

CHAPTER: I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Nepal is a landlocked country, which lies between the People's Republic of China in north and the Republic of India in south, east and west. Nepal has area of 1,47,181 square kilometer but it has wide range of ecological (Himalayas, Hills and the Terai) and cultural diversity. According to the census of 2001, the total population of Nepal is 22,736,934 and the total number of castes, indigenous nationalities and religious groups are 100. Women and men comprise 11,377,556 (50.04%) and 11,359,378 (49.96%) of the total population respectively (Census, 2001)

As Nepal is rich in bio-diversity, it is also rich in socio-cultural diversity, which is characterized by diversity in caste, ethnicity, language, religion, culture and ecology. Although anthropometrical survey has yet to be carried out, general observation made by social/cultural anthropologists have identified four racial groups in Nepal. These are: (1) Mongoloid, (2) Caucasoid, (3) Dravidian, and (4) Proto-Australoid. - *Brahmin, Chhetri* the Hindu caste group belongs to Caucasoid racial group. The indigenous population belongs to Mongoloid racial category.

According to Hindu hierarchical *Varna system*, there are four *Varnas*: (1) *Brahmin* (2) *Chhetri* (3) *Vaishya*, and (4) *Sudra*. These four *Varnas* are found in the *Terai* (southern plain) but in the Hills *Brahmin*

(also called *Bahun*), *Chhetri* and *Dalit*, but not the *Vaishya*. Social hierarchy and practice of purity and pollution of castes and food taboos characterize *Varna* and caste systems. Among the Hindu castes, *Chhetri* is the first and the *Brahmin* is the second most numerous in Nepal. The *Chhetri* comprise 15.8 per cent and the *Brahmin* 12.7 per cent of the total population (CBS 2001).

Nepal has 59 indigenous nationalities. They are distributed in different region– Mountain (18), Hill (24), Inner-*tarai* (7) and *Tarai* (10). Among the top ten most populated caste/ethnic groups, Magar is the third, *Tharu* the fourth, *Tamang* the fifth, *Newar* the sixth and *Rai* the tenth (Gurung 2004). There have not been complete ethnographic studies of Nepalese indigenous nationalities yet; therefore information about their history, language, religion and culture is limited.

Magar is one of the indigenous nationalities of Nepal residing in the regions of Kaligandaki, Bheri and Rapti rivers. At present Magars are found to be the dominant group in the population of the districts of *Palpa* (50.9%), *Rolpa* (43.8%), *Magyadi* (41.8%), *Pyuthan* (30.6%) and *Baglung* (27.7%). Significant numbers of Magars are also found in districts of Mid-western hills. According to the 2001 census, Magars occupied first place among 'indigenous nationalities category' on the basis of population and third place on the total population ladder of the country *Chhetri* (15.8%), *Brahmin* (12.74%) and *Magar* (7.14%).

So far, Magars occupied seventh position in the category of language (3.39%). Magars speak Tibeto-Burman dialects. Magars have

their own language and culture deep-rooted to nature. Magars of both regions– *Gandaki* and *Rapti*– have some differences in their rites and rituals. *Gandaki* region have more external cultural influence than *Rapti* region. Despite, some differences Magars of both regions have same traditional customs: Shamanism and Kutumba (where the maternal uncle's sons most officiate as priest in the rituals).

Though Magars have a significant position in the population chart, this group has been marginalized in social, economic and political sphere. Magars are also at the lowest rank on the human development index, and nearly half of the Magar population subsists below the poverty line. About 57.7% Magars are literate but the percentage falls sharply according to the standard of formal education. A scant 1.61% of Magars are at decision-making levels and their overall representation in the state mechanism is extremely limited. Around 14.41% of Magars is landless while only 0.63% has sufficient land– more than 10 acres (UNDP, 2004).

Magars have several clans (*Thars*) within a major clan group: *Ale* (246), *Gharti* (57), *Thapa* (551), *Pun* (53), *Budha* (26), *Rana* (193) and *Roka* (3) (Hitchcock 1996, Baral 2050, Buda Magar 1992).

1.2 Statement of Problem

The Magars of study area – *Bobang* and *Adhikarichaur* VDCs – of *Baglung* district have classified into "fifteen-clan" (*Pandhra Thare*). They have centuries-long clan relationship and coexistence mechanism. This mechanism operates with close social, economic and cultural bonds. In these days external (cross-cultural) influences are also seen in these

"fifteen-clan" Magars. But due to the lack of studies very few information is available of the Magars of study area.

Therefore, the study has been designed to explore inter-clan relationship among the "fifteen-clan" Magars of *Adhikarichaur* and *Bobang* VDCs. Moreover, the study also aims to explore cross-cultural influences of other castes e.g. *Brahmin*, *Chhetri*, *Chhantyal*, *Dalit*, *Thakali* and *Nauthar* of the region.

Magars are found throughout Nepal today. But their history goes back to two prominent regions *Gandaki* and *Rapti*, which are known as *Barah Magarat* and *Athara Magarat*, respectively. This division and nomenclature were existed before the conquest of Nepal and Gorkha's occupation of Magar principalities.

Dhorpatan—where study was conducted is located in geographically remote part, considerably isolated from the mainstream socio-economic and political processes of Nepal. Till now, only a few studies have been done on the Magars of *Rapti* region. Studies on clan relationship of the "fifteen-clan" Magars, like cultural process of everyday life and preserve traditional culture even in a changing modern context, have not yet been done.

The "fifteen-clan" Magars reside in the bank of *Bhuji* River, which bisects *Bobang* and *Adhikarichaur* VDCs. The culture of the Magars of this area is based on Shamanism. But the "fifteen-clan" residing in this

area have some common socio-cultural features like cross-cousin marriage with other indigenous nationalities such as Gurung and Tamang.

From a general observation it seems that there is a strong bond as well as conflict among the "fifteen-clan" Magars but due to the lack of study very little is known about dynamics of inter-clan relationships the Magars of the Dhorpatan. There is also a lack of analysis of the impact of external influence on indigenous culture. This study of inter-clan and cross-culture relations could be useful in understanding and preserving the culture of the "fifteen-clan" Magar and help develop a plan for their empowerment as well as development related activities.

1.3 Objectives of the Study:

The objective of the research is to study inter-clan relationships among the 'fifteen-clan' Magars and cross community relationship between or among the 'fifteen-clan' Magars and the other castes of *Bobang* and *Adhikarichaur*. The study aims to explore inter-clan relationships and assess the impact of external influences on the Magar community. Specific objective of the study are:

-) To find out dynamics of inter-clan relationship and cross-cultural influences among 'fifteen-clan' Magars.
-) To generate an ethnographic profile of 'fifteen-clan' Magars residing in *Bobang* and *Adhikarichaur* village development committee (VDCs).

1.4 Significance of the Study

This study will be significant as this focus on the highly marginalized Magars of northwestern *Baglung*. This area is remote and the Magars are living there in traditional settings. According to their unique social behavior, each sub-clan has their own role and responsibility in community works e.g. festivals, rites and bridge construction. In a way, the 'fifteen-clan' Magars' group can be seen as a commune. But in recent times, in the process of modernization this group has become dependent on other communities residing in the same area.

This cross-cultural relationship is expanding day-by-day. It is the reality of ethnic groups of Nepal that they are facing the external influence on their inter-clan relationship and influence of other caste groups, which have imported in different ways.

In this context, the study explores how communities cope with change and continue inter-clan dependence; how relationships are maintained in modern times, and how external influences impact on community. This study not only helps in understanding inter-clan relationship of Magars but also be a guideline for studying other ethnic communities. Moreover, it will be helpful in examining inter-minority relationship. This study aims also to analyze suitable programs for the empowerment and development of Magars.

1.5 Organization of Chapters

The dissertation has four major components: background information, literature review, research methodology and ethnographic description and research findings. The background includes information on Nepal and its ethnic and cultural diversities. Literature review section has covered all prominent literature on Magars. Literatures about Magars have incorporated in the thesis in a theme and particular attention has paid to literature of clan relationship.

Under the ethnographic survey, clan relationship, rites and rituals, festivals, cross-cultural influence and bridge (*Kothesangu*) making are elaborated in different chapter. The chapter, clan-relationship has elaborated explaining marriage and other socio-cultural activities while rites and rituals also incorporated in these contexts.

Moreover, rites and rituals were also examined in the context of cross-cultural influence in 'fifteen-clan' Magars from other caste groups residing on the area. Festivals of the magars are examined in two parts-- influence of Hinduism and their tradition. Details of *Sanskritization* process are explained in cross-cultural influence section.

The process of bridge (*Kothesangu*) making over *Uttarganga* River is described to elaborate on nature of socio-cultural bond among 'fifteen-clan' Magars. Actually, this section is linked directly with the research objective and shows the cross-cultural influence the 'fifteen-clan' Magars have maintained close bond among themselves.

CHAPTER: II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2. Review of Literature

Literature review is an integral part of research. This section summarizes themes from the literature– books, journals, booklet, leaflet etc. – written in the subject. In this section, literature about clan relationship of Magar of Nepal, and inter-clan relationship among "fifteen-clan" Magars, of *Bhuji* River basin, *Adhikarichaur* and *Bobang* VDCs of Baglung district, are discussed.

Review of literature has three major parts, (i) general overview, (ii) specific review and (iii) conceptual and theoretical framework. The general overview section describes all available literature related to Magars without its direct link in the research theme. Literature related to research topic– inter-clan relation – is described in specific review section. This section emphasized in external influences in Magars and their impact in their life.

The conceptual and theoretical framework draws from perspectives on coexistence, *Sanskritization* and conflict theories. Inter-clan relationship (coexistence), *Sanskritization* and cross-cultural influences (conflict) are found useful in this ethnographic survey. Social unity of solidarity among "fifteen-clan" Magars is demonstrated through their role in bridge construction and their socio-cultural life is analyzed in conflict perspective. The conflict perspective is applied to elaborate conflict of

culture and interest between "fifteen-clan" Magars and other caste (mainly, high caste Hindu, *Brahmin* and *Chhetri*) of the area.

2.1 General Overview

There are considerable literatures written about Magars. The most of them are written by foreigner. C.J. Moris wrote a book "The Gorkhas: An Ethnology" (1933) is basically about ethnic peoples of Nepal, those who have joined British-Indian army. It has synopsis of Magar's physical structure and lifestyle. First book duly focused in Magar ethnography is "The Magar of Baniyan Hill". In this book Mr. John T. Hitchcock has studied Magars residing in the *Pandera Thum, Bardanda* (Baniyan Hill) of *Syanja* district in 1966. This study is centered on language and culture of Magars.

Dor Bahadur Bista provided general description about Magars in his book *People's of Nepal*, 1976. This book is an almanac of Nepalese society, which first described its diverse faces like behavior, rites and rituals, caste system, *gotra*, population, and physical structure of their home and settlement. Dharma Prasad Shrees is a Magar, who first wrote book about Magar culture- *Magarati Sanskriti* (Culture of Magar People) in 2038 BS. Shrees had mentioned origin, history, culture and language of Magar in his book.

Dr. Kesharjang Baral Magar in 2050 BS does first scientific study of Magar. His book *Palpa, Syanja ra Tanahuka Magarharuko Sanskriti* (Culture of Magars of *Palpa, Syanja and Tanahu*), has described the origin, migration and history of Magars of *Gandaki* region. The book has

not mentioned history, language and culture of Magars of *Rapti* and *Dhaulagiri*.

Japanese professor Jiro Kawakita of Tokai University had studied origin, language, society and culture of Magars. His research paper, "The Hill Magars and Their Neighbours (1974)", was published in university journal. Publication of Chwasapasa's, a Newari publication house, Nepal Himalayaka Janjatiharu (2047BS) has mentioned lands of Magars and their history. Janaklal Sharma has studied castes and sub-castes of Magars in his book "*Hamro Samaj Ek Adhyayan*" (Our Society a Study) published in 2039 BS. This book is mainly about the ethnic peoples of Nepal.

Dr. Harsha Bahadur Budha's *Kirant Bansa ra Magarharu* (Magars and Kirant Dynasty) (2049BS) has included political role of Magars. His study has description of Magar principalities in *Barha* and *Athar magarnat*. The main theme of his study is searching the link between Kirant and Magars. Dr. Budha has also elaborated divisions in the clan and sub-clan in Magars was due to their involvement in army and politics. M.S. Thapa Magar's "*Prachin Magar Ra Akkha Lipi*" (Ancient Magars and Akkha Script, 2049 BS) described origin place of Magars and their religion in Buddha and *Licchhivi* periods. He had argued that Magars are Buddhist and their script is *Akkha*.

Swiss scholar Toni Hagun has mentioned about Magars in his book "Nepalko Chinari", (An Introduction of Nepal), 2001. He has paid particular attention in their settlement, behavior and professions. Augusta

Molnar's study "Economic Strategies and Ecological Constraints—Case Study of Kham Magar of Northwest Nepal" (1938) is centered in *Rolpa* and *Rukum* district of western Nepal. She had mentioned the economic strategy, mixed agriculture and grazing land system of Magars of *Thabang*, *Lubang*, *Taka* and *Maikot*. This study is primarily focused on environmental impacts in Magars culture and cultural impact in environment.

James F. Fisher has studied the economic life of Magars. His book "Trans-Himalayan Traders-Economy, Society and Culture in Northwest Nepal" (1972) is centered into trans-boarder trade of *Kaike* Magars of *Dolpa* district. In his book, Fisher has described that the *Kaike* people depends in business to India and China. They trade salt from China (Tibet) and rice from India. Social change is the key issue of Laura M. Ahern's "Invitation to Love: Literacy, Love Letters & Social Change in Nepal" (2004). Her study is centered in literacy, which give birth of love letter relationship among Magar youth of *Junigaun* of *Palpa* district.

Lok Bahadur Thapa Magar has focused his study in political rights of Magars. In his book, *About Nepal Magar Association and Magarat Autonomous Region* (2055) has stressed on economic empowerment of political awareness among Magars; and proposed *Magarat* autonomous region. Magars ethnic based organization and its sister organizations has been publishing journals and magazines after 1990. These publications have raised the level of awareness among Magars and their participation in national politics and polity is increasing day-by-day, recently.

Nepal Magar Association (NMA) and its sister organization Nepal Magar Student Association (NMSA) has been publishing '*Langahli*' (*Gaunle*), '*Magar awaj*' and '*Lisar*' (*Kopila*) respectively. Publications of Magar National Liberation Front (MNLF) '*Magarat*' and Magar Association Hongkong (MAH)'s *Kanung im* (*Hamro Ghar*) and other have been writing about the issues of Magars. These publications have wide concern over the social, economic and cultural life of Magars as well as their rights. Monthly publication like *Kanung lam*, *Lapha*, *Konja-marum* and *Kairan* are advocating for their participation in mainstream. But these publications are irregular in frequency.

Magars are using latest technology to highlight their language and cultural. Websites like www.magarsang.org (Nepal Magar Association), www.magarstudent.org (Nepal Magar Student Association), www.magarstudiescenter.org (Magar Study Center), www.magarmorcha.org (Magar National Freedom Front), www.lausa.org (Magar Association America) and www.nefin.org.np (Nepalese Federation of Indigenous nationalities (NEFIN)) are becoming a source of Magar literature.

Magars have a few audiovisual literatures. These literatures are mainly in documentary and Documentary form. Such productions are *Langhan* (feature film) *Aashe*, *Chindiyak* and *Yanimaya* and primarily focused in culture–birth to funeral rituals– of Magars. There is an absolute lack of scientific study of Magar, their clan, sub-clan and their relationship.

2.2 Specific Review

This part of literature review is focused in inter-clan relationship among Magars through their cultural life. Literatures regarding Magars were reviewed in term of their significance with "fifteen-clan" Magars of Dhorpatan region (proper locality of "fifteen-clan" Magars also mentioned *Bhuji* River valley or basin). This section deals with language, religion, culture (rites and rituals) and livelihood of Magars. It compares or analyzes mentioned subjects among and between Magars of study area; and *Rolpa* and *Gandaki* regions.

There are debates over the origin of Magars. The most promising is– Magars are from Tibet (probably northeast of Tibet). Most of the scholars have agreed in this point but they have their own argument. J.T. Hitchcock (1966) has argued that the Magar seems to have been part of a very ancient influx of mongoloid, Tibeto-Burman-speaking peoples into Nepal, probably from the north and east (1966:4). Although, both groups call themselves Magars, the languages they speak are not mutually intelligible. Augusta Molnar (2007) has linked *Kham* speaking Magars to the *Kham* province of Tibet. "*Kham* is the Tibeto-Burman language" she wrote, but Nepalese scholar Bom Kumari Budha¹ rejects Molnar's arguments saying, "*Kham* is not a language, language of *Athar Magarat* is *Pang*. *Kham* is the common for Tibeto-Burman speaking people residing in western hills of Nepal."

Madhav Prasad Pokhrel (2008) and other scholars have same arguments in the origin of Magars–*Kham* province of Tibet or Mongolia–

¹ Interview with Bom Kumari Budha on 07/02/2010 in Kathmandu

but there is two different routes of migration. First argument is Magar entered into Nepal through crossing Himalaya and second is the permanently settled in hills of Nepal after migrating from Magnolia via Indian subcontinent. Despite the uncertainty as to the origin of Magars, all scholars agree that they must have arrived centuries ago. M.S. Thapa Magar (2049BS) has mentioned that Magars were entered into Nepal approximately 4000 years ago. Likewise, Kamal Adhikary concludes that since Magar must have come from their place of origin by way of Tibet and since they show no traces of Buddhism in their religious activities, they must likely arrived in Nepal before Buddhism was introduced to Tibet in the seventh century (1993:11). Though there are lots of arguments in the origin of Magars. No one is certain exactly when Magars arrived in what is now Nepal, or even where there place of origin was, but most sholars agree that it was somewhere north of the Himalayas, probably northeast of Tibet (Ahearn 2004).

When Nepal had become a nation and was in the process of attempting to incorporate the many peoples within its broders less than one main law, the Muluki Ain, in 1854, Magars were inserted into the Hindu caste hierarchy as "water-acceptable, non-enslavable alcohol drinkers" (Hofer 1979). This meant that higher castes could accept water but not food from them, unlike other Tibeto-Burman groups, they could not be enslaved.

Magars has a unique form of religion: Shamanism and Nature Worship. Magar people perform *Jhankri puja* when ill. They worship land (*Bhumipuja*), water spout (*Shim*), Forest (*Banpuja*) and weather for

better grains and cattle. The influences of Hinduism are seen in many walks of life eg. *Satyanarayanpuja* and *Dashain*. It is difficult to identify the religion of Magars. Lion (1992) has argued that "Ancient Magar had believes in Shamanism".

Magar scholar Thapa (2049, BS) claims that Magars are Buddhist. Molnar (2007) and Kawakita (2047, BS) have studied the Hindu influence in Magars. Molnar pointed out that Magars have Hindu influence. She wrote, "Eastern Magars are more Hindunized than the *Kham* Magar". Kawakita's study reveals the fact that Magars have same rituals of high caste Hindus. He has described the influence of Hinduism through "Worship of Heaven" in October. Though there are different arguments claiming Magars as Hindu and Buddhist but it is certain that they are primarily a "Nature Worshiper" Baral (2050, BS).

Magars of Nepal speak two different kinds of language. Language spoken in Palpa, Syangja and western region fall under Tibeto–Burman family whereas Magar of *Rolpa*, *Rukum*, *Nishi* and *Bhuji* area of Baglung district and Sahatarakot of Dolpa language is associated with Tibetan Family (Baral 2050 BS). The division is identified as Barha Magarati (*Dhut*) and Athara Magarti respectively. The Athar Magarati language has further division of '*Kham (Pang)*,' and '*Kaike*'. The *Kaike* language is only spoken at sahartarakot of Dolpa district. As per Census 2001, only 791 people are speaking the *Kaike* language and the language has not got official recognition. This is a major dialect of Magar language. Kham language had suffered form the same problem a decade ago. Hitchcock (1966) has mentioned *Kham* is a language of Magars of *Rolpa* region but

Bom Kumari Budha, a Magar activist have different view. She says, "There is no language called *Kham*. Actually, the language of *Rapti* region is *Pang*"², she said. Kawakita (2047BS) has same opinion with Hitchcock. Fisher (1972) has established *Kaike* as a language of Magars of western hills of Nepal.

Magar does not have seperate script. They were not established as a written language. Thapa (2049BS) has mentioned *Akkha* script as Magar script but other Magar scholars do not agree with his views. Dr. Harsha Bahadur Budha (2049BS) and Dr. Keshar Jang Baral (2050) strongly reject Thapa's view saying, "There is not *Akkha* script". He has shown the similarities between *Brahmi* and *Pali* script to support own's point. Today, most of the Magars people have been speaking Nepali language.

Magars are culturally diversified and lives in different geographical region. It is broadly based on the language groups. For example, the *Dhut* speaking Magars of Gandaki regions have *Sorathi* and *Kaura* dance whereas Magars of *Rapti* region perform *Sanrangya*, *Tappa* and *Paisaru* dances. Songs of those dance is in the language of the region. Baral Magar (2050BS) has pointed out the differences as an outcome of geographical settings. He further said that these differences have not affected the social norms of the Magars. Magar people live in joint family comprising grandfather to grandson, at least three generation.

Magars have different set of clan and sub-clan as per their language (Gautam and Thapa-Magar 1994). *Kaike* Magars have four clans,

² Interview with Bom Kumari Budha on 07/02/2010 in Kathmandu

Rokaya, Budha, Gharti and Jhankri. Dhut speaking Magars of Gandaki region divided into three clans– Thapa, Rana and Ale. Kham speaking Magars have divided into four clan groups of Gharti, Budha (Budhathoki), Pun and Roka. Table 1 provides major clan of Magars as per their language and region.

Table 1. Classification of Magar clan by region and language

| S. N. | Language Group | Clan Name | Region |
|--------------|-----------------------|----------------------------------|---|
| 1. | Dhut | Thapa, Rana and Ale | Gandaki region (Twelve Magarat) |
| 2. | Kham/Pang | Gharti, Budha, Pun and Roka | Rapti region (Eighteen Magarat) |
| 3. | Kaike | Rokaya, Budha, Jhakri and Gharti | Sahatarakot/Dolpa (Eighteen Magarat) |

Source: Based on (Gautam and Thapa-Magar 1994:24) and (Baral 2050)

Magars of all three-language groups celebrates *Maghe Sankranti, Saune Sakranti, Dashain, Tihar and Chaite Dashain* etc. *Chandi Purnima* is not celebrated in *Rolpa* and *Rukum* region but it is not celebrated as birthday of Buddha according to Baral Magar. They celebrate *Chandi Purnima* with feast of meat and liquor. Magar cultural– birth to funeral ceremonies and other rituals– are described later in analysis section.

Magars were originally hunter. In ancient time, they used to hunt animals for food and cloth. Growth of population forced them to search other occupations and starts agriculture and animal husbandry. Start of

animal husbandry is seen as substitute of regular hunting, says Molnar (2007) and Gurung (1995). Still Magars of western Nepal go for hunting in their leisure periods.

Agriculture is the basis for subsistence living of Magars today though some of them have engaged in trade, military and other services. Magars of all regions depend on agriculture. Magar living in hills cultivate millet, barley, maize, potato etc. whereas in other areas (below 3000 meter) cultivate paddy, wheat, millet and other crops as outsiders. According to Gurung (1995) *Pun* of southern part of Dhaulagiri Mountain are best known for animal husbandry.

Bom Kumari Budha argued that military of Prithvi Nayrayan Shah had a Magar regiment called-"Black Regiment". Magars have continued to serve in Nepali, Indian and British army till the date. Magar participation in civil and other service is nominal. Magar indigenous organization like Nepal Magar Association (NMA), Nepal Magar Student Association (NMSA), Nepal Magar Women's Association (NMWA), Nepal Magar Cultural Association (NMCA) and Nepalese Federation of Indigenous Nationalities (NEFIN) have been advocating and playing catalyst role for increasing their representation in mainstreams.

John T. Hitchcock's article 'Sub-Tribes in the Magar Community in Nepal' (1965) has given importance of clan system in Magar community but his study is limited in culture. This paper does not mention the socio-political relation of Magars, the prominent one in *Bhuji* River valley. Thapa Magar (2049BS) has elaborated clan relationship of *Gandaki*

region Magars through study of marriage. The same methods have applied by Molnar (1981) in *Rolpa* region; and Bhujel and Tamang (2058BS) to establish clan relation of *Bhujels* of *Bhuji* River valley.

There is no exhaustive study of clan relation of Magar. Every study has mentioned something about clan and their socio-cultural relation but limited in kinship. There is not noteworthy socio-scientific description about the clan relationship till the date. Therefore, this study is designed to explore clan relationship of 'fifteen-clan' Magars of *Bhuji* river valley from socio-cultural perspective.

2.2.1 Cross-cultural influences

Magars have cross-cultural influences of high caste Hindus. Even, it is believed that Magar and *Thakuri* (*Chhetri*) were same in Hindu caste hierarchy (Bista, 1976). Budha (2049 BS) have linked Magar with *Kirant* in their origin, stating the both Magar and Kirant Tibeto-Burman speaking and Mongoloid. But Thapa Magar (2049 BS), on the other hand, Magar ancestry has associated with *Lichchhavi*, an *Aryan*. He argued that "*Lichchhavi*" were Mongolian and they were migrated from north of Himalaya". His claims the link between Buddha and Magars saying, "Hindu arrived from south and imposed their religion".

Baral Magar (2050 BS), Thapa Magar (2049 BS) and Gurung (1996) have claims that Magars are Non-Hindu but they have not established Magar's religious faith. Above mentioned scholars however have one common point in their arguments: Magar people have no socio-cultural hierarchy that prevails in Hindu. Influences of Hinduism are

nevertheless widely seen in Magars. The contexts of such influences are to be found in socio-cultural settings, state dominance and interaction with outer world.

Magars of *Gandaki* regions have seen more influences by Hinduism than other parts of Nepal. For example Molnar, (1981) states eastern Magar are more Hindunized than the Kham. They take the service of Hindu priest in most of their rites and rituals (Gurung, 1995)

2.3 Conceptual and Theoretical Framework

This section deals with three theoretical perspectives--coexistence, conflict and sanskritization. Clan relationships of 'fifteen-clan' Magars have elaborated with coexistence theory. Meanwhile, cross-cultural influences through *Sanskritization* and modern trends (from 1990s) have viewed in conflict perspectives. The processes of Sanskritization have fitted in this study as *Jatis* may seek promotion within the caste hierarchy by adopting the practices of higher *Varna*. The theory has applied in this thesis as inter-clan relationship of 'fifteen-clan' Magars in the area. The conflict perspectives have used in their readaptation of traditional culture from 1990s. Restoration of democracy in 1990 has provided new ground to adopt traditional culture, which they had lost in the process of *Sanskritisation* among ethnic groups.

It is believed that there were twelve and eighteen Magar principalities in *Gandaki* and *Rapti* region respectively (Budha Magar, 2005). The study area– *Adhikarichaur* and *Bobang* VDCs– falls in the area of eighteen principalities, where *Bhuji* king used to rule (Bhujel and

Tamang, 2058BS). Magars had their own developed culture and language at that time. Muslim encroachment in Indian plain around 13-16 century forced various *Aryan* groups entered in this area. They established state here and started to rule over the Magars (Budha, 2049).

Nepali speaking Hindu ruler had made lots of influence in this land and Magar people were no exception. Adaptation of Hindu culture—wearing scared thread (*Janai*) in *Sahuthoki* clan of Adhikarichaur VDC—is best example of influence. It is also been described; as those castes had regular contact with ruling classes they adopt Hindu rites and rituals to upgrade their social status among Magars. Such processes of adaptation of Hindu culture either by force or self-will are being called here as *sanskritization*. Cross-cultural influence, mainly central influence of Hindu rulers into Magar communities, has started since through conquer of Nepal. And, it further expanded in *Rana* regime and *Panchayati* system. Various government policies had played strong role in deep rooting and expanding the influences.

Magar society does not have social hierarchy. Though they have more than 1000 sub-clan groups all enjoy equal social status. There is no restriction in marriage between any clans (*Thar*) but they prefer cross cousin marriage. Magars of *Bhuji* river valley have unique social and cultural bond. They depend on each other in their life. For example, every clan has their respective role in making a bridge (*Kothesanghu*) over the *Uttarganga* River. This river falls between the grazing land and their settlements so they have to cross the river with their cattle in day-to-day.

After 1990, Nepali indigenous Nationalities have raised their demands for identity. They opposed the state imposed language and culture (*Ek Bhasha Ek Desh*) and started to revive their culture. Government of Nepal (then His Majesty's Government of Nepal) permitted basic (primary) education in regional or ethnic languages and established National Committee for Development of Nationalities (NCDN) in July 1997 which became after Feb. 2002 National Foundation for Development of Indigenous Nationalities (NFDIN). Fifty-nine ethnic and indigenous minorities united under a one roof of Nepalese Federation of Indigenous Nationalities (NEFIN). The movement took a momentum of reviving their traditional culture and identity.

Indigenous movements of 1990s and after could be seen through conflict perspective. Actually, it is a movement against the century long suppression by the state and so called higher castes— and *Chhetri*. Experiences of last two decades have shown conflict between and among the state, indigenous/minorities and high caste Hindu.

2.4 Research Questions

This thesis is focused on clan relationship among 'fifteen-clan' Magars of Dhorpatan region along with influence of Hinduism in their traditional practices or culture. Therefore the research questions of this thesis are--

-) Does 'fifteen-clan' Magars of Dhorpatan region has strong clan relationship?
-) Does The Magars have adopted Hinduism in their lives?

CHAPTER: III

RESEARCH METHOD

3. Research Methodology

3.1 Research Design

This is among the first inter-clan studies of the marginalized Magar community living in two VDCs of northwest *Baglung*. The study is descriptive in nature. To find out inter-clan relationship three sociological theories: coexistence, *Sanskritization* and conflict were used to analyze inter-clan relationship. Model of *Sanskritization* (Srinivas, 1952) was used to analyze influence of external factors. Those theories were also used in evaluating external influence within the purported "fifteen-clan" Magars.

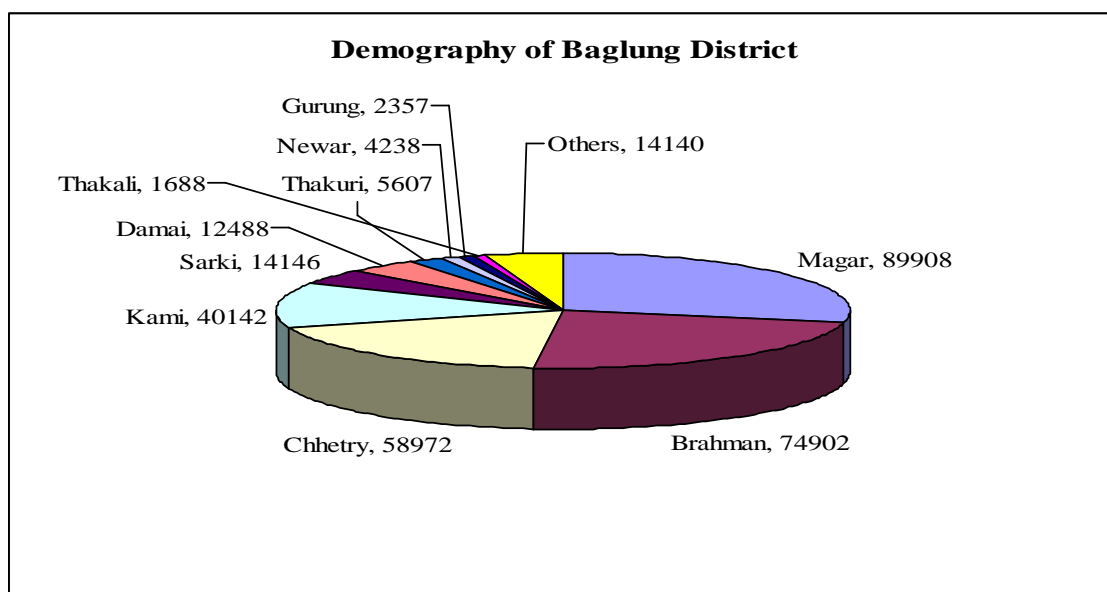
Tools like key-informant interview, focus group discussion and field observation were used in examining relationship between different clans. All available literature was reviewed thoroughly for understanding inter-clan relationship in and cross-cultural influence on ethnic communities such as Magars of Nepal, in general.

3.2 Study Area

The study area is the western part of Baglung district known as 'Dhorpatan region'. Baglung lies in the Dhaulagiri zone of the western development region. About 3,18,594 people reside in this district where Magars comprise a significant population with 28.77 per cent of the total. Their major settlements are in *Pandavkhani, Righa, Nisi, Bobang, Adhikarichaur, Bhimghithe, Dagatundanda, Taman, and Bongadovan*

Village Development Committees (VDCs). This region was one of the Magar principalities of '*Athar Magarat*' before the rulers of Gorkha occupied it. The following figure (1) shows the distribution of peoples of Baglung districts by caste and ethnicity.

Figure 1, Demography of Baglung District



Source: *District Profile Baglung, 2001*.

This study was conducted in two VDCs of Dhorpatan region: *Bobang* and *Adhikarichaur* which located in both side of *Bhuji River*. These VDCs lie in the northwestern part of Baglung district. These VDCs fall under Ilaka no. 10 of the districts administrative region. The total population of *Bobang* VDC is 6,171 and that of *Adhikarichaur* VDC is 6,189. Table 1 provides demography of Bobang and Adhikarichaur VDCs by caste and ethnicity.

Table 2. Demography of Bobang and Adhikarichaur VDCs.

| VDC | Total | Magar | Dalit | | Chhetri | Janajati | Others |
|---------------|--------|-------|-------|------|---------|----------|--------|
| Bobang | 6,171 | 1,497 | 3,492 | 87 | 907 | 87 | 101 |
| Adhikarichaur | 6,189 | 1,614 | 2,018 | 902 | 1,326 | 236 | 93 |
| Total | 12,360 | 3,111 | 5,510 | 989 | 2,233 | 323 | 194 |
| | % | 25.17 | 44.58 | 8.00 | 18.07 | 2.61 | 1.57 |

Source: District Profile Baglung, 2001(2058 BS).

The Magar of the study area - *Bobang* and *Adhikarichaur* VDCs - have 3 major clans (*Thars*): *Gharti* Magar, *Pun* Magar, and *Budha* Magar. These clans are divided into 15 sub-clans (*Pandhra Thare*) according to their geographical and historical background. Table 2 shows 'Fifteen-clan' Magars and their locally called clan name. The name '*Umara*' of a sub-clan came from their political role in *Athar Magarat* principality, especially in Dhorpatan state. Likewise, Marars who live in the geographical areas of *Kanga* and *masa* are known as '*Kangyal*' and '*Masal*', respectively.

Table 3. 'Fifteen-clan' Magars and their written clan.

| S.N. | Written Clan | Locally called Clan (Fifteen-clan) |
|------|--------------|--|
| 1. | Gharti | Subja, Masal, Kangel, Dhaitani and Gharti |
| 2. | Budha | Budhathoki and Harula |
| 3. | Pun | Nimmar, Sahuthoki, Umara, Manparel, Mainthoki, Bagale, Simale and Astamu |

3.3 Universe of Sample

The total population of Bobang is 6,171 and that of *Adhikarichaur* is 6,189 according to the District Profile Baglung 2058 BS. *Bobang* VDC has 1,497 population of Magar and 1,614 in *Adhikarichaur*. The

population of 'fifteen-clan' Magars of the district has 1,683 in *Bobang* and 610 in *Adhikarichaur* (ethnographic survey, 2008). Other castes living in Bobang and *Adhikarichaur* VDC are 4,674 and 4,575 respectively.

Ethnographic survey has included all 'fifteen-clan' Magars of the area whereas key informant interview, (KII) and focused group discussion (FGD) are conducted in sample.

3.4 Nature and Source of Data

This study has two types of data, (i) Primary, and (ii) Secondary. Secondary data were collected from different sources: VDCs, district administration and CBS. These data are used in background information and research purpose. Primary data are collected from ethnographic survey. These data are used in analysis of inter-clan relationship and external influence among 'fifteen-clan' Magars.

3.5 Data Collection Technique

The primary data are collected from the ethnographic survey whereas additional informations have incorporated from key informant interview and FGD.

Household survey method has applied in ethnographic survey whereas focused group discussions (FGDs) are conducted with each clan of 'fifteen-clan' Magars. For door-to-door survey, a survey questionnaire was developed and filled in the field. Key informant interview and FGDs are conducted in their courtyard.

3.6 Limitation of the Study

This study is limited to *Adhikarichaur* and *Bobang* VDCs; and *Nisi-Bhuji* region. Likewise, it is also limited to "fifteen-clan" Magars, therefore the study is not covering other Magars residing in the study area and people migrated from the area.

Though it is the study of Magars– inter-clan relation in their community—it has not focused the relationship between and among Magars of other area. But particular attention has paid to other Magars of *Rapti* and *Gandaki* region, in case basis.

3.7 Ethical Consideration

All ethical considerations of standard research have been thoroughly followed in all step of research. The identity of individuals has kept confidential in the field observation and FGD aspects while confidentiality was maintained in controversial issues in key-informant interviews also.

CHAPTER: IV

'FIFTEEN-CLAN' MAGARS IN DHORPATAN

4.1 Geography, People and Settlement

The study area of 'Dhorpatan' region is located approximately 100 kilometres west of district headquarter Baglung. Dhorpatan lies in 3000 meter high from the sea level. Dhorpatan, a mountain valley, fall under the area of *Bobang*, *Adhikarichaur* and *Nisi* Village Development Committee (VDCs). It is famous for hunting wild animals and the only hunting reserve in Nepal.

The name 'Dhorpatan' derived from the Magar word '*Dhor*' (plain land) and '*Patan*' (grazing land). Grazing land is called here as '*Buki*' and spread form 3000 to 7000 meter above sea level. This grazing land is the habitat of '*Nour*' (Blue sheep). *Uttarganga*, *Nisikhola* and *Bhujikhola* Rivers are source of water of the lifeline of people living in the region. *Nisi* and *Bhuji* River join with Kali Gandaki and Uttarganga join in Bheri River.

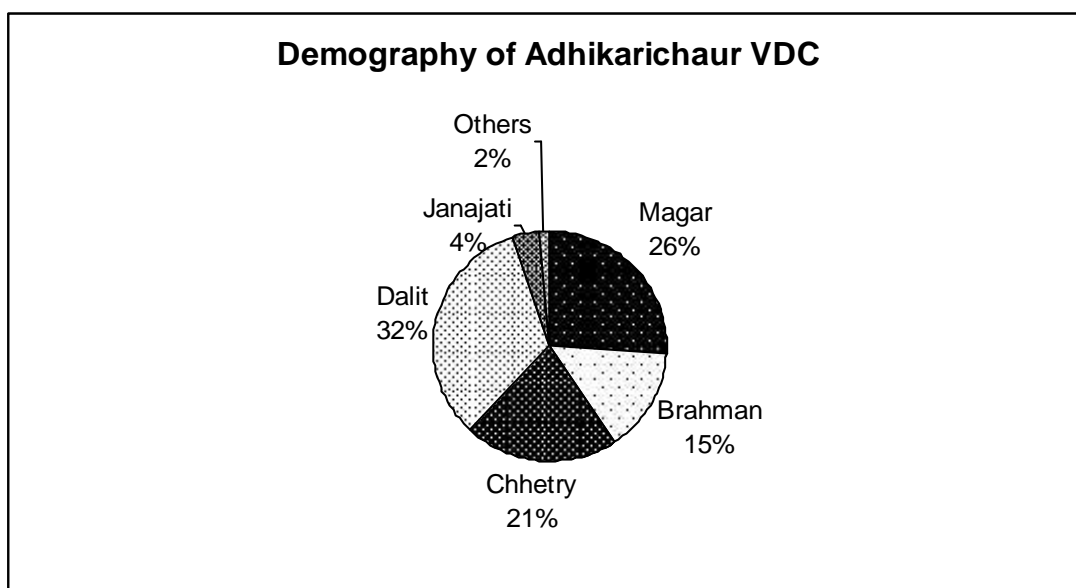
The study area *Adhikarichaur* and *Bobang* VDC is also known as *Bhuji* river area. This area cover 369.77 square kilometre of Baglung district. The VDCs of *Adhikarichaur* and *Bobang* have domination of *Dalit* (44.58 %) population. Magar (25.17%) falls after *Dalit* and *Chhetri* (18.07%), *Brahmin* (8%), other ethnic communities (2.6%). The total population of Magar in study area is 2293. Table 3 shows demography of 'Fifteen-clan' Magars of study area.

Table 4. Demography of Fifteen Clan Magars in Bobang and Adhikarichaur VDCs.

| Clan | Female | Male | Total |
|------------|--------|------|-------|
| Subja | 102 | 106 | 208 |
| Nimmar | 36 | 50 | 86 |
| Gharti | 82 | 79 | 161 |
| Sahuthoki | 55 | 52 | 107 |
| Umara | 47 | 55 | 102 |
| Budhathoki | 123 | 133 | 256 |
| Astamu | 48 | 40 | 88 |
| Masal | 213 | 202 | 415 |
| Dhaitani | 73 | 94 | 167 |
| Kangel | 142 | 130 | 172 |
| Simale | 37 | 33 | 70 |
| Manparel | 21 | 19 | 40 |
| Harula | 15 | 18 | 33 |
| Mainthoki | 95 | 88 | 183 |
| Bagale | 52 | 53 | 105 |
| Total | 1141 | 1152 | 2293 |

Source: House Hold Survey (15-25 February, 2010)

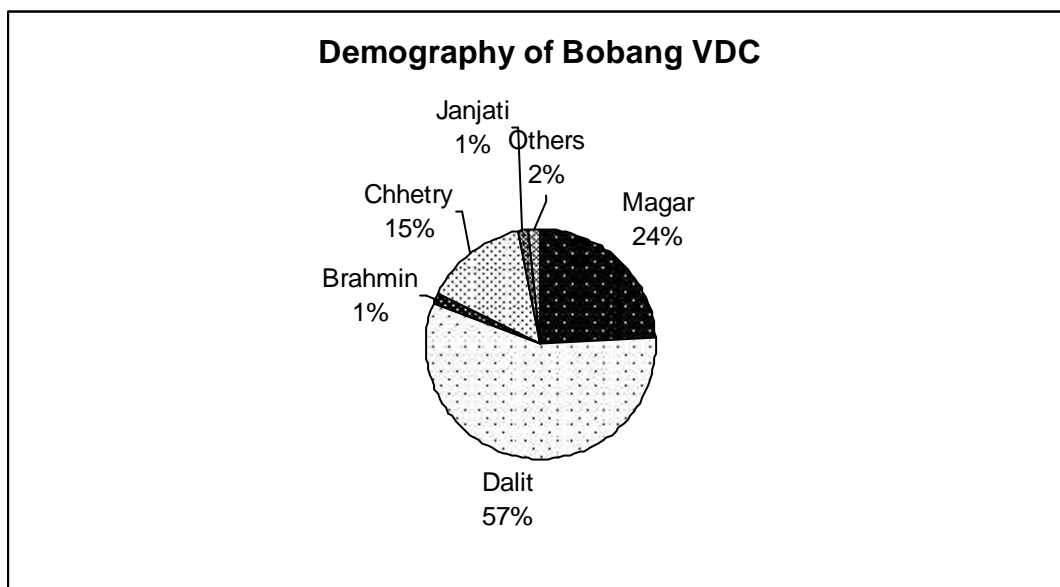
Figure 2, Demography of Adhikarichaur VDC



Source: District Profile Baglung, 2001.

Magars have large number of population in both VDCs – Adhikarichaur and Bobang. These Magar are known as "fifteen-clan" Magar. *Chhantyal*, one of 59 ethnic group of Nepal, reside in ward no. 3 of Adhikarichaur VDC. *Chhantyal* were regarded as a clan (Thar) of Magar earlier. These people had a traditional skill of mining copper. Their settlement area is called '*Gaiyakhani*', from their profession.

Figure 3, Demography of Bobang VDC



Source: District Profile Baglung, 2001.

'*Nauthar*' (nine-clan), a disappearing community also live in the study area. Majority of these people live in Bobang VDC. The origin of '*Nauthar*' is associated with principality of Dolpa, in the time of 22/24 principalities in western Nepal. Division of nine-clan have based on their role/occupation in community. For example, people who worked in store of their principality were known as '*Bhandari*', people who made pottery was called '*Mate*' and who's had profession of carpenter was called

'*Kayat*'. Such professional divisions have identified today as their clan–name (*Thar*). *Nauthar* people are gradually integrating with Magars of the area these days.

Moreover, Tibetan refugees are also living in *Dhorpatan* region. They were settled here from 1959–1961, after unsuccessful revolt of Tibetan over Chinese occupation. These Tibetan refugees have their own Buddhist lifestyle. Their occupations are animal husbandry, especially horse (*Khachchar*) herding, agriculture and trade.

Majority of the people living in Adhikarichaur and Bobang VDCs are *Dalit* (44.58), Blacksmith (*Kami*) and Tailor (*Damai*). *Dalit* have close connection with lifecycle of Magar.

These *Dalit* (formely untouchable) people depends on agriculture and work for Magar. Blacksmith makes agriculture equipments (knife, Kodalo, Axe etc.) and *Damai* stitches cloth for Magar. They get seasonal grains and little amount of money for their service. Today, *Dalit* youths are attracted in foreign labour service. They are working in India, Gulf countries and Malaysia as an unskilled labour. This trend has making positive changes in their socio–economic positions. *Dalit* of the area have divided into three major groups, *Tinghare* (Three House), *Satghare* (seven houses) and *Naughare* (nine houses). It is believed that *Dalit* residing in the area are spread from those three groups.

Brahmin is another caste of Dhorpatan region and particularly *Bhuji* river area. *Upadhyaya* and *Jaisi* (low graded) are two major group

found in the area. Their main occupation is agricultural but *Upadhyaya* performs the service of priest between Hindunized Magar and other communities. People have their own local name according to their past habitat. Such as, migrated from *Baglung* bazar called '*Baglunge*', '*Rajbare*' for migrant from *Rajbar*, '*Wamile*' for migrant from *Wami* (northern part of *Gulmi* district) and '*Golkote*' for migrant from *Golkot* of *Baglung* district.

Brahmins were believed to have come as a priest of the King of Magar principality before the invasion of Prithvi Narayan Shah and their ancestor in 18th century. Their influences had grown after unification of Nepal as government promoted Hinduism of – 'one state one culture policy'. This policy has governed Nepal till 1990s. Today, educated Magars have started to boycott in their rites and rituals.

Chhetries are migrant of *Khas* region– *Karnali* Zone of present Nepal. Census of Nepal 2001 has included '*Nauthar*' as *Chhetri* and they are mostly depending on agriculture. There is little number of *Thakali* also. *Thakali*, migrated from *Thak Khola* of *Mustang* district, working here as trader. They are migrated here when *Butwal–Palpa–Ridi–Burtibang–Rukum–Tibet* was a trade route of Indo–China trade.

4.2 Fifteen–Clan Magars

Magars are the first inhabitant of Dhorpatan region. They came here from west *Rukum* district. Magars had eighteen principalities before the invasion of Prithvi Narayan Shah and his successors. Magar King of Dhor principality ruled western part of *Baglung* district. After the

unification with Nepal (Gorkha) Magar Kings of the region, including King of *Dhor* had given a power of '*Talukdar*'. He had a duty of collecting land and other revenue on behalf of state. Table 4 describes demography of 'Fifteen-clan' Magars of Adhikarichaur VDC.

Table 5. Demography of Adhikarichaur VDC

| Clan | Female | Male | Total |
|--------------|---------------|-------------|--------------|
| Subja | 69 | 81 | 150 |
| Nimmar | 36 | 50 | 86 |
| Gharti | 53 | 58 | 111 |
| Sahuthoki | 55 | 52 | 107 |
| Umara | 42 | 52 | 94 |
| Kangel | 24 | 15 | 39 |
| Simale | 12 | 11 | 23 |
| Total | 291 | 319 | 610 |

Source: House Hold Survey (15-25 February, 2010)

Magar dominant region of western Nepal had divided into *Kala* (Black) Magarat and *Gora* (white) *Magarat*. These had eighteen and twelve principality respectively. According to Bom Kumari Budha, a Magar activist, '*Ridi*' was the meeting point of eighteen *Magarat* and twelve *Magarat*. She says, the letter '*ri*' and '*di*' both means water in language of eighteen and twelve *Magarat* respectively. Last Magar King of eighteen *Magarat* was 'Dare Jaitam' of *Shesh* area of *Rolpa* and twelve *Magarat* was Man Singh Khadka of Palpa.

Magars are basically divided into seven major clans of *Budha*, *Gharti*, *Pun*, *Roka*, *Thapa*, *Rana* and *Ale*. These clans enjoy equal social status (Gibbs, 1944). These clans have further divided into different sub-clans like *-jhakri* and *Rokaya* from *Roka*, *shrees* and *batha* from *Pun*, *bhujel* and *kauchha* from *Gharti*; and *Budhathoki* from *Budha*. Scholars

like Dr. Keshar Jang Baral, M.S. Thapa, C.J. Morries, Eden Vansittart and Dr. Harsha Bahadur Budha have collected more than one thousand sub-clans in Magars. Dr. Baral has mentioned sub-clans of Magars of *Palpa*, *Syanja* and *Tanahun* 246 in *Ale*, 57 in *Gharti*, 551 in *Pun*, 26 in *Budha* and 193 in *Rana*.

Table 6. Demography of Bobang VDC

| Clan | Female | Male | Total |
|--------------|---------------|-------------|--------------|
| Subja | 33 | 25 | 58 |
| Gharti | 29 | 21 | 50 |
| Umara | 5 | 3 | 8 |
| Budhathoki | 123 | 133 | 256 |
| Astamu | 48 | 40 | 88 |
| Masal | 213 | 202 | 415 |
| Dhaitani | 73 | 94 | 167 |
| Kangel | 118 | 115 | 233 |
| Simale | 25 | 22 | 47 |
| Manparel | 21 | 19 | 40 |
| Harula | 15 | 18 | 33 |
| Mainthoki | 95 | 88 | 183 |
| Bagale | 52 | 53 | 105 |
| Total | 850 | 833 | 1683 |

Source: House Hold Survey (15-28 February, 2010)

Magar of *Rapti* and *Gandaki* region, both have influence of Hinduism. In twelve Magarat, *Atreya*, *Bhardwaj*, *Deukanya*, *Deunami* *Gotra* (caste of origin) and *Regmi*, *Baral*, *Bhusal*, *Bhandari* and *Lamichhane* clan are found in Magar. Originally, those *Gotra* and clan are from Hindu. Such influence is also seen in eighteen Magarat. *Gotras* like *Kaushila* and *Atreya* found there but there is not caste similar to *Brahmin* and *Chhetri*.

Magar of study area Dhorpatan region and particularly *Adhikarichaur* and *Bobang* VDCs are divided into three major clan of *Gharti*, *Pun* and *Budha*. But the purported 'fifteen-clan' has divided in the basis of historical, geographical and political background of the area. These clans are *Subja*, *Gharti*, *Masal*, *Kangel*, *Dhaitani*, *Nimmar*, *Sahuthoki*, *Umara*, *Manparel*, *Mainthoki*, *Simale*, *Bagale*, *Astamu* and *Harula*. *Argeja* is not residing in this area they are migrated to nearby area.

Subja, *Gharti*, *Masal*, *Kangel*, *Dhaitani* fall in major clan *Gharti*, *Nimmar*, *Sahuthoki*, *Umara*, *Manparel*, *Mainthoki*, *Simale*, *Bagale*; and *Astamu* are from major clan *Pun*; and *bhudhathoki* and *Harula* known from *Budha* Magar. There is not strong proof when the clan division took place. When tracing the history of Magar it is found that Magars of the area have registered grazing land in their clan name.

'Fifteen-clan' Magars had their own '*Taluk*' (person who collect tax). Though *Manparel*, *Mainthoki* and *Bagale* were '*Talukdar*' of other clans they were under the '*Taluk*' of *Umara*. In fact, *Umara* is the chieftain of fifteen-clan Magar. *Umara* used to collect revenue (mainly land revenue) and deposit in treasury of state.

Major profession of the 'fifteen-clan' Magars was animal husbandry. According to locals every family had approximately one thousand sheep before 1980s. Therefore, they each had their own grazing land in Dhorpatan valley. Such grazing land was called '*Buki*' and they had to pay tax in grazing their land.

'Fifteen-clan' Magars and their Grazing land

| | |
|-------------------|---|
| <i>Subja</i> | <i>Thalkharka, Thulomela, Naula, Sasarmul and Nela.</i> |
| <i>Astamu</i> | <i>Hapal and Bijaule</i> |
| <i>Dhaitani</i> | <i>Phallegar and Bhujji</i> |
| <i>Kangel</i> | <i>Dahakot and Mandrechaur</i> |
| <i>Bagale</i> | <i>Barshe and Nunthala</i> |
| <i>Masal</i> | <i>Baheli</i> |
| <i>Nimmar</i> | <i>Riplu, Lamdanda and Tarachim</i> |
| <i>Manparel</i> | <i>Handebhir, Dhaula and Hiunsango</i> |
| <i>Mainthoki</i> | <i>Phutung, Baleni and Uttarganga</i> |
| <i>Budhathoki</i> | <i>Shurtibang, Pipalkharka and Thakurbuki</i> |
| <i>Umara</i> | <i>Lamela, Tikathali and Rajban</i> |
| <i>Sahuthoki</i> | <i>Khopriban, Ratabhir and Garpa</i> |
| <i>Harula</i> | <i>Surtibang</i> |
| <i>Gharti</i> | <i>Dhupsechun</i> |
| <i>Simale</i> | <i>Phagune</i> |

4.2.1 Settlement

Each clan had their own settlement within the boundary of *Adhikarichaur* and *Bobang* VDCs. *Umara*, the chieftain of 'fifteen-clan' Magars, are believed to have migrated from Taka of *Rukum* district. They have their settlement in '*Dogadi*' (ward no. 7) and '*Pyangkhola*' (ward no. 9) of *Adhikarichaur*. According to *Umara* people, those two settlements were divided into two wives of their ancestor. Total number of *Umara* of the area is 102.

Fig. 4, Geographical position of settlement and grazing land in Dhorpatan region

Source: Ethnographic Study 2010

Moreover, like '*Umara*' and '*Nimmar*' also an administrative post in Magar principality of *Dhor*. The word *Nimmar* traced the historical post '*Bhardar*' (minister) or member of ruling group. Even in *Panchayat* system, member of *Panchayat* are called '*Nimmar*'. They have their major settlement in *Pyangkhola* (ward no. 9) of *Adhikarichaur* VDC.

Masal, *Bagale* and *Kangel* are the clan names derived from the name of their settlement '*Masa*', '*Baga*' and '*Kanga*' respectively. Migrant came from '*Sima*' of western *Rukum* district is known as '*Simale*'. Likewise, there is some caste names derived from their profession. '*Sahuthoki*' the clan name derived from their profession '*Sahu*' (literally rich man). '*Mainthoki*' the name has derived from their profession of

honey hunting. The word '*Manparel*' describes the beauty of the people of the caste.

'*Gharti*' and '*Budhathoki*' fall in the 'fifteen-clan' Magars. *Astamu*, *Subja* and *Harula* have their own base of their naming. *Subja* were rich shepherd of the region. Though *Argeja* fall in 'fifteen-clan' Magar they were migrated to *Chhapkhani* and *Lugurban* of *Devasthan* and *Khunga* VDCs of *Baglung* respectively.

Identical Name of 'Fifteen-Clan' Magars Prevail in the Area

Subja – *Patijes* (who ate earthworm)

Gharti – *Segam* (Who ate uncooked meat)

Sahuthoki – *Bandar* (who kept Monkey)

Umara – *Pithokule* (who destroyed wheat)

Budhathoki – *Sara* (who ate *dhido* of millet)

Masal – *Hanbale* (who originated from cave)

Kangel – *Ghocha* (who had height)

Dhaitani – *Doljeng* (who carried meat in back pocket/ *gado*)

Simale – *Dholbokuwa* (who had *dhol*, a musical instrument)

Astamu – *Harmali* (who had white and black colour mixed cows)

4.2.2 Language

Magar of study area speak '*Kham/Pang*' dialect of Magar language prevails in Nepal. The old generation have been speaking Pang, also known as '*Kham*' language but the number is decreasing day by day. New generation Magar have been gradually turning towards Nepali language – '*Khas Kura*'. The influence has been occurring due to Nepali language is

the medium of education system. Meanwhile, Nepali language was the cross-caste, communications among Magar–*Brahmin/Chhetri*–Magar.

My observation in three secondary schools Gyanodaya High School, Bobang; Shivalaya High School, Saikhola and Bhuji High School, Adhikarichaur, it is found that out of 50% Magar students 70% can not speak their Magar language. More number of students of *Bobang* speaks Magar Language than *Adhikarichaur*.

CHAPTER: V

rites and rituals of 'fifteen-clan' Magars

5. Rites and Rituals

In the cases of rites and rituals, there is not significant difference between Magar of *Rolpa* region and 'fifteen-clan' Magars. These similarities are also seen in Magars of *Gandaki* region. This section will analyze and compare rites and rituals of 'fifteen-clan' Magars with other Magars of the region.

'Fifteen-clan' Magar has following rites and rituals;

1. Naming,
2. Rice Feeding,
3. *Chhewar*,
4. Marriage, and
5. Final rites.

5.1. Naming (*Nwaran*)

This is first rites in 'fifteen-clan' Magar's life. It is organised on the third day of the birth of child. It is called '*Nwaran*' also. In this rite whole house is painted and nearest relatives are invited. Mother and newly born child take holy bath and cow urine is spread over the house to make it pure. Family member also take urine of cow at the occasion. Guardian of the family gives the name of newly born child after zodiac calculation. Some Magar still follow Hindu tradition and perform naming rites in Hindu way.

5.2. Rice Feeding (*Pasni*)

The initial rice feeding ceremony of *Pasni* involves the child to be bathed in *Sunpani* (water through which gold has been passed) followed by the feeding of the rice, milk and curds also. The child gets a new set of cloths and the parents commence this feeding first to be followed by the others who is present in the occasion. A girl is fed rice when she is five months old and a boy when 6 months.

5.3. Chhewar

This is a ritual of first hair shaving. The ceremony of *Chhewar* is done at the child's age of three. All Maternal kin and cross-cousins are invited along with other guests. The shaving of hair must be done by the '*Jwai*' (husband of sister or daughter). Only the *Tupi* or topknot is left on the child's head. In this occasion, a bag of wheat flower, Buffalo, Sheep, Goat and Book and Pen spread in ground and the child had to pick it up. It is believed that the object the child picks fixed the destiny of the child. For girls there is no such ceremony but they do receive '*Gunyo-Cholo*' (blouse and skirt), when they reach the age of seven.

5.4. Marriage

Magar people have basically two common kinds of marriages – arranged and elopements. There are cases of forcible (*latarne*) and '*Jari*' (a person marries someone else's wife) marriages also but these types of marriages are uncommon today. They do not marry within the same '*Thar*' (clan) and *Gotra*. For marriage purpose, tribal endogamy is essential.

The main marriage system of 'fifteen-clan' Magar is matrilineal cross-cousin marriage, which is preferred, and compulsory the Mama or maternal Uncle's daughter is the exclusive marriageable partner of his nephew or *Bhanja*. If the girl wishes to marry elsewhere then the father (*Mama*) must ask the *Bhanja* if he has any objection and if the permission is given then only can she marry elsewhere. Such social and traditional injunctions are strictly adhered even today.

Marriage takes place when boy and girl reached a mature age – generally above fifteen. In arranged marriage, the boy and their guardian go to the house of prospective bride and present gifts. If the bride and her parents accept the gifts (*Sahi*), the marriage is confirmed. The boy folk again go to girl's house to confirm the date of marriage. '*Jwai*' (husband of sister or daughter of boy's father) usually leads the marriage.

A group of people called '*Janti*', led by '*Jwai*' go to the bride house for marriage. Thus '*Janti*' go with music, *Roti* and *Raksi* (liquor) and meat (usually buffalo). When '*Janti*' reach in the courtyard of bride, the bride side perform '*Parsaune*' (welcome of *Janti* with *Dahi* and *Chamal*) of '*Janti*'. Thereafter, relatives from bride side give Tika and '*Dakshina*' (gift) to new couple. The whole night of marriage is observed with dance and feast.

In next day, people of the boy side handover *Dastur* or bride pice (*Roti*, *Raksi* and Meat) to girl side. Finally, the '*Janti*' leave the marriage home with bride and groom. After the third day of marriage, bride and

groom visit the house of bride's parents. This process is called '*Duragone*' or '*Dulahi Pharkaune*', which is the final ceremony of marriage.

5.5. Death Rite:

When a person of 'fifteen-clan' Magar dies then the corpse is wrapped in a white cloth and tied to a bamboo structure. Son of died person offers earth (*Matti*) to the corpse. If the son is not available the close relative (brother or their son) perform the rite.

The corpse is carried to '*Ghat*' (bank of river) by son and close relatives. Some people burn and some people burry the corpse. Son of person died shave their hair, even the topknots, and sit in '*Kiriya*' (final rite). Wife of son (daughter-in-law) observe the death pollution and rituals. Such pollution is also observed by immediate (thirteen day's brother in Hinduism) brothers.

Final or death rite last for three, seven or thirteen days. But there is no any articulated cause behind the custom. It is usually decided based on the circumstance. The polluted family and their relatives do not take meat, liquor, chilly and salt. '*Kiriyaputri*' must take food one time a day and it is also salt free. On the last day, family members and relatives of died people drink sprinkling of '*Gahut*' (cow urine) there after they allow eating salt, meat, chilly and oil. '*Jwai*' have a key role in this day; he gives *Gahut* every member of family and relatives invited in final rite. Before taking *Gahut* a *Pathi* (4 kilogram) rice, seven bread and one bottle liquor along with blood of sheep and chicken are spread in cross section of the road. This is called '*Jutho Phalne*'. A '*Doko*' (basket) is worshiped it placed in the day.

CHAPTER: VI

FESTIVALS OF 'FIFTEEN-CLAN' MAGARS

Magars of Dhorpatan region celebrates major festivals--*Dashain, Tihar, Saune Sankranti, Maghe Sankranti* and *Chaite Dashain*--with great enthusiasm. But the 'fifteen-clan' Magars celebrates these festivals with their own style along with Hindu influence. For instance, *Dashain* is celebrated for 15 days worshiping goddess Durga. Meanwhile, they also worship '*Priti*' (Holy ancestor) in eighth day (*Maha Astami*).

6. Festivals

'Fifteen-clan' Magar celebrates *Dashain, Tihar, Saune Sankranti, Maghe Sankranti*, and *Chaite Dashain*. These festivals are celebrated with great enthusiasm. People wear new cloths, enjoy good foods and visit relatives. In every festival, 'fifteen-clan' Magar worship their ancestor (*Pitri*).

There are mixed rituals of Hindu and Magar in *Dashain* and *Tihar*. People take *Tika* from their respected people. And in *Tihar*, male Magar takes *Tika* from their sister. These are the influence of Hinduism in Magar culture.

6.1. Dashain

Dashain is celebrated in Hindu style/way in 'fifteen-clan' Magars. This festival is celebrated in the period of fifteen days – from *Ghatasthapana* (new moon day) to *Purnima* (full moon day) of *Asoj*

(mid–September to mid–October). In the new moon day, *Jamara* is planted inside the house.

Major celebration starts from the seventh day, *Saptami*, Buffalos are worshiped in this day but *Sahuthoki* worship goat as they do not eat buffalo. '*Durga*' (goddess) and *pitri* (holy ancestor) are established inside house in eighth day of *Dashain*. Agriculture tools are also worshiped in this day. After *Durga Puja*, flower and delicious foods worship ancestor and it is called '*Pitri Thapne*'.

People take *tika* and *Jamara* from tenth to fifteenth days. Magar people have different opinion about the celebration of *Dashain*. They said that *Dashain* is the celebration of happiness as they have overcome for black day of rainy season. But it is actually influence of Hindunization.

6.2. Tihar

'Fifteen–clan' Magar basically worship cow as they were depending in animal husbandry. In the third day of *Tihar* (October–November) Magar people worship cow and tie scared rope (*Toran tangne*) over Main Street or River. '*Gobardhan puja* ' and '*Kukur Puja*' are also observed in the *Tihar*. '*Bhaitika*' is not fully observed among "fifteen-clan" Magars. Peoples celebrate as per their choice.

People who celebrate '*Bhaitika*' take *Tika* from sister and give gift to them. The gift is usually some money.

6.3. Saune Sankranti

This festival is celebrated in mid–July as beginning of harvesting season. It is also called '*Ubhauli*'. In this day people worship their ancestor through their own rituals. In morning, people establish their ancestor and worship with flower and delicious food (*Prasad*) whereas in the evening they spread bundle of fire (*Ranke*) around their courtyard. Therefore, it is known as '*Ranke Sankranti*'.

6.4. Maghe Sankranti

Maghe Sankranti falls in mid–February and celebrated as end of harvesting season. This festival is also celebrated as *Saune Sankranti* worshipping ancestor. People eat Yam (*Tarul*– a kind of earthnut) in the festival along with meat and liquor. It is also celebrated as '*Udhauli*' (end of harvesting season). In this festival gift (*Dakshina*) also giving to sister and daughter.

6.5. Chaite Dashain

'Fifteen–clan' Magar celebrate this festival worshipping goddess '*Durga*' the source of power–through sacrificing Buffalo, Goat, Sheep, Chicken, Fish and Pumpkin (*Panchabali*) to gain power.

6.6. Kulpuja/ Bisaunapuja

Kulpuja/Bisaunapuja is a major *Puja* (worship) of 'fifteen–clan' Magar. In this *Puja* people make a rest place in the name of their ancestor. Immediate relatives of the family are invited in the ceremony. Small rooms (holes) are made for each ancestor in the rest place. This

Puja is performed in every one and half year. Usually, this *puja* is done in *Mangsir* or *Baishakh Purnima* (full moon day of *Mangsir* and *Baishakh*). Among 'fifteen –clan' Magar some clans *Subja*, *Sahuthoki*, *Umara*, *Astamu*, and *Dhaitani* celebrate *Bisauna Puja* and some clans *Nimmar*, *Kangel*, *Bagale* and *Budhathoki* only perform *Kul Puja* but *Gharti* people celebrate both.

CHAPTER: VII
SANSKRITIZATION AND DESANSKRITIZATION IN
'FIFTEEN-CLAN' MAGARS

7. Cross-cultural Influence

Mixed influences of Hinduism are seen among 'fifteen-clan' Magar. According to the elder people of society influences of Hinduism had in height in *Panchayati* period, because of 'one state one culture' policy of the *Panchayat* system. The influence of Hinduism has been gradually decreasing these days. The trend has observed after 1990.

Fig 5. Cross-Cultural Influence among 'Fifteen-Clan' Magars

Among 'fifteen-clan' Magars with higher social status like *Sahuthoki*, *Nimmar* and *Umara* have more influence of Hindu *Brahmin* and *Chhetri*. These groups preside *Brahmin* priest and follow their tradition in *Kiriya* (final rite) *Satyanarayan Puja*, *Graha Jap* (*Puja* of nine celestial bodies) and *Baitarni*. Clan groups like *Kangel*, *Dhaitani*, *Harula*, *Mainthoki*, *Subja* and *Astamu* have little external influences. They take the service of '*Jwai*' (sister and daughter in law).

| Rites | Features of 'fifteen-clan' Magar | Influence from Hindu |
|---------------------------------------|---|---|
| Naming (<i>Nwaran</i>) | Pollution observed for three days Family and immediate relatives do not perform any rites and rituals or festivals pollution is removed in third day after sprinkling <i>Ganhut</i> (cow urine) <i>Jwai</i> (sister-in-law or daughter-in-law) preside the ceremony | <i>Brahmin</i> priest used for naming and making china (a paper which mentioned destiny) of newborn child Sprinkling <i>Ganhut</i> (cow urine) |
| Rice Feeding (<i>Bhat Khwai</i>) | Rice is first time fed to child for girl 5 month from birth and 6 month form birth for boy virgin girls having same group (a religious division) fed rice first immediate relatives are invited to feed rice and they give gifts (cloths and ornaments) to child | |

| | | |
|--|--|---|
| <i>Chhewar</i> | Usually organized in 3, 5, 7 or 9 years of boy but the year must be odd. Head shaved except <i>Tupi</i> (head knot) and new <i>Topi</i> (a Nepali cap) is presented <i>Jwai</i> (sister-in-law or daughter-in-law) preside the ceremony | |
| Marriage (<i>Bibah</i>) | Matrilateral cross cousin marriage (maternal uncle's daughter with nephew or <i>Bhanja</i>) Same clan marriage gradually increasing (eg. <i>Subja</i> daughter with <i>Masal</i> son and reciprocal) | |
| Final Rite (<i>Mirtu Sanskar</i>) | Final rites last for 1,3,4 or 13 days rites led by elder son in the death of father and younger son in mother <i>Jwai</i> (sister-in-law or daughter-in-law) preside the ceremony | Cow and gifts (<i>Dan-dakshina</i>) are donated to priest |

CHAPTER: VIII

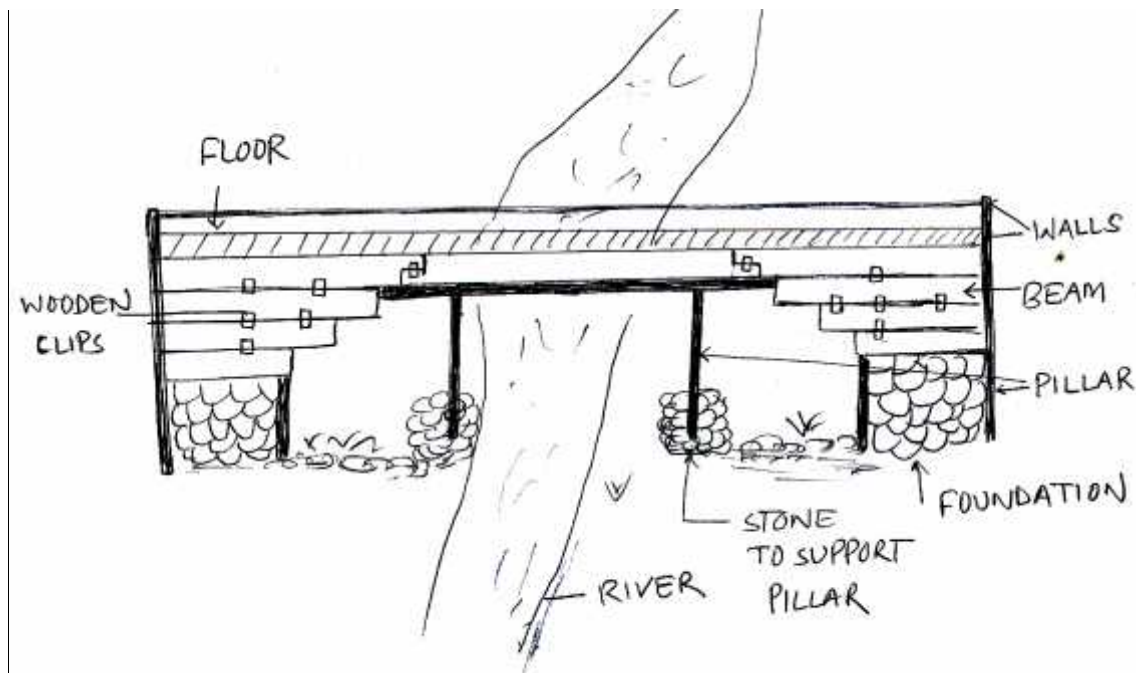
CO-OPERATION AMONG OF 'FIFTEEN-CLAN' MAGARS

8. Bridge Making over *Uttarganga* River

Bridge over *Uttarganga* is a symbol of unity of "fifteen-clan" Magars. It is a major river of Dhorpatan region, which bisect Dhorpatan valley in to east and south parts. Magars, the animal keeper, used to cross *Uttarganga* River to graze their cattles for six months between April-October. High land plains *Buki* located in Dhorpatan is the major grazing land for their cattles from time immorable. Likewise, Peoples of this area also have to travel nearby districts like Rukum and Rolpa with their cattles crossing the river. Now the region is growing as a popular tourist route– trekking route for Rukum, Rolpa and Dolpa.

Therefore, the bridge over *Uttarganga* has a stragetie importance to Magars living in Dhorpatan region. Thus Magars of the area construct and maintain the bridge time to time with division of works among fifteen clans. Traditionally, the bridge over *Uttarganga* is known as '*Kothesanghu*' (wooden bridge) and located at place called *Navi*. The sketch below discribe parts of traditional bridge-- *Kothesangu*.

Sketch of Traditional Bridge



Fifteen-clan Magars build the bridge using local resources mainly woods of nearby forest. Pinewood of '*Dhor Salla*' (a highland pine tree) is used to make bridge because of its long life and low affects of weather. Twelve beams (six beams in each side of the rivers) were erected to support the bridge in with foundation of stone. Layer if beams were placed both side of the bridge to support bridge and two long beams beams were placed to support floor. Two sidewalls were building for the safety of the padestrian (people and cattles) while crossing the river over the bridge.

8.1 Work Division among Fifteen-clan

Building of traditional *Kothesanghu* (Wooden Bridge) had played a co-operative role among "fifteen-clan" Magars of the area and also the other communities living in the area. According to Tam Bahadur Pun³ (64) who participated in '*Kothesanghu*' construction at the age of 13, the bridge construction was held on Bhadra–Asoj (August–September) with active participation of Magars and Kami (Blacksmiths) residing on the area. The bridge was constructed from the voluntary help, (without getting money for their labour) but every house had to participate in the process or pay fine (*Khara*), which indicates participation in the bridge making process, is mandatory to Magars of the area.

The following song elaborates the system.

Dhor Chaurko Kothesanghu
Malai lagyo Khara.
Sabai Gaye Sangai Jhara
Malai Lagyo Bhara.

English translation

Wooden bridge of Dhor
I am fined
All gone for the work
I also feel responsible.

Work division of the *Kothesanghu* is based on the history of Magar clans. According to Pun, the work division was based on the arrival of the fifteen-clans in the area. Astamu, the first clan entered into the area, has responsibility to build floor of the bridge.

³ Interview with Tam Bahadur Pun 5 March, 2010.

Likewise, Sahuthoki and Umara work in right and left walls of the bridge respectively. Six clans– *Gharti*, *Manparel*, *Simale*, *Bagale*, *Nimmar* and *Dhaitani*– had work on construction pillars. The clans are further divided into two groups, builders of left and right pillars. *Gharti*, *Simale* and *Nimmar* had to build pillar of right side whereas *Manparel*, *Bagale* and *Dhaitani* had to build left.

Work division among "fifteen-clan" Magars are as follows:

| | |
|---------------------------|---------------------|
| <i>Subja:</i> | right beam |
| <i>Umara:</i> | left wall |
| <i>Gharti:</i> | right pillar |
| <i>Astamu:</i> | floor |
| <i>Harula:</i> | left beam |
| <i>Sahuthoki:</i> | right wall |
| <i>Mainthoki:</i> | right beam |
| <i>Manparel:</i> | left pillar |
| <i>Simale:</i> | <i>right</i> pillar |
| <i>Bagale:</i> | left pillar |
| <i>Kangel:</i> | left beam |
| <i>Nimmar:</i> | right pillar |
| <i>Argeja:</i> | right beam |
| <i>Dhaitani:</i> | left pillar |
| <i>Budhathoki:</i> | left beam |

Six clans had to responsible for construction of beams. *Subja*, *Mainthoki* and *Argeja* were responsible for right beams and *Harula*, *Kangel* and *Budhathiki* had to build left beams respectively. According to

Pun, the beams were placed in three parts--left and right sides of the bridge on the support of pillars and on middle to support floor.

Trail Bridge Over *Uttarganga* River (Replacement of Traditional Bridge)



Collective works and division of labours show that there were strong bonds among "fifteen-clan" Magars. These Magars work collectively in social works like road, school and health centre construction. They have culture of helping poor family to establish in society or perform their traditional duties and responsibilities. For instant, if some unable to perform the duty of final rite of his/her family clan members support him/her through giving money, food grains and other things of necessity. If some family has not active member to cultivate grains other member of the clan support in cultivation.

8.2 Ancient Trade Route to Tourism Destination

Dhorpatan was located in major trade between Bhot (*Tibet*) and mid western Nepal in mediabile Nepal. The trade took place through two routes *Butwal– Tansen–Burtibang–Dhorpatan–Dolpa–Bhot* and *Dang (Koilabas) –Pyuthan–Rolpa–Rukum–Dhorpatan–Bhot*. Traders of the region used to cross Marimpass or Sanglapass to reach Bhot for wool, cloth and salt in April–May and September to October. The traders used to sell oil and grains of southern plain of Nepal–Terai in hills and even in Bhot.

Moreover, Himali people (well known as '*Bhote*') use the route two times in a year. They used to go low-land (Hills of Mahabharat) or *Terai* with their cattle and herbs in October and return in their land in March–April with food and grain. A large herd of sheep and Chyangra (hill goat) crossing Dhorpatan are seen in that time and the trend is gradually decreasing.

Tourists from all over the world are using the route to see beauty of Dhorpatan and Dolpa. The route joins *Myagdi–Baglung–Rukum–Dolpa* district and envisioned people with tradition of Buddhism and Shamanism pervailing in Upper *Dolpa*. Dhorpatan, the only one hunting reserve in Nepal, is major attraction of this trade turn tourist route.

CHAPTER: IX

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATION

9.1 Summary

The research is about inter-clan relationship and external influence among 'fifteen-clan' Magars of *Dhorpatan* region. It has deal with the objectives of '*finding out inter-clan relationship and cross-cultural influences*' and it is also *an ethnographic baseline of 'fifteen-clan' Magars*' residing in *Bobang* and *Adhikarichaur* village development committee (VDCs). For this purpose, demographic and ethnographic studies have carried out in the field; and focused group discussions (FGDs) and key informant interviews were done.

There are many literatures about the Magars, which describe Magar culture, origin and their society. But, there is absolute lack of such literature that based on scientific study of Magars till the date. This study is a part of Magar study centered in inter-clan relationship and external influences. This study could not be regarded as a detailed study of Magar because of its limitations but it will help to elaborate inter-clan relationship and external influences Magar society and culture. It will be also useful as a guide to study inter-clan relationship in other indigenous groups like *Gurung*, *Thakali*, *Rai* and *Limbu*.

The study found that there is a close bond among 'fifteen-clan' Magars. Work division in bridge (*Kothesanghu*) building over *Uttarganga* River was a best example of their cooperation in village. Apart from that, work divisions in bridge building closely associated with

their professional capacities. Commune farming (farming in collective approach which differ to Marxist ideological Commune) system (though it was exist in small scale) of Magars also demonstrates their coexistence with each other. Rites and rituals are other factors, which have used describe their coexistence with each other.

However, 'fifteen-clan' Magars have considerable external influences from high castes Hindus. Celebration of *Dashain* and *Tihar* are purely a Hindu influence. Such influences have also seen in rites and rituals. For example, Magars people have been using *Brahmin* priest in *Satyanarayan puja*, final rite and other *Pujas*. Observing final rites for 13 days is an influence of Hinduism but it is gradually decreasing these days. After 1990s, Magar people have started to avoid Hindu festivals and rituals to preserve their original culture.

9.2 Recommendation

This study is first study of inter-clan relation among Magars and concentrated on 'fifteen-clan' Magars of *Bobang* and *Adhikarichaur* Village Development Committee of *Baglung* district. It is a small study in term of time and resource therefore further study is necessary to identify relation bond among Magars and external influences. The following points of recommendation should be considered:

-) A detail ethnographic study of Magar should be done to find out their relation within same clan and other clan groups residing *Barha* and *Athar Magarat*.
-) External influences should be identified and listed out to preserve Magar culture.
-) A comprehensive study on Magars' culture and language is needed to better understand Magars.

Glossary

| | |
|---------------------------|--|
| <i>Ale</i> | A clan name among seven major clan of Magars |
| <i>Banpuja</i> | Worship of Forest |
| <i>Budha</i> | A clan name among seven major clan of Magars |
| <i>Bhat khuwai</i> | First rice feeding rituals of child |
| <i>Bhumi Puja</i> | Worship of Land |
| <i>Chhetri</i> | Member of the second-ranking warrior caste |
| <i>Chhewar</i> | First hair cutting ritual of male child |
| <i>Chhantyal</i> | Indigenous group found in hills of western Nepal. |
| <i>Dan-dakshina</i> | Religious gift made to a priest |
| <i>Dashain</i> | A major festival held in the light fortnight of the month of Asauj (September- October) in honor of the goddess of Durga |
| <i>Dalit</i> | Formerly untouchable caste |
| <i>Dhut</i> | Magar dialect of Gandaki region |
| <i>Di</i> | Water in Magar dhut dialect |
| <i>Ganhut</i> | Cow's urine, which has ritually purifying powers |
| <i>Gharti</i> | A clan name among seven major clan of Magars |
| <i>Ghat</i> | Bank of river |
| <i>Jamara</i> | Yellow barley sprouts planted on the first day of Dashain and distributed to relatives on the 10th day when tika is given. |
| <i>Janai</i> | Sacred thread worn by the twice born castes |
| <i>Jwai</i> | Sister-in-law or daughter-in-law |
| <i>Kaike</i> | A name of the Language of Magars of Sahatarakot Dolpa district |
| <i>Kaura</i> | Magar's cultural dance performing in Gandaki region |
| <i>Kham/Pang</i> | Magar language of Rapti and Dhaulagiri region |
| <i>Kothesangu</i> | Name of wooden bridge with both sidewalls in Dhorpatan Valley |
| <i>Kulpuja</i> | Ancestor's worship |
| <i>Kutumba</i> | A term usually referring to the husbands of lineage daughters and sisters |
| <i>Licchavi</i> | Tribal confederation of the Buddha's time and the title of the dynasty ruling the Kathmandu Valley in the early centuries |
| <i>Mama</i> | Mother's brother |
| <i>Magarat</i> | Ancestor domain land of Magar |
| <i>Magarati sanskriti</i> | Culture of Magar Peoples |

| | |
|------------------------|--|
| <i>Newar</i> | Indigenous group originally living in Kathmandu valley |
| <i>Pandhrathare</i> | Collective name of Magars living in Adhikarichaur and Bobang VDCs of Baglung district |
| <i>Puja</i> | An act of worship |
| <i>Pun</i> | A clan name among seven major clan of Magars |
| <i>Pitri</i> | Ancestors |
| <i>ri</i> | Water in Magar kham/pang dialect |
| <i>Sanskritisation</i> | Changes in diet, marriage, ritual practices etc. aimed at bringing a lower-status group more into line with high caste Hindus. |
| <i>Sarangya</i> | Magar cultural dance perform in Rolpa. |
| <i>Satyanarayan</i> | A ceremony conducted by a Brahman for the worship of Vishnu |
| <i>Sorathi</i> | Magar cultural dance |
| <i>Sudra</i> | The last-ranking Varna in the classical Hindu caste hierarchy |
| <i>Talukdar</i> | Local revenue-collector |
| <i>Tamang</i> | Indigenous group found principally in the hills around the Kathmandu valley also called Tamsaling |
| <i>Thakali</i> | Indigenous group originally living in Thak khola, Mustang |
| <i>Thar</i> | generally refers to clan, but occasionally to any descent group. |
| <i>Tharu</i> | Indigenous group originally living in Terai region |
| <i>Thapa</i> | A clan name among seven major clan of Magars |
| <i>Tibeto-Barman</i> | Language family including most of the indigenous languages of Nepalese hills excluding Nepali |
| <i>Tihar</i> | A five-day festival falling during the dark half of the month Kartik (October-November) during which the crow, the dog, the cow, the ox and finally brothers are worshiped on successive days. |
| <i>Tika</i> | Ritual mark on forehead |
| <i>Topi</i> | Nepali cap |
| <i>Tupi</i> | Head knot |
| <i>Umara</i> | Chief, headman |
| <i>Vaishya</i> | The third middle-ranking varna in the classical Hindu caste hierarchy |
| <i>Varna</i> | The four major division in the classical caste system of Hinduism |

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Annex - 1

Indigenous Nationalities of Nepal

MOUNTAIN

- | | | |
|-----------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Barha Gaunle | 7. Lhomi (Shingsawa) | 13. Thakali |
| 2. Bhutia | 8. Lhopa | 14. Thudam |
| 3. Byansi | 9. Marphali Thakali | 15. Tingaunle Thakali |
| 4. Chhairrotan | 10. Mugali | 16. Topkegola |
| 5. Dolpo | 11. Siyar | 17. Sherpa |
| 6. Larke | 12. Tangbe | 18. Wallung |

HILL

- | | | |
|------------------|---------------|-------------|
| 1. Bankaria | 9. Hayu | 17. Newar |
| 2. Baramo | 10. Hyolmo | 18. Pahari |
| 3. Bhujel/Gharti | 11. Jirel | 19. Rai |
| 4. Chepang | 12. Kushbadia | 20. Sunuwar |
| 5. Chhantyal | 13. Kusunda | 21. Surel |
| 6. Dura | 14. Lepcha | 22. Tamang |
| 7. Fri | 15. Limbu | 23. Thami |
| 8. Gurung | 16. Magar | 24. Yakkha |

INNER TARAI

- | | | |
|------------|----------|----------|
| 1. Bote | 4. Kumal | 7. Raute |
| 2. Danuwar | 5. Majhi | |
| 3. Darai | 6. Raji | |

TERAI

- | | | |
|-----------|---------------------|------------------|
| 1. Dhanuk | 4. Jhangad | 8. Satar/Santhal |
| 2. Dhimal | 5. Kisan | 9. Tajpuria |
| 3. Gangai | 6. Meche | 10. Tharu |
| | 7. Rajbanshi (Koch) | |

Source: Nepal Rajpatra (Nepal Gazette), February 7, 2002.NFDIN act.

Annex-2

Guideline for Key-informant Interview

1. Key-informants are selected as per their role/achievements in Magar's art, culture and literature.
2. Interview should base on following topics:
 -) Magar: an aboriginal/indigenous
 -) Evolution/history of Magars
 -) Major clan division (clan and sub-clan)
 -) What the cause of language differences in *Barah Panthi* and *Athar Panthi* (though they have common tradition of Shamanism and *Kutumba*)
 -) Kay features of Magars' livelihood (tracing back to history of Magar principalities period)
 -) Magars' rites and rituals (key features) and role of group of people or individual.
 -) Inter-clan relationship/coexistence (cooperation, conflict and influence)
3. Additional related information (IF ANY)
4. Suggestion/comments in research proposal (IF ANY)

Annex- 3

Guideline for Focus Group Discussion (FGD)

1. FGD\should is conducted in field: courtyard of the target group of people (8-10 people in each FGD).
2. FDGs mainly focus on cultural and livelihood of Magars; and cross-cultural influences also. FGD should base on following points:
 -) Ancestor of Magars (including their birth places, clan name⁴ etc.)
 -) Fundamentals of division of clan and sub-clan
 -) Rituals, feast and festivals (description and major changes of recent history)
 -) Cooperation, conflict and influence between clans and sub-clans as well as other castes (, Chhetri, Dalit etc.)
3. Additional but related information (IF ANY, will be noted)

⁴ Ancestor name equivalent to Hindu's *Gotra*

Annex- 5

MAP OF BOBANG VDC

Annex-6
MAP OF ADHIKARICHAUR VDC

Annex 4

MAP OF BAGLUNG DISTRICT

Annex - 7

**Demography of 'Fifteen Clan' Magars of
Bobang and Adhikarichaur VDC**

| SN | Clan Name | Population | | | Settlement |
|----|------------|------------|------|-------|--|
| | | Female | Male | Total | |
| 01 | Subja | 102 | 106 | 208 | Adhikarichaur-3, Subjagaun/Bobang-9,Sanokugu |
| 02 | Nimmar | 36 | 50 | 86 | Adhikarichaur-9, Pyangkhola |
| 03 | Gharti | 82 | 79 | 161 | Adhikarichaur-1, Ghartithok/Bobang-7, Marbang |
| 04 | Sahuthoki | 55 | 52 | 107 | Adhikarichaur-8, Sahuthok |
| 05 | Umara | 47 | 55 | 102 | Adhikarichaur-7, Dogadi, -9, Pyangkhola, Bobang-1 |
| 06 | Budhathoki | 123 | 133 | 256 | Bobang-1, Dogadi/8,9 Juri |
| 07 | Astamu | 48 | 40 | 88 | Bobang-1, Gadlung |
| 08 | Masal | 213 | 202 | 415 | Bobang-5, 1,2,7,8,9 Masalgaun |
| 09 | Dhaitani | 73 | 94 | 167 | Bobang-5, 6,8, Dhaitanigaun |
| 10 | Kangel | 142 | 130 | 172 | Bobang-7,8,9 Masuri/ Adhikarichaur-1,3 |
| 11 | Simale# | 37 | 33 | 70 | Bobang-7, Masuri Adhikarichaur-8, Pakhapani |
| 12 | Manparel | 21 | 19 | 40 | Bobang-8, 9 Mamla |
| 13 | Harula | 15 | 18 | 33 | Bobang-8, Mamla |
| 14 | Mainthoki | 95 | 88 | 183 | Bobang-8, Mainthok |
| 15 | Bagale | 52 | 53 | 105 | Bobang-8, Juri |
| 16 | Argeja* | 210 | 156 | 366 | Khunga-7, 8,9 Lugurban |
| | Total | 1141 | 1152 | 2293 | |

Source: House Hold Survey (15-28 February, 2010)

* Argeja is one of the members of "fifteen-clan" family but they are not residing in the study area. Therefore they are not included in total population.

Local people have been expressing doubt as a member of "fifteen-clan". It is in scrutinizing process.

Demography of 'Fifteen Clan' Magars of Bobang VDC

| SN | Clan Name | Population | | | Settlement |
|----|------------|------------|------|-------|----------------------------------|
| | | Female | Male | Total | |
| 01 | Subja | 33 | 25 | 58 | Bobang-9, Sanokugu |
| 02 | Gharti | 29 | 21 | 50 | Bobang-7, Marbang |
| 03 | Umara | 5 | 3 | 8 | Bobang-1 |
| 04 | Budhathoki | 123 | 133 | 256 | Bobang-1, Dogadi/8,9 Juri |
| 05 | Astamu | 48 | 40 | 88 | Bobang-1, Gadlung |
| 06 | Masal | 213 | 202 | 415 | Bobang-5, 1,2,7,8,9 Masalgaun |
| 07 | Dhaitani | 73 | 94 | 167 | Bobang-5, 6,8, Dhaitanigaun |
| 08 | Kangel | 118 | 115 | 233 | Bobang-7, 8,9 Masuri |
| 09 | Simale | 25 | 22 | 47 | Bobang-7, Masuri |
| 10 | Manparel | 21 | 19 | 40 | Bobang-8, 9 Mamla |
| 11 | Harula | 15 | 18 | 33 | Bobang-8, Mamla |
| 12 | Mainthoki | 95 | 88 | 183 | Bobang-8, Mainthok |
| 13 | Bagale | 52 | 53 | 105 | Bobang-8, Juri |
| | Total | 850 | 833 | 1683 | |

Demography of 'Fifteen Clan' Magars of Adhikarichaur VDC

| SN | Clan Name | Population | | | Settlement |
|----|-----------|------------|------|-------|---|
| | | Female | Male | Total | |
| 01 | Subja | 69 | 81 | 150 | Adhikarichaur-3, Subjagaun |
| 02 | Nimmar | 36 | 50 | 86 | Adhikarichaur-9, Pyangkhola |
| 03 | Gharti | 53 | 58 | 111 | Adhikarichaur-1, Ghartithok |
| 04 | Sahuthoki | 55 | 52 | 107 | Adhikarichaur-8, Sahuthok |
| 05 | Umara | 42 | 52 | 94 | Adhikarichaur-7, Dogadi, - 9, Pyangkhola |
| 06 | Kangel | 24 | 15 | 39 | Adhikarichaur-1, 3 |
| 07 | Simale | 12 | 11 | 23 | Adhikarichaur-8, Pakhapani |
| | Total | 291 | 319 | 610 | |

Annex-8

Focus Group Discussion (FGD) Clan Relationship among Magars

VDC: Adhikarichaur

Location: Gharti Thok - 1

Date: Feb 15, 2010

Time: 1 PM

| SN | Name | Address |
|----|------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1 | Deviram Gharti Magar | Adhikarichaur-1, Ghartithok |
| 2 | Shovalal Gharti Magar | Adhikarichaur1, Ghartithok |
| 3 | Dhan Psd. Gharti Magar | Adhikarichaur-1, Ghartithok |
| 4 | Lil Bdr. Gharti Magar | Adhikarichaur-1, Ghartithok |
| 5 | Sabitri Gharti Magar | Adhikarichaur-1, Ghartithok |
| 6 | Rem Bdr. Gharti Magar | Adhikarichaur-1, Ghartithok |
| 7 | Devimaya Gharti Magar | Adhikarichaur-1, Ghartithok |
| 8 | Tak Bdr. Argeja | Khunga 7, Lugurban |

VDC: Adhikarichaur

Location: Pyangkhola - 9

Date: Feb 16, 2010

Time: 11:00 AM

| SN | Name | Address |
|----|--------------|-----------------------------|
| 1 | Beg Bdr. Pun | Adhikarichaur-9, Pyangkhola |
| 2 | Laxman Pun | " |
| 3 | Tek Bdr. Pun | " |
| 4 | Rok Bdr. Pun | " |
| 5 | Dilmaya Pun | " |
| 6 | Rekha Pun | " |
| 7 | Uttam Pun | " |
| 8 | Om Bdr. Pun | " |

**Focus Group Discussion (FGD)
Clan Relationship among Magars**

VDC: Adhikarichaur

Location: Sahuthok - 3

Date: Feb 18, 2010

Time: 3:00 PM

| SN | Name | Address |
|----|-----------------|----------------------------|
| 1 | Padam Bdr. Pun | Adhikarichaur-8, Sahuthok |
| 2 | Lil Bdr. Pun | " |
| 3 | Bal Bdr. Pun | " |
| 4 | Tam Bdr. Pun | " |
| 5 | Himlal Pun | " |
| 6 | Sashi Pun | " |
| 7 | Karmati Pun | " |
| 8 | Lalmaya Pun | " |
| 9 | Durga Bdr. Pun | Adhikarichaur-8, Pakhapani |
| 10 | Gumansingh Pun | " |
| 11 | Bhim Kumari Pun | " |

VDC: Adhikarichaur

Location: Subjagaun - 3

Date: Feb 19, 2010

Time: 11 AM

| SN | Name | Address |
|----|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1 | Dal Bdr. Gharti Magar | Adhikarichaur-3, Subjagaun |
| 2 | Jit Bdr. Gharti Magar | " |
| 3 | Mahanta Gharti Magar | " |
| 4 | Gita Gharti Magar | " |
| 5 | Chakra Bdr. Gharti Magar | " |
| 6 | Om Prakash Gharti Magar | " |
| 7 | Devisara Gharti Magar | " |
| 8 | Harka Bdr. Gharti Magar | " |
| 9 | Tek Bdr Gharti Magar | " |
| 10 | Nar Bdr. Gharti Magar | " |
| 11 | Khadka Bdr. Gharti Magar | " |
| 12 | Prithima Gharti Magar | " |
| 13 | Kersingh Gharti Magar | " |

**Focus Group Discussion (FGD)
Clan Relationship among Magars**

VDC: Adhikarichaur

Location: Dogadi - 7

Date: Feb 20, 2010

Time: 1:00 PM

| SN | Name | Address |
|----|-----------------|-----------------------------|
| 1 | Sivadhoj Pun | Adhikarichaur-7, Dogadi |
| 2 | Mohanlal Pun | Bobang |
| 3 | Tek Bdr. Pun | Adhikarichaur -7, Dogadi |
| 4 | Bhulmaya Pun | " |
| 5 | Sher Bdr. Pun | " |
| 6 | Maya Pun | " |
| 7 | Ram Bdr. Pun | " |
| 8 | Hari Bdr. Budha | Bobang - 1 Dogadi/Budhathok |
| 9 | Somala Budha | " |
| 10 | Indraman Budha | " |
| 11 | Sita Budha | " |

VDC: Bobang

Location: Serabang - 5

Date: Feb 22, 2010

Time: 12 PM

| SN | Name | Address |
|----|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1 | Ganga Bdr. Gharti Magar | Bobang - 5, Serabang |
| 2 | Chuna Gharti Magar | Bobang - 6, Dhaitanigaun |
| 3 | Tulsara Gharti Magar | " |
| 4 | Buddhiman Gharti Magar | " |
| 5 | Sher Bdr. Gharti Magar | Bobang - 5, Masalgaun |
| 6 | Tekdhoj Gharti Magar | " |
| 7 | Surjan Gharti Magar | " |
| 8 | Chandra Gharti Magar | " |

**Focus Group Discussion (FGD)
Clan Relationship among Magars**

VDC: Bobang
Date: Feb 23, 2010

Location: Juri - 9
Time: 10 AM

| SN | Name | Address |
|----|----------------------|---------------------|
| 1 | Lal Bdr. Budha | Bobang -9, Juri |
| 2 | Debu Budha Magar | " |
| 3 | Lil Bdr. Budha Magar | " |
| 4 | Gyanu Budha Magar | " |
| 5 | Birmala Budha Magar | " |
| 6 | Sahabir Budha Magar | " |
| 7 | Gyanu Budha Magar | " |
| 8 | Bhagbir Gharti Magar | Bobang - 9, Suprang |
| 9 | Bhimu Bhudha Magar | Bobang - 9, Juri |

VDC: Bobang
Date: Feb 24, 2010

Location: Dunapanera - 8
Time: 8: 00 AM

| SN | Name | Address |
|----|----------------------------|-------------------|
| 1 | Keshav Pun Magar | Bobang - 8 , Kugu |
| 2 | Jaya prasad Pun Magar | " |
| 3 | Kriparam Pun Magar | " |
| 4 | Sushila Pun Magar | " |
| 5 | Shyam Bdr. Gharti Magar | " |
| 6 | Nirman Gharti Magar | " |
| 7 | Narmati Gharti Magar | " |
| 8 | Jit Bdr. Gharti Magar | " |
| 9 | Harisara Gharti Magar | " |

**Focus Group Discussion (FGD)
Clan Relationship among Magars**

VDC: Bobang
Date: Feb 26, 2010

Location: Sukurdung - 8
Time: 8 AM

| SN | Name | Address |
|----|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 | Devendra Gharti Magar | Bobang - 8, Sukurdung |
| 2 | Sherman Gharti Magar | " |
| 3 | Bir Budha Magar | Bobang - 8 Mamla |
| 4 | Matilal Pun Magar | " |
| 5 | Surjalal Gharti Magar | " |
| 6 | Lal Bdr. Pun | " |
| 7 | Devikala Gharti Magar | " |

VDC: Bobang
Date: Feb 28, 2010

Location: Masuri - 7
Time: 12 PM

| SN | Name | Address |
|----|-------------------------|-------------------|
| 1 | Hari Gharti Magar | Bobang -7, Masuri |
| 2 | Purna Bdr. Gharti Magar | " |
| 3 | Chandramaya | " |
| 4 | Bal Bdr. Gharti Magar | " |
| 5 | Sangrate Pun Magar | " |
| 6 | Kashiram Pun Magar | " |
| 7 | Tulasi Pun Magar | " |