma*. In the *mundhum*, there are reference to three ancient *chumlungs* known as *Ngamuk Sam*, *Yeyhang Sam*, and *Yeysam* (Subba, 1999:46).

Someone can guess and say that us a *Tumyahang*, *Subba* or *Chumlung* is the main social traditional institution of Limbus. But, the *Mundhum*, a sacred scripture or oral text of Limbus, and literatures written previously do not say so. These are just the parts of main social traditional indigenous institution of Limbus.

A Bitch assistant worker of *Suhampheba* and *Lahadongna* reached to the place, where the God *Tagera Ningwaphuma* lived, to complain on misbehave of her maiden *Lahadongna* and sinful act of them. Hearing the complaint of Bitch against the sinful act of *Suhampheba* and *Lahadongna* and her request for the punishment of such crime, God *Ningwaphuma* consoled her and said, "So long you are living and lives of mankind remain on earth, you should live together and help each other. There is happiness in it. But, for the justice of such crime, you should return to your native village, collect all elderly men and put your grievances before them, and request for a true judgment. They will attend to your statement, discuss and decide what kind of

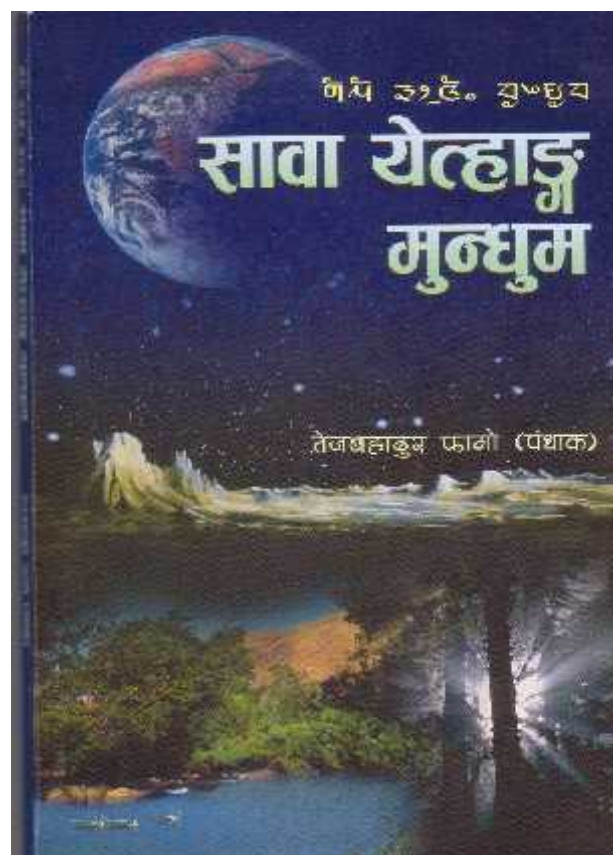
punishment should be given for such a crime committed.’ The Bitch returned to her native land and called a meeting of the elderly men of her village. All the wise men assembled on the meeting. The members of council listened to the statement of Bitch, discussed and decided the needful resolutions. It is regarded as the first council of human beings. The members of the first council of these human beings were *Nawara Samba, Sumona Samba, Samsimbung Samba, Muktubung Samba, Tappeso Samba, Yengaso Samba, Chonuso Samba* and *Khesewa Samba*” (Chemjong, 2003:34-36).

As mentined above, the gathering and organizing a council or establishing an institution for certain work is called having or doing a *chumlung*.

2.3. Sawa Yethang Chumlung as a Social-Political Institution of Limbus

The Sawa Yethang Chumlung or a council of Sawa Yethangs with all priests and *Tuttu Tmmyangs* as well as *Yakla Suhangmas* have been playing both roles as social and political istitutions in Limbus society and culture.

Figure 1. Sawa Yethang Mundhum



2.3.1. Sawa Yethang Chumlung as a Social Institution

“Mudhum and other sources reveals that *Sawa Yethang* (great eight leaders), the progenitors of *Susuwa Lilim Yakthunghang* or Limbus, were the enforcers of certain rules, rites and ritual and moral life begins with them. It is believed that *Yetchham Thim*, the basic rites, were evolved and practiced by *Sawa Yethang* with the help of erudite *Phedangmas*, *Sambas* and *Yas* and these practices were unceasingly followed by their successive generations” (Subba, 1998:40-41). In addition, “according to *Yethang Batcha* (convention set by Yethang, the wise legendary Kirat leaders), mating is strictly prohibited among the consanguineous relations or in the same clan (Thar) and it is allowed only beyond four degrees on the mother side” (Chemjong, 1961). The instructions of the Mundhums are strictly followed even today. These literatures by Subba and Chemjong show the symbols and characteristics of *Limbu Social Political Institution in Limbuwan: A study of Sawa Yethang Chumlung*.

Limbus believe that each person has *yetsam* (eight souls). *Yetsam* usually pronounced as ‘Yetchham’ is the basic elements, guiding principles or theme of the religious practices of Limbus. The whole rites, customs, rules and standards of Limbos are known as “*Yetchham Thim*”. In fact, it was for the whole society of primitive people. But, today Limbus believe that they are the best inheritor of this “*Yetchham Thim*”. In the real sense, it is religion codified for the betterment of the human society. It was enforced by *Sawa Yethang* (eight wise leaders) with the guidance of *Phedangmas*, *Sambas* and *Yas*, who were in frequent contact with *Tagera Ningwaphuma* and *Sodhung Lepmuhang*. The progeny of *Sawa Yethang*, known as *Susuwa Lilim Yakthung*, followed it and maintained the continuance from generation to generation in any form. “*Yetchham Thim*” deals with the rites of life cycle and emphasize the human relationships based on compassion, love, kindness, and truth, virtue, purity, restraint of anger, free of envy and jealousy, veracity, honesty and other philanthropic qualities. The contents and theme of the “*Yetchham Thim*” also call for sober, simple and clean, unsullied and open mind, good intention and behavior, knowledge and wisdom, courage and vigor to fight for justice, protection of weak, destitute and poor, liberty, generosity, forgiveness and faith, and devotion towards gods. It also reminds the people to be afraid of sin and teaches that the supreme goddess *Tagera Ningwaphuma* is the only ultimate source of life and death, prosperity and decadence,

joy and sorrows. It is said that Limbu way of life is governed by the maxims of "*Yetchham Thim*" (Subba, 1998:283).

According to J.R. Limbu (2003:290), the name of *Sawa Yethangs* are as follows:

1. Wajaihang Tedhumyangba
2. Lalasohang Pangbohangba
3. Tappesohang Kerunghangba
4. Tillisohang Lelehangba
5. Seyasohang Uppahangba
6. Furupsohang Fejanhangba/Hayohang Pappohangba?
7. Tappesohang Lungmahangba/ Thirihang Changbanghangba?
8. Setchherehang Senihangba.

But, Tej Bahadur Phago (2003:156) mentions the name of same *Sawa yethangs* in somehow different ways as follows:

1. Lalaso Pangbathang
2. Tekphet Tenhang
3. Hangbunde Hang
4. Khetchheba Kubang Hang
5. Seoden Hangba Hang
6. Paoden Hangba Hang
7. Sogiding Sonihangba Hang
8. Setchhere Senihangba Hang

In addition, as mentioned by Bairagi Kainla (1995:15), the siblings, fell down on part of the mother Lahadongna's side, became *Sawa Yethangs*. They are:

1. Miknuso Lummahang
2. Khesera Upahang
3. Mangmanso Mang-olhang
4. Lalaso Pangbohang

5. Mudhinge Sanglekhang
6. Sa Undu Undu hang
7. Sagimso Senihang
8. Senchhene Senehang

Moreover, the siblings fell on father Suhampheba's part became *pegi phanghangs*. They are:

1. Sudukyukhedukyu Phedangma
2. Pungjiri Phungappo/Singdunging Phekwaing Phedangma
3. Sammundhum Yepmundhum Samba
4. Awago Sanglango
5. Sibhak Yami Yeba
6. Awago Sanglangoba
7. Neti Yaphung Yeba
8. Ongsi

On the other hand, Tej Bahadur Phago (2003) just mentions the following names of *pegi phanghangs*:

1. Phejiri Phedangba
2. Sawara Samba
3. Yetjiri Samba
4. Yajiri Yabhokwa Samba

As the same author mentions on *Sawa Yethang Mundhum* (2003::156), “those who fell down on the earth became *Sawa Yethang* and those who remained on the sieve became *Pegi Phang Hang*. *Sawa Yethangs* are all people and *Pegi Phang Hangs* are priests *Phedangma, Yeba and Sambas*. They are *Tuttu Tummyangs* or *Pancha Bhaladmi* (gentlemen) and respected priests of the beginning.”

As mentioned on *Sakumara Wademma* (Blowing away the curse) part of *Kirat Samjik Mundhum* (2007), a *Hang* (Leader/king) named Nawa Hang invites Nga Tummyanghangs (*five gentlemen*) to his palace for experiment of their skill to

perform the justice or find out the reality of any unjust incident. Eventually, *Nga Tummyanghangs* able to perform their skill to find out the things or matters successfully and the Hang bless them to perform such of justice maintaining work to all people of *Sawa Yethangs* as the way. Village elders and villagers have for many generations solved conflict through mediation between conflicting parties, continuing such efforts until an agreed settlement is reached. This ensures community members continue to live peacefully together and avoids the occurrence of acts of revenge being committed against one other.

As this way, *Sawa Yethang Chumlung* has been working as a social institution in Limbu society and culture from the beginning.

2.3.2. Sawa Yethang Chumlung as a Political and Judicial/Legal Institution

In the past times, the differentiation between the social and political institution and works was not so clear. The same persons and institutions used to do both works of social and political, for instance, the Kipat system of Limbus had been seen as both of social and political institutions when it was existed in Limbuwan.

According to I. S. Chemjong (1961:56-58), the *Kipat* areas were called *Tangsing Khoksing* by the Limbus. Being the earliest settler, they were probably the first to clear the forests and start cultivation, after placating the local gods and goddess (Subba, 1999). It shows that kipat system was called *Tangsing Khoksing* by Limbus originally. According to *Limbu-Nepali-English Dictionary* (2002), *Tansaing Khoksing* means, cultivated land after cleansing the forest, first ownership of land, first inhabited land; main land; original land. It shows that such type of land ownership system was there in Limbu community from the very beginning. Therefore, this *Tangsing Khoksing* (Kipat) system is a part of social institution related to land ownership and natural resources. But, it is not the main or whole institution of Limbus now.

This Kipat system is taken as social political institution of Limbu people. However, it is not seen as a whole as well as main social traditional institution of Limbus. In addition, *kipat* system does not exist now. It has been abolished by the state of Nepal. “The *Kipat* system was a ‘a form of communal landownership’ but with individual rights over a piece of land, which did not include the right to sell it to another tribe’

or community” (Regmi, 1976a:87). Therefore, it had preserved some of communal land and other rights in Limbu people at that time.

The republican system of the Kirat (Limbu’s) government and governing system with administrative policy and rules for the social customs and culture of the Limbus such as *Chokphung Thim* (adoption of nationality), *Samyok-Lung Thim* (Confession and Reception), The Ecclesiastical Rules of the Limbus and The Agrarian Law of the Limbus are collected and mentioned on a book *History and Culture of Kirat Peoples* by Iman Singh Chemjong (2003:55-70). As the same way, he has mentioned *Das Limbuwanko Thiti* (Laws of ten Limbuwan) comprising *Rajneetik thiti* (political rules and regulations), *Samajik Thiti* (Social rules and regulations), *Dharmik Thiti* (Religious rules and regulations), and *Krishi garne thiti* (rule for farming) of Limbus on *Kiratkaleen Vijayapurko Sankshipta Itihas* (2003:5-11). These laws or rule and regulations show the existence and role of social-political institution of Limbus from the very beginning.

On the other hand, “there is a great importance of *pancha wakya* in Limbu community. Any of social exclusion can be free by the acceptance of old-aged *pancha bhaladmis* according to the system of *Ten Limbuwan* and *Seventeen Thums*. The moral accusation can be freed, the religious impurity can be cleared and caste or racial criminal can be excused with the *pancha wakya* of *Pancha Bhaladims*. They can give the decision of penalty or compensation, the matter of exclusion from the society or granting excuse and the matter of implementation too, if any person does any of great crime; by the *pancha bhaladmis* themselves in their society” (Sharma, 2001:282).

“*Tumyang-hang* is the supreme administrative organizational body of Limbu society. *Tumyanghang* and *Yehang* officiate the affairs of the community. The myth of origin of *ten Limboo* or *Tumyaghang* or *Yehang* is described by *Phedangmas* while performing *Nahangma* ritual. The *ten Limboos* of *Tumyanghang* consists of the Eight Kings, that is, eight sons out of seventeen sons of *Sut-suru Suhampheba* and *Telara Lahadongna* who went down to the *Tum-Yakthung Pangphey* for settlement” (Subba, 1999 :393).

“*Phedangma*, *Samba* and *Sammundhum Yepmundhum*, were always accompanying ten brothers, ancestors of Limbus, as spiritual advisers while they were developing their stronghold in the east of Arun river” (Vansittart, 1906). “*Phedangma*, *Samba*,

Yeba and *Yema* are not only the traditional healers and performers of certain rituals but also the sources and authorities of *Mundhums*, rites and rituals, customs and manners, rules and code of conducts. Some of the *Tumyahangs* (gentleman or respected laymen) are also considered resource persons in this respect” (J. R. Subba, 1998:5). *Phedangma* performs the ritual of purification with the aspersion of holy water and *Tumyahang* (distinguished persons) support and accept the purification procedure on birth rituals and others.

“There are a variety of mediators available to settle disputes in which Limbu are implicated. The decision as to which category of mediator to choose depends on partly on who a man is quarrelling with, and partly on the disputes’ assessment of their own status. The first is of importance because Limbus prefer, even if it is obvious from some of the examples cited that they do not always succeed, to have their quarrels mediated by other Limbus. The second determines the ‘level’ at which mediator will be sought” (Caplan, 2007: 142).

“According to Edden Vansittart, and repeated religiously by all subsequent British writers, the word ‘*Subba*’ means ‘chief’ and it was a title conferred by king Prithivinarayan Shah upon influential Limbu as a conciliatory measure after subjugating them politically. This might have been true of the state-nominated ‘*Subbas*’ but the traditional *Subbas* existed from much earlier times” (Adhikari, 1984, Dahal 1988). It means that ‘*Subba*’ is not a leader or part of Limbu socio-political institution originally. Instead, *subbas* were encroached by Gorkha rulers forcefully in Limbuwan to enforce their laws in Limbuwan after 1774. Before that, there were their own original traditional socio-political institution and their leaders in Limbu society, they are *Sawa Yethangs*. However, in some extent, Limbus were compelled to accept the *subbas* system in Limbuwan. Even though, *Subbas* tried their best to follow the social-political traditional rules of Limbus on their period too. And, “The Limbus, led by their *Subbas*, have all along opposed the Panchayat system. In 1952, when district authorities first invited the *Subbas* of Ilam to encourage support for the system among their followers, the response was a plea urging the government to withdraw its intention to establish Panchayat Committees” (Caplan, 2007: 162).

“The *Subba* had right to dispense justice (*amali*) on his holding *amal*. He exercised this right over both Limbus and non-Limbus. *Subbas* could have help from those designated as *karta*, *rai*, *karbari*, *baidar*, *pagari*, *burhyauli*. Along with the privilege

of the banner and drum, Kathmandu also let them raise small armies (*tillinga*) as they did the Gorkha regional courts. Finally, the Subba had the right to collect fine on his holding, exact various tributes and impose sanctions. This source of income (*amdani*) enabled him to remunerate his assistant and soldiers” (Sangant, 1996: 139).

As Lionel Caplan(2007:183) says that periodic worship reminds them (Limbus) of their common religious beliefs; weddings, funerals and a host of other rites emphasizes the special quality of their customs. The common factor on many of these occasions is the Limbu ritual specialist, who is not only the repository of religious knowledge and techniques, but whose officiation attest to the determination of the Limbus to retain their cultural independence.

Similarly, Philippe Sangant (1996:321) writes on how have relations between the Gorkha State and Limbu headmen evolved in 1774? Three periods need to be revised. The first, (1774-1820) lasted forty-six years, from the conquest to agreement between the Limbu headmen and Nepalese administration. This agreement called *thekka thiti* instituted a *modus vivendi*. The second (1820-1951), and by far the longest -130 years-lasting the life time of this agreement which recognized the Limbus’ political ‘autonomy’. Finally, from 1951 onwards, the *thekka thiti* system was gradually called into question by the state. It was abrogated in 1967. The Limbus were forced to adopt the political institutions which governed the rest of the country, the *panchayat* system. This was the end of ‘autonomy’.

As *Mundhum* says, facilitators for *Sawa Yethang* Social Traditional Institution are *Phejikkum Phedangma, Sawala Samba, Yebhung Yeba, Yebhung Yema, Yuma, Sapmundhum Yepmundhumsaba, Mangba, Sidapangdasaba, Muhigum Ongsi and Tuttu Tummyangs*. According to Jones, Rex L. (1976), the *Mangba* is believed originally to have been a Rai Shaman. He is, however, identified closely with the forces that aid the *yeba* and *yema*- the forces of darkness and evil.

The experiment of the strength of the *Council (Panchayata)* or *Chumlung* also comes on oral *Mundhum* and is described in detail on *History and Culture of Kirat People* too by Iman Singh Chemjong (2003:36-43). It shows the power and fairness of such *Chumlungs* for dispute management and justice to the progeny of *Sawa Yethangs*. However, in *Kirat Mundhum* (oral and written text), we cannot find the specific word

'Chumlung'. There is just said '*mejupse*' or '*chumma*' for '*gathered*' or '*ghathering*'. However, the word '*chumlung*' refers a council in Limbu language now.

2.4. Encroachment of Non-Limbu Gorkhas into Limbuwan

According to Ronald Neizen, an indigenist writer writes on his book *The Origin of Indigenism : Humang Rights and the Politics of Identity* (2003:5), indigenous peoples, like some ethnic groups, derives much of their identity from histories of state-sponsored genocide, forced settlement, relocation, political marginalization, and various formal attempts at cultural destruction. Indigenous peoples and ethnic groups alike can have primary attachments to land, and similar attachments derived from primordial use and occupancy of land- though perhaps with less spiritual resonance- can even be found in some groups commonly referred to as "ethnic".

In addition, according to Dambar Chemjong (2011), "the source of indigenous politics is quite different from the political source of other so-called mainstreamed parties. The communal, social, cultural and political programs of indigenous Limbus start together with the respect or greetings to their socio-political leaders like Sirijunga, Imans Singh Chemjong and Falgunanda. Thus, we can see that the history, nationality and politics of Limbuwan is being upraised amongst Limbus in the base of those three persons' contribution to explore Limbus' script, propounding religious-cultural movement and rewriting the history of Limbus respectively."

In the context of Nepal, "the Gorkhas, or Gorkhalis, so named from the former capital of their country, are the dominant race. They formerly occupied the distinct around the town of Gorkha, which is about forty miles west from Kathmandu. They are said to be of Rajput descent, and to have been driven out of Rajputana on the occasion of an invasion by Musulmans. They first settled near Palpa, having passed through the Kumaon hills, and gradually extended their dominions to Gorkha. A little more than a hundred years ago they invaded Nepal, and the country to the eastward, and they have remained the rulling race ever since" (Singh & Gunananda,1983:25).

Thus, "the reminiscence of losing 'own state' in India by the attack of Muslims was touching on the brain of Hindus who came in Nepal at that past time. As the way, in the mind of Prthivi Narayana Shaha, same thing was moving on. As the result, he did severe military attack in Tamuwan, Magarat, Newa:, Tamangsaling, Khambuwan and Limbuwan one by one. Then, after doing so-called united Nepal, he has said on his

divyopadesh that “*ma nepallai asali hindoosthan banauchhu*” (I make Nepal a real Hindusthan). What a surprise matter that he loses his state in India and seeks to make a real Hundusthan in Nepal! At this point, the history of Nepal took a fault way. Unfortunately, Nepal was walking on the same mission of Prithvi Narayana Shaha to make a real Hindusthan until 240 years and the same fault-attempt is being done even now” (Lingden, 2011:11). As this way, “Prithvi Narayan Shaha conquered many tribal as well as indigenous peoples and subjugated many princely states to build a geographically unified Nepal” (Mabuhang, 2009:45).

“East of the Nepal valley was the Kosi Basin inhabited by various Kirat tribes. The largest groups were the Tamang west of Tamba Kosi, the Khambu between Tamba Kois and Arun, and the Limbu east of Arun. Political organization was based on a loose association of tribes with some confederation. Of these, the league of Ten Limbus (*Yakthumba*) was well-established during the medieval period” (Gurung, 1989:134). According to Harka Gurung (1980:344), in the past, east Nepal was the domain of Kiranti people composed of Mongoloid tribes and the so-called Kirant land was subdivided into western Khumbuwan of Rais and eastern Limbuwan of Limbus with the Arun river as the boundary. According to the old Kirat legend, the whole area was ruled by a confederation of *ten Yakthumba* chief with their centre at Ambepojoma (Pheden fort) in Panchathar and the land between the Dudh Kosi and the Arun known as *Majh Kirant* or central Kirant was under *Taklung Khewa Hang* who built the Chamling-Chimling fort at Khotang.

“Since the unification of Nepal in the late 18th century (and possibly for some time prior to that), peoples belonging to different communities and traditions have lived alongside each other in multi-ethnic hill settlements. This was occasioned by migrations on the part of members of various castes from the plains and valleys to the south into the mid-montane homelands of indigenous groups such as the Limbus of Far Kirat. This often resulted in the gifting of inalienable land to the newcomers. The adoption of more advanced agricultural technologies by the previously settled groups and -alongside the growth of a common Nepali language and the spread of a dominant Hindu Great Tradition- the establishment of economic, social and cultural interdependencies among the various communities. Over time, adoption of similar modes of livelihood and the intense interaction among persons of different

backgrounds created obvious similarities of life-style and blurred the distinctions between the longer-settled and incoming communities” (Caplan 1990:139).

As mentioned by Iman Singh Chemjong on his book *History and Culture of Kirat People* (2003:199) on how the Gorkhas attacked to Limbuwan, the Gorkha with a view of attacking the land of the Limbus, crossed the rivers Arun. When the Limbus Rajas learned this, they raised their forces and fought a decisive battle on the bank of rivers Sowa and Arun. The officers of the Limbu forces were Sangbot Rey, Tesakpa Rey, Kanka Rey and Kangso Rey. They made their defenses on the bank of river Sowa and fought very bravely against the invading Gorkhas. Eight or nine soldiers of the enemy fell at each volley of the Limbu archers. The Gorkhas could not conquer the Limbu land. On the contrary, the Limbus drove back their enemies from their land and despite the frequent arrivals of Gorkha reinforcement, the Limbus kept on fighting for three years. Within this period, the Limbus drove back their enemies to a distance of about eight or nine days journey from their country and killed many of them by guerilla warfare. They drove them back as far as Dumja. Thus, the places between Chainpur and Dumja became their battlefield.

As described by Iaman Singh Chemjong (2000:200), “on a war between the Gorkhas and Limbuwan, “Raghu Rana, the commander of the Gorkhas force asked the commander of the Limbu force to fix a day for a combat between the commanders themselves only. He proposed that the commanders the rest of the fighting soldiers should keep their weapons at home and attend the duel fight of their two commanders as spectators only. And, the officer who would win the combat would have the power of commander over both armies. If the Limbu officer should win, the whole army of the Gorkha officer should win the whole army of the Limbu officers would be under him. These conditions of combat were agreed to by the commanders of both sides.

Kangso Rey, the Limbu officer was suddenly inspired by the war deity, Nehangma, cried saying, "I will cut him into pieces immediately". He then drew his sword, put a red color on it, picked up his shield with his left hand and ran upto to the fighting place prepared for betrayed for combat. But Raghu Rana, the Gurkha officer having betrayed other party, had ordered his soldiers the day before to hide their arms and ammunitions on the upper side of a road, where there the combat was to be held. This intrigue was unknown to the Limbu officers.

So, on the morning of the 25th day of the month of Baisakh of Bikram Sambat 1831 which according to the English calendar corresponds to the first week of May 1774 AD, all the soldiers of both sides stood on the upper and lower sides of the fighting ground situated in the southern of the Chianpur town. The combat between the Limbu officer Kangso Rey and the Gurkha officer Raghu Rana started. The soldiers stood watching. The two commanders fought from the morning till afternoon. In the afternoon, Kangso finally smote Raghu Rana in such a way that he died. Seeing the defeat of their officer, the Gorkha soldiers drew out their hidden arms and suddenly attacked Kangso Rey and soldiers. The latter, nevertheless surrounded their enemies on the way to Tambar and closing the way towards the river killed them all together.

After that, the Limbu picked up the dead bodies of these two heroes and buried them on the upper and lower sides of the fighting ground and erected stone monuments over their graves in their honor. The Limbus then returned to their respective villages” (Chemjong, 2000:200). As this way the Gorkhas started their encroachment into Limbuwan and Limbuwan tried their best to protest them.

And, according to Krishna Bhattachan (2003:27), “Nepal, characterized by biological and socio-cultural diversity, is a multi-caste/ethnic, multi-lingual, multi-religious, and multi-cultural small country. Before its "territorial unification” various indigenous nationalities existed here with their own homeland and self-rule. During those times, different indigenous nationalities had evolved and sustained various kinds of voluntary organizations. Traditionally, Nepal used to rely heavily on voluntarism on everything, including governance, resources mobilization, and cooperatives. It was an ideal way of everyday life. Voluntarism, therefore, helped to fulfill the needs of the community and to be self-reliant. But, after 1768, the policy of one caste, one language, one religion, and one culture over others prevailed and Nepalese people had to go through different forms of autocratic rule for 122 out of 134 years. Thanks to the underdeveloped state of the transportation and communication system, most of the indigenous nationalities have been able to sustain their ethnic identity, language, religion, and culture, despite the encroachment by state.”

And, “despite the fast pace of globalization and intensification of cultural violence through the domination of one caste, one religion, one language, and one culture, despite marginalization, and grinding poverty, some of the traditional volunteer

organizations have survived more or less intact” (Bhattachan, 2003:27). In the course of same surviving process, the *sawa yethang chumlung*, a social political institution of Limbus, has also been surviving at least as this way.

2.5. Penetration of Hindu Culture against Limbus in Limbuwan

“One product of globalization is a revolt against the forces of cultural uniformity and against the appropriation of indigenous peoples’ sovereignty by states. Its main premise is that by removing such people from their land, educating their children in state schools, eliminating their language, and usurping their own system of justice and conflict resolution, states are imposing a gray uniformity on all of humanity, stifling and suppressing the creative cultural energies of those who are most knowledgeable and prescient about the forces of nature” (Niezen, 2003:2).

As the same way what is mentioned above, throughout recent Nepalese history “the Hindus have been in control of Nepal’s state politics by virtue of being its rulers. These rulers have invariably claimed a high *Ksatriya* caste status of Rajput origin for themselves and have tried to connect their lineages with the genealogies of the mythical *Sanskritic* heroes, although the actual circumstance of the origin of the different *Thakuri* clans in Nepal may vary. All these rulers gave *Brahmans* a high position out of respect for their faith in the long Hindu tradition and presented them with gifts of land and other wealth. Their concept of politics and administration had been shaped by the *Sanskritic* laws derived from Kautilya’s *Arthashastra*, the *Mahabharata*, the *Manusmriti* and other *Smritis*” (Sharma, 1977).

In this regard, “the Limbus have been settled in what is now far western Nepal (Pallo Kirat) for many hundred of years. Little is known of their way of life prior to the incorporation of Limbuan (Limbu country) into to Gorkha state during the last quarter of the 18th century, although there is evidence of a political system based on shifting alliances among powerful households” (Sagant, 1985) Land, which until the end of the 19th century was plentiful, was deemed to belong to the group of agnatic kinsmen who cleared the forest and brought it under cultivation. It is likely that until the 18th century the Limbus, like many indigenous’ groups of hill dwellers, practiced a form of slash and burn, or shifting cultivation. But, even with the adoption of plough agriculture, probably as a result of contact with non-Limbu migrants entering their territories, the Limbus retained this class-based system of land holding (frequently

referred to, inappropriately, as communal tenure). The individual had rights to land by virtue of membership in kin groups of ascending order-sub-lineage, clan, etc.” (Caplan, 1990:135-136). “Since the overthrow of the Kirats, and since the reluctance with which they submit to the Gorkhalese has become evident, it has been the policy of the court of Kathmandu to show a decided preference to the Limbus, who have not been disgusted by the loss of power which they never possessed, nor by the banishment of their priests” (Hamilton, 2007:50).

According to Nar Bahadur Limbu (Nawal Phaiwali) (2000), Limbus were obliged to follow and take only the culture and religion of Hindus as well as to speak the *Khas kura* or *Parvate* language forcefully by making one sided laws on code. In addition, on the age of ruler Chandra Shamsher, around thirty thousand documents of Kirat Limbus have been fired or burned out to destroy their history and literatures.

2.5.1. Consequences

According to Pat Lauderdale (1996:335), “oral tradition as an institution in indigenous life stimulates, develops, protects, and delivers knowledge in a systematic manner and has qualities different from those of the written world. Burning or banning books does not destroy law based on oral tradition, and revisionist machinations have not altered completely the diversity and respect for all life embedded in the cultures of many native nations” (Monture and-OKanee, 1993). Studying, rather than rejecting or romanticizing, indigenous cultures will provide a better understanding of why injustice persists. Rejecting the knowledge of indigenous cultures or or defining them as deviant is a misguided technique used to transform identities and maintain or increase social solidarity while promoting the social status of people who misunderstand the advantages of diversity. Nevertheless, it is not found and done in the context of Nepal and its rulers until now.

“It is clear that numbers of the traditional voluntary organizations are now becoming extinct. Despite the predatory ethnic policy of the state the last 233 years (in 2002), based on the theory of *Bahunism* or domination of one-caste, one language, one religion, and one culture, and also despite the lack of attention of donors and INGOs to preserve and promote the traditional voluntary organizations, a number of them are expanding although due to the wrong policies of donors and INGOs, the traditional volunteer organizations continue to be marginalized” (Bhattachan, 2002:33).

As the result, almost all social and political traditional institutions, indigenous knowledge and skills of indigenous Limbu people have also been forgotten and left out day by days. Therefore, they have to depend on others' institution and cultures to survive losing their own original cultural identity.

2.6. Social Political Movement of Limbuwan from Past to Present

“More than 100 military conflicts are taking place in the world, and approximately 75% consist of indigenous peoples trying to resist or free themselves from political centralization and homogenous development”(Nietschmann, 1987).

In the case of Nepal, “before 1990, during the *panchayat* system, ethnic associations were forbidden as public entities in Nepal, as were political parties. Ethnic associations were considered to be “communal” and a hindrance to the process of national unity and integration. At this time, the king was an absolute rule and considered to be the incarnation of the Hindu god Vishnu” (Skar 1995: 31).

On the other side, “Limbu peoples in Limbuwan were facing so many ups and downs or difficulties by losing own state and replacing own cultures by Hindu culture. The movement of *Mahaguru Phalgunanda Lingden* during mid-twenties of this century made a big stride in popularizing social reform and religious awakening. The consensus declaration of the representatives of Limbus of seventeen *thums* (Limbuwan was divided into 17 Thums) of 1931 (Baisakh 14, 1988 B.S.) which is known as “*Satya Dharmako Muchulka*” (Consensus of true religion) was a great event for social reform, cultural as well as religious awakening” (Subba, 1998:34; Kainla, 1992:44). Moreover, even now too, Limbus follow these consensus in Limbuwan.

“The political movement of late seventies created a relatively lax situation which made the establishment of institution for cultural development feasible. As a result, a religious and literary organization *Kirat Dharma Tatha Sahitya Utthan Sangh* was started in early eighties and a socio-cultural organization *Kirat Yakthung Chumlung* of Limbus” (Skar, 1995: 31) was organized in late eighties and some attempts were made to mobilize local resources for the development of Limbu language, literature, culture and other social institutions. The basic customs and tradition of Limbus are even well known as *thibong yakthung thim* (the customs of ten Limbus). Limbus have

Table 1. Social Political Movement of Limbuwan

Date	Movement
1770	Ten Limbuwan Revolt by Ten Limbus of Pallo Kirat Limbuwan (Gurung, 2007:432)
1774	Declaring War against the Gorkha and its treaty of 1774 by Buddhikarna Khewahang Raya of Bijayapur, Hillihang Yanghang of Yanwarak, Jasmukhi Raya of Chainpur, Sunuhang Raya of Chhathar, Ashdev Raya Limbu of Charkhal, Limbuan (Kurumbang, 2009).
1774	Gorkha-Limbuwan War and fight with Gorkhas on leadership of Kangso Rey in Sankhuwa-sabha, Limbuwan (Chemjong, 2003:199).
1778	Oppression on Limbu Language in Pallo Kirat (Limbuwan) (Gurung, 2007:432)
1816	Effort to chase away the Gorkhas from Limbuwan on leadership of Prithvi Singh Limbu (Kurumbang, 2009).
1870	Oppression on Limbu Language and struggle against the oppression on Leadership of Sirijonga Sing-Thebe in Pallo Kirat (Limbuwan) (Gurung, 2007:432).
1884	Revolt for free Limbuwan on Leadership of Jagadal Limbu (Kurumbang, 2009).
1885	Raider war against feudalism on leadership of Murehang Limbu and Thamuya Limbu (Kurumbang, 2009).
1895	Raising strong voice for the traditional right of Limbus and Limbuwan by Bajahang Limbu in Taplijong. For this, he was hanged for death penalty and killed in Taplijong by Gorkhas(Wanem, 2009).
1931	Chumlung of Ten Limbuwan and Seventeen Thums of Limbuwan in Silauti Panthar and made <i>Satya Dharma Muchulka</i> on leadership of Mahaguru Phalgunanda Lingden (Kainla, 1992)

1932	Chumlug of Non- Limbu Rais of Ten & Limbuwan Seventeen Thums at Lalikharka, Panthar, Limbuwan (Chemjong, 2000: 19).
1947	Establishment of Akhil Nepali Rashtriya Mahasabha to Struggle for Limbuwan State Government and establishment of Limbuwan State Bank (Sangraula, 2011).
1949	Movement for establishment of Limbwuan State by Jas Bdr. Limbu and Ekat Bdr. Limbu from Sikkim Darjiling with the help of nine other members (Bastola, 1996:70).
	Limbus Armed Revolt on Command of Bijaya Bdr. Limbu for the establishment of Limbuwan State (Kurumbang, 2009).
	A Brihat Chumlung (Wider Assembly) held in Hwaku, Atharai, Limbuwan on leadership of Bijaya Bdr. Limbu to form organization and collect the weapons (Bastola, 1996:70)
	Presented a Memorandum Letter to King Mahendra on 10 Nov. 1949 keeping Demands to reestablish the Limbuwan (Serma, 2010).
1950	Capturing the offices of Ranas by Limbus For Limbuwas State (Kurumbang, 2009).
1951	Captured Weapons of Police from Mehelbote and Ilam By Limbus on Command of Bijaya Bdr. Limbu for the establishment of Limbuwan State (Kurumbang, 2009).
	Establishment of Limbuwan Sudhar Sangh by Iman Singh Chemjong, founder president (Serma, 2010).
	Limbuwan Ministry Council Organized on leadership of Lalit Bdr. Tambahangphe in Dhankuta where Prem Bdr. Mabohang was Home Minister and Kaman Singh Limbu was Mininster for Securiy. There were all together 16 members on the government (Kurumbang, 2009).
	Establishment of Akhil Limbuwna Sudhar Sangh for Limbuwan State by Iman Singh Chemjong (President) and Tej Bdr. Prasain

	Prime minister with other Limbuwan and non-Limbu members (Serma, 2010).
	Establishment of Akhil Nepal Kirat League on leadership of Tilak Bahadur Loksam (Baral & Limbu 2008:224)
1952	Established Akhil Nepal Limbuwan Chumlung Sabha Demanding reestablishment of Kipat System in Limbuwan. (Serma, 2010).
	Presented a Memorandum Letter to King Mahendra on 15th Nov. 1949 keeping Demands to reestablish the Limbuwan (Serma, 2010).
1954	A Statement Letter Sent to the goverment of Nepal By Tej Bahadur Prasain (Prime Minister of Akhil Limbu Sudhar Sangh) mentioning demands for Limbuwan Peoples (Serma, 2010).
1957	Limbuwan Representative Board reached to Kathamandu to keep the demands of Limbuwan to the government (Kurumbang, 2009).
1961	Armed revolt of Limbuwan for reestablishment of Limbuwan State On leadership of Bhubikram Nembang (Kurumbang, 2009).
1964	Abolision of Kipat System In Kirat Area (Gurung, 2007:432).
1967	A Limbuwan Representative Committe reached to Kathamndu to memorize the Kipat Syystem of Limbus with a memorandum letter to king Mahendra On leadership of Capt. Dal Bdr. Limbu (Kurumbang, 2009).
1968	Kipat Samparka Samiti organized a conference in Bijayapur, Dharan to submit the demands of Limbuwan with King Mahendra in Kathmandu on leadership of Prem Bahadur Mabohang with Krishna Bahadur Thamden and Harka Prasad Nembang, etc (Serma, 2010).
	A Wider Kipatiya Conference in Myanglung, Terhathum On leadeship of Samsheer Bdr. Tambahangphe and Padam Sundar Lawati to keep continue the kipat system (Kurumbang, 2009).
1979	Estblishment of Sarva Kirati Chumlung for Limbu native language education against the education policy of Nepal and Sikkim Government (Serma, 2010).

	Establishment of Kirat Religion and Literature Upliftment Association in Panthar, Limbuwan On presidency of Atma Nanda Lingden (Kurumbang, 2009).
2080	Establishment of Limbuwan Mukti Morcha on leadership of Bir Nembang and is still on same movement(Nembang, 2045)
1989	Establishment of Kirat Yakthung Chumlung in Kathamandu by some of aware Limbu youths, (Chumlung, 2061).
1994	Establishment of an organization Prajatantrik Sangheeya Limbuwan on leadership of Lajesa Yakthungba (Bhagat Subba) (Yakthungba, 2001:77).
2001	Establishment of Limbu Students' Forum in Kathmandu for the rights of Limbu Students' and Limbuwan (Kurumbang, 2009).
2000	Establishment of Limbuwan Rashtriya Mukti Morcha a Sister organization of UCPN (Maoist) on leadership of Bhaktaraj Kandangwa (Limbuwan Rashtriya Mukti Morcha, 2000).
2005	Establishment of Federal Democratic National Forum , at Bitamod Jhapa, Limbuwan (FDNF, 2005)
2006	Establishment of Federal Limbuwan State Council in Panthar, Limbuwan
2007	First Long Limbuwan Banda and Sacrifice of Martyr Raj Kumar Angdembe "Mangtok" (Kurumbang, 2009:88).
2008	Five Point Agreement with the Government of Nepal for Limbuwan and others (NSSPM), 2010
	Federal Limbuwan State Council's five-point agreement with the government (Kurumbang, 2009:118).
	Establishment of United Limbuwan Front, Nepal on co-ordination of Kirat Yakthung Chumlung (Kurumbang, 2009:88).
2009	Movement of Limbuwan for Federal Education and Proportional Election System. Sacrifice by Student Martyr Manil Tamang in Limbuwan.

2.7. National Laws and Experiences with same other people's institutions

None of Nepalese constitution and code has managed the provision for reestablishment and empowerment of indigenous people's social political traditional institutions yet. However, some of international laws and provisions have been provided some of environment to understand and do works on such of social political institutions of indigenous people in Nepal. In addition, Nepal government has also ratified and signed on some of international laws and provisions such as United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) and International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention No. 169. However, state has not implemented any of those laws in Nepal practically. The Special Rapporteur on the rights of indigenous peoples also criticized the Process of Constituent Assembly and recommended that, "In addition to existing means of representation in the Constituent Assembly, special mechanisms should be developed for consultations with the *Adivasi Janajati*, through their own representative institutions, in relation to proposals for new constitutional provisions that affect them" (Bhattachan, 2011). On the other hand, indigenous peoples are trying their best to practise and write the rights on new constitution of Nepal through Constituent Assembly themselves.

The book *Order in Paradox* written by David H. Holmberg(2005) is an another prominent literature in this regard, where he has widely mentioned about myth, ritual, and exchange among Nepal's Tamang by performing a field study in Tumdungsa Village which is situated to the northwest of Kathmandu. This book is mainly concerned on the three different role of Tamangs, or three practitioners and their rituals- Lama, Lambus and Bombos. These practitioners are seen as same with *Yeba, Samaba and Mangba* or *Ongsis* of Limbus myth and ritual. So, this study by Holmberg (2005) is a helpful literature to understand and explore the Limbu social political institution in Limbuwan.

Among these institutions of indigenous people's Nepal, *Guthi* of Newars, Dhikur of Thakalis, *Bheja* of Magars, Ro-Dhin (Rodi) Gurungs and *Badghar* or *Khyala* of Tharus are existing in practice. In the case of Kirat and Limbus, *Kipat* system has been abolished by the state; however, they are practising the institution through *Sawa Yethang Chumlung* by *Sawa Yethangs* or *Tummyangs* unknowingly.

2.8. International Laws and Experiences with other people's institutions

2.8.1. International Laws

Indigenous peoples' right to retain and develop their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions is a fundamental right under international human rights law. The existence of such institutions is also a core element in the description of indigenous peoples. Article 1(1) of ILO Convention No. 169 identifies indigenous peoples as those who have retained some or all of their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions, irrespective of their legal status. The existence of distinct social, economic, cultural and political institutions is an integral part of what it means to be an indigenous people and is largely what distinguishes indigenous peoples from other sections of the national population. International human rights provisions on indigenous peoples' rights thus encompass the promotion and protection of indigenous peoples' collective right to maintain, control and develop their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions— including their practices, customs, customary law and legal systems. Such institutions are also vital to ensuring consultation with and participation of indigenous peoples in decision-making processes that affect them.

In some instances, the term “institutions” is used to refer to physical institutions or organizations, while in other instances it may have a broader meaning that includes indigenous peoples' practices, customs, and cultural patterns. The preamble of the UNDRIP recognizes the inherent inter-connectivity between indigenous peoples' institutions, traditions or customs. The Declaration recognizes “the urgent need to respect and promote the inherent rights of indigenous peoples which derive from their political, economic, and social structures and from their cultures, spiritual traditions, histories and philosophies, especially their rights to their lands, territories and resources” (UN Declaration Preamble: para. 7) being static and homogenous, thereby wrongly implying that if they changed or adopted new organizational forms they would become less “indigenous” . However, in reality indigenous societies are multifaceted and dynamic. The provisions of Convention No. 169 should not be understood as being restricted only to traditional institutions, but rather also apply to current practices of indigenous peoples' economic, cultural and social development. In other words, indigenous peoples' cultural adaptations and technological development should not reduce or impair the applicability of these provisions. This also implies that indigenous peoples are entitled to establish

contemporary institutions, if traditional institutions are no longer adequate to meet their needs and interests (ILO, 2009:49).

According to Thomas & Lauderdale (1987), the developed state continues to legitimate its control and expands its jurisdiction by deconstructing indigenous solidarity, experiential education, and family and community welfare for people as it constructs national citizenship, formal education and limited forms government welfare for individuals including ostensible protection via nuclear armaments. Communal solidarity, education from experience, family welfare, and real diversity are defined as “underdeveloped.” Often, indigenous values are eroded; for example, family welfare is sacrificed to economic development as the home increasingly loses its hearth with parents or guardians absent and as diverse people increasingly loses their land and culture.

2.8.2. International Experiences: Practical Applicationl Respect for Indigenous Institutions

2.8.2.1. Bangladesh: Traditional Governance Institutions

“Although Bangladesh has a unitary system of government, the legal and administrative system in the Chittagong Hill Tract (CHT) is separate and distinct from those in other parts of the country. A series of traditional indigenous institutions and contemporary elected councils at the district and regional share the administrative authority in the CHT region with the central government, through its district and sub-district offices” (Roy, 2004; ILO, 2009)

2.8.2.2. Greenland: Self-Government

“The Journey of the peoples of Greenland towards self-government has been long. From the colonization of Greenland in 1721, it was administered by the Danish Government. From 1945 to 1954, Greenland figured on the list of non-self governing territories under Chapter XI of the United Nations Charter. This status changed in 1954 when Greenland was integrated into the Danish Realm.

In 1979, The Greenland Home Rule Arrangement came into force. The Arrangement made it possible for Greenland to assume legislative and executive power regarding Greenland’s internal administration, direct and indirect taxes, fishing within the Exclusive Economic Zone, hunting, agriculture and reindeer breeding, social welfare, labour market affairs, education and cultural affairs, vocational education, other matters relating to trade, health services, the housing area, and protection of the environment” (ILO, 2009).

2.8.2.3. Norway: *The Traditional Siida Institutions*

“The legal re-introduction of the traditional Sami reindeer husbandry *siida* system/institution was to a large extent influenced and justified by international legal provisions, including article 5 (b) of Convention No. 169.

Traditionally, the Sami live in groups, *siida*, varying in size, as determined by the resources available in the area. Within the *siida* there was no social stratification. The form of governance was a stateless local democracy with a leader. The leader presided at meetings, was responsible for dividing hunting spoils, asserted the right of the *siida* to neighboring groups, mediated in internal conflicts and was the spokesperson of the *siida*” (Herniksen, 2008, ILO, 2009).

2.8.2.4. New Caledonia: *Teh Customary Senate*

“The status of the Kanak people, i.e. the indigenous people of New Caledonia, is regulated in accordance with the 1998 Noumea Agreement signed between the French Government and the Kanak Independence movement and the conservative party. In particular, the Noumea Agreement provides for the establishment of the Customary Senate. It is composed of 16 Kanak customary chiefs, who must be consulted on any issues affecting Kanak identity” (ILO, 2009:54).

2.8.2.5. Colombia: *Traditional Indigenous Authorities*

“The constitution of Colombia recognizes the special jurisdiction of indigenous traditional authorities, exercised in accordance with their customs within indigenous traditional territories, provided that does not contradict the Constitution and legislations of the State. The Constitution also recognizes indigenous territories as entities of public administration at local level and establishes that such territorial entities will be governed by "their own authorities", whose constitution and functions are regulated by the customary law of each indigenous community” (ILO, 2009:54).

2.8.2.6. Nicaragua: *The Communities of the Atlantic*

“Under article 89 of the Constitution of Nicaragua, the communities of the Atlantic Coast, organized in the two autonomous regions of RAAN and RAAs (Autonomous Regions of the North and South Atlantic), encompassing respectively the northern and southern parts of the Atlantic area, are conferred the right to retain their own models of social organization and to manage local matters in accordance with their own customs and

traditions. The principles of which the Autonomy Law was based were encapsulated in the Autonomy Commission's proposals" (ILO, 2009:55).

2.8.2.7. Guatemala: Indigenous Authorities

"In Guatemala, there are authorities of the Mayan World, such as the *Ajqi'j* Mayan priests, healers and midwives, whose services are determined by the Maya calendar. These are not recognized by the State. The Municipal Law of 2002 recognizes indigenous peoples' communities as legal entities (Article 20) and indigenous municipalities, where there still exist (Article 55). Even more important is the recognition of auxiliary mayors, also called communal mayors, as representatives of the communities (Article 56) and not as delegates of the Government. Therefore, and as stipulated in the Peace Accords, the communal mayors can be elected by the mayors communities instead of being designated by the municipal mayor. The communal mayors are intermediaries between the municipality and the communities" (ILO, 2009: 57).

As this way, in most international experience, those nations as mentioned above, have been practicing their social political traditional institutions more meaningfully than Nepal by legalizing them from the state.

2.9. Conclusion

Limbus of Limbuwan are an indigenous people of Nepal. They have their own distinct culture, religion, language, history and historical ancestral land Limbuwan. They are the progenies or descendants of *Sawa Yethangs* according to their holy *Mundhum* and history. They are called or known as *Yakthung* and *Thibong Yakthungs* or Ten Limbus and as Limbus now.

Limbus have their own social political history. They have faced so many ups and downs in the course of coming to this stage. They had their own independent state called Limbuwan in the past. But, the Prithvi Narayan Shaha and his descendants of Gorkhas invaded the Limbuwan and unitarised Limbus in the name of so-called unification of Nepal. Limbus had been enjoying their own social political institution from the very beginning from *Tangsing Khoksing* system. The system was called *Kipat* afterwards, which was enjoyed by Limbus until 1964. It was abolished by the state by making and amending land reform code in 1964. As the result, Limbus became powerless in every aspect.

According to literatures reviewed above, Limbus had their own social political institutions. In the base of same institutions, they have been practicing their social, cultural and political life and activities yet. Limbus had practiced their *Sawa Yethang* Social instituion as Kipat system through *subbas* and *amal* in the past in middle stage. Shaha and Rana rulers of Nepal compelled Limbus to transform their institutional leaders in to *subbas* and *amal*, however, that was not their own traditional leaders. Sawa Yethangs or Tummyangs became *subbas* at that time to conduct the local society and politics as the instruction and direction of Shaha and Rana rulers. Thorough, *subbas* used to or rake help and cooperation of *Tummyangs* and other facilitators *phedangma*, *samba* and *yebas*. It means, the *Subbas* did not follow all the rules and regulations of Shaha and Rana rulers only. They also follow their own social political traditional rule and regulation of their on institution. So, the culture, religion, language, script, and social norms and values of Limbus did not vanish completely even in that situation too.

Specially, encroachment of non-Limbu Gorkhas into Limbuwan and their penetration of Hindu culture shocked Limbus and Limbuwan very negatively. Therefore, the ancestors of Limbus struggled and have been doing movement against the oppressive system of the state and their rollers from 1770 upto now.

National lows and codes of Nepal have not given any special progressive provisions to Limbus yet. However, they have got opportunity to raise their voice in democratic system of Nepal after 1990.

Moreover, international laws like UNDRIP and ILO C. 169 have encouraged Limbus to know about their indigenou right and fight for that. They are learning and experiencing about their rights and social political institutions from national and international experiences.

So, all of the issues reviewed above as literatures of this study show that Limbus have their own social political institutions but not studied on it specifically as what is done in this study.

CHAPTER III

Methodology

“Methodology tends to include a discussion of both theoretical issues and the practical matters of data collection. The term ‘methodology’, however, is also used in a rather more specific sense, as almost a synonym for research design. In this sense, it indicates the practical way in which the whole research project has been organized” (Oliver, 2006). Here, the term methodology is used in a general sense to refer to both theoretical and practical aspects of the conduct of the research.

“Like the character in the play who was surprised to learn that he had been speaking prose all this life, most people are probably unaware that the set of ideas they take for granted about the family and relations within the family represent a particular brand of sociological thought. When we speak of the “survival” of a society or the “need” of a society for a stable family life or the orderly replacement of one generation by another, we are speaking in functional terms whether we realize it or not. It is impossible, of course, to summarize a complex body of thought like functionalism in a few paragraphs.

Functionalism itself is not a unified body of thought, but has several opposing schools within its general outlook. Nevertheless, the basic assumption of functionalism is that human activities are integrative- that is so, organized as to assure the continuity and stability of society. Society is viewed as a structure- and organization of interrelated parts- rather than a collection of discrete elements. The “parts” of society may be thought of as *institutions*, such as the family or the schools, social roles, such as mother, father, worker, manager or social practices and customs. The way these parts fit together in functional thought is not, however, like a clock for some other complex mechanical structure, but rather like a living organism” (Skolnick, 1973:37). By keeping in consideration of this theoretical assumption, this study is based on structural functionalism perspective.

On the other hand, “an indigenist perspective, a new for Nepal, is being a global movement as indigenism, which has gained momentum over the last few decades largely out of the notice of observers, pundits and theorists of international events. This movement, it is true, is smaller in scale, more fragile, and less turbulent than the nationalist upheavals of the past two centuries, but it nevertheless has the potential to

influence the way states manage their affairs and even to reconfigure the usual alignments of nationalism and state sovereignty” (Niezen, 2003:2).

According to Harald O. Skar (1995:32), anthropological studies of myths of origin of have generally seen them as a way of looking at society as integrated wholes. Such studies have already been connected to structural theories in which conceptual wholes (cultures) are postulated.

3.1. Rationale of the Study and Area Selection

In this research, theoretically, the Structural-Functional perspective of sociology and anthropology is used to conduct the research and analysis the findings of this research on *Limbu Social Political Institution in Limbuwan: A Study of Sawa Yethang Chumlung*: “Structural-Functionalism, which grew from the work of the French theorist *Emile Durkheim*, emphasizes the norms, which societies develop and instill to hold themselves together. Durkheim saw the functioning of these norms in many aspects of human cultures, from the division of labor to religious practices. He recognized that those who found themselves outside the bonds of social norms were much more likely to commit suicide” (Baker, 1999:57). Structural-Functionalism perspective conceives the society as social system, which has a structure made up of various parts. Social system is a complex, integrated, mutually interrelated, and functionally interdependent parts. Each part has its own identity while performing its functions or contributing to the maintenance, strengthening and stability of the whole. Thus, the parts of social political institutions of Limbus such as the role or works of *phedangma*, *samba*, *yeba*, *yema*, *mangba*, *yuma*, *sidasaba*, *sammundhum- yepmundhum*, *muhigum ongsi* and *tuttu tummyangs* perform their function to maintain or strengthen the whole *sawa yethang chumlung* (institution) of *yakthung* (Limbu) people.

Limbu Social Political Institution in Limbuwan: A study of Sawa Yethang Chumlung is rational as the way that this institution carries the all parts of Limbus life cycle as well as a whole part of their social political system. One cannot understand the Limbus' way of life until and unless the understanding on *Sawa Yethang Chumlung* and *yetchham bacha thim* with all of its role player parts such as *Tummyangs*, *Phedangma*, *Samba*, *Yeba*, *Yema*, *Yuma*, *Mangba*, *Sidasaba* and *Sapmundhum Yepmudhum sam*, etc.

The study area for his study is selected to Poklabang Village, a typical Yakthung *Pangbhe* (Limbu Village) of Terhathum Limbuwan. The researcher has conducted his final study on this area on limited time; however, he had been visiting and studying about the subject and village time to time from some of years for other but same studies. The researcher has also conducted his additional study in Dharan of Limbuwan and Kathmandu to see and understand all aspects of the institution form rural village to the urban cities informally.

3.2. Nature and Sources of Data Collection

The researcher conducted a qualitative research mainly in three places: Poklabang Village of Terhathum, Dharan of Sunsari, Limbuwan and Kathmandu. As being Poklabang Village of Terhathum is a typical Limbu village and a sample or representative field of Limbuwan. Therefore, the researcher collected primary data on the subject matter from Poklabang village by doing structured, semi-structured and key-informant interviews; conducting focused group discussion, field observation and participant-observations; as well as performing triangulation and case study work of concerned people and parts of socio-cultural institutional activities and role players of Limbu society and culture.

This study is on textual and contextual approach. Textual references are examined and scrutinized to obtain bench-line data to relate and explain the field-data collected through empirical fieldwork. Contextual approach is applied in the field to collect first-hand data using different field methods. Sources of textual reference are published and unpublished works, documents, reports, manuscripts, etc. Empirical materials, both the ethnographic detail and analytical details, are analyzed to make the study meaningful.

As the same way, the researcher conducts a research work in Dharan city by meeting and conducting the interview, discussion and observation as well as doing case study of the parts of social institutions with *Phedangma*, *Yeba*, *Yema*, *Samba Mangba*, *Sidasaba*, *Ongsi*, and *Tumyangs* of Limbus from *Taplijong*, *Panthar*, *Chhathar* and *Phedap* of Limbuwan to understand the Mundhum, opinion, role and work on the subject matter. This research done in Dharan helped the researcher to make the research findings more authentic and comparative study from the representatives of all parts of Limbuwan. In addition, the researcher also observed the local institutions like *Phedangma Sanchumbho*, *Chumlung*, *Manghim* and activities of *Tumyangs* as well as with the leaders and cadres of local political organization of Limbuwan there in Dharan.

In another step of research, the researcher also did the research in Kathmandu with Mundhum Experts and academic scholars, social workers and politicians by doing interview, discussion and interaction with them to understand their opinion on the subject matter. The researcher also visited to the concerned person or organization of other indigenous people's social institutions in Kathmandu, and made the concept clearer to interpret and analysis the findings for conclusion of the research.

Moreover, Structured and unstructured questionnaire was used to elicit information and ferret out the secret knowledge and clues hidden in the memories of the resource persons. It took a form of directive as well as non-directive interview and sometimes turn into focused group interview to get insight into the precise details of Mundhum and rituals and elicit the emotional, psychological, aesthetic, intellectual or ascetic aspect of the events, incidents or episode portray while explaining Mundhums, various customary practices and development of conventions.

The research activities was focused to explore the main social tradition indigenous institution of Limbu people, study the practices of the institution in Limbus' life their community, and to investigate the present condition and its cause and consequences in Limbu community.

As it is said that "folktales and myths are the ethnography that present a penetrating picture of a way life and material culture of related community" (Herskovits, 1955), most basic sources of this topic is explained in Mundhum of Limbus. However, it has not been written all yet. However, some of Nepalese and foreign writers have explained some of its parts. Therefore, these literatures were also remained helpful for this research. With the help of these written literatures, the final report is prepared in the base of field research. And, the audio and visual documents such as *Tareba*, *Aani Sakthim*, *Lugma Tikkille* and *Numa Fung* were also remained helpful for this research in the course of writing final report.

In brief, the primary data have been collected from field work using case study, key informant interview, focus group discussion and observation, etc. The local social traditional institutions such as *tummyangs'* activities, the role of *Sawa Yethangs-Phedangma*, *Samaba*, *Yeba*, *Yema*, *Mangba* and *Ongsi*, etc. and all ritual ceremonies were observed deeply. So, all parts of Sawa Yethangs- such as *Phedangma*, *Samaba*, *Yeba*,

Yema, Mangba, Ongsi and *Tummyahangs* as well as other knowledgeable persons have been consulted for more detail primary data or information.

Secondary data relating to *Limbu Social Political Institution in Limbuwan: A study of Sawa Yethang Chumlung*, have been consulted from published and unpublished articles, reports, journals, books, and digital copies as well as websites. It is therefore, both primary and secondary data have been collected, however, since the study is anthropological, the study dominantly deals with qualitative rather than quantitative data or information.

3.3. Data Collection Techniques

3.3.1. Case Study of Sawa Yethang Chumlung

The case study was used as a research strategy, an empirical inquiry that investigates a phenomenon within the real-life context of Limbu Social Political Institution especially with the work of *Tuttu Tummyangs* at local level.

3.3.2. Unstructured Interview

Unstructured interview to respondents was chosen since it was suitable and flexible to collect information about traditional practices of Limbu social political institution in Limbuwan. Some, specific data were also collected by interviewing some key informants in the adjacent VDC as well as in Dharan and Kathmandu.

3.3.3. Participants Observation

Participation observation has been used as one of central data gathering methods. Participant observation facilitated on understanding of the social, cultural and political context of *Sawa Yethang Chumlung*.

3.3.4. Focus Group Discussion

For the purpose of collecting specific information on the present condition of the Limbu social Political Institution in Limbuwan, the researcher has conducted group discussions which involved mostly old age people because they were the most potential resource persons.

3.4. Data analysis

The data collected from the field and other secondary sources have been analyzed descriptively.

However, the study was qualitative based, some photographs captured at the field have been employed to make the interpretation more clear. Some mythical stories related to *Sawa Yethang Chumlung* have been quoted in some places.

3.5. Ethical Issues

As being this study on *Sawa Yethang Chumlung: Limbu social political institution in Limbuwan*, is an academic study on the subject matter, I do not have any other purposes to create conflicts on the other existing institution and organizations of Limbus and Limbuwan.

In talking about the *Kirat Yakthung Chumlung, Kirat Literature & Literature Upliftment Association* and especially for *Federal Democratic National Forum* and *Federal Limbuwan State Council* when I expressed my findings are not to create conflict between them. Therefore, I did not mention the name of the persons, with whom I took the information, here on my report.

I have also informed the interviewees that I would be keeping their identity confidential. Telling them about not disclosing their identity and misuse the data against to them and their society, this helped the interviewees express themselves more freely. I have assured them that except for the purpose of research and for writing research related articles, I will not use the data for other purpose.

3.6. Limitation of the Study

This study has the following limitations:

1. This study does not cover the all institutions of Limbus. It just covers the main social political traditional indigenous institutions of Limbus. It does not cover all aspects of institutions such as religion, family, marriage and kinship system of Limbus.
2. This study explores the main social traditional indigenous institutions of Limbus regarding *Sawa Yethang Chumlung* of *Yakthungs*. In addition, it just outlines the parts of this institution such as *Phedangma, Samba, Yeba, Yema, Sarmudhum Yepmudhum, Mangba, Yuma, Sidisaba, Ongsi* and *Tuttu Tumyangs* of the whole *Sawa Yethang Chumlung*.
3. As even *Sawa Yethang Mundhum* touches all *Mundhum* of Limbus in one way, this study just covers mainly concerned to *Sawa Yethang Chumlung* as a social political institution of Limbus.
4. As being this study is on social-political institution, it is not compared with modern institution or organizations of Limbus such as *Kirat Yakthung Chumlung, Kirat*

Literature & Literature Upliftment Association and FDNF: Federal Limbuwan State Council, etc.

5. As this study is done in Structural-functional perspective, mainly the basic premises of the perspective are used to analysis the study. At that time, important matter regarding conflict and ethnomethodology as well as indigenism perspectives are left in this study, even, these are concerned to the issues of Indigenous people.
6. The findings of this study do not cover on existing social political institution of all Limbus out of Nepal as the same way.
7. This study is for the partial fulfillment of the requirement of the Masters Degree of MA in anthropology.

CHAPTER IV

The Setting

4.1. Poklabang Village of Simle Terhathum

Historically, Poklabang is one of the *Yak* or fort of ancient Limbuwan among ten districts or Ten Limbuwan. “Shensengum Phedap Hang was elected King of Phedap district (thum), who build his fort at Poklabang and ruled Pangyangu, Ningleku, Sangbangphe, Pangen Hang, Kawepung (Khapung) Phombo, Chongbang and other tribes” (Chemjong, 2003:53). These other tribes are Tumpangbhe, Kurumbang, Chikhubung, Angbung and others.

Figure 3. Simle VDC of Terhathum where Paklabang Pangbhe is situated



Available at <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Simle>; accessed: 09 July 2011

Poklabang Village, as this study area, is situated in word No. 1 and 2 of Simle Village Development Committee (VDC) of Terhathum district now. The Limbu clans Ningleku, Chikhubung, Angbung, Kurumbang and Singak inhabit in this village in. In addition, some Caste Dalit Groups are also staying here.

Figure 4. Poklabang Village of Simle Terhathum



4.1.1. Limbus

The descendants of Sawa Yethangs, Limbus are the main and original inhabitant of this Poklabang village. Some caste groups Dalit groups (Damais) were brought or came later on this village. In Limbu indigenous people, Ningleku, Chikhubung, Angbung, Kurumbang and Singak are residing here as the first inhabitant of this village according to themselves.

4.1.2. Caste Dalit Groups

A Caste group Dalits, residing there, called themselves as Nepali and Bhitrikoti. They have been doing their caste-based occupation of sewing work even today.

4.1.3. Demography

Poklabang village for this study covers on Ningleku, Chikhubung, Angbung, Kurumbang, Singak and Dalits cluster of Simle VDC word No. 1 and 2. The basis of determining this location is based a traditionally *Hukwa or Sewa Kedangba* (Same Working or Worshipping Community) for *Chasok Sewa Chumlung* and *Yakwa Sewa Chumlung* of the Village.

Table 2. *Demographic Situation of Poklabang Village*

S.No.	Clan Cluster	Households	Male	Female	Total
1	Ninglekhu	17	38	47	85
2	Chikkhubung	11	30	39	69
3	Angbung	6	19	21	40
4	Kurumbang	6	16	23	39
5	Singak	4	13	12	25
6	Caste Dalit	4	10	11	21
	Total	48	126	153	279

The clusters of this vallyage seem divided into 6 groups according to their clan with a Dalit caste group. Total households of this village are 48 and population of this village, in survey time, is 279 with 126 male and 153 females.

Seeing this village in the basis of *Sawa Yethang Chumlung's* parts and structures, all together 9 *Mundhumsaba Tummyangs* (Knowledge having on Mundhum), 1 *Yebe*, 1 *Samba*, and 2 *Phedangmas* are there in this village.

Linguistically, all most all speak and understand Limbu language. Even, Dalits can easily understand and speak Limbu language like Limbus. However, in those houses where is done inter-ethnic marriage with Rais, are not practicing own native Limbu lanaguage now. All households except Dalits are Kirat religious, among them four households are practicing the Kirat religion performed by *Sewasabas* as the direction of Mahaguru Phalgunanda.

4.1.4. Education

There is only a primary school in this village. They have to go to another village for secondary and higher secondary level education.

There are 20 SLC holders, 6 Plus two (+2) holders, 2 Diploma holders and only one is Masters Degree holder in this village.

In SLC and Plus two, the number of female is higher than males. Most of young males are in Gulf- countries now.

4.1.5. Occupation & Income Sources

The main occupation of this village is farming. However, it does not maintain their life fully. So, they have to rely on other occupations. No teacher and government officers or government jobholders are there in this village. Around 25 persons are working in Gulf countries now. Daily income sources of the villagers are *Yalik* (wage based daily job to others farm) and working on development based construction such as walling, carpentor and others.

4.2. Location of the Study Area

Location of this study area is situated as middle village surrounded by other villages and forests.

4.2.1. Water Resources

This village is some dry area. No permanent and big water resources are there. Mostly, the villages have carry water from somehow far water resources. All together, four water resources are there but not permanent and helpful for farming.

The main water resource for farming is rain for this village. If no rain then there is no farming.

4.2.2. Forests (For wood, Firewood and Grass or hunting)

People of Poklabang village depend on their surrounding forest for wood, firewood, grass and grazing for domestic animals.

4.2.3. Mud (For Red, White and Black Mud)

Limbu people use to paint their houses with red, white and black mud or soil. They bring red mud form Fukkobari of middle village, black form Sigapla of upper village and white mud from Khangwatar of lower village.

4.3. Ritual Performing Places or Places for Chumlung

4.3.1. Place for Chasok Sewa: Chasok Chumlung

People of Poklabang village perform a Chasok Sewa as a Chasok Chumlung in a traditionally fixed place at Susuwaden Kokma towards the southeast direction per year on Chaskok Ubhauri Festival of Limbus.

4.3.2. Place for Yakwa Sewa: Yakwa Chumlung

Limbus of Poklabang Village gathered at Khangwarak place to perform *Yakwa Sewa* as *Yakwa chumlung* per year in summer season on the occasion of *Yakwa Tangnam* or *Ubhauri* festival.

4.3.3. Place for Manghup Wademma: Manghu Chumlung

There is a place traditionally named *Manghupwademma* (place for flowing curse) at lower village. And, they arrange and perform the ritual every winter season being together collectively.

4.3.4. Place for regular worshipping: Manghim Chumlung

Now, people of Poklabang village, have established a Manghim named *Tagera Ningwabhu Manghim Poklabang* for worshipping at Poklabang bazar, top of the village. They perform worshipping works on ever full and new moon days.

4.3.5. Place for Regular Meeting: Pangjum (Market) Chumlung

Poklabang *Pangjum* is a place for regular meeting of the villagers. They hold formal and informal; social and political meetings there. They sold their local products at this market on market days and buy their needs form there.

CHAPTER V

Findings

5.1. Sawa Yethang Chumlung to Limbus in Limbuwan

Limbus have a distinct culture, tradition and religion of their own. “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, prehistoric accounts, sermons and moral or philosophical exhortations in poetic language. It is scripture living in oral tradition. It denotes to “Limbu religion” or Limbu religious literature” (Weidert, Subba, 1985). “According to *mundhum* and other references, *Sawa Yethang*, the ancestors of *Lilim Yakthnghan* or Limbus, were the promoter of certain rules, religious ways and rituals. It is believed that the *Sawa Yethangs* would bring the philosophy of *Yetchham* (eight souls) with the assistance or mediation of *Phedangma*, *Samba*, *Yeba* or *Yamas*, which has been following by their successors continuously. These rules or religious ways conduct the life of Limbus, and the values control the social relations on context of various rules in Limbus life cycle” (Subba, 2000). The word ‘Sawa Yethang’ covers all the Limbu people. Here, Sawa means all and Yethangsa means all progeny of Sawa Yethangs. So, even now too, when Limbu people appeal to be united one, then they say *Sawa Yethangsa kerek thikhup po:khi*- let us united all the progeny of Yethangs.

Figure 5. An ancient common place for Chumlung at the top of Poklabang village



“Mundhum is not merely an imaginary legend. The activities described in *Mundhum* are not in imaginary places, these are the activities happening in around the Limbuwan. Mundhum moves around in Limbuwan” (Laoti, 2010:41). In Limbuwan there are various mountain or hills such as Faktanglungma, Penbenlungma, Chanjanlungma, Fiyamlungma, Muckumlungma, and Menchhyayem, etc. Limbus believe that the *Sammangs* do have *Chumlungs* at the peak of the mountain or hills. Therefore, these are the sacred places for Limbus.

Figure 6. A discussion on *Sawa Yethang Chumlung* with Expets



There can be got a system that Kirat Limbus have been following the way of doing discussion “Chumlung” to solve the problems happening to them commonly from the very beginning. *Kirat Yakthung Chumlung* has come in existence to solve the problems brought by changes of time as a new edition of same ways followed by Limbus. Limbu forefathers had tried to establish an organization based on a new system by reaching on conclusion that the problems, which Limbus had to face in the process of developing society, could not be solved by an old system. It might be that the causes of unfavorable environment and transition phase for entering into new system from old, the exercises done in the past could not take a permanent shape and reached to limit in the history. However, it is seen to be considered the fact that the exercise done in the past has important role in background of being establish the Kirat Yakthung Chumlung (Limbu, 2000). It shows that KYC is not a Social Traditional Institution but the indigenous organization of Limbus.

The original social political traditional institution of Limbu people is *Sawa Yethang Chumlung*. This institution works mundhum and *Yetchham* or *Yetchham Bacha Thim*.

5.1.1. Parts of Sawa Yethang Chumlung

5.1.1.1. Chasok Sewa Tangnam

“It is a festive occasion to offer the food grains and other agricultural products when it gets ripe or is ready for food. It is a harvest festival. It is celebrated individually as well as collectively” (Subba, 1998:46). It is celebrated during the ‘low season’- a season marked by the blooming of *Umbhung* (Nepal chery tree- *Prunus cerasoides*).

In this occasion, Limbus gather at a traditional gathering place for this ceremony. Older person or *Tummyangs* of the village fix the date of doing this ritual consulting with the priest *Phedangma*.

Limbus gather to the place with new ripped paddy (rice) and millet (bear) to celebrate and perform this ceremony. *Phedanma* performs the ritual by making altar with help of *Tummyangs* there.

They also discussed about all activities of the village and take proper decisions for coming days in this occasion. They also make some rule and regulations for grazing, using forest, common lands, and water resources, etc.

So, this *Chasok Sewa Tangnam* is also a part of Limbus social political institution *Sawa Yethang Chumlung* in Limbuwan.

5.1.1.2. Yakwa Sewa Tangnam

It is a worship ceremony of ancestors as well as nature divinities before getting involved in agricultural activities. It is usually conducted during ‘high season’ or a season marked by blooming *Khamrek* (peach-*Prunus persica*). The inhabitant of the whole village gather at the top of the hill or at suitable place from where fields for cultivating crops can be seen and conduct the worship ceremony of *Yokwa* praying for water or rain, favorable weather and bumper crops as well as avoidance of accidents or wounds and bruises while working, and flood and other natural calamities. *Yuma* is the principal deity of solemn prayer at this occasion. It is a festival of worshipping earth as well as other nature divinities before initiating works in the field.

Figure 7. *Sawa Yethang Tummyangs on Yakwa Sewa Chumlung*



Besides, “*Yuma and Theba Sammang*, a group of divinities are propitiated. They are *Khamjiti Khambongba*, lord of land, *Magui Thallunghang*, primeval ancestor who initiated agriculture, *Yabhungen Yabhungekma*, female divinity of seeds, *Madenhang-Lungumhang*, primeval ancestors who taught to remove weeds, *Nugohang*-primeval ancestor who taught better techniques or working (storage) and *Hayuhang* an ancestor that saves farmers from accidents, natural calamities and help for good harvest avoiding the interventions of evil spirits. All these divinities from a group of divinities, which is known as *Yumang*” (Subba, 1998:46).

The latent function of this festival is to be gathered all of the villagers in one place and held the *Yakwa Sewa Chumlung* of Limbus. All parts or role player of *Sawa Yethang Chumlung* play their own roles to be gather on this occasion. They, themselves, bring the needed things and foods to the place and took part in. *Phedangma* performs the worship; *Tummyangs* assist the *Phedangmas* to perform the rituals. And, being together all, as this way, they discuss about the village and also make rules and regulations as needed for the summer season.

In this way, this *Yakwa* or *Yokwa Sewa Tangnam* is also a part of this social political institution of Limbus in Limbuwan.

5.1.1.3. *Kakphekwa Tangnam*

“Normally the day falls in the month of January (Magh 1st day). Limboos publish their own Limboo calendar regularly. On this day, the Limboos take bath in a confluence of rivers or streams usually at *tribeni*, worship the nature divinities (tap sammangs) and take root and tumors of wild species of forest yam (Tamphung Khe), home yam (Him Khe), sweet potato (Hellawa Khe), colocasia (Yak Khe), cassava (Tengosing Khe), etc. which are very rich in carbohydrate, Vitamins and minerals” (Subba, 1999: 198).

This day or festival is seen especially as the memorial day of ancestors past struggling days. Limbus remember their past days by eating the foods as what they used to eat and lived their lives.

Limbus, do not eat those things alone in their family only, but they also shared to their neighbors as a *Hukwa* (gift) of the festival as what they got and made for. In the beginning, Limbus used to celebrate this festival commonly on the time of blooming *Kakphung* (Magnolia, a tree of Michelia champaca). Limbus believe this day as the starting day of starvation and dry season. So, they become careful and storage the foods what they for coming difficult days. In addition, they also make their plan of New Year and wish for happy New Year as their own ways.

As this way, this festival is also seen as the part of social political institution *Sawa Yethang Chumlung* of Limbus in Limbuwan.

5.1.1.4. *Sisekpa Tangnam*

“The day normally falls in the month of July (Saun first day) and is observed as an auspicious day by the Limboos as per their culture. Limboos celebrate the culture as the end of hard, difficult season and famine. They decorate the doors and windows and hung freshly harvested cucumbers, pumpkins, ginger, fruits, maize cobs, flowers and climber twigs of cucumber, pumpkin, and chayote, etc. with a long string at the main entrance. At evening, they beat the winnowing basket (phoet) and dance and dance running around inside the houses and finally around the house shouting as follows:

“*Aayennangtho Sakyen Pero,*

Mangwa Cha-thi, chase-nudhi tyaro.”

(From today, the days of starvation went away, and the foods as well as fruits and vegetables came)

The Limboos believe that Yuma visits them on this day and brings a lot of food, fruits, vegetables, maize cobs, etc. to eat for every household” (Subba, 1999:189).

As I noticed from the field study, Limbus play or beat not only winnowing basket (phoet) as Subba (1999:189) said, but also they beat and play their cultural musical instruments like *Ke* (Drum-Chyabrung) and *Chethya* (dish) in course of driving away the evils things from the households individually and from village collectively being together one by one.

Such of collective effort of enjoyment on the occasion of ripping new foods, fruits and vegetables in their fields, also shows the practice of their social institution being together collectively for sake of individual house holds and whole community.

5.1.1.5. Valihang Tangnam

This is also an important auspicious day of the Limbus and has methodological background. “The day falls on the new moon day mostly in month of October and November. It is said that the great king leader Valihang of Limbus was a great fortuneteller. He was a very good King and the people loved him. He knew his death and he requested his people to pray God for his life- lighting *Lasemi-Namsemi* and *Yumasemi* in every household on the new moon day. By the grace of the God the King lived instead his death, may be due to the prayer of his subjects” (Subba, 1999: 1999). Then, the King sent his assistants to all around the country to inform about his good news that he succeeded to live from death due to the peoples praying all the days and nights with the god *Yuma* and *Tagera Ningwaphumang*. Therefore, his assistance went around the country by communicating the Valihang's good message that our good leader King became safe from death. So, do not worry about it now. According to, Limbu legend, the same communicating process became the tradition of *Laringe* or *Namlinge* (Deusi) eventually.

So, this festival is seen as a political festival of Limbus celebrated from the very beginning. This festival encourages Limbus to be alert for the leaders of the state and to exercise for forming the good leader and maintaining order, peace and unity in the village and state. As this, way through this festival, Limbus are practicing their social political institutions unknowingly even today.

5.1.1.6. *Tangsing Takma*

It is the most important religious ceremonies of the Limbus. Its literal meaning is “an act of cooperation, coming together, coming in agreement of conciliation, becoming correct or fitting” (Subba, 1998). “*Tangsing* is technically the name of a small bamboo basket filled with earth with a small bamboo stick struck upright in the middle representing the spirit of deceased persons and living ones and is placed at the bottom of about twelve feet bamboo pole stuck in the center of the courtyard“ (Bista, 2004:55). So, *Tangsing Takma* or *Tangsing Tak* is a ritual of winning cooperation of ancestors and divinities through invocation, incantation, dramatic performances and using symbolic paraphernalia. This ritual is known as *Yagrangsing* also. Semantically, “*Tangsing* is a ritual of social solidarity and cooperation initiated and performed by a particular family or families for their welfare, prosperity and happiness” (Kainla, 1995).

Figure 8. *Yebas and Tummyang on Tangsing Takma Ritual*



“According to *Tangsing Mundhum*, in the beginning, after the origin of Sawa *Yethangs*; the *Phedangma*, *Samba* and *Yeba/Yemas* are originated and arrived to the earth (sawa yethang pangbhe). The *Samba* and *Yebas* recalled and appealed those of their ancestor teachers in the course of performing important worshipping rituals or *Tansing*, etc. They have a belief that they get own historical continuity of knowledge as well as power and capacity by such of recalling and appealing works even now too” (Kainla, 1995:16). This shows the interrelationship among the all *Sawa Yethangs* such as *Phedangma*, *Samba*, *Yeba*, *Yema* and *Tummyangs*, etc.

According to Bairagi Kainla (1995:16), with the compassion of the God *Tangera Ningwaphu* or the order of god, *Samba* and *Yebas* use to sing the story of *Phedangma*, *Samba* and *Yebas* sent by *Lepmuhang*, the eldest ancestor of Sawa Yethangs as this way on *Tangsing Takma Mundhum*:

Eh- tho- Tagerama eh Ningwaphuma eh.

Tuttu se:psero Tummyang se:psero.

Yakla se:psero Suhangma se:psero.

Midhung pogiro mira:k pogiro.

Angsuk pogiro yukmi pogiro.

Eh- eh- Sodhunghangba eh Lepmuhangba eh.

Sapmang Kuru eh amang kuru eh.

Tuttu se:psero Tummyang se:psero.

Yakla se:psero Suhangma se:psero.

Midhung pogiro mira:k pogiro.

Angsuk pogiro yukmi pogiro.

Meaning:

Hey-upper- God Tagerama Ningwaphuma,

To save Tuttu Tummyangs (gentlemen),

To save Yakla Suhangmas (gentlewomen),

Let us get up like coal-fire.

Let us rise up like forest-fire.

Hey- hey Sodhunghangba Lephangba,

Oh! my god teacher.

To save Tuttu Tummyangs (gentlemen),

To save Yakla Suhangmas (gentlewomen),

Let us get up like coal-fire.

Let us rise up like forest-fire.

As this way, the Samba and *Yebas* as a facilitator or important role player the *Sawa Yethang Chumlung's* structure works for the security and prosperity of the all *Sawa Yethangs* through this *Tangsing Takma* ritual collectively. In the *Mundhum* of *Tangsing Takma*, almost all history and activities of human being is recited and performed dramatically. So, this is also the main knowledge and skills source of Limbus in Limbuwan. Therefore, this *Tangsing Takma* ritual is also an important part of this institution for Limbus in Limbuwan.

5.1.1.7. Sakmura Wademma or anghup Mangde

“Limbus believe in curse (Mangde). A special ritual should be performed to avert the effect of a curse. In the context of the driving away rite of Sogha, the ritual of averting the curse also begins. The myth of the ritual is related to *Sawa Yukphung Kemba*, a great hunter. With the recitation of this *Mundhum*, *Yeba/Yema* performs the due ritual of *Manghap Magde*. Limbus are always afraid of curse. It is deep rooted in in the belief system of Limbus. Most of the Limbus believe that it is associated with certain imprecatory charms and rituals and often affects the curser it it is not based on equity” (Subba, 1998: 172). Through intensive study of the Limbu communities of Maiwakhola, Sagant (1988) has explored that there are two kinds of curses (*Manghum Mangde*): public curse i.e. affected persons proclaim there curse aloud, before witnesses, stating there reasons; and secret or not disclosed curse. There are certain procedures to make the curse effective as well as certain rituals to preclude the effects of curse, but one has to know the name who laid on the curse to make the ritual effective. Through the practice of curse is vanishing among the Limbus today, but the feeling and fear is still there and the curse to forefathers are often remanded by *Phedangmas*, *Sambas* and *Yebas* or *Yemas* while performing a certain ritual of propitiating certain divinities to cure certain ailments and diseases. The best opportunity to conduct the ritual is to *Mangde* (Curse) is considered during *Tangsing* (Subba, 1998:170).

Figure 9. A *Sakmura Wademma* (Curse Flowing) Ritual of Limbus on Yard



As this way, Limbus can curse others, if anyone does unjust work to them. In addition, Limbus also can reveal or flow away the curses done by others to them through their specific ritual- *Sakmura Wademmma* or *Manghup Mangde*.

Limbus believe that, a curse done by others to them not only presently, but even in the past times in the age of their ancestors too, can obstruct the present and future prosperities in their families. So, Limbu do this curse flowing (*Samkmura Wademmma*) ritual at least at once in every year by being together all the families of the villages collectively. Limbus also believe and take this occasion for committing one's mistake or misbehavior to others and ask excuse for in front of *Tuttu Tummyangs* presented or called there.

One important thing for this ritual to be considered is that, a family or clan of Limbus cannot flow away the curse themselves. For this, they need *Tummyangs* of different clan from another family, clan or village. This shows the interrelation between Limbus family, clan and villagers.

Thus, this *Sakmura Wademmma* or *Manghup Mangde* ritual performing *Chumlung* is also an integral part of this *Sawa Yethang Chumlung*, a social political institution of Limbus in Limbwan.

5.1.1.8. Marriage Rituals

According marriage *Mundhum*, in marriage ritual of Limbus, "*Phedangmas* named *Kewaphungba* and *Kaenambas* used to sing marriage *Mundhum* in the past. Same *Mundhum* is performed even now too. At the end of the Marriage *Mundhum*, *Phedangmas* use to sing marriage *Mundhum* all night by lighting one pair oil lamps and one pair of pitchers on altar. Limbu priest *Phedangma* and friends provide blessings to the newly married bride and bridegrooms by praying the name of *Sawa Yethangs*. They

give eight pieces of small middle-like bamboo sticks and eight bunches of flowers to bridegroom by keeping on upper clothes' flap as the symbol of *Sawa Yethang*- ancient eight leaders of Limbus. Then, bridegroom gives it to bride by keeping and tying it on bride's flap of shawl" (Changbang, 1993: 34). In addition, *Tuttu Tummyang* and *Yakla Suhangmas* also played great role to perform this ritual. It is incomplete without the presence of those *Tuttu Tummyangs*.

Tuttu Tummyangs not only perform the ritual here, they also discuss on *Mundhum*, they compare their *Mundhum* and compete with each other in the course of performing this ritual. If one leave any *Mundhum* on one point, then another *Mudhumsaba* or *Tumayangs* inform that and give chance to correct and complete the *mundhum* successfully.

In course of performing *Mekhim Mudhum* (Marriage *Mudhum*), *Phedangma* has to recall the genealogical or original history of both bride and bridegroom on the occasions. It links spiritual relationship between them. Here, the *Phedangama* in the presence of *Tummyangs*, keeps some *Mundhum* based promises and conditions to be agreed and followed by both sides for the success of their conjugal married life in the future.

This is how; the *Mekhim Chumlung* or marriage ceremony of Limbus also plays a role as the indispensable part of Limbus Social Political institution *Sawa Yethang Chumlung* in Limbuwan.

5.1.1.9. Death Rituals

Death ritual or *Mundhum* of Limbus talks about the modern human rights of getting opportunity to live. When Limbus perform final death ritual, the *Phedangma* explains about the case of happening death of the person. And, he adds that we, from the behalf of death person's family, tried out best to protect or save his/or her life by doing such and such treatment works. However, we could not success to save his life from death. Though, if you are anybody here, not satisfied with his/her death case, do say "we are here," then we are ready to peruse for. If not so, do say that 'yes, we are convinced and nobody is unsatisfied here. Then, by listening this appeal form *Phedangma* form behalf of the family, *Tuttu Tummyang*, old persons, announce from the behalf of all presented *Sawa Yethangs* that they are convinced and no body is unsatisfied with this death. Then only the further processes of the lasting death rituals are open. Now, *Phedangma* asks eat all things, wear all cloths and armaments, do all activities as usual from *Tummyangs*.

And, in the evening, the family organizes a *Tansing* Ritual to save the life of lived families and to be separated with the death soul. All, villagers gather and help the family to get rid from the incident collectively.

As the way, this death ritual (Simering or Faje Chumlung) is also an important part of this institution of Limbus in Limbuwan.

5.1.1.10. Other Institutions

Talking and searching about other institutions of Limbus, we find some other economic and social institutions.

“A woman’s position in Limbu society is not limited to her status as a domestic or child bearer. She brings cash into household and actively participate in agricultural production” (Kurz and Jones 1976:169).

A *Thak Thakma* or Handloom Weaving institution of Limbu women is an original traditional economic institution of Limbus in Limbuwan. With institution and skill Limbus women’s help to conduct the family life producing local clothes by using locally produced hand made raw materials. In addition, Limbu women do *Paikar* (business of local bear and alcohol) and *Pewa* (domesticating birds and animals) to earn conduct their life and family.

“While Limbu women are generally denied access to the political and economic institutions of the state sphere, they are active producer in institutions of both the Limbu indigenous sphere and the market sphere. Although the struggle for land over the past two-hundred years has resulted in the formation of class-like divisions even among the Limbu community, the institutions which organize subsistence production for most Limbu are basically egalitarian. Female participation in these institutions carries with it the status of social adulthood. Furthermore, women are active producers in the cash economy, both as wage laborers and producers of goods which they sell to shopkeepers or in the marketplace” (Kurz and Jones 1976:172).

If any Limbu guest reaches to a new village of Limbus in Limbuwan, then the young boys or girls themselves gather their for *Dhan Nach* (Paddy Dance). And, they dance *Dhan Nach* for the time being according to the condition. So, this *Dhan Nach* plays role for a medium of meeting and respecting others as well as to establish the new relationship with others.

According to Kurz and Jones (1976:175), in Limbuan both the bride and groom make decisions concerning their marriage. A courtship institution called the *dh n n ch* enables Limbu men to meet marriageable girls from a wide area. Weddings, market days, and other holidays provide occasions when young people can organize these dances with marriageable partners.

Therefore, these institutions are also playing as the parts of Limbus social traditional institution indirectly in Limbus of Limbuwan.

5.1.2. *Sawa Yethang Chumlung as a Whole*

As the *Mundhum*, culture and tradition of Limbus, a *Phedangma*, *Samba*, *Yeba*, *Yema* or even *Tummyang* alone cannot do or perform any of ritual as well as social and culture works without others help or cooperation. To perform the *Tangsing Takma* ritual by *Yeba* or *Sambas*, there, he should also raise up his *Phejikkum Phedangma* teachers (gurus) for their success and power. They also ask permission at first, to start or do the any of ritual work with *Tummyangs*. Then, *Tummyang* say to him, "Yes, You do start your work, we are here for your help and security."

The structural components of *Sawa Yethang Chumlung- Phedanama*, *Samba*, *Yeba*, *Yeba*, *Yuma*, *Mangba*, *Sapmundhum-Yepmudhum Sam*, *Sidasaba* and *Ongis* have their own specific role and responsibilities on ritual work, culture and society. One cannot do and should not interrupt on other's work.

As this way, when individual part or single role player performs his or her responsibility then their complete whole works too in this institution of Limbus in Limbuwan.

5.1.3.1. *Tummyang*

The word *Tummyang* is being used in different ways such as "Tumyahang," "Tumyang," "Tumyanghang," etc. But, the correct word as *Mundhum* is *Tummyang* or *Tummyanghang*.

Figure 10. *Talking on Mundhum and Sawa Yethang Chumlung with Bairagi Kainla*



According to Kirat tradition, “the authorized “*mahapanchas*” (general gentlemen) are called “*Tummyang*”. There is found that the *mahapanchas* do conduct the religious, social work and politics of Kirat tribe by deciding proper rule and instructions. Even in these days, the same *tummyangs* make decisions on religious-social justice (*kharon*), decision (*khasen*) and regulations (*temthim*) by managing an assembly (chumlung) at certain place. If there is to conduct the ritual ceremony of any family, as what the *mahapanchas* do decision on, by considering the economic condition of the person or family, all including *Phedangma-mangdemba* or priests should follow it with hearty acceptance. Therefore, the oldest gentlemen do a talk that the “*Tummyangs*” are elder than the *mangdembas*” (Subba, 1989: 1).

As mentioned by Asman Subba (1989:2), the *Tummyang Raipas* perform the all customs of rituals and worshipings (*mangphoma*), ect. who has knowledge on *Mundhum* ways except the instructing way to any *sisam* of death soul by *Sasi Mundhum*. Male and female both have equal rights on it. If there falls any impurity due to birth or death in family and has to perform rituals, the *tumbhaksama* (old woman skilled on *Mundhum*) performs the ritual even today. The ritual performers as the way are called *muratappa*, the ritual performer by birth.

The person, who is fulfilled with religious nature and sacred character according to own indigenous culture, can be a *Tummyang*. Moreover, he/she has to be over forty years old.

A person has to be purified by own *Sasi Mundhum* such as doing pre-birth rite (sappok chomen), and not having born on mother's parental houses to be a *Tummyang*. Similarly to, the person has to be performed a *Semmui or Saimundri* rite to be included as *Tummyang* (Subba, 1989: 2). *Tummyangs* are especially customary law performer of Limbus community. The *Tummyang* who practices such of customary law is known as *Pan Tummyang*. A woman *Tummyang* is called *Yakla Suhangma*. In special occasions, they also sing song which is called *Tummyang Samlo*.

On the origin or authority of *Tummyang* there is a *Mundhum*:

One of the elder women of northern hill area named *Sikera Ekthuknama* sowed the crop seeds into the plain field of *Kopiyakma Tembe*. And, after the three months of sowing the crop seeds when the crops grew up and became green plants, the cows of *Sinyuk Muden* (Northern China-Tibbet) and *Temen Warang* (Southern seaside India) ate out all the green crop plants. Now, the elder woman *Sikera Ekthuknama* stood up to curse the cows and owners by crying with flowing tears. At that time, the *Tuttu Tummyangs*, dropped down through a golden-silver sieve, were roaming there and met with the elder woman *Sikera Ekthuknama*. The elder woman complained with them and they understood all about the case. Then, *Tuttu Tummyangs* tied the owners of the cows with *Magai Thakpa* (a creeper plant which hair causes itching) around eight round (yetha). The message of fined penalty done by *Tuttu Tummyangs*, as the way, spread all over the state and an independent (apungi) proud king leader heard about it. The king became anxious and ordered to arrest and bring those *Tuttu Tummyangs* to his palace. As the order, all *Tuttu Tummyangs* were arrested and brought to the palace. And, according to the king's order, they kept a red colored closed water vessel (kunda) of copper on the right side and a black colored closed water vessel of iron on the left side. Then, the king asked to *Tuttu Tummyangs* to find that what were kept there inside the vessels without looking into inside. *Tuttu Tummyangs* took sometime to discuss and discussed among one another. They also asked suggestions with their advisors *Sodhung Lepmuhang* and make united decision to answer the question kept by a proud king there. As their united decision after discussion and advice from advisor, they replied that there was a white squirrel inside the red copper vessel on right side and a black squirrel inside the black vessel of iron on the left side. Then, when the vessels were poured-opened there came out a white squirrel

from the red copper vessel and a black squirrel from a black vessel of iron really. In this way, the *Tuttu Tummyangs* saved their lives from death by a proud independent king. Since, then the king gave permission and suggestion to reach on consensus by doing such of proper penalties for human beings (Menyangbo, 2005:183). When *Tummyang* start to perform any of ritual work, then they say this *Mundhum* at first as their origin and authority for the work.

According to Kajimang Kandangwa (2000:16), a Limbu family member persuades a crying baby in the absence of his/her mother by singing a lullaby song and respecting him/her as a *Tuttu Tummyang* or *Yakla Suhangma* (a gentleman or woman) as this way:

Khene.....ga

Nunnu (ke)thungmane

Tuttu Tummyang hangne

Yakla Suhang(hang)mane

Aakho.....

Mamma ta-ang aa

Nunnu kethungbe

Meaning:

You are....

Mother's milk drinker

A Gentleman (*Tuttu Tummyang*)

A Gentlewoman (*Yakla Suhangma*)

After sometime...

By arriving your mother

You will drink your mother's milk

According to *Mundhum* and Limbu practice, *Tummyangs* are permission giver or opener of any of impurity. So, *Phedangma* ask permission with *Tummyang* for purifying form the death rite:

“Yea, What to say here...according to the message of the God Tagera Ningwafumang, the family of any death person should ask to perform the rite of purification from Tuttu Tummyang and Yaklagen Suhangmas by gathering them to the home of death person. As the way, we are gathered here. So, we would like to ask the permission from Tuttu Tummyangs to eat the foods, wear the clothes and perform the all activities as they have been doing from the past for them” (Limboo, 2003:28).

And, Tuttu Tummyang and Yakla Suhangma Say:

“Yes, they get these all. They got the permission to eat salt and Oil; wear clothes and flowers and perform the all rituals from today” (Limboo, 2003:29).

Phedangma, Samba, Yeba, Yema, etc. are the saver of Tuttu Tummyangs, Yakla Suhangmas or all of Sawa Yethang peoples. Limbu Priests Samba, Yeba and Yemas use to chant the getting rise up Mundhum as the way:

Tuttu Sepsero Tummyang Sepsero

Yakla Sepsero Suhangma Sepsero

Nali Sepsero Thangben Sepsero

Sisa Sepsero Menchhin Sepsero

Lassum Pogiro Larak Pogiro

Midhung pogiro Mirak Pogiro

Meaning:

To save gentlemen Tuttu Tummyangs

And Gentlewomen Yakla Suhangmas

To Save Yuth boys

And Youth girls

Let’s rise up to pass the way smoothly

Let us rise up as burning coal and fire

(As mentioned by a Samba of Sikaicha Taplijong in Dharan).

Similarly to, Tummyangs on Sakmura Wademma (curse flowing away) take part in as this way:

First, Sijoinme (one of Tuttu Tummyang or Phedangma) says-

As we, Tuttugen Tummyangs and Yaklagen Suhangmas, flowed away the evil curses of the families along with the flowing stream and river towards the plain sea and ocean, does it return back or not ?

Then, Tuttu Tummyanghangs say:

Oh! Yes, as you said here, all of the evil curses done against the families were all flowed away, and it won't return back again (Menyangbo, 2005:187).

According Manjul Yakthumba, “*Tuttu Tummyangs* are more respective persons than other priests as *Mundhum*. So, the priests should obey the appeals of those *Tuttu Tummyangs* completely” (Yakthumba, 2005:52). To be *Tummyang* or be respected as *Tummyang* in Limbu culture and society is a great success for them. So, Limbu people use to bless their progenies to pass or cross through the *Tuttugen Tummyang* or *Yaklagen Suhangma Cho:tlung*, a mythical spiritual highest peak of human being to reach at.

5.1.3.2. Phedangma

In Limbu culture, “*Phedangma* is taken as the relationship maintainer between the god and human beings. Phedangma performs worship on illness, marriage, death and ancestral Gods as well other social and religious works. They call themselves as *Keingmi sa*, the ambassador of the God” (Kainla, 1991:152). They are not just the ambassador of the God but also the conductor of Limbus life, family and community ritually.

Figure 11. Discussion with a Phedangma *Khadga Bdr. Lumphungwa* of Terhathum



Phedangma plays great role from pre-birth to after death of any persons in Limbus society and culture. On the process of pre birth or after pregnancy ritual Limbus perform a Sappok Chomen rite in the presence of *Phedangma*, *Tummyang* and family. There, *Phedangma* says:

If there are any obstacles happened by doing promises from her (Pregnant woman's) father, mother or from the side of father in law and mother in law and even others too, we have opened these all the ways from today here now. Is it opened or not?

Then, *Tuttu Tummyang* and *Yakla Suhangmas* Say:

Yes, opened, opened (Kainla, 1991:9).

As this way, *Phedangma* performs after-pregnancy or pre- birth ritual of a pregnant woman in the presence of *Tuttu Tummyangs* or *Yakla Suhangmas* for the safe birth of new baby in Limbu family.

“*Phedangma* also performs a *Mangenna*, a great ritula Limbus. *Mangenna* is a ritual of Limbus. It is done every year. *Mangenna* ritual is done for being safe from grief and sickness, to be protected from the eyes of evils ghosts, wishing not fall on fight and quarrel; even if it happens too *Mangenna* is done for the victory, praying to be fulfilled the wishes and wishing to remain the god always on right hand. According to the *Phedangmas*, this ritual of doing *Mangenna* has been starting from the very beginning. *Mangenna Mundhum* has also an indirect significant that the history of own race and genealogical description of own genealogy and clans are explained in *Mangenna Mundhum*. In this *Mundhum*, there comes the migrating story and story of building own *gadhi (fort)* of Ten Limbus. Where did the progenies of Sawa Yethangs reach by visiting from their original place, where and how did they stay, in which place how did they fight, in which place what kind of difficulties had to face, and how a big branch of them separated and eventually by coming in which place their community reached to remain safe? The detail description of the matter comes on *Mangenna Mundhum*” (Subba, 2000:66).

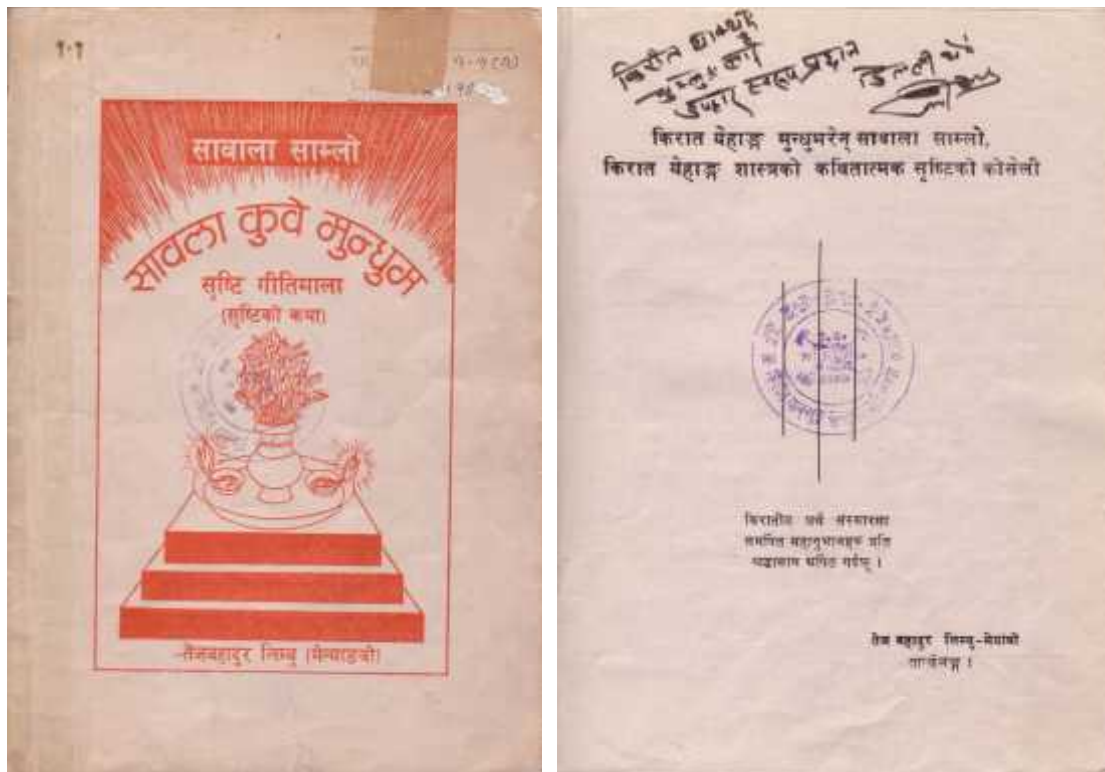
5.1.3.3. Samba

Samba is an artist, musician or literary person of Limbu society.

“Sambas are singer of Limbu society who have kept the tradition live and ranged. Present Sambas are the progeny of *Sap Mundhum* and *Yep Mundhum*. They have become Samba by knowing the knowledge of origin, morality and history through teachers’ tradition. Some honored themselves as the post of Sawal Samba and Dewala Samba as their own ability and capacity” (Kainla, 1991:154).

“There should be or tradition of being self-possessed by god *mangthukma* to be a *Phedangma*, samba and *Yeba or Yema* in Limbus’ culture. However, it does not happen for all. There is necessary to be ancestral tradition as well as great belief on *Thebasam* (supreme father) and *Yumasam* (supreme mother) for being *manthukma* or self-possessed. They can be performer of *Mundhum* Language and worship automatically after starting to be self-possessed. Those male or female persons being sacred by body, mind and character as well as self-purified persons become self- possessed. Thus, even self-possessed persons remain in non-vegetarian family, eventually they become vegetarian, and do not eat onions too. If they happen to eat the non-vegetarian foods and even onions, they do their worshipping after purifying with *namyoba* the *artemisia vulgaris*” (Subba, 1989: 3). So, it seems a sacred job both physically and spritually.

Figure 12. *Sawala Kube Mundhum : Mundhum Text of Sambas (Menyangbo, 1991)*



“To achieve the skill of *Yehang Mundhum*, a learner should be a *yagapsiba* (disciple) by respecting to a *samba* as a *siksamba* (teacher) for many years. There is also a believe that the persons who born to be the *sambas* are born with special gravitation (*mukkum sam*) of ritual or fate (*imetna*). By accepting such persons as *Yagapsiba*, the *siksamba* teaches the *mundhum* of origin (*mujoklung mundhum*) taking together with on the works. In addition, the teacher *samba* teaches his leaner *yagapsiba* by taking together with him where he goes to perform the *sumsemba* (three nights) *mundhum* or *thiksemba* (one night) *mundhum*. After, following to and learning the *mundhum* and ways from the teacher *samba* many years as this way; the learner *yagapsiba* gets an authority of *sangapla* (a younger brothe friend of *samba*). Then only, the *yagapsiba* takes a final authority from *tuttu tummyas* by organizing a council of them for. The *yagapsiba* appeals to get the authority of *samba* by showing his skill on, and the *tuttu tummyans* provide authority as the way by observing and understaning his skills on, performed there. There used to provide the authority of *sawali samba* (*mudhum* expert) and then *ongsi* (great teacher) in the past. Thus, the *samba*, being liberated from the physical enjoyment and selfishness, and a life liver as being the prayer, mediator and messenger of the god *Tagera Ningwabhu Mang*, is given the authority of *ongsi*” (Subba, 1989: 8).

“The *samnibas* (scholars) among the *tummyangs* learn *mundhum* of *Phejiri Phedangma* and same others by turning on second mode. The *tummyans* provide the authority of *Phedanma* and *phejiri phedangma* to those who can treat the physical patient with medicine and mental patient wich magic by acquiring the knowledge on *tenthim* (rules) and ways of using medicine of all rituals” (Subba, 1989: 6). As this way, a *Tummyang* can also be a *Phedangma* by learing the knowledge and skills from the beginner.

5.1.3.4. *Yeba*

Yeba or *Yema* is an accidental case maintainer of *Limbus* life and society.

Figure 13. Talking with a *Yeba Brikha B. Wanem* and of *Taplojong* in *Dharan*



According to Bairagi Kaninla (1991:155), man has to perform several works in society. Works are divided in several ways. *Yebas* are needed to save the human beings from inhuman unnatural power such as accidental death or damnation and ghosts. In this situation as mentioned above, only *Yeba* can rescue the human beings but not *Phedangma* or *Sambas* can do so. *Yeba* also plays a bronze dish and *Dhole* (Ke/Chyabrung) by erecting an oblong pillar of bamboo on the yard and dancing around it by imitating the dance of animal and birds. *Yeba* sings legend of creation and story of moral behaviors. They honored themselves as *Yebakko Yemikimba ya*, etc. as their own ability and capacity to perform the rites.

5.1.3.5. *Yema*

Yema is a female character of *Yeba* (Kainla, 1991:155). She is also a female case maintainer in Limbus society. *Yema* plays the role as psychosocial counselor in Limbus society and culture.

5.1.3.6. *Yuma*

In Kirat Religious Limbu people, *Yuma* is worshiped and considered as a powerful female natured universal, having none of the primordial qualities of created beings and shapeless incarnation of the god (Kainla, 1991:154). According to oral *Mundhum* (as told me by a *Yuma Sanarung Serma* of Panther), *Yuma* is believed as universal. She has visited all over the world. And once, she had also come to Limbuwan. *Yasok* of Panthar and the basin of *Yamdhangwa* or *Tamor* River was her place to walk, weave and move.

As *Phedangma* and *Samba*, *Yuma* also does the worshiping works. Almost, *Yumas* remain unmarried wearing sacred white dress and being vegetarian. *Yumas* plays cymbals when she worships on her altar.

5.1.3.7. *Mangba*

Mangbas do the same work as what *Yebas* do. *Mangba* is believed came from Rais to Limbus where as Rai people say their priest *Mangpa*.

5.1.3.8. *Sidasaba*

According to Imang Sing Chemjong (2003b:32) the work of *Sidasaba* or *Sidading Sidalam* is to search and collect herbs medicines to proved the patients.

5.1.3.9. *Sammudhum-Yepmundhum Sam*

Sam Mundhum-Yep Mundhumsabas are expert of *Mundhum* and singer of it. They also kept the history of origin and human society in their mind and tell others. So, the Ten Limbus also used to take *Sammundhum Yepmundhumsaba* together with them.

5.1.3.10. *Ongsi*

According to Iman Singh Chemjong (2000:124), King *Sirijunga Hang* introduced a title of *Muhigum Ongsi* to a learned priest who lived a life of celibacy and devoted his life to God and served the needy unlike the *Phedangma* or *Yaba*. The *Muhigum Ongsi* did not offer blood sacrifices during religious ceremonies.

Ongsi or always remain sacred. They pray and with the God. They also mediate to get the knowledge and serve it others. According to *Mundhum, Yehang, Lepmuhang, Kanden Hang, Sirjounga Hang, Yongjonga Hang, and Phalgunandas* are *ongsis*.

As this way, those *Ongsis* are source of knowledge or instructor of *Sawa Yethangs*.

As we got in the history, *Mabohang* was also a king of Kirat land. He was a son of King *Uba Hang*. According to Iman Singh Chemojong (2000:106) he ruled Kirat land for fifteen years (865-880 AD) with the title of *Thakthakkum Mabo Hang*. An efficient ruler who was widely respected and celebrated as an incarnation of God *Yumasam*.

The oracles of *Mabohang* is as follows:

Anden thikleng menchham saha

Layo lasot mejogulle

Huneba kak meksung desung

Menchham saha Choitangban

Mellesung go, Choitangbal

Kak amek-lo

Samjik mundhum kesabaha

Siwandingo Khahun piru

Mengkembaha memising-lo

Translation:

“In ancient times, human committed a great and unpardonable sin and I destroyed them. If humanbeing do not care for the master creator, he is sure to be doomed; people who listened to their religious instructors were saved. However, those who did not abide by them were condemned to doom and destruction” (Chemjong, 2000:110).

It is believed that Mabo Hang had delivered such of oracles being a principal spirit of God Yumasam, the Omnipresent *Ningwaphuma*.

Another ongsi Sirijunga was the grandson of king Galijunga of Yangwarak district. He proved himself powerful enough to subdue all the Feudal chiefs under his control. Sigijunga Hang was a pious and religious man he depended upon one powerful God whom he believed to be the root of knowledge and wisdom.

As mentioned by Iman Singh Chemjong (2000:124-128). Some of Sirijunga Hang’s Instruction is as follows:

If the family is good, friendship becomes all right.

If the river is broad, its shallowness becomes good.

If the waterfall is short the fish jumps over it.

If a tree is spacious, enough monkeys make it their dwelling place.

Good sanitation makes a village worth living and if the village is dirty, epidemic will surely break out.

If the soil is fertile and rich, it is apt to yield a good harvest.

When the trade is good, income improves.

If a wife is wise, her husband prospers however if she is vile and wicked she becomes a witch.

Crude talk gives way to quarrels while kind words lead to a good and sound relation.

A good mediator compromises quarrel while a bad one adds fuel to fire.

An upright and virtuous man enlightens other people.

If legs are strong, one can cross a running river and if shoulders are of equal height, it shoulders the weight of logs on them.

If opinions in a meeting are one, the resolution and its outcome becomes strong one, similarly service towards mankind always yields a good reputation.

Allow the words spoken thus be heard by all.

Let the gift of knowledge of life and death be obtained by all and may aspirations be rewarded.

5.2. Practicing the institution in Limbus' life and their community

“Indigenous culture, following the traditional lessons typically embodies ideas and methods of practicing social diversity and responsibility. Social responsibility, rather than the modern imposed notion of individual rights by the state, serves as the cornerstone of justice” (Deloria, 1992; Thomas & Louderdale, 1987, 1988). “The Limbu indigenous sphere consists of the institutions, which regulate the relations of production between Limbus in their own community. Participation in these institutions is based on membership in a Limbu patrilineage, common residence in a local area, or both. The institution of the market sphere regulate economic exchange between Limbu and non-Limbu. Individual Limbu sell their labor and the product of their labor to members of other ethnic groups in the marketplace, some of which, such as the permanent and weekly bazaars, are located in the hills, while others are located beyond the boundaries of Limbuwan” (Kurz and Jones 1976:172).

5.2.1. As the key to self-understanding

Mundhum emphasis on self-understanding, for example, the *Mangenna* ritual and *Mundhum* talks on origin of earth and human beings. It talks how the human society reached to here. What sort of ups downs had to face by ancestors in evolution of society? In short, *Mangenna Mundhum* talks from past to present. And, it helps to understand the life of human being.

As the same way, *Sawa Yethang Mundhum* talks on morality of human being. It teaches us to maintain discipline, as well as rule regulations of the society to maintain social order and unity.

So, when we understand all parts, structures and instructions of *Sawa Yethangs* through *Yetchham thim* or *Yetchham Bacha Thim*, then we able to understand Limbus society and

culture. It means, following the *Sawa Yethang Chumlung* is a Self-understanding process of Limbus in Limbuwan.

5.2.2. As the key to maintain life and family

There needs certain norms, values as well as rules and regulations to maintain human life and family. For this, ancestors had to make so many rules and regulations for the society.

As mentioned by Iman Singh Chemjing (2003:66), the ecclesiastical rule of the Limbus is as follows:

1. Yuma Sammang being the main God of the Ten Limbus should be worshipped twice a year- first in the month of November and secondly in the month of April.
2. Ya-wama (Yakwa) or the season of sowing seeds should be worshipped in the month of March. Chasok Mangkhoma or the season of harvest should be worshipped in the month of September.
3. When a woman becomes pregnant; God should be worshipped for the safeguard of the child of the womb. It is called the *Sappok-Chomen*.
4. Once a year, the headman of family must fix a day for the worship of God for his blessings for the good health and the prosperity of his family members. It is called the *Mangenna*.
5. Once in three years, the headman of a family must observe a day for the worship of God especially for his health. It is called the *Nahangma*.

As the same way the rules for the social customs of the Limbus are as follows:

Birth Celebration

1. The fourth day for the male and third day for the female child should be observed as the day of purification of the woman who bears a child. The child's naming ceremony should be performed on the same day.

Death Rites

- I. Four days for the man and three days for the woman should be observed as the number of days of condolence when they die. During this period, the living relative of the deceased person should not take salt, oil, chili, onion and

ginger. On the fourth day or the third day, they should be purified by the voice of all the members who had joined the funeral ceremony and should allow the living members of the deceased person to resume normal life as usual.

- II. The members of the house of deceased person should not rejoice of join any kind of festival or function for one complete year. After the completion of one full year, they should invite all their relatives and friends in a meeting and request them to purify and allow them to move and work like themselves.

Marriage Rituals

- III. A girl should always be brought for the sake of marriage of a Limbu. A marriage ceremony should be done in two ways. First, by making a payment of the girl's price before the marriage which should not exceeds Rs. 55/-. Secondly, by making payment of the girls price after the marriage which should not exceeds Rs. 44/-.
- IV. A legal marriage should always be recognized by the headman (Subha or Tummyang) of the village on payment of Rs. 2/- as a marriage tax. It should be called the *Pharsut Yang*.
- V. The reorganization of marriage should always be given evidence by the second headman of the village for which a tax of Rs. 1/- should be paid. It should be called the *Singchem Yang*.
- VI. A sum of Rs. 2/- should always be paid to the girl's father for separation of his daughter's family title form him to that of his daughter's husband's family title. It should be called the *Semmui Yang*.
- VII. A marriage, violating the above rules would be announced as illegal and children from such illegal marriage would be called *khosa* or bastard. They will have no right to inherit their father's property.
- VIII. They can be legalized by following the rule of *Samyok Lung Thim* of the *Ten Limbus*.

These are the some Limbus customary norms and values or rules and regulations to be followed or performed culturally. When Limbus get to perform these, then they feel to be maintained their life and family well. For, they need to follow the rule and regulations of *Sawa Yethangs* or through *Yetchham Thim and Sawa Yethang Chumlung*.

5.2.3. As the key to maintain social unity

As we seen in every society, when every part and structure is maintained as the norms and values of the society and their culture, the whole society itself is maintained as a whole.

In the case of Limbus, when all parts and structural role player single institution fulfills one's duty with the help of others, then there seems social unity. The *Yakwa Sewa Chumlung*, *Chasok Sewa Chumlung*, *Tangsing* and *Manghup Mangde* or *Sakmura Wademma* ceremony maintain this role.

Mainly Tummyangs of Limbu people plays a great role to maintain the social unity.

5.2.4. As the key to maintain political unity

Sawa Yethang's Yetchham Thims are greater than modern political norms and values for Limbus. Limbus gather at one place in *Yakwa Sewa Chumlung* even they are in different modern political parties. And, they feel that their traditional rules and regulations are more practical and meaningful than the modern rules encroached by other parties.

In Poklaang village, almost all Limbus are disgusted from modern changeable and unbelievable parties. They do not see their future on those of modern parties are looking forward new and own ethnic based political organization or parties.

It is because; in November 1990, Nepal got a new constitution, which reinstated the system of multiparty democracy, absent since 1960. It was hoped that the introduction of multiparty democracy would solve the country's political and economic problems. The process, however, has been more painful than expected. To take root and become a sustainable democracy cannot merely be copied from the west, but would have to be based as much as possible on democratic elements of indigenous system. Unfortunately, little is known about Nepal's traditional, local political system (Vinding, 1994:169). However, the concerned peoples are starting to protect and promote these institutions now.

Here is an example of The Republican System of the Kirat Government: The Administrative Policy of Limbus in Limbuwan to see the some character of Limbus social political institution:

1. That, no chief is liable to take any initiative in the matter of external affairs of the federal government without the consultation of the Ten Limbus.

2. in order to make the country stronger by strengthening man power, the Ten Limbus decided to convert any caste or creed of their subject into the Limbu race and to treat them equally s their own brothers. This rule conversion is called the *Chokphung Thim*.
3. When Ten Limbus conquer any land either in Tibet or in India, all the war prisoner of such conquered land should be deported to Limbuwan and should be converted into the Limbu race according to the Limbu rule of *Chokphung Thim*.
4. The land thus, vacated by deportation should be occupied by the children of the Ten Limbus.
5. If a member of a Limbu family commits an offense which separates from the rest of his family, the he should be accepted again in his family by performing a function of purification of *Samyok Lung Thim*.
6. the Children of a Limbu either from Tibetan woman or an Indian woman should be reckoned as the legal issue and should be allowed to inherit his father's property, provided the children of such connection be recognized by a body of meeting represented by members of the *Ten Limbus*.
7. The sons of Limbu family when reach the age of 12 years mus learn the art of archery.
8. Every houses of Limbu must give one of his sons to server the State as a soldier when he reaches the age of 18. His name should be enlisted as *Thoksuba*.
9. When the number of *Thoksubas* in a village reaches 300, it must have a *Thokpeba* or a leader to commandthe *Thoksubas*.
10. There should be one *Thoktumba* to command over five *Thoksubas*. They should always be ready for any kind of emergency.
11. A *Thoktumba* is liable to get a big plot of land and from the king for the maintenance of al the military officers and soldiers.
12. The *Thktumba* shuld keep a piece of land for his requirement and distribute the rest to his junior officers and soldiers.

13. The *Thoktumaba* is empowered to keep or remove any office or soldier from such military service.
14. One-tenth part of the income of a land should be paid to the king as land revenue.
15. A Hang-Chumlung or King Council should be composed of the Hang, the *Tumyang*, the *Thoktumba* and two elderly men known as *Pasing and Padang* to represent the layman.
16. A murderer should be given a death penalty.
17. A thief's hand should be dipped into boiling water.
18. A mischievous person should be asked to confess his fault before the place of worship.
19. A man who breaks his blood relation should be enslaved and sold.
20. A man who breaks his mother's relation should be expelled from the village and kept in cave (Chemjong. 2003:57).

Even some of policies mentioned above seem somehow traditional; most of rests are reasonable for that time and condition. It is because, the policies have brought from own institutions knowingly or unknowingly.

So, the rule and regulations grown from own institutions work effectively than borrowed from others. As this way, for Limbus, their social traditional institution *Sawa Yethang Chumlung* is more reasonable to maintain political unity in Limbuwan.

5.2.5. As the key to customary law Practices

We cannot remain away from Hindu law system in the course of studying the Laws of Nepal. Even, it seems that it has affected our present law systems too. Therefore, without explaining the Hindu law system our study will be incomplete in this issue (Parajuli, 1982). It means that most of laws and codes have being brought from Hindu culture and code of conducts in Nepal's codes and constitutions yet.

So, the rulers, with their own customary law practices or institution based code and constitutions have been excluding or marginalizing all the indigenous people of Nepal from the welfare and its mechanism.

It shows the necessity of practicing own social political institutions by indigenous peoples themselves.

In the context of Limbus some of customary law practices are as mentioned below:

5.2.5.1. *Samyok-lung Thim (Confession and Reception)*

“*Samyok lung Thim* is a ritual of solemn promise and confession. The literal meaning of *Samyok* is a Kind of grass- “*Cynodon dactylon*” and *lung* a stone. According to this ritual, if a Limbu takes an oath by touching *Cynodon dactylon* and stone, he always has to follow it sincerely, honestly with true spirit and keep his or her promise with all his capabilities. When someone has to speak by touching the *Cynodon dactylon* and stone, he or she should not lie and deceive his or her own soul. When a culprit touches the grass- *Cynodon dactylon* and stone and confesses his misdeeds, he is liable to pardon. This practice was popular among Limbus in the course of discharging responsibilities and dispensing justice in the communities until the last three-four decades when life was simple and legal complications and administrative interferences were not affecting much to the common people” (Subba, 1998:42).

As mentioned by Iman Singh Chemjong (2003), this *Thim* was started by two leaders Nam Dyu Hang and Nam Di Hang after the Papo Hang of Kirat land. For this ritual, a long stone should be erected; then man’s name should be inscribed on it; a handful of green *Samyok* grass should be kept at the top of the erected stone along with a coin worth one rupee. At the bottom of the erected stone a sum of rupees thirty as a fine for his misdeeds should be kept. The culprit should be made to stand by the side of the stone and the *samyok* grass in front of the assembly.

Then, the priest (Phedangma addressing the gentlemen present):

“Listen ye gentleman (Tuttu Tumyangs and Yakla Suhangmas)! This man of such and such name, son of such and such person, a resident of such and such village, has committed such and such crime in this village and therefore, he has been kept under the custody for so many days. Now, he wants to repent and confess his fault before you gentleman, in front of this stone and *samyok* grass erected in his name. He has deposited thirty rupees as a general fine for his mischief. Will you then pardon him (In a loud voice)?

The Assembly (Chumlung of gentlemen in a loud voice):

"Yes! Yes!! We will pardon him if he repents for his misdeeds and confesses his fault before us. If he takes an oath before the erected stone and the *samyok* grass, saying that he will never commit such a crime again, we will, certainly accept him in our circle again."

The culprit then touches the erected stone and the *samyok* grass three times and turning towards the assembly, confesses his fault and begs a pardon promising that he will never commit such offense again.

The priest (Phedangma):

"Now, gentlemen! This man of such and such name, son of such and such person, a resident of such and such village has repented for his misdeeds, confessed his fault before you touching the erected stone and the *samyok* grass three times. Now, has he been pardoned by you"?

The Assembly (in one voice):

"Yes! Yes! We have seen him touching the stone and *samyok* grass, repenting, confessing and requesting a pardon for his fault, so we are pleased to pardon him. He has been pardoned now; he is free to do work and eat and drink with us as usual. As we have pardoned him, in front of the gods and goddesses today, he has been pardoned by them as well."

The priest asks the man to bow down before all the gentlemen present. First of all, he bows down before the priest and then to all the members of the assembly. A written record of all these functions is kept by the assembly. A written record of all these functions is kept by the headman of the village. After that, the man serves the meal to all the people after the completion of the feast, the function is over. The fine of rupees thirty id divided among the members of the assembly and the priest (Chemjong, 2003:44).

5.2.5.2. *The Chokphung Thim (Adoption of Nationality)*

"*Chokphung Thim* is a ritual of adopting some members of another nationality or tribe or clan into one's group or clan. If someone wants to be a member of particular family of particular clan, he has to request to leader of that clan. The most essential conditions for adoption are knowledge about he history, specially pedigree of that family that he is going to join, loyalty to the members of that family and clan and other simple obligations.

All the distinguished members of the clan and village assemble and the *Phedangma* (priest) performs the ritual. The adoptee has to make a solemn promise of loyalty towards the clan and respect the clan members as close consanguineous relatives. When someone adopts him or her, he or she is converted into the clans of adopter and becomes consanguineous relative of the family and clan. This is custom of adopting someone as son or daughter of as well as converting into the particular clan or ethnicity” (Subba, 1998:41). “This custom has a typical ritual and it is performed in typical way when someone is adopted” (Chemjong, 2003:60), or “someone is included into the clan” (Kangdangwa, 1994: 20), or “when a woman other than Limbu ethnicity is married” (Yakthumba, 1992).

According to Iman Singh Chemjong (2003:61), on this ritual, the Priest addresses the assembly and says in a loud voice:

"Listen ye gentlemen! In the olden days our forefathers had blessed us saying, you children will be increased and multiplied more than the stars in the sky and more than the sand of the sea. They will grow and prosper like, '*samyok*' grass, which remains green throughout the whole year in every part of the earth. If a member of your children disappears, let ten more members grow in number. If anyone of your members is separated from the rest, let him be allowed to rejoin his group. If any member of any other nationality or race or tribe or family or cast or creed desire to join your family, let him, be accepted among your children as members of the same fold. Because, it is better to gain than to lose; it is better to be more than few in number; it is better to increase children than to decrease."

"Therefore, today also, in accordance with the old system of the adoption of nationality of the Ten Limbus, this man of such and such name off such and such nationality or race or tribe or caste or family of such and such country or district or village is requesting you, that, he going to make such and such person of such and such name and nationality or race or tribe or caste or family of such and such country of district or village. Will you accept this new member in you community?"

The Assembly (replies in a loud voice):

“Yes! Yes! We will agree to this decision. We will accept this new man in our community and treat him as one of us. We all will follow the customs and rules adopted by our forefathers.”

“herefore, from today onwards, this new man of such and such name and nationality or race or tribe or caste or family or such and such country or district or village, though a stranger to us, has become a member of the family of such and such man of such and such caste or tribe or race of Limbu nationality of such and such country or district or village. Now, this man has become a member of the Limbu community or such and such clan of Kirat nationality of such and such village of such and such district of the Limbuwan State of the Kirat Country. Henceforth, this new man will not be counted as stranger. He should be called a relative of such and such man of Limbu caste of the great Kirat nation of such and such village of such and such district of Kirat Land. We have accepted him in our Limbu community.”

The Priest (Addressing to the newly converted person):

"If it is so, then you, though belonged to such and such caste or tribe or race or nationality of such and such village of district or country have been accepted in Limbu community so such and such clan fo such and such family of such and such village or district or country by the gentlemen present here today.”

"Therefore, form today; you have become a member of the Limbu community and relative of such and such person. You have become hsi blood brother. You should not think ill of your blood brother. You no longer belong to your old casteor race or tribe.”

The Priest then orders him to bow down before all the members of the assembly. The newly adopted brother also bows down to his new father or brother and his families. Depending on the age factor, he bows before the people who are elder to him.

The assembly then keeps the record of the decision of such conversion under the signature of the gentlemen present as witnesses. They resolved and fixed a certain amount of fine to those who talk ill against such converted person.

5.2.5.3. *Rules for the Social Customs of the Limbus*

Rules of Divorce

- I. A divorce from the husband's side is called "*Khemjong*" and a divorce from wife's side is called, "*Najong*".
- II. When a man divorces his wife by his own will if he has not paid the price of his wife in full, the man will have no power to take his children with him.

Rules for Status of Children between Wife and Husband:

- III. His children born from his divorced wife will be called *Khosa*. The maternal uncle will be their guardian and they will be under his disposal. It is called the rule of, "*Kwajani*".
- IV. But, if the man does not want his wife and yet wants his children, then he can do so by legalizing the children under the rule of *Samyok Lung Thim* of Ten Limbus.
- V. The divorced wife will be treated as an unmarried girl and will be allowed to marry again.
- VI. But, if the man has paid the full amount of his wife's price and yet divorces her, then will have no claim for the refund of his wife's price from his father-in-law. He can take away his children with him.
- VII. If a divorced wife is married again and first man wants to refund his wife's price from the new husband of the divorced wife, he can do so according to the *Tengo-Henchhing Thim* rule of the Ten Limbus.

Rules for Unchaste Woman

- VIII. When a man's wife lives with her parents and goes away with another man other than her own married husband, then the parents of that woman hold responsible for her.
- IX. But, if a woman quits her husband's house and goes away with other husband, then in such case the husband himself will be responsible for her.

- X. If a wife divorces her husband, she should refund her price to her husband in front of the court. Then, she will be declared an unmarried girl and will be allowed to marry again (Chemjong, 2003:57-60).

5.3. Perceiving the Present Condition of the institution in Limbuwan

5.3.1. Sawa Yethang Chumlung in the Past

As mentioned on literatures and talked by orders Sawa Yethang Chumlung was more prevail in the past. It was a main social political institution of Limbus in Limbhwana. It is because; all parts of the institution played its role sensitively.

According to Birahi Kainla (2010: 31), even, *Phendanma*, *Samba* and *Yebas* cannot do any thing alone in Limbu society and culture, for this, *Tummyangs* are needed. Each ritual is performed only after taking permission from *Tummyangs*. However, what became the weakness of Limbus now is that the new generations are leaving to speak Limbu language day by day. After the death of those orders, the son and daughters' age can speak their mother tongue less than orders, and in the age of their grand son or daughters, they are completely leaving to speak own native language. Thus, after not understanding own native language by Limbus, the new generations do not know that what the *Phedanma*, *Samba* or *Yebas* are reciting or saying on the course of performing the rituals at their home.

5.3.1.1. Kipat as a main Sawa Yethang Chumlung in the Past

In the beginning, the social political institution concerned to natural resources like land, forest and water was called *Tangsking Khasking Thim* in Limbuwan by the progeny of *Sawa Yethahangs*. This system is called *Kipat* system later on.

According to Mahesh Chandra Regmi (1999:87), *Kipat* tenure emerged not because of a royal grant, but because the owner, as a member of a particular ethnic community, was in customary occupation of lands situated in a particular geographical area. *Kipat* was thus a form of communal land ownership, under which "each person has a right to exclusive use of a particular piece of land, but where his rights to dispose of the land are restricted on the theory that the land belongs to the chief or to the tribe."

"The *Kipat* system may have been a relic of customary form of land control which communities of Mongoloid or autochthonous tribal original established in areas occupied by them before the immigration of racial groups of Indo-Aryan origin. The general view

is that racial groups of Caucasian origin, which are the most important numerically, socially and politically in much of Nepal, immigrated from northern India. The newcomers acquired landownership rights under a statutory form of landownership, such as *Birta* or *Jagir*, whereas the Mongoloid or autochthonous communities retained their customary occupation of lands under a form of ownership that eventually came to be known as *Kipat*. Prominent among the *Kipat* owning communities of Nepal were the Limbus of Pallokirat, a term traditionally used to denote the present districts of Ilam, Dhankuta, Panchthar, Terhathum, Taplejung, and Sangkhuwa-Sabha” (Regmi, 1999:87).

Land, water, forest, and pasture constitute the life and blood of indigenous peoples. Mahesh Chandra Regmi (1998:534) writes: “Land is held on tribal, village, kindred or family basis, and individuals have definite rights in this land by virtue of their membership in the relevant social unit. Hence, title to land has a communal character and it is usufructuary, rather than absolute.”

According to the same author (1998:88), the *Kipat* owning communities included Limbu, Rai, Majhiya, Bhote, Yakha, Tamang, Hayu, Chepang, Baramu, Danuwar, Sunuwar, Kumhal, Pahari, Thami, Sherpa, Majhi and Lepcha. The state reconfirmed “traditional customs and privileges” in 1961 but *Kipat* was abolished, turning into Raikar, through land reform in 1968.

“Although we have conquered your country by dint of our valour, we have afforded you and your kinship protection. We hereby pardon all of your crimes, and confirm all the customs and traditions, rights and privileges of your country.... Enjoy the land from generation to generation, as long as it remains in existence.... In case we confiscate your lands....may our ancestral gods destroy our kingdom” (Regmi 1978:540).

Kipat was not regarded by the Limbus simply as a productive capital asset; in other words, it was not a commodity, a thing distinguished absolutely from the person who owns it, and so valued solely for the returns it can provide. It was rather a form of ‘inalienable wealth’, a possession which serves to ‘define who one is in an historical sense’ (Weiner, 1985:210). It stood for their way of life, and thus symbolized the cultural vitality and continuity of the community. In this respect Limbus shared a conception of land as held by countless indigenous or ‘tribal’ peoples around the world, for whom

"membership in the community generates an attitude to the land which is antecedent to the working of it" (Hart 1982:46).

According to Lionel Caplan (1990:137), when he first knew to Limbus, they regularly asserted that their forebears had cleared forests, worshiped deities and made them witness to their right to have these lands for all time. The grant of Royal Order (lalmohar) by the first Gorkha king was seen as state confirmation of this legacy. Kipat was thus more than a system of land tenure; it was the basis of Limbu identity as a people (Chemjong 1958, 1966; Melford 1966).

Before abolishing of Kipat in Limbuwan, it was the base of Limbus life and their society. After abolishing it, Limbus became very weak both socio-politically.

5.3.1. Present condition of Sawa Yethang Chumlung

Even being more bases, and having more possibilities of sustaining this institution, it is in transition phase in Limbuwan now. It will never lose its bases until the *Mundhum* remains in existence and it will flourish again if Limbuwan exist politically.

According to Novel Kishore Rai (2011:33), Gaunbhadhas (Old Persons of the Village) used to resolve the disputes in village in the past. People believed to those old persons in these days. The belief to them is being decreased because of modern politics and others. The new generations do not believe on those old persons. The main reason of decreasing this is lack of written culture and only relying on oral transmission.

Most of the parts and structures of this institution have been replaced and dismissed by the activities brought in the name of so-called modern development activities as well as science and technologies.

As the result, the way or process of coming *Phedangma*, *Samba* and *Yebas* are decreasing now. Proper knowledge bearer and role player *Tummyangs* are not found in villages now. In the past days, Limbus compelled to perform the rituals for their treatment when became sick. Now, they go to hospital rather than performing the rituals.

Mainly, new generations are aware in this matter. It is because; they do not see and listen these activities in their society. Therefore, they do not understand its values and importance. No formal institution is there to educate about this matter to them there in villages. So, its condition has become as this situation and fell on transition.

5.4. Causes and Consequences (Cause and results)

As mentioned by Lionel Caplan (1990:138), he was told that after the abolition of Kipat the “Limbus has no name. We became beggars- with no place, no land. How can there be Limbus without *Kipat*?” To the Limbus, therefore, the loss of *Kipat* represents not simply a material loss, for *Kipat* transcended its own materiality. With its abolition the Limbus were denied a part of their past and so, inevitably, of their sense of continuity in the present. *Kipat* provided a means of belonging; to a place and distinctive community- the one not separate from the other. In short, it defined them as a “tribal”. Conversion of the land to *raikar* has severed that connection, and rendered the land what it had never been before- a commodity. By legislating for the alienation of what had previously been inalienable, the state effectively inaugurated the last phase in the transformation of a tribal into a peasant community.

Same situation, as caused by abolition of *Kipat*, has occurred on every step of Limbus life and their ways. Its main cause is encroachment of Gorkhas and Non- Limbus in Limbuwan and penetration of Hindu and western cultures forcefully by modern rulers and media into Limbuwan. As the result, its consequences are falling on Limbus of Limbuwan and they are leaving and forgetting their own original customs, cultures, rituals, religion, language as well as their own social political institutions.

5.5. The Repercussions

Whole body, part and structure of Limbus institution is in crisis now. In addition, the *Sawa Yethang Chumlung* is facing transition phase to be survived from this situation. Together with, its repercussions or impacts are falling on every aspect of Limbus life, family and their society and culture. As the result, Limbus life and society is becoming more fragile day by day.

“Local institutions including Local Government Institutions (LGIs) are the popularly recognized means to initiate people’s participation in planning and management of social and economic development activities at local level with direct impact on local life. It is through LGIs that people learn their first lesson of the art of governance and begin to participate in the management of local affairs. The units of local government are primarily concerned with the management of local affairs. Creation of civic amenities within its own jurisdiction was traditionally considered the primary responsibility of LGI”

(Dhungel, Joshi and Gurung, 1989-1990). But, this is not done in practice and its bad impact is falling on local social political institutions.

Limbus are losing their native language and script, forgetting *Mundhums*, dismissing their own economic institutions and falling backward on every aspects. However, Limbus are not staying silently, they are now, upraising and social and political movement higher and more sensible than other of Nepal.

CHAPTER VI

Case Study

6.1. Tummyangs role to make consensus on any disputes

As I observed some and interviewed, as well as discussed more in Poklabang Village of Terhathum with my respondents, if there happens any dispute on water canal, boundaries of fields, separating brothers from family, eating out the crops by one's animals and some beat others, the oppressed person, family or group first gathered the *Chumlung* of *Tuttu Tummyans* and *Yakla Suhangmas* of the village at oppressed persons' home yard or any other comfortable common places to observe the cause of dispute, to discuss on case and make proper decisions for, before reporting or complaining to police office even now too. And, *Phedangma*, *Samba* and *Yebas* also present there as an observer, advisor or mediators among them.

The *Chumlung* of *Sawa Yethangs* or *Tuttu Tummyans* and *Yakla Suhangmas* asked, observed and understood on the case from both side of dispute creators. They find the main cause of dispute and fault from one side or from both sides. Then, the *chumlung* make consensus by persuading both sides and providing reasonable compensation to oppressed side. They also create the condition of doing self-criticism or asking excuse for doing that of fault work for once, and promise not to repeat the same fault again against the oppressed person and others too by managing some homemade beer or alcohol according to the culture of Limbus or *Sawa Yethangs*. Such of cultural rite is done to rise up the fell down face or head '*Mangenna*' of the oppressed persons with the dispute.

The *Chumlung* of *Sawa Yethans* also make a consensus paper by writing the words of agreement on *kaancho sapla* (local raw paper/Pahade kagaj) if they feel that is necessary and asked to keep it safely with the oppressed person or with the one of eldest persons of those *Sawa Yethang* or *Tuttu Tummyans*.

According to respondent of *Poklabang Pangbhey*, the villagers feel the such of consensus done by *Chumlung* of *Sawa Yethang* or *Tuttu Tummyans* would be more authentic, reasonable and believable than the one done in modern police office now. According to them, the decision and penalties done by police office do not remain permanent and become respected. In addition, it does not respect and create the environment to remain as

usual for both sides and they always seek to take sentiment of return as the way, how the one side had oppressed another.

6.2. Yakwa Chumlung's Role on Local Resources Management

6.2.1. Land

As I witnessed in field Poklabang Village of Terhathum, Limbu people do a worship of land or earth once a year in summer season marking *Ubhauri* (Going or growing up). It is called *Yakwa Sewa* by Limbus or *Bhumi Puja* in Khas Nepali language. It has not any fixed date to perform this *Yakwa Sewa* ritual; however, the council of Limbus *Sawa Yethangs* decide the date according the conditions of village informally. They inform and invite all of villagers to participate on the ritual with some of things necessary for there. Almost, the place is fixed traditionally from the beginning at a high, sacred and common place. The role of a *Sawa Yethangs* is pertinent in this ritual. *Phedangmas* do worshipping work of all deities by making an alter on the ground earth. Tummyangs and others fulfill the managing role of the ritual. A cultural game '*Paklung Lepma*' (Chhelo hanne khel) is performed here to ask proper rain with the nature.

In this ritual, Limbus worship their Gods of nature such as land, air, water, fire, plants and animals, etc. for good climate and production. They also remember and thank their ancestors for giving seeds of crops and skills of farming on earth as the way.

The *SawaYyethangs*, on the other hand, manage an informal *Chumlung* to make, amend, and implement the rules and regulations on the village or council. The Tummyangs play main role in this institution and *Phedanma*, *Samba*, *Yeba* and *Yemas* play a mediating role.

6.2.2. Forest

“The Jungle is thought sacred and has tow functions in Limbus: to protect and to provide. It is often seen in their folklore as a hiding place or a source of food” (Pappadis, 2001:63).

“Limbu specially worship a *Tamphungna*, a deity of the forest for well being and security of Limbus life. Tamphungna controls all the natural resources like ecological minerals, animals, air, fire, water” (Mabuhang, 2001: 37). Therefore, Limbus believe that a god spirit dwells on trees, water resources and caves or precipices of the forest. They make

proper rules to protect and consume the resources on the occasion of their gathering on Chasok or *Yakwa Sewa* ritual ceremonies.

6.2.3. Water

Limbus worship the God or deities of water on resources place by establishing alter there on the day of Baishakh Punima. They clear and maintain the water resources on the occasion by gathering there. Limbus also go to the main water resources place like pond, stream and rivers near to them to ask or supply the water or rain fall continuously. They belief the water sacred collected from seven resources (*Nuwadum or Saat Mool*) and sprinkled at the thing to make it sacred from any profane. *Pedannigma, Samba and Yeba* or *Yemas* hedge the water to make and fill water into a 'mickie warak', a pond by collecting form other water resources of earth at the imaginary summit of life which is called *tuttu tummyang* or *yakla suhangma chötlung* in *Mundhum*. It is believed to situate near the Mount Faktanglung of Kanchanjungha Mountain range as the journey of *Mundhum* shows. According to *mundhum*, the mickie warak, a pond of life should always remain fulfilled with water and let it not be dried up to live with prosperity. This *mundhum* is performed in *Mangenna, Nahangma* and *Tangsing Takma* ritual of Limbus by their priests.

“Human beings construct their own cosmological axioms in the process of adaptation which they create meanings of both of their ‘cognized’ and ‘operational’ environment and as living organisms, people live their life in the totality of ecosystem” (Chemjong, 2006:72). Same is found in Limbus’ local resources management system through their social political institution *Sawa Yethan Chumlung*.

6.3. A Political Organization FDNF: FLSC

I have done my study to understand the character of social political institution on modern or contemporary political organization to a prominent organization *Federal Democratic National Forum Federal Limbuwan State Council*.

Federal Democratic Natonal Froum (FDNF) is a nationwide political organization established on 2062. This organization seems as the political party of indigenous peoples of Nepal mainly, however, it has not prohibited non-indigenous peoples to be participated on. And, as I witnessed on the organization, there seem that some of non-indigenous

Brahman, Kshetries and *Muslims* as well as *Dalit* people are also participating on this organization and its movement now.

This party itself is a federalized organization on its organizational structure too. It has no *anchal* (zone based) or directly district based branch originations as other unitarised parties of Nepal. Instead, it has all together nine autonomous state councils like Federal Limbuwan State Council, *Khumbuwan* Autonomous State Council, *Tamangsaling* Autonomous State Council, *Tharuhat* Autonomous State Council, *Newa*: Autonomous State Council, *Magarat* Autonomous State Council, *Tamuwan* Autonomous State Council, *Khasan* Autonomous State Council and *Maithil* Autonomous Sate Council. These councils are organized as the constitution of FDNF, and the councils themselves can make their own state level organizational constitutions on the base of main FDNF's constitution not contradicting with it. Those state councils organize district level branch organizations and the same will be the district level branch organization of the FDNF too. In this party, no one is the main leader, there is a process of leading the party on common, group or team leadership.

According to the Organizational constitution of FDNF (FDNF, 2006), there will be t a presidential board of presidents from five state councils including at least a woman candidate. Their, working period will be of five years, and they will be an executive president of FDNF for one-one year turn by turn. In addition, it has a general secretary and other secretariat as well as federal members elected and represented from all state councils.

The Autonomous State Council, the sate level organization, of this party has also its main central executive committee represented from all districts, ethnic groups or regional councils.

On the preambles of the FDNF's documents (FDNF, 2006; 2009; 2006) and its state councils like Federal Limbuwan State Council (FDNF:FLSC, 2006; 2009;2009b), there is mentioned that their main object or demand, of organizing the party and doing the movement, is for the establishment of autonoumous states such as *Limbuwan*, *Khambuwan*, *Tamangsaling* and *Tharuhat*, etc. on the basis of ethnic historical background with the right to self-determination and self-governance in Federal Democratic Republic Nepal, for now.

Here, those statements like ethnic historical background, right to self-determination, self-governance and autonomous states refer the demand or claim of their own social political rights on the basis of their own social political traditional institutions existing from the very beginning together with the origin of *Sawa Yethangs* and their rule and regulation *Yetchham Bacha Thims*.

Perhaps, by respecting the value of the social political institution of Limbus in Limbuwan, a prominent political organization of Limbuwan Federal Democratic National Forum (FDNF): Federal Limbuwan State Council (FLSC) has proposed and managed the system of a sister organization of Tummyangs as *Sangheeya Limbuwan Tumyahang Parishad, Federal Limbuwan Tumyahangs' Council* (FLTC) on its organizational constitution 2006 (FDNF:FLSC, 2006: 16) and Political Report 2009 (FDNF: FLSC, 2009:28).

According to mentioned on the proposed constitution of Limbuwan Autonomous State in Federal Democratic Republic Nepal in 2010 submitted to the Constituent Assembly (FDNF: FLSC, 2009:11), Those expert artists of Limbuwan such as *Phedangma, Samba, Yema and Sewasaba*; who protect and promote the customs like *Palam, Hakpare, Mundhum, Kelang* including others cultural monuments; will be provided special salary and allowance from Limbuwan State.

There is mentioned on proposed constitution of Limbuwan form FDNF:FLCS (2009b:11), that- the Limbuwan State will protect, promote, develop and institutionalize the indigenous traditional social institutions such as Tummyangs and other people's social institutions concerned to indigenous knowledge and skill of Limbuwan. It shows that this political organization of *Limbuwan*, has also carried the nature sentiment of Limbus social political institution.

CHAPTER VII

Summary and Conclusion

7.1. Summary

The ancient social system of Limbus was directed by “*Yetchham Bachathim*” propounded, developed and systemized by eight gentlemen “*Sawa Yethangs*” of ancient time. Indeed, the “*Sawa Yethang*” was an original institution for keeping the Limbus’ social structure in systematic and organized way from the very beginning. There is a detail description of this institution in Limbus’ *Mundhum*. There is remembered the systems of ‘*Sawa Yethangs*’ in the course of performing special social or life rituals even today. *Phedangma, Samba, Yeba and Yemas* facilitate on these systems and exchange opinions among other participants to complete the works by reaching on certain destination.

Limbus of Limbuwan are an indigenous people of Nepal. They have their own distinct culture, religion, language, history and historical ancestral land Limbuwan. They are the progenies or descendants of *Sawa Yethangs* according their holy *Mundhum* and history. They are called or known as *Yakthung and Thibong Yakthungs* or *Ten Limbus* and as Limbus now.

Limbus have their own social political history. They have faced so many ups and downs in the course of coming to this stage. They had their own independent state called Limbuwan in the past. But, the Prithvi Narayan Shaha and his descendants of Gorkhas invaded the Limbuwan and unitarised into Limbus in the name of so-called unification of Nepal. Limbus had been enjoying their own social political institution from the very beginning from *Tangsing Khoksing* system. The system was called *Kipat* afterwards, which was enjoyed by Limbus until 1964. It was abolished by the state by making and amending land reform code in 1964. As the result, Limbus became powerless in every aspect.

According to literatures reviewed above, Limbus had their own social political institutions. In the base of same institutions, they have been practising their social, cultural and political life and activities yet. Limbus had practiced their *Sawa Yethang* Social institution as *Kipat* system through *subbas* and *amal* in the past in middle stage. Shaha and Rana rulers of Nepal compelled Limbus to transform their institutional leaders in to

subbas and *amal*, however, that was not their own traditional leaders. *Sawa Yethangs* or *Tummyangs* became *subbas* at that time to conduct the local society and politics as the instruction and direction of Shaha and Rana rulers. Though, *Subbas* used to or take help and cooperation of *Tummyangs* and other facilitators *Phedangma*, *Samba* and *Yebas*. It means, the *Subbas* did not follow all the rules and regulations of Shaha and Rana rulers only. They also follow their own social political traditional rule and regulation of their own institution. So, the culture, religion, language, script, and social norms and values of Limbus did not vanish completely even in that situation too.

Specially, encroachment of non-Limbu Gorkhas into Limbuwan and their penetration of Hindu culture shocked Limbus and Limbuwan very negatively. Therefore, the ancestors of Limbus struggled and have been doing movement against the oppressive system of the state and their rulers from 1770 up to now.

Abolition of Kipat, has occurred so many problems on every step of Limbus life and their ways. Its main cause is encroachment of Gorkhas and Non- Limbus in Limbuwan and penetration of Hindu and western cultures forcefully by modern rulers and media into Limbuwan. As the result, its consequences are falling on Limbus of Limbuwan and they are leaving and forgetting their own original customs, cultures, rituals, religion, language as well as their own social political institutions.

National laws and codes of Nepal have not given any special progressive provisions to Limbus yet. However, they have got opportunity to raise their voice in democratic system of Nepal after 1990.

Moreover, international laws like UNDRIP and ILO C. 169 have encouraged Limbus to know about their indigenous right and fight for that. They are learning and experiencing about their rights and social political institutions from national and international experiences.

7.2. Conclusion

We see a common or communal based collective leadership character in Limbu culture. *Sawa Yethangs* believed in common leadership as the same way Ten Limbus. Ten Limbus did not elect any of main kings in Ten Limbuwan. They just divide the state into Ten Federal Autonomous States and ruled on the base of their political rules and regulations made by them. In addition, *Tummyangs* are practicing a common leadership in the society

even now too. Similarly, the practice of *Phedangma*, *Yeba* and *Samba* also seem a nature of common and complementary leadership to maintain society in order.

As *Mundhum* shows, before the system of ruling the Limbuwan by *Ten Hangs* of *Ten Limbus*, the social system or state of Limbuwan was conducted by *Sawa Yethangs* or council of respected eight *hangs*. Thus, the system of conducting the state by council of respected gentlemen was transformed into the system of being one *hang* of one state or province in transition of age.

As according the W. Stewart Wallace (1948), the Hurons, a confederation of four Iroquoian tribes, with several dependent groups, which, at the coming of the white man, occupied a territory, sometimes known as Huronia, around Lake Simcoe and to the south and east of the Georgian bay, for example, have been described consistently as a culture which did not have social classes, a government independent from their kinship system, or private property. The Zunis were noted for their political structure based on “a Council of oldest men” (papas) rather than a chief (Weatherford, 1988). “The Comanches (fierce warriors who lived on the Southern Plains of America), at present, disagree over the historical interpretation of “chief” with some arguing that the concept was adopted or affixed only in the past two hundred years” (Lauderdale, 1992:9). It shows that one person can be a part but not whole. As the same way, the social traditional institution of Limbus is based on collective and common leadership but not by the chief one.

The role of *Sawa Yethang Chumlung* is seen in every activities and occasions of Limbus life ways as a social and political institution in Limbuwan. We can see the role of *Sawa Yethang- Phedangma* and *Tummyangs* on *Chasok Sewa Tangnam (Udahuli)* and *Yakwa Sewa Tangnam(Ubhauli)* as the representatives or leaders of the family or a whole village. *Sawa Yethangs- Samba* and *Yeba* or *Yemas* with the help of *Tummyangs* play their great role on the occasion of *Tangsing Takma* ritual done every year for a whole village or specific clans. In this occasion, the progeny of *Sawa Yethangs-* teach people to understand values of life and maintaing care for further ways. They also play political leaders’ role in village by having fromal and informal meeting and discussions on burning issues of the villagers. All villagers obey the decisions and instructions decided by the *Sawa Yethangs* collectively.

No single dance is there in Limbu culture *Yalang* (Dhan Nach), *Kelang* (Chyabrunng Naach) *Yeba lang* (Yeba Dance), *Samba lang* (Samba) and *Hangsam Theba Lang* (Hang

Sam Theba Dance), etc. all show the common and collective activity or leadership. It concludes that the Limbus social political institution *Sawa Yethang Chumlung* is also a way of collective and common leadership of older, experienced, and skillful *Sawa Yethangs*.

7.3. Recommendations

As Frank and Fuentes (1990:139) maintain that,

as long as the social movements have to write their own scripts as they go along, they cannot use and can only reject as counterproductive, any prescriptions form on high or outside as to where they should go or how they should get there.

There is definitely a need to conduct more serious and intensive research about such social political institutions and to make an inventory of them in indigenous communities.

Here, the researcher, recommends to others researchers to conduct study on all parts and structures of this *Sawa Yethang Chumlung* institution of Limbus as well as others.

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