

I. Subversion of Hierarchy between Male and Female in *Satyadhama Muchulka*

National luminary Muhingum Angsimang Mahaguru Phalgunanda's socio-religious bond *Satyadhama Muchulka* blurs hierarchy between male and female, schematized by the patriarchy on the basis of culture and religion. In patriarchal society, males are placed in upper position giving cultural privileges, whereas females are placed in lower position, thereby, exploiting, and isolating from the right of property and education. Phalgunanda subverts the cultural hierarchy between male and female giving equal position to female, reconsidering, correcting and rearranging the pre-existed culture on female perspective. In addition to this, *Muchulka* emancipates the Kirat society from imposition of Hinduism and cultural colonization of west.

The *Satyadhama Muchulka* is a socio-religious bond, passed by a 'Chumlung' (conference) of Kiratas, held on 6 May, 1931 at Lobre Panther, which was summoned by Phalgunanda. There was participation of taluki amalies (thum governors), suvas (village chiefs), commoners, disciples of Phalgunanda from seventeen thums (district) of Limbuwan (territory extended from Arun river in the west, Mechi river in the east, and Tibet in north and India in south), and some disciples were from Darjiling. Phalgunanda proposed different agendas related to religious, social and cultural reform in the chumlung. The chumlung seriously discussed on the agendas for five days, and consented to sign; preparing a written document as code of conduct. The document was named *Satyadhama Muchulka*, which contains different points of code of conduct about the culture and religion. *Muchulka* prohibited 'sot-reet' system (payments in money, gold, meat and liquor taken from groom in daughter's marriage), adulterous marriage, and provided the equal right of education. Similarly, *Satyadhama Muchulka* valorized the

'Yumamang' (female form of God/Tagera Ningwaphumang) reinterpreting the male dominated imagery of God. Muchulka corrected the Kirat cultures, giving the mode of humanity, equality, non violence and unity.

Satyadharm Muchulka redraws the discriminative cultural norms, rejecting exploitation, and domination of female. The very first point of the *Satyadharm Muchulka* has focused upon the cultural norms of marriage of Kirat Limbu community. To take sot-reet in daughter's marriage is defined as socially inhuman, culturally barbaric, religiously sinful, and legally crime in first point (1). The sot-reet was a highly practiced culture, under the 'Samyok Lung Thim of Ten Limbus' (rules of social custom of marriage) for centuries. Iman Singh Chemjong, a prominent author of Kirat history and culture, has mentioned about sot-reet under the topic of 'marriage rules' of Limbu, in his book *History and Culture of Kirat People*.

A girl should always be *bought* for the sake of marriage of 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 exceed Rs. 55/-, Secondly, by making payment of the girl's price after the marriage, which should not exceed Rs. 44.

... A sum of Rs. 2 should always be paid to girl's father for separation of his daughter's family title from him to that of his husband's family title. It should be called Semui Yang. (57-58)

The Samyok Lung Thim of Ten Limbus, had commoditized the female, thereby fixing the price of bride. Rs. 55 was fixed as maximum price of bride, if paid before marriage, in Samyok Lung Thim. That is to say, bride is a commodity, which will be

bought by groom. It shows, there is dichotomous relation between male and female, or commodity-customer relation. Furthermore, Lionel Caplan excavates commoditization of female in his research based book *Land and Social Change in East Nepal*. He writes:

'... the second determinant of the size of bridewealth (sunauli) payment relates to whether or not the bride has already been married. Limbu allow widow remarriage and there is no difference in status of without the household, or community between a wife married for first time and one taken in widowhood. The natal household of a widow, however, receives a smaller bridewealth. One wealthy Indreni resident paid Rs. 130 in bridewealth for a widow, who four years earlier had been given as a virgin to her first husband for Rs.75. (82)

Above extract of Caplan, shows female as a means of bargaining for cost. It shows the cultural hierarchy between male and female. The females were exploited in terms of culture. The first point of *Satyadharma Muchulka* banes sot-reet, "do not take sot-reet, though, there is practice of sot-reet in Limbuwan" (1). Prohibiting sot-reet in marriage, *Satyadharma Muchulka* has supported in the establishment of equal social status of women in the society.

Phalgunanda reconsiders the Kirat theology from the female perspective. The beginning part of the *Satyadharma Muchulka*, valorizes 'Yumamang' (God in female form), as "sate Tagera Ningwabhumā Yumasam (almighty God)" (1). Yumamang is also known as the mang (God) of inspiration of love, affection, motherhood, insight and success (1). *Satyadharma Muchulka* had made a consensus to build a common Manghim (abode of God) of 17 thums in Lobre Panthar, for the mangsewa (invocation) of

Yumamang. Yumamang is the ancestral mang of Kiratas. The Kirat society makes the special 'mangdhan' (fixed place of God) Yuma-Thebamang, in every house for mansewa. That is to say, the Yumamang was domesticated, and confined within the house. But, *Satyadharma Muchulka*, publicized Yumamang placing her in the public place building a manghim. *Satyadharma Muchulka*, subverted the hierarchy between male and female, reinterpreting male-dominated imagery and language about God.

Furthermore, Phalgunanda, focused on educational right of female, profession and property. The beginning section of *Satyadharma Muchulka* has made a consensus about education. There is written, 'build a 'pathsala' (school) beside the manghim to study own script and other script. After leaving the study of own script, the scripture has disappeared' (1). *Satyadharma Muchulka* has given the priority to the education in mother language and own script. Beside this, *Satyadharma Muchulka* made an agreement, to use written *Mundhum* (scripture of Kirat religion) in the performance of rites and rituals (1). There was not gender bar for study of *Mundhum*, everybody was allowed to study, and perform religious rituals. It increases the role of women among the religious authorities. The period of documentation of *Satyadharma Muchulka* was the peak of Rana regime, where education for common people was strongly banned. So, *Satyadharma Muchulka*, simultaneously dismissed the discrimination of education between male and female, and challenged the authority of Ranas.

Likewise, *Satyadharma Muchulka*, gave equal right of property and profession for female. It is against the isolation of female from the parental properties. The property division was based on the patrilineal transmission in the society (still now). "There are exclusive inheritance rights of males in Limbu community" (Caplan 39). "The male

descendants secure their right of land, at the time of birth" (Caplan 34). Daughters were not given proper right of properties in the Kirat and Nepali society.

The emphasis on the right of alienated, commoditized, inferiorized, suppressed, oppressed, dominated, and exile women, in *Satyadharm Muchulka*, is related to Third World feminist movement. Third-World feminism, is a form of feminist philosophy, which centers around the idea that racism, colonialism, and the long lasting effects (economic, political, and cultural) of colonialism in the postcolonial setting, are inextricably bound up with the unique gendered realities of non-white, and non-Western women. Postcolonial feminists criticize Western feminists because they have a history of universalizing women's issues, and their discourses are often misunderstood to represent women globally. Third-World feminism has been described as a group of feminist theories developed by feminists who acquired their views and took part in feminist politics in so-called third-world countries.

Bhojenra Aryal asserts in his book, *Gender and Feminist Studies* that third world feminism emphasis on the "voice of suppressed, oppressed and dominated women on basis of religion, culture, language and caste" (129). In Aryal's opinion, third world feminism is the analysis of gender on the basis of religion, culture, language and ritual history. In 1980s, some feminist talked about diversity in feminism. The profoundest of feminist movement within 1960-1970, were member of white high and middle class from western countries. Indicating this fact, Bell Hooks and other argued that, the experiences of the black female are different from the white high and middle class European female. He further asserts, the black women are double marginalized by patriarchy and Euro-American colonist. In the same way, Chicano (American & Canadian origin) and Asian-

American women claimed their experiences are differing from white middle class and non white female. They argued, "The feminists from white middle and high classes, alone can't represent to all women." There are many types of women. They have different problem, experience of discrimination due to diversity of the nationality, class, caste, religion and affiliation in institutions. So, in a single umbrella of 'feminism' can't hold different kinds of women experiences. "There may be different forums of women" (Upreti 247), from different caste, religion, class, and geography to fight against the patriarchal structure, although there is similar determination of feminists. More than this, the women of 'Third World' might have different experiences, than first world women.

Holy Scriptures are another instrument, used by patriarchy to subordinate women. "Most of Holy Scriptures presents male dominated imagery of God. These scriptures are taken as foundation of humanity in religions, without correcting, revaluation" (Paudel 15). Similarly, tradition is often used to define the resistance of women towards any injustice against them as a sinful act. Uma Narayan, in *Dislocating Culture* claims, "Tradition is way of creating hegemonic domination over women."

The Phalgunandian Philosophy

Mahaguru Phalgunanda was a prominent 20th-century Kirat philosopher, a great religious teacher, social reformer, educationist, and activist. Phalgunandian philosophy, "deeply concerned with peace, non-violence, humanity, equality, unity, truth and nature worship" (Angbuhang 103). His philosophies guide human being, towards non-violence, equality, unity, integrity and harmony. Worship of nature and ancestors is another crucial factor of Phalgunandian philosophy. It gave the mode of "non-violence, and humanity to Kirat philosophy" (Lingden 27).

Phalgunandian philosophy advocates about the world peace and human unity. "Phalgunanda, experienced the devastation, massacre, bloodshed of war, in the different countries of Europe and Asia, caused by the development of science and technology" (Kaila 48). After returning from army life, he advocate against war, and preached about the peace harmony, unity, humanity, in Nepal, India, Bhutan and Burma. To establish of world peace and human unity is the ultimate destination of Phalgunandian philosophy.

Non-violence is another crucial principle of Phalgunandian philosophy. The violence, for him, is not only to hurt other physically, but also by evil thought. He thought that, the sacrifice of animal is also violence. He tried to end the evil and inhuman customs, and animal sacrifice preparing the *Satyadharm Muchulka*.

Satyadharm Muchulka made a consensus to avoid sacrifice in religious rituals in Kirat society. He opposes the human centric notion upon creature, asserting there is no deference between human and animal. All creatures are equal, for him, because all creatures are created by Tagera Nigwabhumang (God) as his/her child. He asserted that, Tagera Nigwabhumang will not be pleased, if we offer him killing his own child in mangsewa (worship), rather curses instead of bless.

Phalgunandian philosophy seeks the end of any kind of discrimination in the society. He rejected any form of discriminations, in terms of caste, gender, color, culture, religion and class. He wanted to end the female discrimination and commoditization in society. Phalgunada raised the issues of female right of education, property, and profession in *Satyadharm Muchulka*. It consented to end the inhuman, evil customs, which was a barrier on the way of women's freedom. The *Satyadharm Muchulka*, has

tried to end the "inhuman sot-reet tradition, which is a type of selling of daughter" (Subba 37).

Phalgunanda opposes the hierarchy regarding caste, religion and culture, viewing the human being on the basis of creation of Mang. All people, for him, are children of Tagera Nigwabhumang, so there should not be any discrimination in the name of caste, color and religion. The discrimination free world is the dream of Phalgunandin philosophy.

Nature worship is also a prominent principle of Phalgunandian philosophy. Nature, for Phalgunanda, is the form of Mang. He emphasized in the worship of air, water, soil, plant, sun, and moon. Nature and ancestors, according to Phalgunanda, are crucial factor of creation of human being. That is to say, nature is source of life. Phalgunanda prefers integration between nature and culture. The combination of the nature, he asserts, make possible of existence of the world order. If there is no balance between nature and culture, that may cause the end of the world.

Similarly, Phalgunanda emphasized on the spirituality, and vegetarian food habit. "Spirituality helps to improve mental health, with the word of Tagera Ningwabhumang, and vegetarian food is helpful for physical health" (Sampang 31). The combination of the physical and mental health helps the happy life. The phalgunandaian philosophy is a 20th century leading philosophy for cosmic unity and human emancipation.

Phalgunanda and Scriptualization of *Mundhum*

Phalgunanda converted the oral *Mundhum* into written form. *Mundhum* is Holy Scripture of Kiratas. The word 'Mundhum' means the power of great strength and the Kirat people of east Nepal take it to be a "true, holy and powerful scripture" (Chemjong

18). *Mundhum* is known by "different nomenclatures in different Kirat languages, such as 'Dum' in Chamling Rai, 'Mudhum' in Mewang Rai, 'Muntum' in Yamphu Rai, 'Ridhum' in Kulung Rai and 'Mundhum' in Limbu" (Limbu 32).

Mundhum has orally been practiced since centuries. It is believed that, *Mundhum* was in written form in ancient time. Phalgunanda converted *Mundhum* in written form, and started to practice written *Mundhum* in rituals. There are 45 *Mundhums* in written form converted by Phalgunanda, which is called *Samjik Mucndhum*. The *Mundhum* gives the ritual action in lifecycle rites. "*Mangenna Chokma Mundhum, Sakmura Wademma Mangsewa Chokma Mundhum, Midhung Mirak Phongma Mundhum, Nisse Sekhmang Samjik Mundhum* are some of the *Mundhums* converted by Phalgunanda" (Serma 71-76).

Mangenna Mechhingna Mundhum, is one of the parts of *Samjik Mundhum*, which is performed to raise the 'mangenna' (abstract height of a person), twice in a year in ubhauri (rising) and udhauri (declining) season, and in the marriage. Beside this, nowadays, Kiratas have started to do mangenna on the occasion of birthday, and when some one feels morally downed. The *Mangennan Mundhum* begins with the invocation of Tagera Ningwabhumang. After that, it describes the myth of origin of universe, air, earth, water, plants, animal and human being. According to myth of *Mangenna Mundhum*, once the Tagera Ningwabhumang converted himself into creation God 'Porokmi Yambhami', and created universe in the chaos, and air, earth, water, plants, and animals, respectively (*Mundhum* 234). Creating earth, water, plant and animal, Porokmy Yambhami, himself come in the form of first human Mujingnama Kheyongnam (a female), in 'Mahachin' (Chaina). The Mujingnama Kheyongnama got pregnant after the intercourse with wind, when Tagera Ningwabhumang came in the form of wind.

Mujingnama Kheyongnama gave the birth of Yukpungen Sawangemba (the first mortal human being). Soyembhu and Lahadangna were the son and daughter of Yukpungen Sawangemba. Soyembhu and Lahadangna were parents of Hangsam Theba. Hangsam Theba was the first man in the form of present human (234). Hangsam Theba is the ancestor of human, according to *Mundhumi* myth. In this way, *Mangenna Mundhum* gives genealogical history of human. After that, *Mundhum*, joints the history of a person's Yak (place related to ancestor).

In the second part of *Mangenna Mundhum*, addresses the different form of God. *Mundhum* addresses the air, heat, water, himalayas as a form of God, and invokes for the freshness and improvement of body. Beside this, wishes for success, progress, and prosperity. The *Mangenna Mundhum*, presents the China is the origin place of human, and female is the first human. In this way, *Mangenna Mundhum*, describes the human relation with God. Mangenna accepts the Mang as ancestor of human. It inspires to do good behavior in life.

Sakmura Wadenchingma Samjik Mundhum (washing away curse and bad feeling) is another *Mundhum* of Phlgunanda. This *Mundhum* is related to ritual of washing away of curse and bad feeling. *Sakmura Wadenchhingma Samjik Mundhum*, begins with myth of origin of universe, earth, water, plant, animal, and human, like *Mangenna Mundhum*. In the middle part of this *Mundhum*, narrates how the course and sin started in human world. Killing a 'Fagiya Makhiya poo' (love bird), according to *Mundhum* Yukpungenba Sabangenmba, done the first human sin in the world. The killing of the love bird caused darkness, draught, plight, and break up of love and conjugal life (*Mundhum* 79). The extramarital relation and multi marriage, according to *Sakmura Wadenchhingma*

Mundhum are the causes of jealousy. Yukpungemba Sawangemba, married four women, that gave birth of jealousy in wives. Thosolung Fiyamlunma and Musolung Mugplunma, the wives of Yukpungenba, protest against him stopping to give food to him. So, he eats the yam of a witch and dies due to the curse of witch.

The middle part of *Sakmura Wadenchingma Samjik Mundhum* narrates how the unity and role of leaders were begun in the society. The unity in society, according to *Mundhum* was begun from the time of 'Nasi Tumyahang' (five representatives). The five Tumyahangs pass the difficult examination, taken by king 'Nawahanwa' and Tagera Ningwabhumang, with the collective work (100). So, the five Tumyahangs were given authority to wash away curse and bad feeling of some one.

The *Mundhum* also narrates the many events, which caused the curse and bad feeling in human history. Phalunanda's *Sakmura Wadenchhingma Samjik Mundhum* gives lesson of good behavior, love, integration, unity, humanity, non-violence and confession. The ritual sakmura wademmma (washing away curse) is performed at least once time in a year, before doing another important rituals. There is a belief in *Mundhum* that the curse and bad feeling may obstruct in completion of work. So, sakmura wademmma is necessary to perform before doing any good work. Sakmura wadenma ritual is a type of confession of human sin, jealousy, misdeed, crime, and curse in front of God, and promises of good manner, behavior and integration. The *Mangde Wadenchhingma Mundhum* of Phalgunanda suggests the female protest against male's domination, telling the myth. Similarly, it denounces the evil feeling, course and misdeed and valorizes the unity, integration in society.

There is a collection of Phalgunanda's *Mangsiwakhahuns* (sermons). Nanda Kumar Nembang asserts in his article, 'Mahaguru Phalgunanda ra Wahako Yogdan bare Chhoto Charcha', mangsiwakhahun is "the words spoken by Phalgunanda, when Mang gave him instruct to tell sermons to his disciples, in different times" (103). The mangsiwakhahuns, offered by Phalgunanda, are about mang, morality, truth, peace, non-violence, equality, and unity. Faith in mang, according to Phalgunanda, is foundation of moral values. According to him, every thing occurs in the cyclic order of Mang. He had a cyclic vision about the time and circumstances. Everything is under command of Lakeka, Namkeka, and Tagera Ninwabhumang Keka (cycle of the moon, sun and God), for Phalgunanda.

The most important teaching of the Phalgunanda is non-violence. He inspires human on the path of truth leaving the way of violence and evil. Phalgunanda requests "not to commit in violence, even by speaking, thinking and doing" (Aryal 71). Taking sot-reet, for Phalgulunanda, is a form of cultural violence. He advocates for equal division of property and equal right of education for all. Isolation of a person from the right equality in the name of gender, caste, religion and color, in society is violence for Phalgunanda. He does not show "the demarcation between son and daughter because both are born from the same womb of mother" (Lingden 27). Phalgunanda vehemently opposes the sacrifice of animal for the betterment of human. All creatures are created by Mang, in that sense; all creatures are child of Mang. He says, offering of blood of animal to Mang is sinful task, so Mang curses instead of bless.

Purification of mind is emphasized in Phalgunada's *Mang Siwakhahun*. He asserts that, "Mangniware mang aabong", or God mind makes God, 'hangniware hang aabong', or

king mind makes king, 'yokningware yok aabong', or salve mind makes slave, and 'layoniware aameklo', or evil mind causes decline" (Serma 92). The bad feeling and evil task cause the loss of knowledge, strength and power.

There are hundreds mangsiwa khahuns given by Phalgunanda. His mangsiwa khahuns are major source of the Phalgunandaian philosophy. Chandra kumar Serma, in his book *Sorhau Rasriya Bibhuti Phalgunanda*, claims that, Phalgunanda's mangsiwakhahuns proves him as a great redeemer and philosopher (93).

Phalgunanda's socio-religious document *Satyadharma Muchulka* has received a lot of critical attention from a number of writers. Some critics have paid concentration to the frequent thematic themes, whereas others have tried to view exclusive explanation. Most of the writers have admired *Satyadharma Muchulka* as a great socio-religious document to improve the religious, legal and social status of women. Nobal Kishor Rai in his paper titled "Biswasanti ra Manab Ekatama Kirat Dharma", presented in the Kirat Religion Second International Conference 2067 (KRIC), asserts that *Satyadharma Muchulka* is similar to Budha's 'Panchasil' and Christian's 'Ten commands'.

Satyadharma Muchulka is a main point of history of Kirat religion, at that time Phalgunanda called a chumlung of Kiratas at Lobre Panthar and passed the Ten points Satyadharma Muchulka. The chumlung was the first religious assembly of Kiratas including, 'suvas', 'subangi', 'karbari', (different posts of the then administration of Limbuwan) intellectuals and farmers. Where, Phalgunanda proposed, a written document, related to reform of religion, language, scripture and custom. Chumlung passed the Phalgunada's agendas,

and gave a form of written document. It was initiation of written document in Kirat religious history. (30)

Subhadra Subba, in her paper "Kirat Darmama Nariko Sthan ra Samajsudharka Saswat Packshaharu" presented in KRIC, writes, *Phalgunanda's Satyadharma Muchulka* is related to the custom, culture and behavior. Specially, it has emphasized on the improvement of mental, physical and economic status of a person. Muchulka has given the following instructions: "To establish the manghim and school for mental improvement, to develop the vegetarian food habit for physical improvement, to reduce the unnecessary expenses for economic improvement, use the Khandi for the emphasis of local industry, and self independent" (33).

Subba further praises *Satyadharma Muchulka* for prohibition of sot-reet and provision of equal right of education and property. She says, "Phalgunada raised the issues of female decades before the western feminists, and the United Nation" (33).

Likewise, Dakendra Sing Thegim, claims that, *Sathyadharma Muchulka*, is a masterpiece of Phalgunanda, which brought the great social and cultural revolution in the Kirat society. Thegim, in Mahaguru Phalgunanda a collection of articles of different writers about Phalgunanda, takes Mahaguru, as a great social reformer:

Mahaguru Phalgunanda is known as a great social reformer. He summoned historical Kirat chumlung (meeting) on the 24th Baishak of 1988 B.S. in Ckokmagu Panchthar district. In Chumlung there were representatives of ten Limbus of seventeen thums (religion). The chumlung discussed mainly on ten agendas related to social and cultural reforms passed them successfully and prepared a written document. Now

the document is called *satya Dharma Muchulka* True Virtuous Bond Letter. The people participating in the chumlung signed on it with comitment that they will never do animal sacrifice, never use alcoholic drinks, stop to eat chicken and pork, never take any amount and non-affordable presents from bridgeroom's side at the daughter's weddings etc. Thus the muchulka brought a consciousness against the defective social and cultural rites and rituals existing from a long time ago in the Kirat Society. In fact it brought a great social and cultural revolution in Kirat society and it became one of the masterworks of Mahaguru Phalgunanda.

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Further more, there are a numbers of critics, who have given their view in different perspective about *Satyadharma Muchulka*. Pabi Khaling, in Mahaguru Phalgunada, writes, 'Phalgunanda directly discouraged the "sot-reet" system, which indirectly meant giving priority to women voice and challenge to the Hindu conservatism' (151). In *The Holy Image of Phalgunada*, there is written, 'the conference unanimously passed the consented and approved the 'code of conduct' (21). According to Balram Rai, Muhingum Ongsimang issued a *Satyadharma Muchulka*, the main aim of this written declaration was to bring new social reform in the disorganized society.

The *Satyadharma Muchulka* is most praised, and talked work of the Phalgunanda. Manny critics have admired him as a great revolutionary and social reformer for his historic document *Satyadharma Muchulka's* reconsideration culture on feminist point of view, and decolonization of Kirat society.

Nowadays, Phalgunanda and his work has become the interesting area for study. Government announced Phalgunanda luminary of the nation on 16 Mangsir, 2066 B.S. that brought the flood of curiosity about him. But sorry thing is that, no one researcher has studied the Phalgunanda, and his work systematically, applying any well known theory. He is over shadowed in academic field. There are many writers, who have written about *Satyadharna Muchulka* and Phalgunanda. These writers have analyzed the *Satyadhrma Muchulka* merely from religious point of view. Therefore, this study has tried to study the *Satyadharna Muchulka* on the feminist point of view, specially the third world feminism. It has tried to close study of reconsideration of cultures on the feminist point of view, and decolonization of Kirat society in *Satydharna Muchulka*. With critical responses given by different critics will helpful to study of the reconsideration of culture, valorization of female and denouncement of commoditization of female, and its role to blur the hierarchy between male and female schematize by patriarchy. To study the commoditized, dominated, suppressed, oppressed status of women on base of culture in patriarchy, and the role of *Satyadharna Muchulka* in reconsider of culture on feminist point of view is the central issue of thesis. It concentrates on social and academic relevance. In this way, this study initiates new research area in Central Department of English in Tribhuvan University for M.A. thesis.

Summing up, the very first part of thesis is introduction of the *Satyadharna Muchulka* and Mahaguru Phalgunada. The second part is textual analysis, and last part is finding of my thesis.

II. The Female Rights in Mahaguru Phalgunanda's *Satyadharna Muchulka*

Upgrading Female from 'Second Sex'

The *Satyadharma Muchulka* redraws the Kirat Limbu cultures, upgrading female from 'second sex'. It prohibited the commoditization and discrimination of women in the name of culture in Kirat patriarchal community. Muchulka has redrawn tradition of Limbu marriage, excavating the discriminative cultural norms, which were under lied in culture with the help of patriarchal ideologies.

The very first point of *Satyadharma Muchulka* has focused on the daughter's marriage system of Limbu in specific and South Asia in general. The South Asian females have been suffering in the name of 'dowry', 'gift', and 'sot-reet' (bridewealth) in marriage. "Insufficient dowry has proved to have grave consequences for Hindu women, ranging from continuous mental and physical harassment and torture, to the murder of women, thereby making room for another marriage" (Shah 201). In the same way, Kirati women are commoditized in the name of sot-reet. In Kirat Limbu community, "The marriage of a daughter is regarded not as an economic disaster, but as an event bringing the household temporary but much welcome gains" (Caplan 87).

Beauvoir asserts, "Marriage is the destiny traditionally offered to women by society" (245). Indeed, marriage is measured vital, no doubt, for men and women. But in the patriarchal society, the huge disparity lies on the fact that girl is prepared from her childhood to get married. Her every activity is judged in relation to her marriage, her moral character, her attitude and style, her complexion, her dressing sense, her catering capacity, and almost everything have to with her marriage. Her whole world revolves around one thing called 'marriage'. She must be medaled by the label of 'perfection' "to get married or to get sold" (451).

The *Satyadharm Muchulka* has defined 'sot-reet' system in social, cultural and religious perspective. To take sot-reet in daughter's marriage is defined as socially inhuman, culturally barbaric, religiously sinful, and legally crime.

Although, there is tradition of taking sot-reet of daughter in Limbuwan, government has made law against the sot-reet, and it is a sinful for scripture, that leads to hell until the remaining of sun and moon, so today onwards do the daughter's marriage without giving and taking sot-reet. (1)

The sot-reet system was a highly practiced culture in community, under the 'Samyok Lung Thim of Ten Limbus' (rules of social custom of marriage) for centuries. Iman Singh Chemjong, a prominent author of Kirat history and culture, has mentioned about sot-reet under the topic of 'marriage rules' of Limbu, in his book *History and Culture of Kirat People*. According to, Samyok Lung Thim of Ten Limbus, "a girl should always be bought for the sake of marriage" (57). There is a patriarchal norm regarding marriage in Kirat community, like Hindu, Buddhist and Christian society. The female should go to groom's home, leaving natal home and property after marriage.

Beside this, in Kirat, Limbu society, bride should be paid for marriage. Samyok Lung Thim, has fixed price of the bride (female) for in two ways, "First, by making a payment of the girl's price before the marriage, which should not exceed Rs. 55. Secondly, by making payment of the girl's price after the marriage, this should not exceed Rs. 44" (Chemjong 58). The Samyok Lung Thim of Ten Limbus, had commodified the female, thereby fixing the price of bride. Rs. 55 was maximum price of bride, if paid before marriage, in Samyok Lung Thim. The marriage payments have extended over a period of centuries.

There was (is) dichotomous, or commodity-customer relation between male and female in Kirat Limbu community. A girl is bought for marriage; there need to be paid for bride by bridegroom. The bridewalth is paid to the girl's households immediately the marriage proposal made by groom's representative has been accepted. The "size of the payment depends on the two main factors. One is the wealth and status of the groups being united, and another is whether or not the bride has already married" (Caplan 82). A father or 'male' sells his daughter or 'female' to another 'male' or bridegroom. The marriage contract is always done between 'father in-law' and, son in- law, not between husband and wife.

Lionel Caplan excavates commoditization of female in his research based book *Land and Social Change in East Nepal*. According to Caplan, there are many things that determine the amount of 'Sunali'. He writes, "Limbus allow to remarriage and there is no difference in status of without the house hold, or community between a wife married for first time and one taken in widowhood." The natal household of a widow, however, receives a smaller bridewealth. A widow, if she marries her late husband's younger brother, no brideweath need to be paid, "although certain marriage payments (rit) would be demanded" (82). It indicates daughter as a renewable commodity for gain. The female are commoditized on the hand of male, in patriarchal society.

Apart from paying bridewealth, the father, takes a number of other payments (rit) in cash, gold, meat and liquor (raksi). Some of the rit payments, like bridewealth, are retained entirely by the household of the bride. The reminder is shared among her lineage mates and their wives, and the tie to her mother's brother is also recognized. These rit are sent the bride's home the day following the wedding festivities. The daughter returns to

the *maitee* (natal home) each year during the Dashain (festival) to make obeisance to parents and latter's lineage mates. Each of the Dashain she brings meat- a whole pig, or buffalo plus parango-and liquor. The bride's 'pasing padang' (lineage agnates) and relatives continue to receive rit. The bride brings the Dashain rit "for three years" (Caplan 83).

Not only the parents, but also the many others, would be benefited in a daughter's marriage in Kirat Limbu community. There was rule of Pharsut Yang (money for headman of village), Singchen Yang (money for second headman of village) for the reorganization of marriage. Similarly, Semui Yang (money for girl's father) always be paid to the girl's father for separation of his daughter (Chemjong 58). Apart from this grand father-mother, father, uncle, ant, elder brother, sister and relatives get certain money as 'dhoghauli' (money for greeting) in the 'Charkalam'. Charkalam is a marriage party, which is organized in the bride's home after groom's home. The groom need to pay different rit in Charkalam, such as fee to bride's father on arrival at his home, whole pig or buffalo and raski for father, one thigh of buffalo and raksi for bride's parental grand father, bride's uncle, suvas of bride's lineage, and other lineage agnates. The bride's parent side bargains, for the rit in charkalam. Insufficient rit would be the cause of misbehave and dishonored to daughter and son in-law by parents.

Patriarchy defines and implements the cultures against the female self. The role of legislative (maker), executive (implementer) and Judiciary (definer) of culture have been played sole by male in patriarchy for centuries. The male himself is the maker, implementer and definer of culture. So, he makes and defines the culture, rite, ritual, moral etc for his betterment. We can notice that, the cultures are twisted, ruined and

polluted by patriarchy. For example: the 'Charkalam' is ruined form of ancient Kirat culture 'Pekosama'. Pekosama is derived from Kirati word 'pekoma'. It is a box or basket made with split of 'malingo' (a kind of bamboo), which is used to provide to adult daughter by parents. The daughter uses the Pakoma to hold clothes, ornaments and other cosmetic goods. She would have left four or eight small sticks, and offered the flowers in the adobe of 'Yuma', if she eloped with her lover. Parents would know about daughter's elopement checking pekoma. The son in-law would send the representatives with koseli to father in-law, for formal information of marriage or elopement. "The checking of pekoma of daughter is known as 'pekosama' or taking information of daughter's marriage through pekoma" (Serma 35-36).

Later pekosama developed as 'charkalam'. The charkalam is a rit, where parents gain a number of rits in cash, gold, liquor and meat, as price of daughter from the son in-law. The patriarchy adopted charkalam as auspicious occasion to gain from daughter. The payments of rit have been extending day by day. Now days, "parents may demand Rs. 10 thousand to one lakh, and two/three to 10 tola (10 gram) gold for 'sunauli-rupauli" (Serma 38). That is to say, patriarchal society twisted the cultural value according male wish.

The patriarchy applied the culture as a tool to place female as second sex. The attitude of perceiving women as an inferior being and the second sex, though extremely disgusting, unnatural and untrue, is ruling as the leading idea since the thousands of years back. According to Capra, past three thousand years human civilization and its precursors, as well most other cultures, have been based on philosophical, social, and political system in which men -by force, direct pressure, or through ritual, tradition, law and language,

customs, etiquette, education, and the division of labor-determine what part women shall or shall not play, and in which the female is everywhere subsumed under the male (10).

The first point of *Satyadharma Muchulka* prohibited sunauli-rupauli. There is written, "Today onwards do not take sot-reet, though, this system have been practicing in Limbuwan since centuries" (1). The participant of conference has consented to end the inhuman, evil customs, which was a barrier on the way of women's freedom. The *Satyadharma Muchulka*, has tried to end the inhuman sot-reet tradition, "which is a type of selling of daughter" (Subba 37). The decision of conference gave the Kirat custom to humanitarian mode. It was a great movement fought against rude patriarchal society and ruler. The *Satyadharma Muchulka* has deconstructed the culture and tradition, upgrading the female from the second sex.

Enhancement of Female's Educational, Social and Religious Right

The *Satyadharma Muchulka* has enhanced the educational, social and religious rights of female. Mahaguru Phalgunanda valorizes female Goddess, and emphasizes the female education focusing on mother language and *Mundhum* in *Satyadharma Muchulka*. Use of mother language, valorization of local traditional God/Goddess, and emphasis on *Mundhum* in *Satyadharma Muchulka* leads to the way of emancipation of Kirat community from internal (ruler) and external (west) cultural colonization.

The *Satyadharma Muchulka*, and pre-*Satyadharma Muchulka* era was under autocratic Rana regime. The Hindu Rana and Saha rulers had imposed Hindu religion as the religion of nation. The imposition of the Hinduism in Kirat society was started after the unification of Nepal by the Hindu Kings. The king imposed the "Hindu religion, culture, and norms" (Rai Tank 94). Hindu norms and values were taken as the base of

moral and ethic. The indigenous Kirat people's religion, culture and life style was badly affected by imposition of Hinduism. Specially, after the unification of the Nepal, the Kirati women were suffering from double marginalization of patriarchy and domination of Hinduism.

The rules to regulate the Nepalese society are deprived from the Hindu religious scriptures. The Hindu religion is full of many superstition beliefs. Such beliefs have deeply influenced the society. Hindu women are not allowed to study the holy Hindu books like *Vedas*, *Puran* and to perform rituals. Gradually, Kirat society adopted the Hindu norms, tradition, and God images. The Hindu and western God images were in dominant position. Kirat society was suffering a type of internal cultural colonization. In early time, the women of Sherpa, Limbu, Tharu, Darai (Kirat) etc were free than the women of other communities in Nepal. But now, "they also have not equal status as men in their own society due to the influence of Hindu tradition" (Kandel 20).

Beside this, *Satyadharma Muchulka* reconsiders the Kirat theology on the female perspective. It increases the role of women among the religious authorities, reinterpreting male-dominated imagery and language about God. The beginning part of the *Satyadharma Muchulka*, valorizes 'Yumamang' (Goddess), as Sate Tagera Niwabhuma Yumasam (almighty God).

... without invoking the God, we can't get success in any work, and Yuma mang sate mang has been worshiped as the ancestral mang by our forefathers. So, in Panthar Chokmagu ... build a public manghim of satra thum ten Limbuwan, and do mangsewa every morning and evening. (1)

Yumamang is also known as the mang (God) of inspiration of love, affection, motherhood, insight and success. The chumlung had had made a consensus to build a public Manghim (abode of God) of 17 thums in Lobre Panthar, for the mangsewa (invocation) of Yumamang.

Yumamang is the ancestral mang of Kiratas. Most of the Kirat houses, there is a special 'mangdhan' (abode of God) Yuma-Thebamang, for mangsewa. That is to say, the Yumamang was domesticated, and confined within the house. But, *Satyadharm Muchulka*, publicized Yumamang placing her in the public place, building a manghim.

In the period of *Satyadharm Muchulka*, South Asia was colonized by Britain. So, South Asia was dominated by the western culture and language. But, politically Nepal was away from the western colonization. Nepal had fought a war against the British in 1814-16. After the end of the war, the then Prime Minister Bhimsen Thapa, established a new relation with British rulers. Thapa started to send the Nepalese army to fight in the side of the British, and the rulers were awarded with the medal and gift by British. In the period of Thapa, the rulers started to use the western product (clothes, telescope, and mirror) and adopted the western cultures. That welcomed the western cultural hegemony. The internal colonization of the west was started, and fully developed in the era of Rana and Shaha. So, "Nepal, could be free from the political colonization, but could not be away from western culture colonization" (Upreti 203). The Rana rulers had established English schools in place, whereas the Local indigenous languages were banned to study.

Phalgunanda's *Satyadharm Muchulka* was in the opposition of the western cultural colonization. It had given focus in female right of education, profession and property in *Satyadharm Muchulka*. The beginning section of *Satyadharm Muchulka*

deals with right of education. Muchulka emphasized on education in mother language, whereas the rulers were emphasizing the English language as the medium language for education. Education is known as the highest culture of the human civilization in the world. It is taken as basic pillar of the human civilization. Nothing is free, for him, from the prejudice. "So, education is also not free from the prejudice" (Shrestha 229). That is to say, the education system is under control of power and politics. The education system depends on the political structure of the state. The education and curriculum becomes the complementary part of imperialism and colonialism, in imperialism and colonialism dominated state. In the contrary of this, Phalgunanda, had emphasized on the study of *Mundhum* in Kirati script.

Nepal never has become the colony of any country, but it was (is) not free from the hegemony of west. The Nepali courses have been valorized the western culture and language. The Ranas had given priority to English language and culture to make happy British colonialist. First time in Nepal, The Jang Bahadur Rana, had established the English school after returning from the years long visit of Britain. The Darbar High School was established in 1853, for the Rana family, but "the public schools were started to establish in 1930" (Shresth 228). The most of the female were illiterate. However, few women from the Rana family taught in places. The state had banned the education for common and female for long time. The institutionalized women education of primary level was started only in 1933 (1990 BS) with the foundation of girls school by Chandra Kanta Devi. The higher education for boys had already started in 1918 in Nepal. At that time, *Satyadharma Muchulka*, strongly stand against the ruler and the western colonization.

Muchulka stood against the imperial and patriarchal ideologies. The chumlung consented to establish a "pathasala" to study in mother language. In the beginning part of muchulka there is promised to establish of pathsala to study own language. It opposes the valorization of English by rulers.

... we all are agree to establish a 'pathsala' to teach and study own and other's script, near the manghim, and the lack of the script our scripture is distinct and the method of performing religious rite and rituals are distinct place to place. (1)

The cause of miserable condition of Kirat language and script, for Phalgunanda, was the less use of own script and language in daily life. The chumlung passed the agenda of Phalgunanda, which did not put any sex bar for education. At that time, the Kirat society was influenced by Hindu norms and values. "Hindu women are not allowed to study the holy Hindu books" (Kandel 19) like *Vedas*, *Puran* and to perform rituals. *Satyadharma Muchulka*, left the space for enhance women ability emphasizing the in education.

The rise of the Shaha regime in Nepal caused the plight for the Kirat culture and *Mundhum*. The *Mundhum* and written documents of Kiratas were collected and kept fire in the Sankhuwasabha in Bahadur Saha's period. The Kiratas were forced to adopt Hindu religion. They were given command to celebrate the Hindu festivals, like Dashain and Tihar. At that period Kiratas performed the religious rituals using oral *Mundhum*. The Kirat script was going to disappear. Phalgunanda was shocked seeing the miserable condition of Kirat *Mundhum*. He proposed to use the written *Mundhum* in the religious

rituals. *Satyadharma Muchulka* made an agreement, to use written *Mundhum* in the conduct of rites and rituals.

... due to the abandon of study own script, there is lack of written scripture, and there is no similarity in the performance of rite and ritual. So, we all agree to give up the monopoly in the rite and ritual and ready to use the written scripture (*Mundhum*). (1)

There is no bar of sex for study and performance of *Mundhum*, everybody is allowed to study, and perform religious rituals. It increases the role of women among the religious authorities, in one hand, and endeavored to dehegemonize the society from the Hindu hegemonies.

Satyadharma Muchulka, simultaneously challenged the autocracy of Rana, and hegemony of western culture and language. The summoning of a conference, itself was an illegal step in the Rana law, and it was dangerous too. The *Satyadharma Muchulka* was product of the democratic practice. It was not written only by Phalgunanda.

Satyadharma Muchulka was passed by conference of representative from the different place and sector. This process was against the Rana autonomous system. The Ranas had prohibited to mass meeting for common people.

Nepal never had become the colony of the western counties, but it could not be away from the cultural colonization of west. The rulers, Bhimsen Thapa, Ranas and Shahas used to bring western luxurious goods, and architect of west. It was an internal colonization, which is "directly related with European colonization" (Upreti 203). The adaptation of western culture and language in state pushed out local culture and language

in the dumping side. In that dark age, the *Satyadharm Muchulka*, gave a light for emancipation to society, emphasizing *Mundhum*, female education and local God images.

A Castle to Fight against Patriarchal Cultural Evils

The *Satyadharm Muchulka* was a manifesto of chumlung of Kirats. It attacks on the patriarchal cultural evils in the Kirat society in specific, and Third-World in general. The women of the Third-World are dominated, suppressed, oppressed in the name of culture, religion and tradition. Muchulka gave the voice of subaltern Kirati women, whose voices were repressed since centuries. It helped to build a strong castle for women, to fight against the patriarchy. It was an "avant-garde of the Third-World feminist movement" (Angbuhang, *Biswa Kirat Aawaj* 7).

In the Third-World countries the female are dominated in the name of culture and tradition. Dowry, polygamy, sati, parda system, sot-reet, deuki are some South Asian evil cultures. Such traditions have been placing women in 'second sex' since centuries in the patriarchal Asian society. For the attainment of the political, cultural, linguistic and individual freedom, Third-World women had to fight against many evil customs of affecting the female freedom. Although, Mahaguru Phalgunada was a male he fought for female right preparing a *Satyadharm Muchulka*, in 1931 by a chumlung. In the chumlung most of participants were male, but they agree to prohibit the evil cultures in society singing in muchulka.

... we are agree, on the following points written in the *Satyadharm Muchulka*, and we are ready to bear the punishment and fine, if we break the rule of Muchulka. (1)

Muchulka was prepared before the birth of United Nation. Further more, "it was decades before the UN's Women decade" (Subba 33). We can understand the UN's feminist view through Phalgundian feminist view. So, Phalgunandian feminist view is a prominent view in the feminist movement.

The history of feminist movement is divided into three "waves" by feminists and scholars. According to the a free encyclopedia *Wikipedia*, the first wave refers mainly to women's suffrage movements of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which was mainly concerned with women's right to vote. The second wave refers to the ideas and actions associated with the women's liberation movement beginning in the 1960s, which campaigned for legal and social equality for women. The third wave refers to a continuation of and a reaction to, the perceived failures of second-wave feminism, beginning in the 1990s.

Some feminists raised an opinion, in 1980s that believed in divers in feminism. The profoundest of feminist movement for political right of 1960-1970, were member of white high and middle class from western countries. Indicating this fact, Bell Hooks and other argued that, the experiences of the black female are different from the white high and middle class European female. He further asserts, the black women are double marginalized by patriarchy and Euro-American colonist. In the same way, Chicano (American & Canadian origin) and Asian-American women claimed their experiences are differing from white middle class and non white female. They argued, "The middle class white feminists alone can't represent equally to all women" (Upreti 247). There are many types of women. They have different problem, experience of discrimination due to

diversity of the nationality, class, cast, religion and affiliation in institutions. So, in a single umbrella of 'feminism' can't hold different kinds of women experiences.

"There may be different forums of women" (247), from different cast, religion, class, and geography to fight against the patriarchal structure, although there is similar determination of feminists. More than this, the women of 'Third World' might have different experiences, than first world women. The women of the Third-World (in colonize society) were double colonized by both imperial and patriarchal ideologies. The religion, culture, morality, norms and values were the weapons, used by patriarchy. In the context of the south Asian countries there are Hindu, Buddhist, Muslim and Kirati religious groups. Though, comparatively there might be better or worse condition of the women of a religious group than other religious group, but in common the women of every religious are not free from the discrimination, exploitation, suppressed and oppressed.

The Hindu philosophy regarded women stating, 'women are the creator of the universe and the universe is her form. They are founder and protector of the world. There is no jewel greater than a woman. The women are regarded as the Goddess Uma, Durga, Parvati, and Sita. "Women are only praised only in religious book" (Kandel 18) but in practice they are not honored. The status of women as mentioned in the Hindu religious scriptures is appreciated, and they regarded women as goddess but later on, in the practice, they were dominated and exploited. The women of Hindu society were bound by a number of social, legal and religious barriers (2). There were many social evils, which detrimental to the freedom of Hindu women, sati, polygamy, child marriage, dowry, witchcraft, deuki system were important. Similarly, the Hindu women of Nepal

were not allowed to observe many religious performances. "Women are prohibited to study the religious scriptures *Vedas, Purans* etc" (Thapa 56).

Early Buddhist society regarded women as a result of bad work. But, early China reveals the facts that there was no any discrimination between man and women. But later on, slowly the "rights of woman were abdicated and female became dependent upon male as parasite" (Karnel 10). In Japan, women were not recognized as equal to man up to Meiji restoration. Women in Japan were treated as the private property of man and they were denied the political rights. Meiji emperor, Mustsuhito announced to seek knowledge in every corner of the world. Before the Second World War women were dominated by indigenous traditional cultures and their right to property was not fully recognized. The kimono-clad, bamboo parasol-toting, bowing female walking three paces behind her husband was the image of typical Japanese women. The lives of women of the elite (primarily samurai) classes were defined throughout many centuries by the continuation of "Confucian ethic" (Iwago 5). In which women's lives were bound by the 'three obediences' obedience to fathers when young, to husband when married, and to their children in old age.

Muslim community is another major religious group of the south Asia. In the Muslim community, the women had lower position due to the religious taboos. Polygamy was in fashion among the Muslim community. In addition to that "*pardha* (a veil) system was developed as culture in Muslim community" (Thapa 63). In the old Arabian society there were no limit of the number of wives and the Arab's major concerns were win, women and war. In ancient time, "an Arabian husband might send his wife to co-habit

with another man to get himself a goodly seed or he might lend her to the guest" (Kandel 1-3).

The Islamic rule is totally under the male. The position of daughter under the Muslim law occupies conspicuous though inferior to that of a son. The Quranic law recognizes a daughter's right to inherit the property of father. The daughter, if she is single, takes half share but sisters are two or more their share is two third of the estate. The Quranic law discriminates between daughter and son of the deceased. For example "if the deceased has left a son, he inherits the whole property but if she has left a daughter she takes the half of the property and another half may be taken by a distant male agent" (4).

Comparatively, Kirati women have better position in the society than Hindu and Muslim society. But, being a patriarchal society Kirat society is not free from the female domination. The Mundhumi era was the appreciable for female right. There was not female domination and exploitation. *Mundhum* presents female as the creator of human, initiator culture, and Goddess of inspiration, love, and success. According to *Mudhum*, once Tagera Ningwabhumang converted himself into "Mujingnama Kheyongnam gave the birth of Yukpungen Sawangemba" (*Samjik Mundhu* 234). Similarly, "Khapuna Marangna (a female) is the source of Kirat culture. Beside this, Uma or Sumnima is described as the Goddess of love, affection, and success" (Angbuhang, *Kirat Dharmama* 2).

The early Kirat society was liberal towards daughter. The daughter would get valuable ornaments as the share of natal property. But, "the Kirat society made daughter a means to gain, within the last two/three century" (Serma 22). The patriarchal Kirat

society started to take payment in name of rit in daughter's marriage. Thus, women of the Third World have different experience than the first world. They are exploited and excluded from the mainstream. They are not represented in the patriarchal history. Their voice were repressed, unheard, though they had loud voice. The female were 'true' subaltern group. Further more, Spivak asserts, "In the context of the colonial production, the subaltern has no history and cannot speak, the subaltern as female is even more deeply in shadow" (33).

There were rear feminist movements in the Third-World before the Second World War. There came a flood of feminist movement after the Second World War in west and Asia. Many significant stapes were taken on the female right by the governments. The Chinese communist played a significant role to enhance the position of women in society. In 1949 the communist government announced that 'women shall enjoy equal rights with man in political, economy, cultural, educational, and social rights. After the Second World War, "the significant steps were taken to enhance the status and property right of women in Japan. The occupation authorities declared that men and women are equal for all purposes and provided remedies against discrimination. The constitution of 1946 of Japan expelled out all sex wise discrimination" (Kandel 9). The dowry prohibition Act was promulgated in 1980 in Bangaladesh. But, the *Satyadharna Muchulka* addressed the female rights in the Kirat society. The term 'Third world feminism' coined in 1980s. So, we can say, that the Phalgunanda's feminist movement was an avant-garde of the Third-World feminist movement. He gave a wide space for women to build a castle to fight against patriarchy, in *Satyadharna Muchulka*.

Foundation of Kirati Feminist Movement

Satyadharma Muchulka is the "foundation of the Kirati feminist movement" (Angbuhang, *Biswa Kirat Aawaj* 7). It has paved the way of Kirat feminist movement. Muchulka reconsidered the culture, tradition, scripture and God images on female perspective. It gave a light of gender equality in Kirat community.

The Muchulka was passed in "the first religious assembly of Kiratas including, 'suvas', 'subangi', 'karbari', intellectuals and farmers of Limbuwan" (Rai 30). The religious assembly was based on the 'Tumyahan' justice system. "Tumyahang justice system is the customary justice system of Kirat community" (Thebe 29). The Tumyahangs (representatives) can make social, cultural and religious rule according to the necessity of society. The tumyahangs in the chumlung agree to end the evil Kirat cultures. In muchulka, there are seven points related to the social, cultural and religious reformation.

After the declaration of Muchulka the Kirat religious, cultural norms are based on the *Satyadharma Muchulka*. Muchulka is the guide-line for the female equality in the Kirat religion. The successor of the Mahaguru Phalgunanda, Muhingum Angsimang Lingden Aatmanada, is advocating on the side of gender equality. Lingden, in his collection of sermons, *Sansarlai Sundar Phulbari Banaune Socheko chhu* asserts, "Female domination is the barbaric work in the society" (26). He is advocating for equal right of property, education and political for female. Angbuhang Abodh, in *Nalifungwa*, asserts that gender equality is taken as a basic element of the Kirat philosophy.

"Female equality" is highly emphasized subject in the Kirat religion. Kirat religion has emphasized in Non-violence, unity, equality, truth, ancestral

and nature worship. So, the end of the discriminations on the base of gender, race, and color is main motto of Kirat religion. (2)

Religion was the first element in the world, which had influenced human life most extensively. It regulated human life, in accordance of with religious norms and values. Gradually, many such religious tenets developed as religious taboos. In patriarchal society, "Many religious taboos played role in attributing low position for women in the society" (Thapa 55). So, feminists have been struggling against the religious taboos and evil traditions in order to reconsider tradition, practice, scriptures in feminist perspective, in different religious society.

There is huge gap between representation of female in Holy Scriptures and practice. Female are given higher position in *Mundhum*. Female are represented as "the creator of human being", "initiator of culture" and "Goddess of the love, affection and success" (Angbuhang, *Nalifugwa* 2). But, in practice female are not free from the discrimination. They are exploited, suppressed, oppressed in the society. Similarly, in the different Holy Scriptures, female are given honorable position, but in practice they are discriminated in the patriarchal society. So, female of different society has to fight against patriarchy. Female of different religious groups have fought for equality in the field of religious authority. The Muchulka added a new chapter in feminist theology.

Feminist theology, according to the *Wikipedia*, is a movement found in several religions, including Buddhism, Christianity, Judaism, and New Thought, to reconsider the traditions, practices, scriptures, and theologies of those religions from a feminist perspective. Some of the goals of feminist theology include increasing the role of women

among the clergy and religious authorities, reinterpreting male-dominated imagery and language about God, determining women's place in relation to career and motherhood.

Phalgunanda's *Satyadharma Muchulka* has aimed to enhance the religious, social and educational role of women in the Kirat society. It valorized the female goddess *Yuma*, defining as goddess of success, affection, creation, inspiration and learning. *Satyadharma Muchulka* has brought the adobe of Yuma in the public from private house to public place. It vehemently attacked on the commoditization of daughter in marriage, revisiting the *sot-reet* system. More than this, it seeks to enhance the educational, capacity making female educated in mother language in Kirat script.

III. The Milestone of Third-World Feminist Movement

The *Satyadharma Muchulka* is a historic document, which upgrades the female's position in the society, thereby reconsidering the Kirat culture, religious, social norms and values on female perspective. It enhanced female's social, religious, economic and educational rights in the society. *Satyadharma Muchulka* denounced the commoditization and discrimination of women, and gave the voice to subaltern Kirati women, whose voices were repressed since centuries. It was an avant-garde of the Third-World feminist movement. It helped to build a strong castle for women, to fight against the patriarchy, and aimed to decolonize the Kirat society from the internal and external colonization. Similarly, *Satyadharma Muchulka* championized the Mahaguru Phalgunanda as a great feminist.

Satyadharma Muchulka has stood against the female discriminations, rooted in the society on the basis of religion and culture. Patriarchy uses the religion and culture as a strong weapon to discriminate, dominate, suppress and oppress the female. Male makes

the culture for his betterment, implements in his way, and judges on his perspective. In the Third-World countries the female are dominated in the name of culture and tradition. Dowry, polygamy, sati, parda system, sot-reet, deuki etc are highly practiced traditions of South Asian societies. Such traditions have been placing women in 'second sex' since centuries in the patriarchal Asian society.

There is sot-reet system in Kirat Limbu tradition, which has commoditized the female. Mahaguru Phalgunanda denounced the taking sot-reet in daughter's marriage. Kirat Limbu society has been adopted the daughter's marriage as an opportunity to gain. The parents would take bridewealth, and a number of other payments (rit) in cash, gold, meat and liquor (raksi) in daughters marriage. That creates the dichotomous, or commodity-customer relation between male and female. A father or 'male' sells his daughter or 'female' to another 'male' or bridegroom. The marriage contract is always done between 'father in-law' and, son in- law, not between husband and wife. The patriarchy had defined the sot-reet system as the 'inalienable' reet (culture) of Limbuwan. The chumlung of Kirats consented to give up taking payments from the bridegroom in the daughter's marriage.

Furthermore, *Satyadharm Muchulka* decolonized Kirat society from internal and external colonization. Kirat society was suffering religious and cultural colonization of the west (English) and Hindu (Shah/Rana ruler). In the period of the *Satyadharm Muchulka* building, south Asia was under the political and cultural colonialism of the west. The Nepali rulers kept Nepal away from political colonization of west, but they welcomed the western cultural hegemony in the Shah-Rana period. Nepali rulers brought the models of building, goods of decoration and clothes from the western rulers. They

prioritized western language establishing English schools in the Kathamandu, whereas local languages were ignored. The statuses of the local ethnic languages were far miserable. Similarly, the Hindu religious, cultural norms and values were nationalized by the rulers after the unification of the Nepal. That had badly affected to the Kirat religion and culture. Kirati women were marginalized by internal and external colonization, and patriarchy. At first women position in Kirat society was appreciable, but the influence of the Hindu, Kirat society started to dominate the female. At that time *Satyadharm Muchulka* emphasized the education in mother language, and scriptualization of the *Mundhum*. The muchulka directed to establish a pathsala for education in mother language, where females were highly encouraged to study. Similarly, the chumlung consented to use written *Mundhum*. In this way, *Satyadharm Muchulka* simultaneously opposed the imposition of Hinduism and cultural colonization of the west.

Muchulka gave the voice to subaltern Kirati women, whose voices were repressed since centuries. It helped to build a strong castle for women, to fight against the patriarchy. It was an avant-garde of the Third-World feminist movement. The women of the Third-World have been fighting against the patriarchy. There are Hindu, Buddhist, Muslim and Kirati religious groups in south Asian society. There were many social evils, which detrimental to the freedom of Hindu women, sati, polygamy, child marriage, dowry, witchcraft, deuki system were important. In the Muslim community, the women had lower position due to the religious taboos. 'Polygamy' and 'pardha' systems are social evil in the Muslim community. There came a flood of feminist movement after the Second World War in west and Asia. Many significant stapes were taken on the female right by the governments. The Chinese communist played a significant role to enhance

the position of women in society. In 1949 the communist government announced that 'women shall enjoy equal rights with man in political, economy, cultural, educational, and social rights. After the Second World War, "the significant steps were taken to enhance the status and property right of women in Japan. The constitution of 1946 of Japan expelled out all sex wise discrimination. The dowry prohibition Act was promulgated in 1980 in Bangladesh. But, the *Satyadharna Muchulka* addressed the female rights in the Kirat society. The term 'Third world feminism' coined in 1980s. So, we can say, that the Phalgunanda's feminist movement was an avant-garde of the Third-World feminist movement.

Satyadharna Muchulka added a new chapter in feminist theology. There were many movements found in several religions, including Buddhism, Christianity, Judaism, and New Thought, to reconsider the traditions, practices, scriptures, and theologies of those religions from a feminist perspective. Similarly, *Satyadharna Muchulka* has aimed to enhance the religious, social and educational role of women in the Kirat society. It valorized the female goddess *Yuma*, defining as goddess of success, affection, creation, inspiration and learning. Muchulka brought the adobe of Yuma in the public from private house.

Concluding these aforementioned remarks, Phalgunanda's *Satyadharna Muchulka* upgrades the female from the 'second sex', blurring hierarchy between male and female. Muchulka reconsidered culture, tradition, and theology on female perspective, leaving the place for women to fight against the patriarchy. It is an avant-garde of the Third-World feminist movement. In addition to this, *Satyadaharna Muchulka* immortalized the Mahaguru Phalgunada as a great feminist of the 20th century.

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Appendix Satyadharma Muchulka

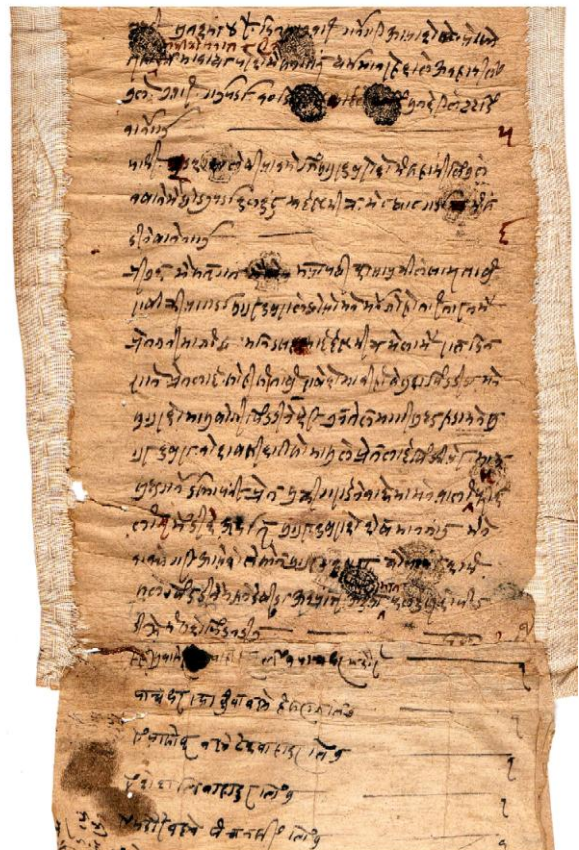
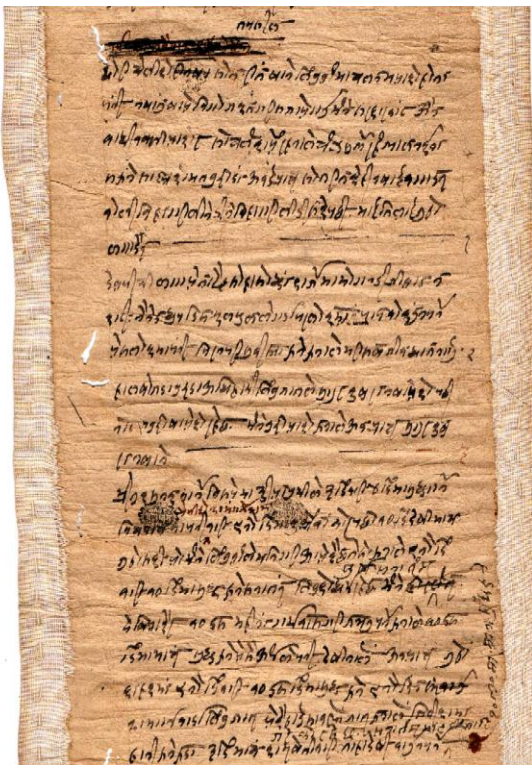
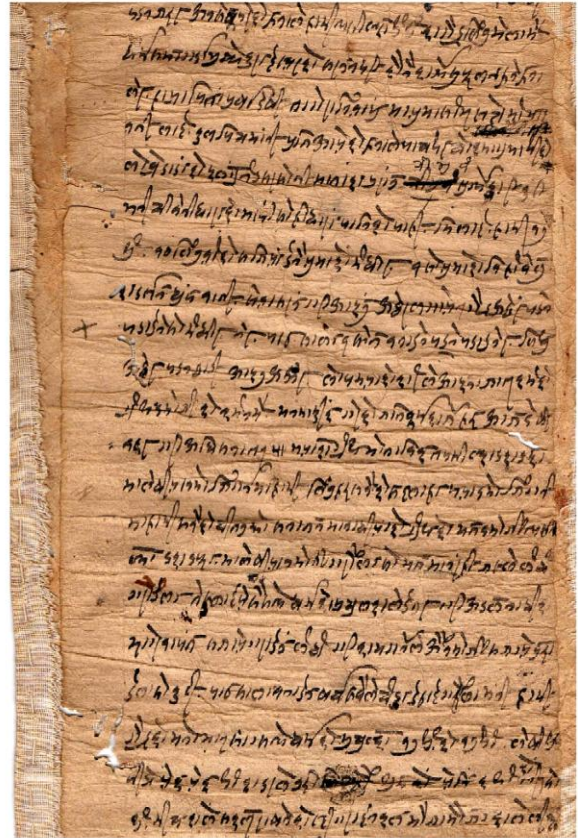
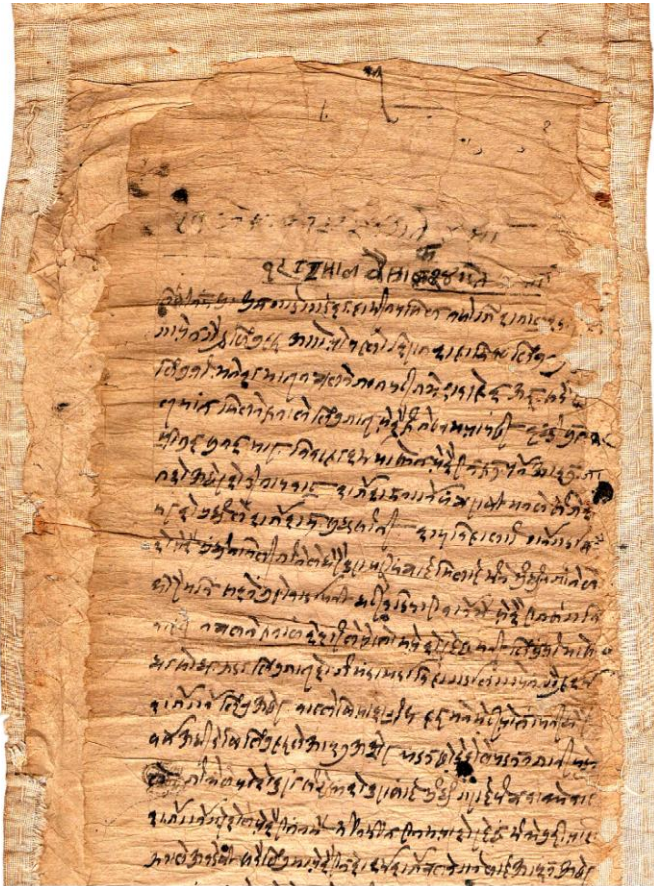




Figure 1: Aath Jilla Manghim, Lobre, Panthar



Figure 2 : Satrathum Manghim, Lobre, Panthar



Figure 3 : Mahaguru Phalgunanda Lingden



Figure 4 : Dharmaguru Atmananda Lingden 'Seing'