

## CHAPTER-I

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Background of the study

Identity<sup>1</sup> has been a major issue, in contemporary polity of Nepal, in the process of federalisation. The term 'identity' itself is an intrinsic tool for the emancipation of social and political domination, oppression, discrimination, alienation, marginalisation, exclusion, deprivation and violence, as well, since 1990s (Karki, 2012). It has various forms and notions emerged in diverse and specific time and space, endogenous and exogenous mechanism of change (Wimmer, 2008). Identity includes the region, religion, sect, language family, language, dialect, caste, clan, tribe or nationality of one's parents or ancestors, or one's own physical features (Chandra, 2012).

Karki (2012) elucidates the promulgation of the term 'identity' that Erik H. Erikson, a psychoanalyst, coined the term 'identity' during the late 1940s in the social and psychological circumstances of World Wars, however, by the 1980s it became a stock term in sociology a widespread social label (Weigert, Teitge and Teitge 1986). Stryker (1980) initiated a sociological approach to self and identity with the assumption that there is a reciprocal relationship between the self and society. These two nodes – identity and society – influence each other for example individual self influences society through the actions of individuals thereby creating groups,

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<sup>1</sup> The *identity*, has Latin origins and is derived from the word *identitas*; the word is formed from *idem* meaning *same*. Thus, the term is used to express the notion of sameness, likeness, and oneness. More precisely, identity means “the sameness of a person or thing at all times in all circumstances; the condition or fact that a person or thing is itself and not something else” (Simpson & Weiner, 1989 as cited in Trimble J. E. and Dickson, R., 2010).

organizations, networks, and institutions. And, equally, society employing a political process influences the individual self employing shared stories, common histories, cultures, shared language and meanings that enable a person to take the role of the other, engage in social interaction, and reflect upon oneself as an object. Thus, the management of identity is, really, a complicated task in a democracy (Guttmann 2003). Ethnic identities, sometimes, transform into mechanism 'opportunity hoarding' (Tilly, 2005, as cited in Karki, 2012; p.i).

In the pre-modern society, social identity is largely determined by one's characteristics or attributes (like race, sex, parent's social status); in the early-modern, it is increasingly based on personal accomplishment and material attainment (both of which are ostensibly based on appraisals of merit); while in the late-modern society, it becomes a matter of impression management (that is, in certain social encounters, situational appraisals can become more important than one's social background or accomplishments) (Cote, 1996).

The term ethnic group is generally understood in anthropological literature to designate a population which:

1. is largely biologically self-perpetuating
2. shares fundamental cultural values, realized in overt unity in cultural forms
3. makes up a field of communication and interaction
4. has a membership which identifies itself, and is identified by others, as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order (Barth, 1969).

Ethnic Identity is postulated as instrument(conststruction, deconstruction and reconstruction) to grasp opportunities by constructivists, while primordialists insist (1) Individual has a single ethnic identity (2) This ethnic identity is by its nature fixed (3) This ethnic identity is exogenous to human processes (Chandra, 2012). Modernists

attributed the salience of ethnicity to the rise of modern nation-state (Wimmer, 2008). Indigenous nationalities fortifying their identities locating historical events and references. Dalits are changing their identity using so called high caste surnames (Karki, 2012). Identity transformation from Caste to Ethnic group and vice versa is not new phenomenon though its intensity has been highly increasing in Nepali society since 1990 (Giri, 2012). Pattharakattas in Kapilbastu claimed themselves as Dalit. Now they are making their identity as indigenous people (Budhathoki, 2012). The identity of thakali has been changed like the Kali Gandaki river to adjust or gain privilege. Ethnicity and identity has fluid boundaries: it is formed and transformed over time (Fisher, 2001). Descent-based attributes generate a repertoire of nominal ethnic identities from which another one is activated at any given time (Chandra, 2012). There is politics of identity between pro-Dalits and anti-Dalits in case of Newars. Thus, Ethnic identity of Newar Dalit is in crisis (Maharjan, 2012).

In the United States, rhetoric in support of the Iraq War often focuses on discourses of patriotism and supporting the troops. These discourses hold enormous sway over the American public because of the discursive legacies of the Vietnam War and the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks. In response, members of the peace movement who are veterans, soldiers, and military families stress their military identities during activism. These individuals have organized as an important branch of the U.S. antiwar movement that challenges the pro-war framing of patriotism and troop support by strategically deploying “oppositional identities.” The oppositional identity strategy involves highlighting the activism of individuals who many would assume would be part of the movement’s opposition. In an effort to assert credibility and support their frames, activists assert this novel and seemingly contradictory identity through organizational affiliation, rhetoric, clothing, mannerisms, and symbols. Keywords:

social movements; peace; Iraq War; identity; strategy. Recent research has suggested that U.S. antiwar coalitions have highlighted (Leitz, 2011).

Identity and Culture are two of the basic building blocks of ethnicity. Through the construction of identity and culture, individuals and groups attempt to address the problematics of ethnic boundaries and meaning. Ethnic communities use culture and history to create common meanings, to build solidarity, and to launch social movements (Nagel, 1994).

As Chandra (2012) states identities such as "Serb" and "Croat" in the former Yugoslavia, "Aymara" and "Quenchau" in Bolivia, "Baluchi, Pathan, Sindhi, Punjabi and Mohajir" in Pakistan, "Black and White" in US, "Yoruba, Hausa-Fulani, and Ibo" in Nigeria and Zulu, Xhosa and coloured" in south Africa are examples of "ethnic" identities, then we profess Limbu, Khambu/Rai, Sunuwar, Yakkha etc. as ethnic<sup>2</sup> identities, who identify themselves as Kirata, in Nepal. Ethnic identity is also preferred as nationality (Kiran, 2012). By the end of the second World War, states were formed to coincide with nations (Upadhyaya, 2012). State collapse increases the likelihood of conflict between pre-existing ethnic groups (Fearon, 1993; Posen, 1998 as cited in Chandra 2012). When the state collapses, then, the groups in question may well collapse too and the state reconstituted, so are the groups in question. Ethnic groups do not exist independent of states--states and groups co-evolve (Chandra, 2012).

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<sup>2</sup> We infer the concept of ethnic identity through an examination of its etymological origins. The term *ethnic* has Latin and Greek origins – *ethnicus* and *ethnikas* both meaning nation. It can and has been used historically to refer to people as heathens. *Ethos*, in Greek, means custom, disposition or trait. *Ethnikas* and *ethos* taken together therefore can mean a band of people (nation) living together who share and acknowledge common customs (Simpson & Weiner, 1989 as cited in Trimble J. E. and Dickson, R., 2010).

Drawing from aforementioned scholarly realisations of ethnic identity discourse, I postulate ethnic identity as created, eliminated and recreated and changing over time and space. Moreover, it is activated to grasp opportunities. On the other hand, descent based identity is constraint to change. Ethnic identity encompasses shared history, culture, religion, region, language, philosophy, ideology and even descent. Ethnic identity is major component of state formation as its properties (history, culture, language, region, religion, philosophy, ideology) or nation constitute the state. Nation influences the state and vice versa.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

Ethnic identity encompasses shared historical, cultural, religious and linguistic dimensions and ideology. Limbu people use many surnames such as Limbu, Subba, Yakthungba interchangeably and identify themselves as Kirata. But, in contemporary political context of federalisation, Limbu identity is activated and opposed to Kirata, has created contradiction in relation to identity and state. I, therefore, seek to tarce the changing dynamics of Limbu-Kirata identity and state using following questions:

What is the endogenous and exogenous shifts of identity of Limbu-Kirat ?

What is the changing dynamics of Limbu-Kirat identity and the state ?

In what time and context Kirat, Limbu, Subba, Yakthungba, identities emerged and influenced the state ?

What will be the impact of isolation of Limbu from Kirata identity ?

### **1.3 Objectives of the Study**

General objective of this study is to study and elucidate changing dynamics of ethnic identity change and its influences in order to resolve identity problematics of given ethnic group.

The specific objectives are:

- . To discuss the meaning of inter-changeably used identities: Limbu, Yakthungba, Subba, Kirat.
- . To explore the origin and emergence of multiple identities of Limbu-Kirat.
- . To elucidate identity dynamics of Limbu-Kirat and influences of identity change.

### **1.4 Significance of the Study**

There are many researches have been done about Limbu-Kirat people from etic and emic approaches focusing on one sight or particular identities and histories; which, I think, can not resolve the identity problematics, but creating identity puzzles. Those kinds of studies, indeed, is inadequate to define diverse identity of Limbu-Kirat. This, a sociological study of Limbu Kirat people includes ancient history, modern history, classical literatures, inscriptions, recent researches and empirical study, is believed to be overarching research in this field.

## **1.5 Organization of the Study**

This my dissertation paper consists of nine chapters. Chapter one is the background of the study including statement of the problem, objectives and significance of the study. Chapter two is the review of literatures related to this topic and problem. Chapter three deals with the research methodology including research design, selection of the research site, nature of research data, selection of key informants, data collection techniques, key-informants interview, observation, data presentation, analysis, interpretation and limitations of the study. Chapter four deals with the meanings of interchangeably used identities by Limbu-kirats such as Limbu, Yakthungba, Subba and Kirat. Chapter five deals with the origins of Limbu, Yakthungba, Subba and Kirat identities. Chapter five elucidates the changing dynamics of Limbu-Kirat identity by reflectiong an overview of identity dynamics and conceptual framework of dynamics of identity change of Limbu-Kirats. Chapter seven deals with the existance of Kirat states. Religio-cultural aspect is the basic component for identity formation. So, I have included religio-cultural aspects of Limbu-Kirats in chapter eight. Chapter nine deals with the summary and major findings of the reseaech and conclusion is drawn from major findings of the study.

## CHAPTER-II

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 2.1 Theoretical Review

Wimmer (2008) introduced a multilevel process theory for understanding how characteristics of ethnic boundaries are generated and transformed over time through endogenous and exogenous mechanism of change, has outlined three mechanism of change: first, the field characteristics (institutional frameworks, power distributions, or political alliances) may change because new institutions, resources or actors are introduced (exogenous shifts). Second, these field characteristics may change endogenously as the intended and unintended consequences of the strategies pursued by various actors (endogenous shifts). Third, new strategies diffuse into a social field are adopted by certain actors (exogenous drifts). Ethnic boundaries are the outcome of the classificatory struggles and negotiations between actors situated in a social field determined by three characteristics: the institutional order, distribution of power, and political networks.

Identity and culture are two of the basic building blocks of ethnicity. Through the construction of identity and culture, individuals and groups attempt to address the problematics of ethnic boundaries and meaning. Ethnicity is best understood as a dynamic, constantly evolving property of both individual identity and group organization. The construction of ethnic identity and culture is the result of both structure and agency—a dialectic played out by ethnic groups and the larger society. Ethnicity is the product of actions undertaken by ethnic groups as they shape and



reshape their self-definition and culture; however, ethnicity is also constructed by external social, economic, and political processes and actors as they shape and reshape ethnic categories and definitions. Identity and culture are created and recreated in modern societies (Nagel, 1994).

Wars begin and end, states grow and die, economies boom and crash, but through it all, ethnic groups stay the same. Ethnic identity belongs to one and only ethnic group, its membership remains fixed over a lifetime and accentuated across generations as if taken for granted according to primordialists. In contrary, ethnic identity is defined in pursuit of individuals or whole group, may be genocide or ethnogenesis by redefinition. The processes associated with the modern state—administrative centralization, the collection of statistics, taxation, language standardization, the creation of centralized educational systems and military and security apparatus—can create or change the ethnic divisions presumed to cause their collapse. Ethnic identity is the product of some human attempts at creation and interpretation, definition and redefinition, construction, deconstruction and reconstruction by constructivist approach (Chndra, 2012).

## **2.2 Studies on Ethnicity, Identity and Social change in Nepal**

William F. Fisher writes 'Thakali identity is like the Kali Gandaki river' in his book *'Fluid Boundaries: Forming and Transforming Identity in Nedpal'*(2001). The identity of thakali has been changed to adjust or gain privilege, in relation to the state, forming instrumentalist identities. Primordialist identity of thakali has been transformed into instrumentalist identity. Fisher, empirically and successfully, traces fluid boundaries of ethnicity and identity of Thakali people of Nepal.

Limbu (2011) writes, according to Tigela and Baral, the people of the Limbuwan were people of the king Lilimhang. This 'Lilimhang' terminology changed as 'Limbu' because of miss pronunciation of Hindus. Officially, King Prithvi Narayan used the term 'Limbu' as a written form in *Tamra Patra* (Royal decree, written in copper sheet) in 1814 BS, while he had given that to Limbu leaders. Later it changed as tribal identity of Limbus. Particularly the Limbu people do not call themselves as Limbu. Instead, they use 'Yakthung' or 'Yakthungba' (Subba 2067 BS: 45). It means other people gave them the 'Limbu' name. They were not as Limbu at first.'

Imansing Chemjong writes in his book 'History and Culture of Kirat People'(1967, 2003) that Shan Mokwan people decided to name the Kirat land by the name of 'Limbuwan'.

The assignment of 'Subba' was a policy for the registration of land and the elimination of kiptat system. The government bureau subba had to pay Rs. 52 for Lal Mohor. Subba had to pay 60 muri (2.40 bushels ) as land revenue, otherwise, they had to prefer the lower rank of 'Rai'. Rai had to pay a half amount of subba. Thus, it is the origin of subba, which did not exist in the past "( Lionel, 2000 ). It was the emergence of 'Subba' identity of Limbu-Kirat.

When, it is so, the verses of tenth chapter of 'Rig veda' would not have spelt without concerning the Kiratas; then, it is imprudent to reject the existence of Kirata in Rig vedic times. Without relating to the history of Kirata, the prist-monk of king Asamati and Akuli there, the context of Bandhu, Subandhu, Shrutabandhu and Biprabandhu would not have matched, and 'the verse of Rig ved 10/4/57' would not have spelt. For this reason, definitely, Kirata monks lived in Rig vedic period"(Prapannacharya, 2051, 2057 BS).

The Kiratas pre-eminently figure among the tribes described in ancient Indian and classical (Greek and Latin) literature. The ancient Indian writers as well as classical geographers and historians, while dealing with the primitive races of India, have accorded prominence to the Kiratas. They constitute one of the major segments of the tribal communities living in the Himalayan and sub-Himalayan regions, forests tracts, mountainous areas and the Gangetic plains and delta of India" (Sing, 2008).

After the review of literatures related to this study, identity changes through the process of construction, deconstruction and reconstruction. Ethnic group is shaped and reshaped and their identity is defined and redefined in pursuit of individuals and or whole group in modern societies by constructivist approach. In contrary to this approach, ethnic identity is fixed over a lifetime, accentuated across generations and belongs to one and only ethnic group by primordialist approach. Primordialist identity of Thakali, for example, has been transformed into instrumentalist identity. Institutional order, distribution of power and political networks are also determinants of ethnic boundaries. Limbu, Subba, Yakthungba and Kirat identities are interchangeably used by the same ethnic group which is causing identity problematics.

## **CHAPTER-III**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

Research methodology is a series of methods to accomplish the research process. This research topic is related to the dynamics of ethnicity and identity and the state. I have applied both quantitative and qualitative methods as well as content analysis or mixed method and triangulation. I have accomplished this research project with following research methods:

#### **3.1 Research Design**

As the research topic is associated with the trajectory and the cause of identity change, both exploratory and descriptive research design has been used. Exploratory research design is used in order to explore changing dynamics of identity and descriptive design in order to gain answers of the problem and describe the reasons behind the problem. As identity is formed, transformed and changes over time and spaces, content analysis became very useful for this research project.

#### **3.2 Selection of the Research Site**

It is not practicable to generalize in population drawing sample from a portion because the topic is related to the whole society or nationality. Nationality itself has no boundary. So, I have selected whole Limbu society of Nepal as universe according to the purpose of the research.

### **3.3 Nature and Source of Data**

Quantitative data is related to the numericals of societal phenomena or parametric variables, whereas qualitative data is related to philosophical, psychological, logical, rational aspects or non-parametric variables. I have collected primary qualitative data from limbu-Kirat activists, key informants, observations, group discussion and secondary qualitative and quantitative data from literatures, books published, Chronicles and documents.

### **3.4 Selection of Key Informants**

The research topic is associated with the identity, ethnicity and its change over time and spaces and religio-cultural aspects of given ethnic group. As all members of given society are not equally known to their history, culture, religion, language and other related field, it is not practicable to use probability sampling. So, I applied purposive sampling to collect information about the dynamics of change of identity and their religio-cultural aspects from Limbu-Kirat veterans.

### **3.5 Data collection Techniques**

Reliability of data depends on tools/techniques of data collection. I have collected data using checklists, questionnaires group discussion and observation.

### **3.5.1 Quantitative methods**

I have collected some quantitative data from the national report of NPHC (National Population and Housing Census ) 2011. Historical documents and chronicles are another source of quantitative data collection of my research.

### **3.5.2 Qualitative Methods**

I collect information from key persons of given society using questionnaire, organized group discussion to collect general knowledge using check list and key informant interview face to face and telephony. I also studied biography, history and observed *Tamra Patra* and *Lal Mohor*, historical places for qualitative data collection.

### **3.5.3 Key Informant Interview**

As, this study, dynamics of identity is a longitudinal paradigm; a researcher needs key informations from veteran members of given community. I have selected old aged Limbu people, cultural, religious and identity activists who know Limbu native language, culture, religion, history as key informants. I have taken information from them face to face and via telephone where I needed.

### **3.5.4 Observation**

Observation is very important part of the study for identity. I have participated some religio-cultural rituals, observed some historical places and evidences of Limbu-Kirats with the advice of my key-informants.

### **3.6 Data Presentation, Analysis and Interpretation**

I have presented data obtained from different nature and sources. I have described informations which was found during my research. Interpretation of meaning has been very important in my study because it is related to the identity. I have also interpreted the meanings of my observations. I have made rigorous content analysis because my research is related to the identity . Identity formation, itself, is a longitudinal process. Data analysis is very important or substantial step of research project because it is the base of interpretation. This study seem to be more qualitative than quantitative. I have presented qualitative data collected from respondents, key-informant, observation, group discussion in description. Finally, in accordance of presentation and analysis I have interpreted my objectives of the study.

### **3.7 Limitations of the Study**

A student as a researcher has to complete this research within limited academic years with limited economic source, time, references, geographical area, tools and techniques and co-operation which affect the reliability of the study. All Limbu people are not conscious of their identity. As a result , it is not reasonably practicable to use probability sampling. Although most of new generation of Limbu people do not practice their culture and language, they are Limbu by birth. I, therefore, seek to include activists and scholars of Limbu society, preferably ethnic identity. There are diverse meanings and notions of identification and social practices within a single Limbu-Kirat society. For this reason, it may not address those diverse notions of identity. Despite these limitations, a rigorous and empirical research pierce through the limitations.

## CHAPTER-IV

### MEANINGS OF INTERCHANGEABLY USED IDENTITIES

Meanings of those identities interchangeably used by the same people are very important for the self identification that may be endogenous or exogenous shifts of identity change. Endonym is the name used by a group of people or category of people to refer to themselves or their language, as opposed to a name given to them by other groups. Exonym is the name or personal name used by foreigners instead of the native-language version used by its inhabitants.

#### 4.1 Meaning of Limbu

There are various meanings of Limbu from different resources. According to Chemjong (2063 B.S.) 'Li' means bow and 'Aabu' means arrow shooting in Limbu native language. But Some people say that 'Limbu' word is not a native terminology of Limbu. It is an exonym.

Limbu (2011) writes 'Lilimhang' terminology changed as 'Limbu' because of miss pronunciation of Hindus. Officially, King Prithvi Narayan used the term 'Limbu' as a written form in *Tamra Patra* (Royal decree, written in copper sheet) in 1814 BS, while he had given that to Limbu leaders. Later it changed as tribal identity of Limbus. Particularly the Limbu people do not call themselves as Limbu. Instead, they use 'Yakthung' or 'Yakthungba' (Subba 2067 BS: 45). It means other people gave them the 'Limbu' name. They were not as Limbu at first.



According to Yakkharai (2059 BS) Ten autonomous rulers of Pallo Kirat took Limbu name from Lumbasumba, a mountain range which starts from Umbek Himalaya, northern international boarder, and ends at Mulghat-Tamar river to the south, a natural and cultural boarder for Ten Limbu rulers. Later, from 1895 A.D., Ten Limbus were divided into 13 thums (administrative units) and called Terhathum.

Limbu (2011) writes 10 Limbuwan was divided into 17 Thums (Satra Thum).

Kirat religious leaders state that the dwellers of 'Lingbungden' were called Limbu by others. Lingbungden means the place of genesis, now Limbudin, a VDC (Village Development Committee) of Taplejung district of Nepal.

According to some Limbu activists Lilimsohang was one of the son of Dimbapohang, the then king of Dimbapur. Some old aged Limbu people say the Limbu surname was compulsory for the recruitment of British and Indian Gurkha regiment. So, it was fortified, even non-Limbu people wrote Limbu surname for the recruitment. Many Other young Limbu peoples found unknown about how they became Limbu. One of Limbuwan activist argued that Limbuwan is their own land and they were never Kirat, there is no proof of Kirat in Limbuwan, but other old aged people suggested him to study history of Limbus. However, the activist realized his Kirat religion.

From the study of trend of surname used by Limbu peoples, it is found that many of them have preferred own surnames such as Chemjong, Nembang, Phago, Lawoti, Tumbapo etc.

## 4.2 Meaning of Yakthungba

Mabohang and Dhungel (2047 BS) has defined 'Yok' means genesis and 'Tumba' means eldest one in Kirat-limbu language. Yoktumba means the first human in the genesis.

Some Limbu people say 'Yak' means fort and 'Thum' means administrative unit. Yakthumba who had military and administrative autonomy as granted by royal decree (*Tamra Patra*) of 2014 B. S., Yakthungba is the corrupt form of Yakthumba. Ten Limbus were divided into 17 thums.

Limbu people generally accept Yakthungba as their endonym. But, they discussed different meanings of Yakthungba. An old man desperately expressed the corruption and misspelling of Yoktumba is now Yakthungba. Yakte means to put into and thungma means to drink. Yakthungba is assumed the drinker of *Tongba* (a vessel for drinking booze). He suggested the correct word is Yoktumba, the eldest in the genesis.

## 4.3 Meaning of Subba

There is no meaning of 'Subba' in Kirat-Limbu language. It is Parvate or Parvatiya<sup>3</sup> language which was adopted as national language and now official language of Nepal. Gellner (2008) states that as part of the construction of new national identity the dominant language, having been known as Gorkhali or colloquially as Khas Kura, was renamed 'Nepali' in about 1993.

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Limbu people called Nepali language Parvate or Parvatiya in the past and still old Limbu people call it Parvate language.

According to Caplan (2000) an official, on appointment by royal decree (*Lalmohar*) was required to pay an initial fee of Rs 52 in order to reduce the area under kiptat tenure concerned the appointment of Subba and the registration of land titles.

Some Limbu people say after the issue of royal decree of 1831 B. S. government appointed some Limbu official headmen in order to impose administration and collection of land tenure by the policy of government to abolish kiptat then convert into raikar.

While discussing, two old men described that 'Subba' surname was not allowed for all of Limbus except Limbu official during Kiptat tenure. After the abolishment of Kiptat tenure, it became a common surname for Limbus.

Now, the trend of 'Subba' surname found very rare for Limbus.

#### **4.4 Meaning of kirat**

According to Dr Swami Prapannacharya (2051 B. S.) from Kri (morpheme) Kira+ Ata = Kirat where Kira means to the coast. The people, who had conquered the land from mountain to the coast by their might, were called Kirat. Kirat term is used for country and, in Skanda Puran, it is used for devata (deity) and ethnic group to trees in Matsya Puran. In Ayurvedic terminology, Kirat means Chiraito herb (*Swertia Chirayita*). Kirat term astoundingly, having multiple meaning, has been used for country, ethnic group, medicinal herbs, rocks, animals, febricks and timbers since vedic times. The term 'Kirat' has occupied Ved, puran, Smriti, Tantra, Kos etc. and whole history of ancient literature.

Mundhum says consanguine sexual relationship is called *Kaee Phekma* in Limbu term. So also to stop such sexual relationship Yaba/ma is needed in Limbu society (Limbu, 2011). Underlying meaning of *Kaee* is defined by the blood relationship which is sacred. *Phekma* defines that sacred consanguine relation is perpetrated and ruined by consanguine sexual relationship.

According to key informants 'Kaee' means sacred and 'Lasho' means land in Kirat from the reference *Mundhum*<sup>4</sup>. Kailasho means the sacred land and the dwellers of Kailsho, were called Kailashi then, in vedic times, Kilati, Kairati and now Kirati or Kirat. Kirati is the corrupt form of Kailashi.

In this chapter I have posited Limbu, Yakthungba, Subba and Kirat terms which have been used interchangeably by imbu-Kirats and creating identity problematics. I believe, etymological study of those terms have brought some resolution to the problematics. Kirat term has been the broad meaning, the most recognized, indigenous to the Himalayan region and civilization. Yakthungba is also endonym, but not recognized by others. Limbu has very vague meaning and Subba term is not from Limbu native language, an official appointed by the government.

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<sup>4</sup> Mundhum is sacred scripture of Kirats, compare Veda of Hindus.

## CHAPTER-V

### ORIGINS OF INTERCHANGEABLY USED IDENTITIES

#### 5.1 Origin of Limbu

Imansing Chemjong writes in his book 'History and Culture of Kirat People'(1967, 2003) that Shan Mokwan people held meeting at the holy place of Ambe pojoma, discussed, consulted and decided the Kirat land by the name of 'Limbuwan'.

According to Yakkharai (2059 BS) Ten autonomous rulers of Pallo Kirat took Limbu name from Lumbasumba, a mountain range which starts from Umbek Himalaya, northern international boarder, and ends at Mulghat-Tamar river to the south, a natural and cultural boarder for Ten Limbu rulers. Later, from 1895 A.D., Ten Limbus were divided into 13 thums (administrative unit) and called Terhathum.

Some Limbu people glorify for their ancestor Libukhang, who had conquered the Land and it was named Limbuwan. On the other hand, others do not believe because it was a myth, people of Lingbunden, Taplejung did not accept the *Lal Mohor* (royal decree) of 1831 B.S. for annexation of their land to the unification of Nepal. So, King Prithvinarayan Shah addressed them Limbus, dwellers of Lingbunden.

#### 5.2 Origin of Yakthungba

According to Mabohang and Dhungel (2047 B.S.), 1. Yoktumba 2. Apliba 3. Yakkhaba 4. Lungpheba 5. Chanpheba 6. Suhacheppa 7. Thoklokapa 8. Gurukpa 9. Thangdaba were sons of Kiratingba. Yoktumba was the elder one. But, Sereng

Chongbang (2050 BS) states Kirat king Yalambar abdicated the throne to his successors realizing the doctrine, ethics of Mundhum and the preachings of ancestors:

1. Yuktumba 2. Amliba 3. Yayokkha 4. Lungphewa 5. Yangphewa 6. Suhacheppa 7. Guruppa 8. Magakpa 9. Thoklomba 10. Thangdawa

According Chemjong (1967, 2003: 54) after the partition of Kirat land of Limbuwan into ten districts Ten leaders of Shan Mokwan people again assembled in a meeting at their holy place Ambe Pojoma, discussed and decided to name their nationality as Yakha-thumba or Limbu. Ten Limbus, representatives of Yakhthumba race, became the administrators.

Kirat Yakthug Chumlung is a Limbu indigenous people's organisation established in 1988 B. S. Yakthung is entailed by Kirat term. Yakthung term is formulated under Kirat identity. So, Yakthungba, itself is introduced as Kirat.

Limbu identify Yakthungba as their endonym, but the surname found used very rare and not identified among other ethnic groups.

### **5.3 Origin of Subba**

The assignment of 'Subba' was a policy for the registration of land and the elimination of kpat system. The government bureau subba had to pay Rs. 52 for Lal Mohor. Subba had to pay 60 muri (2.40 bushels ) as land revenue, otherwise, they had to prefer the lower rank of 'Rai'. Rai had to pay a half amount of subba. Thus, it is the origin of subba, which did not exist in the past "( Lionel, 2000 ). It was the emergence of 'Subba' identity of Limbu-Kirat.

Limbu people say that Subba was an official appointed by the government, who had some administrative and taxation rights, for the abolition of Kipat tenure after the issue of *Lal Mohor* of 1831 B. S. After the abolition of Kipat tenure, other limbus also started using Subba surname for self dignity. However, they had no any status in the society. Now, the trend of using Subba surname have been found decreasing.

According to key informants Subba is an endonym. It has no meaning in Limbu native language.

#### **5.4 Origin of Kirat**

About the existance of Kirat, Prapannacharya (2000) writes the verses of tenth chapter of 'Rig veda' would not have spelt without concerning the Kiratas; then, it is imprudent to reject the existence of Kirata in Rig vedic times. Rig veda is the most ancient written literature and the primitive history of Kirats, so we must study to trace the history of Kirat. Likewise, religious, social, academic, political life style and geographical history are prominent part of Veda, Puran, Ramayana, Mahabharata, Jain and Buddhist literatures. Shambar, indigenus ruler of Himalayan Kingdom of Rig vedic times had 90 -100 forts, was Kirat (p. 22). Sing (2008) also describes Kirats with reference of Vedic literature as cave-dwellers and mountaineers. And Chemjong (2003: 5) states when the Aryans came to India for the first time and started to advance towards the hilly regions, they had to fight against a Kirat-Ashur king called Shamba whose kingdom was situated on the bank of river Indus in the Himalayas.

Chemjong (1967, 2003), with reference of Kirat Mundhum and Hindu literature, writes the origin of Kirat people of Nepal can be traced back in combination of three

racess. According to the Kirat Mundhum or tradition, three races are known by the names of Khambongbas or the Khabos, the Tangsangthas or Mongols and the Munaphens or the Chinese people came in later periods and intermingled with the Khambos and constituted a big human race. They spread from this Himalayan region to India, Burma, Syam, Vietnam, Malaya, and Philippine islands, established their kingdoms and kept their respective records of history. In India, Kirat people occupied the regions from Himanchal Pradesh to Assam in the north and from Manipur to Chittangong in South-east. But, according to the reference of European literatures Chemjong states the term Kirat is corrupt form of Kiriath, Kiriath or Kirjath which means a fort or town in Moabite language of the Mediterranean region. They started calling 'Kereti' and later Keretite. The Greeks had also known the Krats by the name of Kirhadai whose ancestors' resident was Babylon. They belonged to the the Semitic family. When the Hebrew people invaded their country, they were defeated and expelled from their native land then Kereti people led nomadic life and spread towards the eastern and north-eastern countries. In 2400 BC, a branch of which Mesopotamia or the Assyrian country. They migrated to Northen India and Himalayan region via Media and Nisa of Northen Persia with the title of Kirat-Ashur. They were martial tribe during the reign of the Syrian King David in 1049 BC.

Sing (2008 p. 447-452) writes, *Valmiki's Ramayana* furnishes the earliest evidence of the role of Kiratas during the protohistoric period. They had joined the army of Vasistha against Visvamitra. The Kiratas had also very much appeared on the scenes of Bharata war or the battle of Kurusetra in the age of the *Mahabharata*. Several Kirata kings of Northen Himalayas riding the elephants had fought against Satyaki. About the origin of Kirat, from the reference of Vedic literature, Sing describes them basically the cave-dwellers and mountaineers. He refers, from both mythological and



historical accounts, the role and contribution of the Kiratas in the early annals of India. Rai (2064 BS) also writes Kirats are ancient tribes of Himalayan region.

Subba (1999, 2001) has cited in his writing that with regard to the region where they probably originated, Chatterjee locates it "in the mountains, particularly the Himalayas and in the North-eastern areas of India" (1951:16). According to him Kirats have a non-Aryan or Mongoloid origin. Those who have disowned the Kirata identity are basically people who underwent a process of 'Sanskritisation' during the last couple of centuries and discovered this identity to be inadequate to represent their changed status.

Guru of Kirat Satyahangma sect told that Kirat Holy men Sirijonga had gained knowledge from *Faktanglung* (Mt. Kumbhakarna). Guru Falgunanda had also accomplished his pilgrimage to *Faktanglung* along with his followers in 1995 B.S. A respondent, who is a Faktanlung pilgrim, briefs there are still fossils found supporting Limbu Mythology of human genesis and Kirat civilization which he had observed during his visit. Limbu people believe Faktanglung as their holy place.

According to key informants Kirat term has its native origin. Kailasho is the origin of Kirat term. Kirat is also civilization and Kirats follow Kailasho philosophy which was promulgated in Kailasho or Himalayan region. Kirat is the most recognized, ancient and indispensable identity.

I have explored the origin of those identities to elucidate the dynamics of identity change through the emergence of Limbu, Subba, Yakthungba and Kirat. I found, from this study, Kirat is the most recognized, ancient and indispensable. Yakthungba and Limbu identity emerged after the fall of Kirat state and Subba is the latest one emerged after the fall of Limbuwan state.

## CHAPTER-VI

### CHANGING DYNAMICS OF LIMBU-KIRAT IDENTITY

#### 6.1 An Overview of Identity Dynamics of Limbu-Kirats

Kirat identity has been the most prominent and ancient proven with literatures, archaeologies and geography. Kirat identity has been found mentioned in whole history of ancient literatures such as Veda, Puran, Ramayana, Mahabharata, Jain and Buddhist, Greek literatures, as well as ancient, medieval and modern history of Nepal. We find Kailashi, Kairati, Kilati, Kereti, Keretite, Kiryat, Kirjath, Kiriati-hime, Kirhadai, Kirati are variants of Kirat identity.

According to Sing (2008) name list of Kirat rulers vary from 26 to 32 in number. But, in general agreement regarding relevant sources, 29 rulers had ruled over the valley of Nepal from the beginning of Kaliyuga to the 7th century A. D. After the fall of Kirat Kingdom in Kathmandu valley, Khatri and Dahal (2053 BS) have stated three autonomous Kirat states: Wallo Kirat ( East 3 No.), Middle Kirat( East 4 no.) and Pallo Kirat (Far Eastern 5, 6 or Limbuwan). There was a great importance of Mundhum in socio-cultural life of Kirats. They, traditionally, were devout of God Shiva-Parvati, Chandi and they worshiped nature and their ancestors. After the unification campaign by Gorkhali they had some influences of Hindu religion and culture. Gradual fall of Kirat states led to the change of identity. Ten Shan Mokwan leaders of Pallo Kirat decided to name themselves Ten Yakhathumba or Ten Limbus (Chemjong, 1967, 2003). *Tamra Patra* ( Royal decree written in copper plate) of 2014 B. S. has addressed Kirat Muluk, unslavable or undestroyable Kiratshor, Das Limbu

(Ten Limbus) Satrathum (Seventeen administrative units) and their autonomy. In contrary, the royal decree of 1831 B. S. has accredited Limbuwan and Limbus as siblings or their men. As the term *Namasine Kirateshor* omitted in latter royal decree, they were no longer undestroyable or unslavable Kirats, just Limbus. And the issue of royal decree 2031 B.S. appointed Subba and lower rank Rai intended to convert kipat tenure to raikar and registration of land. It was another reason of identity change of Kirats. Subba, an endonym, is the achieved surname of Limbu.

According key informants Kirat identity is an ancient, historically proven and the most recognized identity of Limbus. The fall of Kirat Kingdom contributed to the emergence of Yakthungba, Limbu and Subba identity by the process of endogenous and exogenous shifts.

## **6.2 Conceptual Framework of Dynamics of Identity Change of Limbu-Kirats**

We envision a picture of Limbu-Kirat identity from those evidences . As the identity changes by the process of Construction, Deconstruction and Reconstruction through time and spaces from the perspective of Constructivism , Kirat identity changes. On the other hand, each of us belongs to one and only one ethnic group, that group membership remains fixed over a lifetime, and it is passed down intact across generations. Wars begin and end, states grow and die economies boom and crash, but through it all, ethnic groups stay the same (Chandra, 2012).

### Frequency of Ethnic Identity Change of Limbu- Kirats

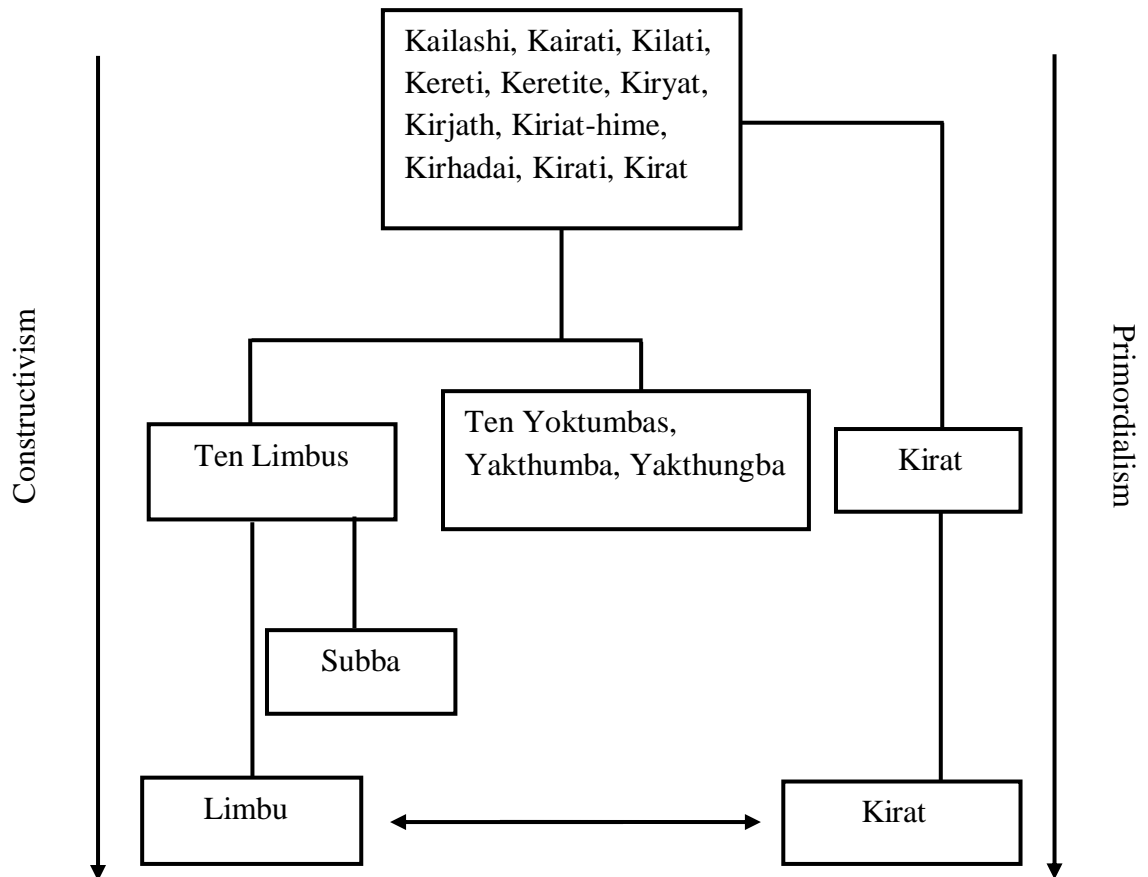


Figure. 1

## CHAPTER-VII

### STATE OF KIRATS

According to Chemjong (1967, 2003) ancient Kirat people migrated from their native land Babylon, after the invasion of Hebrew people under the leadership of Moses, led nomadic life and spread towards the eastern and north-eastern countries. In 2400 BC, a branch of this people came to Mesopotamia or the Assyrian country, intermingled with the Ashur people and formed one nation with them. Later they migrated to North India and Himalayan region via Persia. Greeks had also known Kirats by the name of Kirhadai. In Nisa they were called Khambos or Yavan and claimed their descent from the Greeks of the Ionian island. Kirats tribe was found recorded in the book of II Samuel as martial tribe during the reign of Syrian King David in 1049 BC. Kirat people came to North India earlier than the Aryans yet they had known them very well in Persia. Sing (2008), in his findings, states Kirats as pre-eminently figure among the tribes described in ancient India, Greek and Latin literature, as well as classical geographers and historians while dealing with the primitive races dwellers of Himalayan and Sub-Himalayan regions, forest tracts, mountainous areas and the Gangetic plains, valleys and delta of India. According to Prapannacharya (2051, 2057 BS: 36-38), drawing from Rigvedic history, Kirats, not dwellers of caves, had rather constituted nations and they were rulers of their states. As stated in Shaktisangamini Tantra, *Kirat Desh* (Country of Kirats) were eastern Himalayan region ranging from 'Taptakunda' (now located in Pakistan and destroyed) and plains, valleys of Nepal and India.

In accordance with the account of Kirk Petrick: 27, Danial Wrights: 29, acco Prem Mabohang: 33, Dharanidhar Dahal: 35 and Swami Prapannacharya: 29 rulers had ruled over the valley of Kathmandu (Rai, 2064 BS). During the unification of Nepal, there were three autonomous Kirat states. After the annexation of Kirat states, there remained autonomous Limbuan as a residue of Kirat empire which was abolished along with kiptat tenure after the issue of Royal decree of 1831 B. S.

Kirat, drawn from ancient history, were well known and had built their forts, states and nations all around in Asia, Eastern Europe and to the Mediterranean region and. They had built Kirat empire and civilisation. After the fall of Kirat Kingdom, three Kirat states formed in Nepal. Then, after the collapse of those three Kirat states, Pallo Kirat became Limbu because when the state collapses, then, the groups in question may well collapse too (Chandra 2012).

According to key informants Limbuwan was never conquered by the then Gurkha regiment. Later, there was a treaty between Limbuwan and the government. The *Lal Mohor* of 1831 B. S. is the evidence of the bilateral treaty.

State has been another cause of identity change of Limbu-Kirats. Limbu identity has been activated as instrument for the achievement of Limbuwan state and opposed to primordial identity 'Kirat'. Oppositional identity of Limbu-Kirat has also created identity problematics.

## CHAPTER-VIII

### RELIGIO-CULTURAL ASPECTS OF LIMBU-KIRATS

Identity and culture are two of the basic building blocks of ethnicity. Through the construction of identity of culture, individuals and groups attempt to address the problematics of ethnic boundaries and meaning (Nagel, 1994). The religio-cultural aspect of Limbu-Kirat is somewhat dichotomous.

About the religion of Kirats Prapannacharya (2051, 2057 BS) postulates that Kirat, Hindu and Shaiva are synonymous to each other. Shaivism is the religion of Kirats and the Kirat philosophy is the Shaiva philosophy.

Yakkharai (2049 BS) claims Sanatana Kirat religion is the oldest one from the genesis. Features of Kirat religion are: Kirats worship the nature such as hearthstone, land and river. Free of discrimination, untouchability and caste system. Mundhum is the scripture of Kirats. Chemjomg (2003) also describes Mundhum, the scripture of Kirat people. Mundhum is divided into two parts. The first is called the Thungsap Mundhum, the oral form then the written form is called Peysap Mundhum. The Yehang Mundhum contains the story of the first leader of mankind who made laws for the sake of improvement of human beings from the stage of animal life to the enlightened life and ways to control them by giving philosophy on spiritualism. Ningwaphuma is the Good spirit which is the omnipresent, supreme and eternal, and another one is Bad spirit called Tambhung Sammang, less powerful than Ningwaphuma.

According to Rai (2064 BS) hearthstone and fire offering ritual (*Yagya Homadi*) is the fundamental tradition of Kirat culture. They also worship their ancestors.

According to Sing (2008) original religion of the Kirata tribes is popularly known as animism, comprise the propitiation of both benevolent and malevolent, and the general practice of the Kiaratas, which they followed relating to another worship, was the erection of memorial stones.

Ambe Pojoma Sumhalung, located at Fidim of Panchthar district, is the memorial stones of Papohang which is still worshiped by Papohang Limbus. 'Sum' means three and 'Lung' means stone. Sumhalung means three stones in lumbu native language. Hangsemlung is another memorial stone of Limbu-Kirats (T. M. C. V. U. S. 2065 BS).

Limbu (2011) points out the Kirat Limbus' religion has divided into two sects- *Yumaism and Sattyahangma*. The Yumaism (somewhere it is called shamanism) is oldest one and covers large population. This requires the Phedangma as religious priest and demands some animal sacrifices in some religious functions. The Sattyahangma is new religious sect reformed by *Guru Phalgunanda* in the last century. This sect does not require any sacrifices of animals. Instead it demands some materials- rice, bread, ghee, lamp etc. Some functions are organized like Pandit in yard of house. They recite the written Mundhum in their religious and rituals activities. However, both sects accept the Tagera Ningwaphuma is the supreme god of them. Similarly, same types of gods and goddesses are worshipped. But Chemjong (2003) writes King Mabo Hang, incarnation of God *Yumasam*<sup>5</sup>, succeeded Uba Hang in 865 A. D. and he made amendment in the religious rites of Kirats. He encouraged

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<sup>5</sup> Yuma means Grand mother and Sam means soul in Limbu native language. God Shiva is called Thebasam and Goddess Parvati is called Yumasam by Limbu-Kirats.



his subjects to worship Yumasam with offerings of flowers. Blood sacrifice was not permitted in the altar and to refrain animal sacrifice he used to worship Yumasam with Totophung. So, Yumasam do not accept any blood sacrifice because King Moabo Hang and *Guru Phalgunanda*, incarnation of Yumasam, both had abolished blood sacrifice. According to key informants Mabohang and Phalgunanda are believed to be the avatar or incarnation of *Yumasam*. *Yethang* was the first avatar of *Thebasam*. These avatars of devine spirit is recognized as *Thakthakku* tradition. *Satyahangma* sect of Kirat practice *Ladhungseme* (fire offering ritual) and *Peysap Mundhum*. Whereas, others do not practice *Ladhungseme* and *Peysap Mundhum* because they believe them inspired by Hinduism. So, they rather practice *Thungsap Mundhum* and blood sacrifice.

According to key informants Kirats lost their ancient religio-cultural traditiona after the fall of Kirat Kingdom and restraints on Kirat script, language, *Mundhum*, religion and culture by the policy of Hinduization, which contributed to the practice of *Thungysap Mundhum* and blood sacrificing cult. Kirat *Guru Falgunand*, the incarnation of devine spirit *Ningwaphuma*, reformed Limbu cultures and restored the *Peysap Mundhum*, bloodless, non-violent culture and other heritages of Kirats. *Manglang*<sup>6</sup> and *Kelang*<sup>7</sup> is the dance related to the *Mudhum* and *Yalangma* is the folk dance of Limbu-Kirats.

According to National Population and Housing Census 2011 Kirat religion is followed by 3.1% (807,169) of the population. But, some Limbu people and some *Satyahangma* followers do not accept Kirat as the name of their religion. Some

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<sup>6</sup> Mang means God and lang means dance. It is a cultural dance of Limbu-Kirats specially performed during their religious programmes.

<sup>7</sup> Kelang is the dance of Limbu-Kirats performed during their religio-cultural programmes with a Drum called Chyabrung.

*Satyahangma* followers claim *Hangsam Samyo* is the religion of Kirats. 'Hang' means Great and powerful, 'Sam' means soul and 'Samyo' means religion. Hang is also used for Kings. Hence, *Hangsam* means the Great Soul, *Tagera NingwaPhumang* or Kiratshor God Shiva.

This religio-cultural aspect of Limbu-Kirat elucidates the residues of Kiarat religion, philosophy and culture which is still found in modern Limbu society. However, dichotomous religio-cultural state of Limbu-Kirat has been another cause of identity problematics.

## CHAPTER-IX

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

#### 8.1 SUMMARY

Interim constitution of Nepal 2063 B. S. defined Nepal as a secular, multi-ethnic, multi-lingual, multi-religious, multi-cultural nation. Reconstitution of nation with proportional inclusion of ethnic groups. In the process of federalisation of democratic republic of Nepal, identity became a basic and preliminary component for state. In this context, Limbu identity is activated and opposed to Kirata, has created identity problematics. I, therefore, selected this topic because there are many ambiguities about the identity of Limbu-Kirats and carried out this research for the partial fulfilment of Master's Degree.

Multiple identity of Limbu people has created ambiguities about the identity of them. They use many surnames such as Limbu, Subba, Yakthungba, Kirat interchangeably.

Major objective of this study is to resolve the identity problematics by discovering the meaning, emergence, origin of each interchangeably used identities and changing dynamics of identity of Limbu-Kirat.

I have applied exploratory research design to discover the variables of identity change, descriptive research design for their opinions using purposive sampling techniques with tools of questionnaire, group discussion for qualitative primary data collection and rigorous content analysis for quantitative and qualitative secondary data

collection. I have presented collected data from primary and secondary sources and analysed for interpretation. Observation is another source of findings in this research.

Major finding of this study: Limbu term is not from native language. As it is an exonym, they call themselves Yakthungba. But it is also found Limbu identity is derived from Lumbasumba maountain range. Limbu people ascribed Limbu surname from their ancestor Lilimhang or Lilimsohang. Origin of Limbu is Lingbungden which means the place of genesis. Limbus are descendents of uslavable or undestroyable Kiratshor. Yok means genesis and Tumba means the eldest one in native language of Limbu-Kirat who claim the first human being in the genesis. There is also anoter meaning thatYak means fort and Thum means administrative unit in native language of Limbu-Kirat. Privileged with autonomous military and administrative power called themselves Yakthungba. It is an endonym.

Subba has no meaning in Limbu native language and it is an achieved surname.

Subba was a Limbu official headman, on appointment by royal decree (*Lalmohar*) was required to pay an initial fee of Rs 52 concerned the collection of land tenure and administration.

The people,who had conquered the land from mountains to the coast by their might, were called Kirata in Sanskrit language. Prapannacharya claims kirat is a Sanskrit terminology. Chemjong has stated that Kiart means fort of town in mobite language of the Mediteranian region. Kirat religious people from Mundhum describe Kae means sacred and Lasho means Land in native language of Mundhum script. Kailasho is the sacred land and the origin of Kirats and they were called themselves 'Kailashi' in their native language. Kailash is the origin of Kirats from emic perspective. Kirati or Kailashi and Himalayan people are analogous terminologies. Kirats are the

indigenous and the ancient tribes of Himalayan region. Kirats have a non-Aryan or Mongoloid origin and do not assimilate caste system. Kirats had established their nations and states all over the Himalayan regions of Northern India and Gangetic plains, Babylon, Persia, Mediterranean regions, Greece as described in ancient literatures. From the source of written history 27-35 Kirat King had ruled Kathmandu valley. Limbuwan was contemporary state of unification period ruled by Ten Limbus. Limbu, Yakkha identities are entailed by Kirat identity. Vedic Literature is the proto history of Kirats. There are many religio-cultural residues of ancient Kirat still found in modern Limbu-Kirat society. Memorial stone (*Lung*) and fire offering tradition are substantial part of Kirat culture. Mundhum is the solo scripture and Ningwaphuma is the common divine spirit, which takes avatar or reincarnation and animism prevails their religio-cultural life. However, Limbu and Kirat identity of the same ethnic group is opposed to each other. I, empirically, found that the Kirat, Limbu, Yakthungba, Subba, whatever they are and their religion, share common history, language, their divine spirit *Ningwaphumang* or *Thakthakku* and memorial stones or *Lung* traditions.

Ethnic groups do not exist independent of states. States and groups co-evolve (Chandra, 2012). After the fall of Kirat Kingdom, three autonomous Kirat states were formed and were collapsed during the unification campaign of Nepal. As the Kirat state collapsed Kirat identity collapsed too in question which contributed to the formation of Limbu state and nationality. Likewise, collapse of Limbuwan state contributed the emergence of 'Subba' as the dignity of identity for Limbu-Kirats. Dynamic identity and the dichotomous religio-cultural state is the cause of identity problematics of Limbu-Kirats.

## 8.2 CONCLUSION

After the completion of my research, I came to conclude that Kirat is the ancient and indispensable identity or civilisation. Kirat civilisation, from emic perspective, promulgated in the *Kailasho* or Himalayan region, perhaps, surroundings of Mt. Kailash, its diffusion to the Indus valley or Indian sub-continent, Mediterranean region, Persia, Babylon, Greece and the inversion of this civilisation to the eastern Himalayan and mountainous regions of Nepal who still call them Kirat. As foreign writers recognised it Hinduism, identity of Kirat became ambiguous, but they never assimilated Hindu identity because of their origin, the himalayan region, not Indus Valley. Limbu community is the integration of Kirats after the fall of Kirat Kingdom. Collapse of Kirat state contributed to the collapse of Kirat identity and formation of Yakthungba, Limbu, Subba identities and dichotomous religio-cultural practices are the cause of identity problematics of Limbu-Kirats.

Limbus are one of the descendent of Kirat among Rai, Sunuwar, Yakkha and other Kiratoid<sup>8</sup> groups who claim descendents of Kirat themselves. Kirat is primordialist identity, while Limbu, Yakthungba and Subba are instrumentalist. Radically, Limbus deny their Kirat identity to become non-Hindu, but without knowing Kirat of non-Hindu origin. As history, culture, philosophy, religion and identity entailed by Kirat, isolation from Kirat and disclaimaton of Kirat identity by Limbus, inadvertently, leads to the crisis of identity.

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<sup>8</sup> I have used Kiratoid term for those communities who are similar to Kirats, but they do not identify themselves as Kirat because of ambiguities about their history, culture, religion and descent.

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## ANNEX-I

### QUESTIONNAIRE

Name of Respondent.....

Social Status.....

Address.....

#### Group 'A'

1. What is the meaning of Limbu ?
2. What is the meaning of Yakhtungba ?
3. What is the meaning of Subba ?
4. What is the meaning of Kirat ?

#### Group 'B'

1. What is the origin and emergence of Limbu identity ?
2. What is the origin and emergence of Yakhtungba identity ?
3. What is the origin and emergence of Subba identity ?
4. What is the origin and emergence of Kirat identity ?

#### Group 'C'

1. Which is the absolute and ancient identity among Limbu, Yakhtungba, Subba and Kirat ?
2. Limbu, Yakhtungba, Subba are Kirats or not ?
3. What is the impact on identity, if Limbu are not Kirat ?
4. What is the dynamics of identity change of Limbu-Kirat ?

ANNEX-II



**Figure. 2** Picture of Tamra Patra (Royal Decree) 1814 B. S.



**Figure. 3** Chinese Tamrapatra for the recognition of Kirat Kingdom



**Figure. 4** Virupaksya of Pashupati of Kirat Era



**Figure. 5** Limbu-Kirat ladies and gents in their traditional costume and Chabrung (Drum)



**Figure. 6** Sumhalung or Memorial Stones of Papohang Limbus of Fidim, Panchthar



**Figure. 7** Altar and fire offering ritual of Kirat Satyahangma cult