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Chapter: One

INTRODUCTION

1. Introduction

Nepal is a landlocked country lies between the People's Republic of China in north and the Republic of India in south, east and west. Nepal is a "small" country with area of 1,47,181 square kilometer but it has wide diversities in geography (Himalayas, hills and the *terai*) and culture. 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 geography. 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. *bahun-chhetri*, the dominant caste group belongs to Caucasoid racial group. The majority of population belongs to Mongoloid and Caucasoid races.

According to Hindu social hieratical system, there are four *varnas*: (1) *brahmin*, (2) *kshyatriya*, (3) *vaishya*, and (4) *sudra (dalits)*. These four *varnas* are found in the *terai* (southern plain) but in the Hills there are Brahmin, *chhetri* and *dalits*, but not the *vaisyas*. Social hierarchy, and purity and pollution of castes and foods characterize *varna* and caste systems. Among the Hindu castes, *chhetri* is the first and the *bahun* is the second most numerous in Nepal. The

chhetri comprise 15.8 per cent and the *bahun* 12.7 per cent of the total population.

Nepal has 59 indigenous nationalities. It is distributed as mountain (18), hill (24), Inner-*tarai* (7) and *tarai* (10). Among the top ten most populated ethnic groups, Magar is the third, *tharu* the fourth, *tamang* the fifth, *newar* the sixth and *rai* the tenth. There have not been complete ethnographic studies of Nepalese indigenous nationalities yet; therefore information about their history, language, religion and culture is too limited.

1.1 Background of Study

Magar is one of the ethnic group of Nepal residing in the periphery of Kaligandaki and Rapti rivers. At present Magars recon highly as 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 in the 'indigenous ethnic category' on the basis of population and third pace on the total population ladder of the country: Hill *brahmin* (12.74%), *chhetri* (15.8%) and Magar (7.14%).

So far, Magars occupied seventh position in the category of language (3.39%). Magar speak two types of dialects– Bhot-Burmese (prevails in *gandaki* region) and Tibetan in *athar magarant*. 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 instincts: 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 caste has been marginalized in social, economic and political contexts. Magars are also at the lowest rung on the human development index ladder, 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 (Human development report—2004, UNDP).

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) (Baral, 2050BS, Buda Magar, 1992).

1.2 Statement of Problem

The Magars of study area – *bobang* and *adhikarichaur* VDCs – of *baglung* district have divided into "fifteen-clan" (*pandhra thare*). They have centuries-long inter-clan relationship/dependency mechanism. This mechanism operates with unique 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 nobody knows how the Magars of study area live in.

Therefore the study has designed to scrutinize 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*, *chhantel*, *dalit*, *thakali* and *nauthare* of the region.

Magars stands at number three on the population ladder of the country. This ethnic group is found throughout Nepal today. But their history goes back

to two prominent regions *gandaki* and *rapti*, which are known as *barah magarant* and *athara magarant*, respectively. This distribution was prominent before the unification of Nepal and Gorkha's occupation of Magar principalities.

The study will be conducted in a geographically remote area, screened from the mainstream socio-economic and political movements of Nepal. Till hence, only a few studies have been done on the Magars of *rapti* region. Till today, nobody has done inter-clan studies of the "fifteen-clan" Magars, like how they manage their daily life and preserve traditional culture in a modern context.

The "fifteen-clan" Magars reside in the bank of *bhuji* River which bisects *bobang* and *adhikarichaur* VDCs. The unique culture of the Magar clans 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. In some clans, there are apparent aspects of the cross-cultural influences of other castes e.g. *brahmin*, *chhetry*, *chhantel*, *dalit*, *thakali* and *nauthar*.

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 a study of their inter-clan relationships nobody knows how the Magars of the remote Dhorpatan area live. There is also a lack of an analysis of the impact of external influence on their indigenous culture. This study of inter clan and cross-culture relations could be useful in the preservation of the unique culture of the "fifteen-clan" Magar and help develop a baseline for their empowerment as well as development and progress-related activities.

1.3 Objectives of the Study:

The research has focused on 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*. Therefore the goal of the study is to find inter-clan relationships and assess the impact of external influences on the Magar community.

- To find out inter-clan relationship and cross-cultural influences in 'fifteen-clan' Magars.
- To develop an ethnographic baseline of 'fifteen-clan' Magars residing in *bobang* and *adhikarichaur* village development committee (VDCs).

1.4 Significance of Study

This study will have a significance place in ethnic studies because it aims to focus on the highly marginalized Magars of *baglung* district's northwest. 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 in community works e.g. bridge construction. 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 their communities residing in the same area and this cross-cultural line is expanding day-by-day. It is the reality of ethnic groups of Nepal that they are facing the impact of external influence on their own inter-clan relationship and influence of those inter-clan relationships.

In this context, the study will explore how communities cope with inter-clan dependence; how relationships perform 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 e.g. *muslims*. Meanwhile, this study aims to help, advise and analyze suitable programs for the empowerment and development of Magars.

1.5 Organization of Thesis

The thesis has three major components: background information, literature review and ethnographic survey. The background includes information about Nepal and its ethnic and cultural diversities. Literature review section has covered all prominent literature of Magars. Literatures about Magars have incorporated in the thesis in a theme and particular attention has paid to literature of clan relationship. These distinctions have noted in general and specific review.

Researcher has observed the field area and an ethnographic report have prepared in inter-clan relationship. Field observations have incorporated in almost all parts of the research report but ethnographic notes of the researcher have mostly associated with analysis section– in thematic titles. This research has based on the information of key informant interview and details of the key informant interview have included in annex. In general, this report has following parts:

- Background information
- Literature review
- Ethnographic survey

Chapter: Two

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2. Review of Literature

Literature review is an integral part of research. This section synchronizes historical inputs of 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 integrated.

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 accommodated in specific review section. This section also emphasized in external influences in Magars and their impact in life.

The conceptual and theoretical framework section is elaborated through dependency, *sanskritization* and conflict theories. Inter-clan relationship (dependency), *sanskritization* and cross-cultural influences (conflict) are proved applying these theories in ethnographic survey. Social dependency among "fifteen-clan" Magars is proved 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 *chhetry*) of the area.

2.1 General Overview

There are a lot of literatures written about Magars. The most literature about Magars was written by a foreigner, C.J. Moris. His book *The Gorkhas: An Ethnology* (1933) is basically about ethnic peoples of Nepal, those have joined in 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 had studied Magars residing in the *pipaldanda* (Baniyan Hill) of *palpa* district in 1966. This study is centered in language of Magars rather than their socio-cultural parts.

Dor Bahadur Bista had mentioned about general views of 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* (origin caste), population, and physical structure of their home and settlement. Dharma Prasad Shrees is a Magar, who first wrote book about Magar culture- *Magaranti Sanskriti* (Culture of Magar People) in 2038 BS. Shrees had mentioned origin, history, culture and language of Magar in his book.

First scientific study of Magar is done by Dr. Kesharjung Baral Magar in 2050 BS. His book *palpa, syanja ra tanahuka* *Magarharuko Sanskriti* (Culture of Magars of *palpa, syanja and tanahuka*), 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 *dhawalagiri*.

Japanese professor Jiro Kawakita of Tokai University had studies origin, language, society and culture of Magars in his research paper, *The Hill Magars and Their Neighbours* (1974), 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 Adhyaya (Our Society a Study) published in 2039BS. This book is mainly about the ethnic peoples of Nepal.

Dr. Harkha Bahadur Budha's Kirant Bansa ra Magarharu (Magars and Kirant Dynesty) (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 caste and sub-castes in Magars were 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 Lichchhivi periods. He had argued that Magars are Budhhist and script is Akkha.

Swiss scholar Toni Hagen has mentioned about Magars in his book The Kingdom in the Himalaya. He has paid particular attention in their settlement, behavior and professions. Augusta Molnar's study Economic Strategies and Ecological Constriants–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 in to 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 North=West Nepal (1972) is centered into trans-boarder trade of *kaike* Magars of *dolpa* district. In his book, Fisher has described that the *kaike* people are depends in business of 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 Live-Literacy, Love Letters & Social Change* (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 Magarant Autonomous Region* (2055) has stressed on economic empowerment of political awareness among Magars; and purposed *Magarant* autonomous region. Magars caste 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, from recent past.

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 Freedom Front (MNFF) '*magarant*' 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 Docu-drama 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 is a huge debate 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 there were two waves of migration of Magars from southern and northern. He has put the logic of "intelligible languages" of Magars eg. *kham*, *dhut* and *kaike*. 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 magarant* is *pang*. *kham* is the

¹ Interview with Miss Bom Kumari Budha on 07/03/2008 in Kathmandu

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— 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. M.S. Thapa Magar (2049BS) has mentioned that Magars were entered into Nepal approximately 4000 years ago. Kamal Adhikari (1993) have mentioned that Magars arrived in Nepal in 7th century. Though there are lots of arguments in the origin of Magars it is still not clear that where the Magars are from? There are not any convincing reports which establish them as indigenous people of Nepal.

Magars has a unique bond of religion: Shamanism, Nature Worship and Hinduism. Magar people perform *jhankri puja* when illness. They worship land (*bhumi puja*), water spout (*shim*), Forest (*ban puja*) and weather for better grains and cattle. The influences of Hinduism are seen in many walks of life eg. *satyanarayan puja* and *dashain*. It has difficult identify the religion of Magars. Lion (1992) has strongly argued that "Ancient Magar had believes in Shamanism" where as *Swami Parpannacharya* (2051BS) rejects his views and wrote, "Magar could not be proved Non-Hindu or Non-Aryan. They are pure Hindu=Aryan".

Magar scholar M.S. Thapa (2049BS) claims that Magars are Buddhist. Augusta Molnar (2007) and J. Kawakita (2047BS) 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-land Hindus. He has described the influence of Hinduism through "Worship of Haven" in October. Though there are different arguments claiming Magars as Hindu and Buddhist but it is certain that they are primarily a "Nature Worshiper" K.J. Baral (2050BS).

Magars have three languages: *kham* (*pang*), *dhut* and *kaike*. These languages are spoken in different geographical parts of the country. *kham* and *kaike* language is spoken in *rolpa* regions and *dhut* in *gandaki* region. Magar claim that *kaike* is the language of good. There is debate over the *kham* language. Hitchcock (1966) has mentioned *kham* is a language of Magars of *rolpa* region but Bom Kumari Budha, a Magar scholar have different views. "There is no language called *kham*. Actually, the language of *rolpa* 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 any script of their languages. 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 point. Today, most of the Magars people have been speaking Nepali language.

Magars are culturally diversified geographical region. It is perfectly based on the language groups. For example, the *dhut* speaking Magars of Gandaki region has *sorathi* and *kaura* whereas Magars of *rolpa* region perform *sanrangya*, *tappa* and *paisaru* dances. Songs of those dance is in the language

² Interview with Miss Bom Kumari Budha on 07/03/2008.in Kathmandu

of the region. Baral Magar (2050BS), has pointed out the differences as an outcomes 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. Kaike Magars have four clans, *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*. Magars of all three language groups celebrates *maghe sankranti*, *saune makranti*, *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 it with feast of meat and liquor. Magar cultural– birth to funeral ceremonies and other rituals– described later in analysis section.

Magars are traditionally hunter. In ancient time, they used to kill 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 (1996). Still Magars of western Nepal used to go hunting in their leisure periods.

Agriculture is the lifeline of Magars today though some of them have engaged in trade, military and other services. Magars of All region depend on agriculture. Magar living in hills cultivate millet, barley, potato etc. whereas in other areas (below 3000 meter) cultivate paddy, wheat, millet and other crops as outsiders. According to Gurung (1996) Pun (Magar) of southern part of Dhawalagiri Mountain are best known for animal husbandry.

Bom Kumari Budha argued that military of Prithvi Nayrayan Shah had a Magar regiment-Black Regiment. Magars are joining in Nepali, Indian and British army till the date. Magar participation in civil and other service is nominal. Magar indigenous groups 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 playing their catalyst role for their representation in mainstreams.

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. Hitchcock has not mentioned 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 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 not proper 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 establish 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* (*chhetry*) were same in Hindu caste hierarchy (Bista, 1976). Budha (2039BS) have linked Magar with *Kirant* in their origin, both are Tibeto-Burman speaking and Mongoloid. But Thapa Magar (2049BS)

has associated Magar ancestry with *lichhchhavi*, an *aryan*. He has argued that "*lichhchhavi*" were Mongolian and they are migrated from north of Himalaya". His claims the link between Buddha and Magars saying, "Hindu arrived from south and imposed their religion".

Swami Parpannacharya (2051BS) claims that "Magar could not be proved Non-Hindu or Non-Aryan. They are pure Hindu=Aryan" But many scholar have mentioned Magars as Non-Hindu. Baral Magar (2050BS), Thapa Magar (2049BS) and Gurung (1996) have claims that Magars are Non-Hindu but they have not established their generally accepted religious link. All above mentioned scholars have one point to support their arguments: Magars people have not socio-cultural hierarchy prevails in Hindu. Influences of Hinduism are widely seen in Magars. The bases of influences are socio-cultural settings, state dominance and interaction with outer world.

Magars of *gandaki* regions have seen more influences of Hinduism than other parts of Nepal. The eastern Magar are more Hindunized than the Kham (Molnar, 1981). They take the service of Hindu priest in most of their rites and rituals (Gurung, 1996)

2.3 Conceptual and Theoretical Framework

This section deals with three theoretical aspects, dependency, conflict and sanskritization. Inter-clan relationships have elaborated with dependency theory whereas cross-cultural influences through *sanskritization* and modern trends (from 1990s) have viewed as conflict. 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 dependency theory has applied in this thesis as co-existence of 'fifteen-clan' Magars in the area. The conflict perspectives have used in their adaptation of ancient culture from 1990s.

Magars had their own language and culture in the ancient time. It is believed that there were twelve and eighteen Magar principalities in *rapti* and *gandaki* region respectively. 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 various *aryan* groups entered in this area. They established state here and started to rule over the Magars (Budha, 1992).

Nepali speaking Hindu ruler had made lots of influence in this land and Magar people. Adaptation of Hindu culture– wearing sacred thread (*janai*) in *umara* and *sahuthoki* – are 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 called *sanskritization*. Cross-cultural influence, mainly Hindu ruler into Magar communities, has followed through unification of Nepal. And, it further expanded in *rana* regime and *panchayati* system. Various government policies had played strong role in deep rooting the influences.

Magar people have not social hierarchy. Though they have more than 1000 sub-clan groups all enjoy equal social status. There is not restriction in marriage between any castes (*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 (*kathe sanghu*) over the *uttar ganga* 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 minorities have raised their demands for identity. They opposed the state pushed language and culture (*ek bhasha ek desh*) and started reviving their culture. Government of Nepal (then His Majesty's Government of Nepal) permitted basic (primary) education in regional or ethnic languages and established National Indigenous Development Committee (NIDC) in 2054 BS. Fifty-nine ethnic and indigenous minorities united under a one roof of Nepalese Federation of Indigenous Nationalities (NEFIN). The moment 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 over the century long suppression by the state and so called higher castes— *brahmin* and *chhetry*. Experiences of last two decades have shown conflict between and among the state, indigenous/minorities and high caste Hindu.

2.4 Hypothesis of Study

This research proposal deals with the inter-clan relationships of the 'fifteen-clan' Magars along with concentrating on cross-cultural influence of other communities of same area on these Magars. Therefore, the hypothesis of the research is: ***despite external (cross-cultural) influences, there is a strong bond of inter-clan relationship among the "fifteen-clan" Magars.***

Null hypothesis: ***There is no inter-clan relationship among "fifteen-clan" Magars.***

2.5 Operational Definition and Measurement of Selected Variables

Magar: One of the indigenous group among 59 groups of Nepal. Their settlement spread over the western hills- *gandaki* and *rapti* region. They have their own culture and language.

Fifteen-clan: Magars of *rapti* region residing in *bhuji* river valley with unique bond among clans. They are locally called *pandhra thare* (fifteen-clan).

Clan: The term clan describes the linkage from one group to another. American anthropologist following Morgan have generally reserved the term for a unilineal decent group recruited through the female line (matriclan), while a male line is called the genes (patriclan). In British social anthropology, the term clan means a decent group who traces their ancestry to a common apical ancestor or ancestress, but do not know the precise links to that ancestor. The word is derived from Gaelic word clan, which was in fact a bilineal kindred group.

Caste: Castes are corporate social units which are ranked and generally defined by descent, marriage and occupation. The general characteristics of the caste system can be compared with class or race. Caste is predominantly a Hindu phenomenon. In Hindu society caste rank is hereditary and linked to occupational pursuits. The term caste derived from *casta* meaning species, linkage, race or clan first used by Portuguese traders for the people of West coast of India. Hindus classify all living beings into genera and such genus (caste) is thought share substances (such as for example blood, bones or flesh).

Indigenous: When applied to populations this term refers to the original inhabitants of an area which has subsequently been occupied by migrants. This

is thus synonymous with the term native, to which it is sometimes referred where the later has acquired pejorative connotation.

Sanskritization: The *varna* system provides the system of values, the *jati* its functional organization and practice. *Jatis* may seek promotion within the caste hierarchy by adopting the practices of higher *varna*, which can result in promotion within their *varna* but not between *varna*, a process known as Sanskritization.

Conflict: The study of social and cultural change, all has conflict between individuals, groups or social classes.

Cross-culture: Interaction with different cultures of the area. Hence, the term cross-cultural influence means influence of other castes residing in the area of 'fifteen-clan' Magars.

Chapter: Three

RESEARCH METHOD

3. Research Methodology

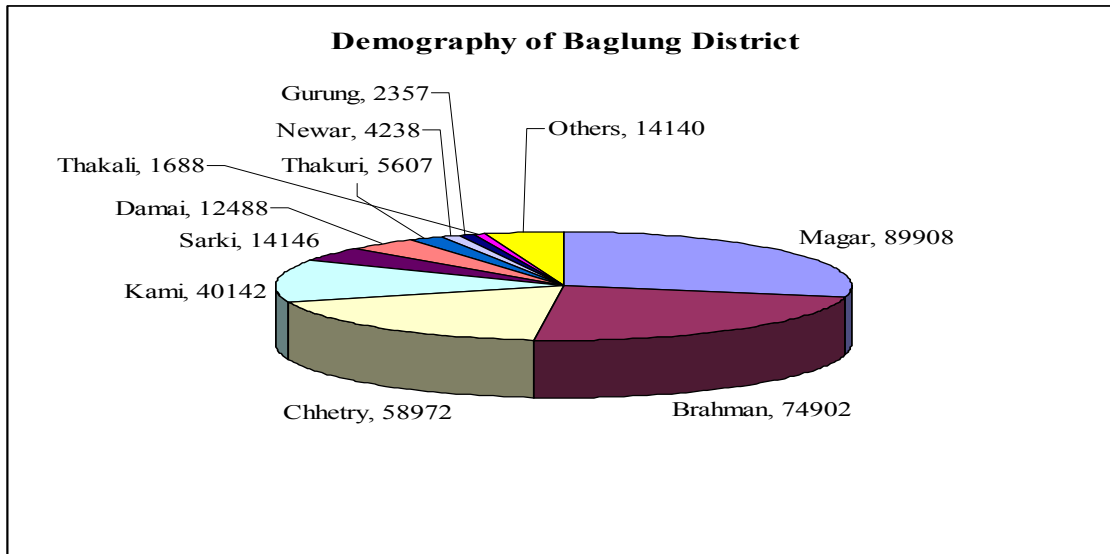
3.1 Research Design

This is the first-ever inter-clan study of the marginalized Magar community living in two VDCs of northwest *baglung*. Therefore, the study will be descriptive in nature. To find our inter-clan relationship three sociological theories: dependency, relationship and conflict will be used to analyze inter-clan relationship. Model of *sanskritization* (Srinivas, 1952) will also be used to analyze influence of external factors. Those theories will also be used in evaluating external influence within the purported "fifteen-clan" Magars.

Tools like key-informant interview, focus group discussion and field observation will be used in examining relationship within different clans. All available literature will be reviewed thoroughly on the basis of inter-clan relationship in and cross-cultural influence on ethnic communities and Magars of Nepal.

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 28.77 per cent, with major settlements 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 magarant*' before it was occupied by the rulers of Gorkha.



The study will focus on two VDCs of Dhorpatan region: *bobang* and *adhikarichaur* lies in both side of *bhuji River*. These VDCs lie in the northwestern part of Baglung district. These VDCs fall under Area no. 10 of the districts administrative region. The total population of *bobang* is 6,171 and that of *adhikarichaur* is 6,189.

VDC	Total	Magar	Dalit	Brahmin	Chhetry	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. The name '*umara*' of a sub-clan came from their political role in *athar magarant* principality, especially Dhorpatan state. Likewise, Marars who live in the geographical areas of *kanga* and *masa* are known as '*kangyal*' and '*masal*', respectively.

3.3 Universe of Sample

This research is targeted to 'fifteen-clan' Magars of *adhikarichaur* and *bobang* VDC. 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 are 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

This study has used two types of data, primary and secondary. The primary data are collected from the ethnographic survey whereas additional information has incorporated from key informant interview and FGD.

Door-to-door 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 Study

This study is limited in geographical region: *adhikarichaur* and *bobang* VDCs; and *nishi-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 *rolpa* and *gandaki* region, in case basis.

3.7 Ethical Consideration

This research has four major components: literature review, key informant interviews, field observation and focus group discussion (FGD). All ethical considerations of standard research will be thoroughly followed in each component. The identity of individuals will be kept confidential in the field observation and (FGD) aspects while confidentiality will be maintained in controversial issues in key-informant interviews also.

Baglung is a hill district lies in western part of Nepal. In administrative divisions of Nepal, it lies in *dhawalagiri* zone and western development region. This district has total area of 1784 square kilometer and total population of 31,8,594.

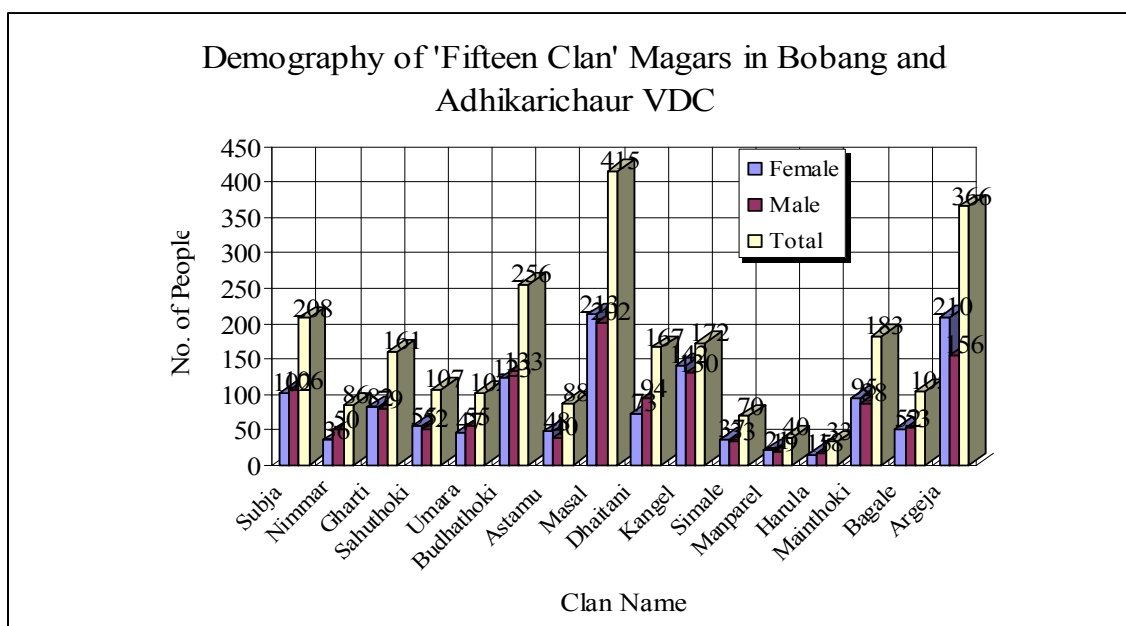
Chapter: Four

INTER-CLAN RELATIONSHIP AMONG 'FIFTEEN-CLAN' MAGARS

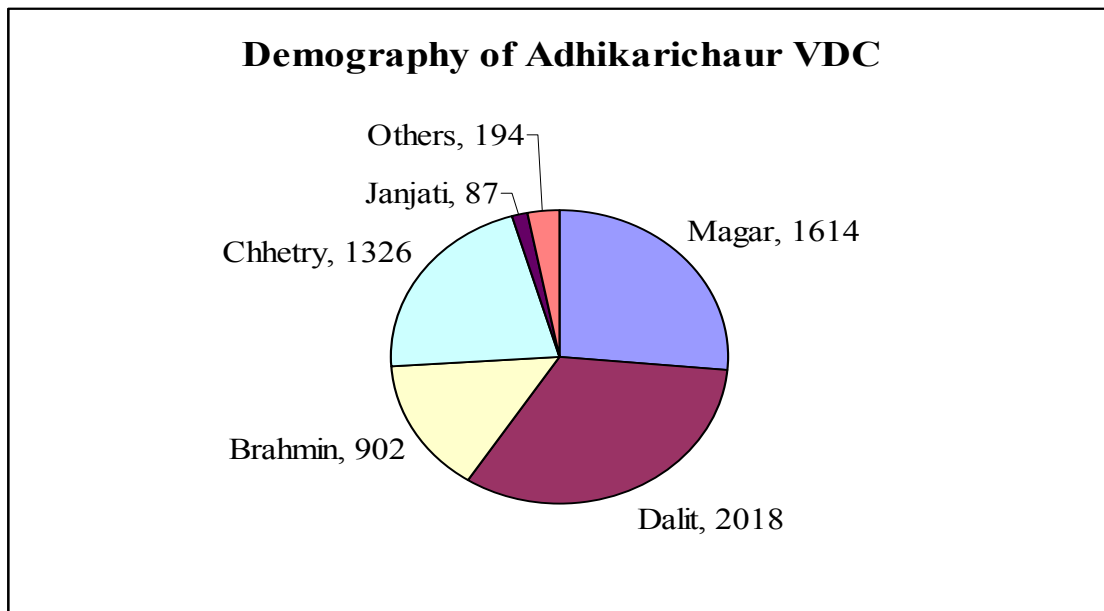
4.1 Geography, People and Settlement

The study area 'Dhorpatan' region lies nearly 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 Reserve', the only hunting reserve in Nepal. Actually it is a mountain valley.

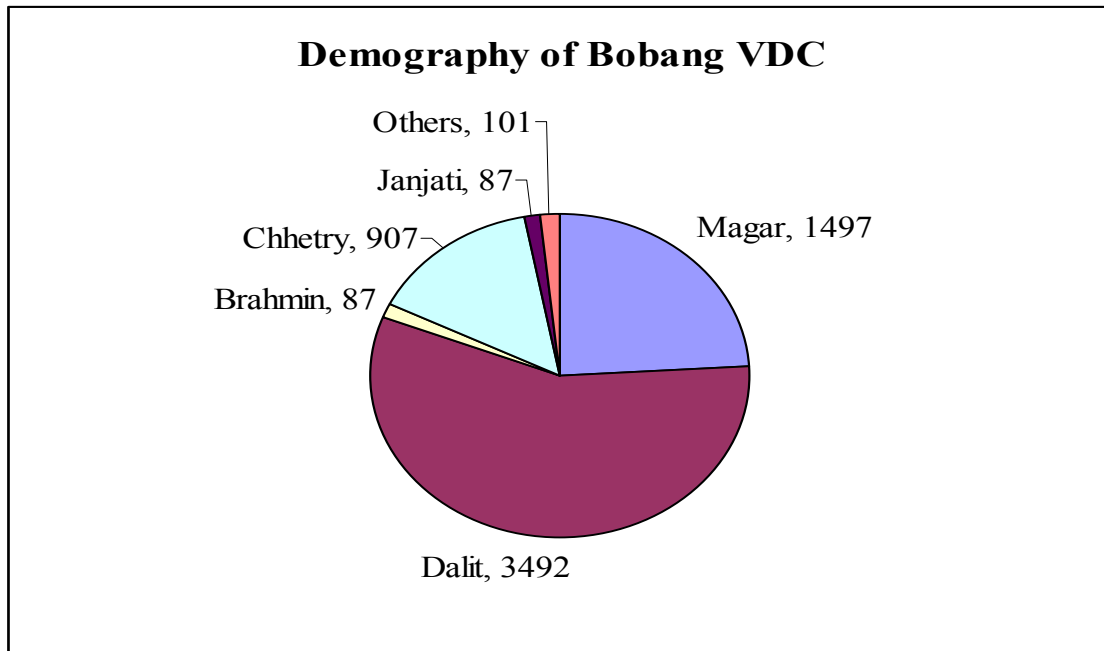
The name 'Dhorpatan' derived from the Magar word '*dhor*' (plain land) and '*patan*' (grazing land). Grazing land is called here as '*buki*' and spread form 3000 to 7000 meter above sea level. This grazing land is the habitat '*nour*' (Blue sheep). *uttarganga*, *nisikhola* and *Bbhujikhola* rivers are the life line of people living in the region. *nisi* and *bhuji* River join with Kali Gandaki and Uttarganga join in Bheri river.



My study area *adhikarichaur* and *bobang* VDC is also known as *bhuji* river area. This area cover 369.77square kilometre of Baglung district. There VDCs Adhikarichaur and Bobang have domination of *dalit* (44.58 %) population. Magar (25.17%) falls after *dalit*, and *chhetry* (18.07%), *brahmin* (8%), other ethnic communities (2.6%). The total population of Magar in study area is 2293, with 1614 "fifteen-clan" Magars.



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 quality of mining copper. Their settlement area is called '*gaiyakhani*', from their profession.



'*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*). *dalits* have close connection with lifecycle of Magar.

These *dalit* (untouchable) people depends on agriculture and work for Magar. Blacksmith make 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 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 ancestor of those groups.

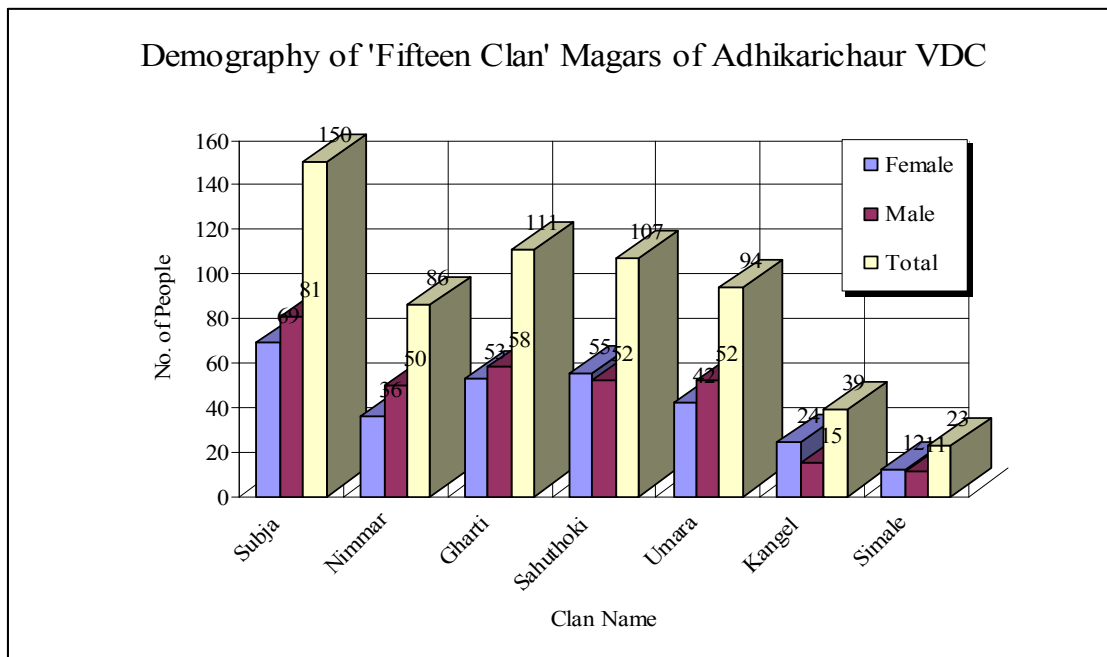
Brahmin is one of the major castes of Dhorpatan region and particularly *bhuji* river area. *upadhyaya* and *jaisi* (low graded *brahmin*) are two major group found in the area. Their main occupation is agricultural but *upadhyaya brahmin* perform the service of priest among Hindunized Magar and other communities. Brahmin people have their own local mane according to their past habitat. Such as, *brahmin* 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 come as a priest of the King of Magar principality before the invation of Prithvi Narayan Shah and their ancestor in 18th century. Their influences had grown after unification of Nepal as government promoted – 'one state one culture policy'. This policy has governed Nepal till 1990s. Today, educated Magars have started to boycott Brahmin in their rites and rituals.

Chhetry are migrant of *khas* region– *karnali* Zone of present Nepal. Census of Nepal 2001 has included '*nauthar*' as *chhetry* 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.

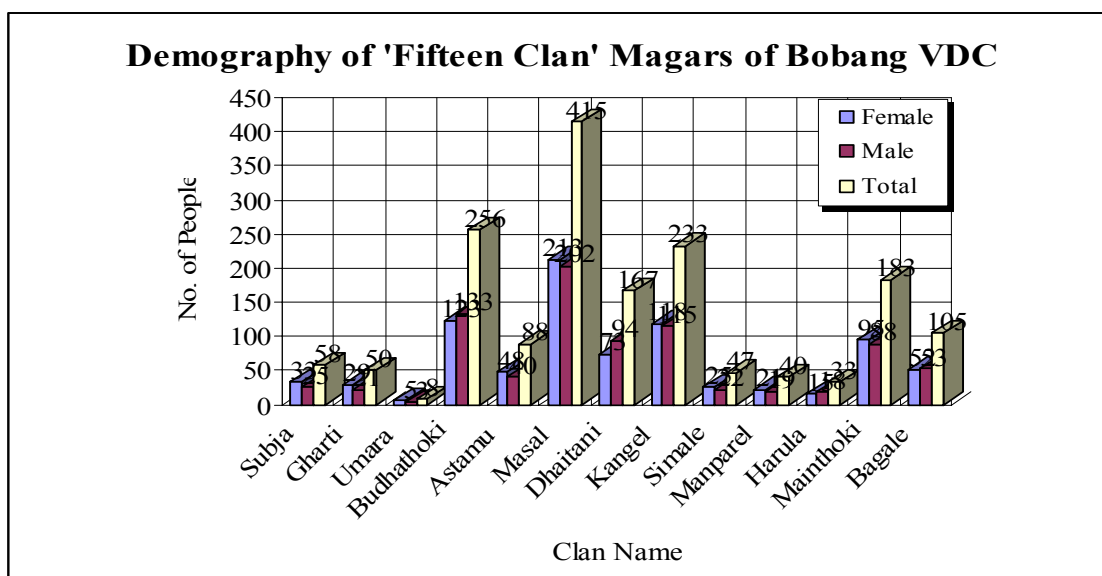
4.2 Fifteen–Clan Magars

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. Western part of *baglung* district was ruled by Magar King of *dhor* principality. 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 the behalf of state.



Magar dominant region of western Nepal had divided into *kala* (Black) *magarant* and *gora*(white) *magarant* . These had eighteen and twelve principality respectively. According to Bom Kumari budha, a Magar activist, '*ridi*' was the meeting point of eighteen *magarrnt* and twelve *magarant*. She says, the letter '*ri*' and '*di*' both means water in language of eighteen and twelve *magarant* respectively. Last Magar King of eighteen *magarant* was 'Dare jaitam' of *shesh* area of *rolpa* and twelve *magarant* 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 further divided into 14 sub-clans –*jhakri* and *rokaya* from *roka*, *shrees* and *batha* from *pun*, *bhujel* and *kauchha* from *gharti*; and *budhathoki* from *budha*. Scholars like Dr. keshar Junga 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*.



Magar of *rapti* and *gandaki* region, both have influence of Hinduism. In twelve Magarant, *atreya*, *bhardwaj*, *deukanya*, *deunami gotra* (caste of origin) and *regmi*, *baral*, *bhusal*, *paudel*, *bhandari* and *lamichhane* clan are found in Magar. Originally, those *gotra* and clan are from Hindu. Such influence is also seen in eighteen Magarant. *gotras* like *kaushila* and *atreya* found there but there is not caste similar to *brahmin* and *chhetry*.

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*' (land designated to caste/person). 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.

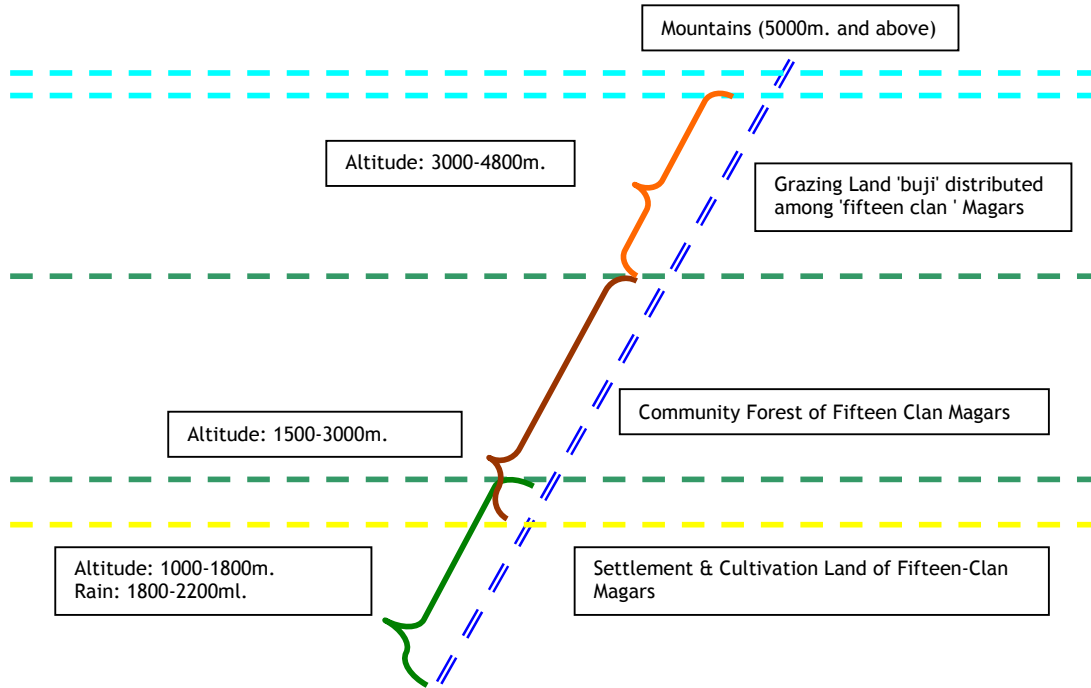
Major profession of the 'fifteen-clan' Magars was animal husbandry. According to locals every family had approximately one thousand sheep before 1980s. Therefore, they each had their own grazing land in Dhorpatan valley. Such grazing land was called '*buki*' and they had to pay tax in grazing their land.

'Fifteen-clan' Magars and their Grazing land

<i>subja</i>	<i>thalkharka, tholomela, naula, sasarmul, majhadhara and nehla.</i>	<i>mainthoki</i>	<i>phutung, baleni and uttarganga</i>
<i>astamu</i>	<i>hapal and bijaule</i>	<i>budhathoki</i>	<i>shurtibang, pipalkharka and thakurbuki</i>
<i>dhaitani</i>	<i>phallegar, and bhuji</i>	<i>umara</i>	<i>lamela, tikathali and rajban</i>
<i>kangel</i>	<i>dahakot and mandrechaur</i>	<i>sahuthoki</i>	<i>khopriban, rataahir and garpa</i>
<i>bagale</i>	<i>barshe and nunthala</i>	<i>harula</i>	<i>surtibang</i>
<i>masal</i>	<i>baheli</i>	<i>gharti</i>	<i>dhupsechun</i>
<i>nimmar</i>	<i>riplu, lamdanda and tarachim</i>	<i>simale</i>	<i>phagune</i>
<i>manparel</i>	<i>handebhir, dhaula and hiunsango</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, actually a migrant 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.



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, *bagle* and *kangel* are the caste derived from the name of their settlement '*masa*', '*baga*' and '*kanga*' respectively. Migrant came from '*sima*' of western *rukum* district are known as '*simale*'. Likewise, their are some caste name derived from their profession. '*sahuthoki*' the clan name derived from their profession '*sahu*' (literally rich man). '*mainthoki*' the name from honey hunting. The word '*manparel*' describe 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 *arveja* 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 earthwarm)

sharti – *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, communication between or among Magar– *brahmin/chhetry*–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*. The difference is almost 5:1.

4.2.3 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 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.

A. Naming (Nwaran):

This is first rites in 'fifteen-clan' Magar's life. It falls in the third day of the birth of child. It called '*nwaran*' also. In this rite whole house was painted and nearest relatives are invited. Mother and newly born child take holy bath and urine cow 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 flow Hindu tradition and perform naming rites in Hindu way.

B. 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 five months old and a boy when 6 months.

C. Chhewar:

This is a ritual hair shaving ceremony of *chhewar* and done at the 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 left on the child's head. In this occasion, a bag of wheat flower, Buffalo, Sheep, Goat and Book and Pen speeded 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*' (cloth worn on the lower part of body and upper part) when they reach the age of seven.

D. 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.

Two main marriage system of 'fifteen-clan' Magar is matrilateral cross cousin marriage which is preferred and compulsory the Mama or maternal Uncle's daughter is the exclusive marriageable property 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 to even today.

Marriage occurred when boy and girl reached a mature age – above fifteen. In arranged marriage the boy and their guardian go to the house 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 led the marriage.

A group of people, led by '*jwai*' go to the bride house for marriage. Thus folk go with music, *roti* and *raksi* (liquor) and meat (usually buffalo). When '*janti*' reached 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, the boy side people handover *dastur* (*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 *dulhan pharkaune* which is the final ceremony of marriage.

E. Final Rite:

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

The corpse was carried to '*ghat*' (bank of river) by son and close relatives. Some people burn and some people earthen the corpse. Son of the died people shave their hair, even the top knots, and sit in '*kiriya*' (final rite). Wives of son (daughter-in-law) observed the death pollution also rituals. Such pollution also observed in immediate (thirteen day's brother Hinduism) brothers.

Final or death rite lasted for three, seven or thirteen days. But their id not any cause behind the custom. It is usually decided on the circumstances. The polluted family and their relatives do not take meat, liquor, chilly and salt. '*kiriyaputri*' must take food onetime 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 to eat salt, meat, chilly and oil. '*jwai*' have a key role in this day, he give *gahut* every members of family and relatives invited in final rite. Before taking *gahut* one *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 same placed in the day.

4.2.4 Festivals

'Fifteen-clan' Magar celebrates *dashain*, *tihar*, *saune sankranti*, *maghr sankranti*, and *chaite dashain*. These festivals are celebrated with great enthusiasm. People were 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 take *tika* from their sister. These are the influence of Hinduism in Magar culture.

A. 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 *puṛnima* (full moon day) of *asoḷ* (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. '*duraga*' (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*, ancestor is worshiped by flower and delicious foods 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.

B. 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 other animals, and tied scared rope (*toran tangne*) over Main Street or River. '*gobardhan puja*' and '*kukur puja*' are also observed in the *tihar*. '*bhai tika*' is not fully observed among "fifteen-clan" Magars. Peoples celebrate as per their choice. People who celebrate '*bhai tika*' take *tika* from sister and give gift to them. The gift is usually some money.

C. Saune Sankranti:

This festival is celebrated in mid–July as beginning of harvesting season. It is also called '*ubhauri*'. 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*'.

D. Maghe Sankranti:

Maghe sankranti falls 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 '*udhauri*' (end of harvesting season). In this festival gift (*dakshina*) also giving to sister and daughter.

E. 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*). This one day festival is important for gaining power.

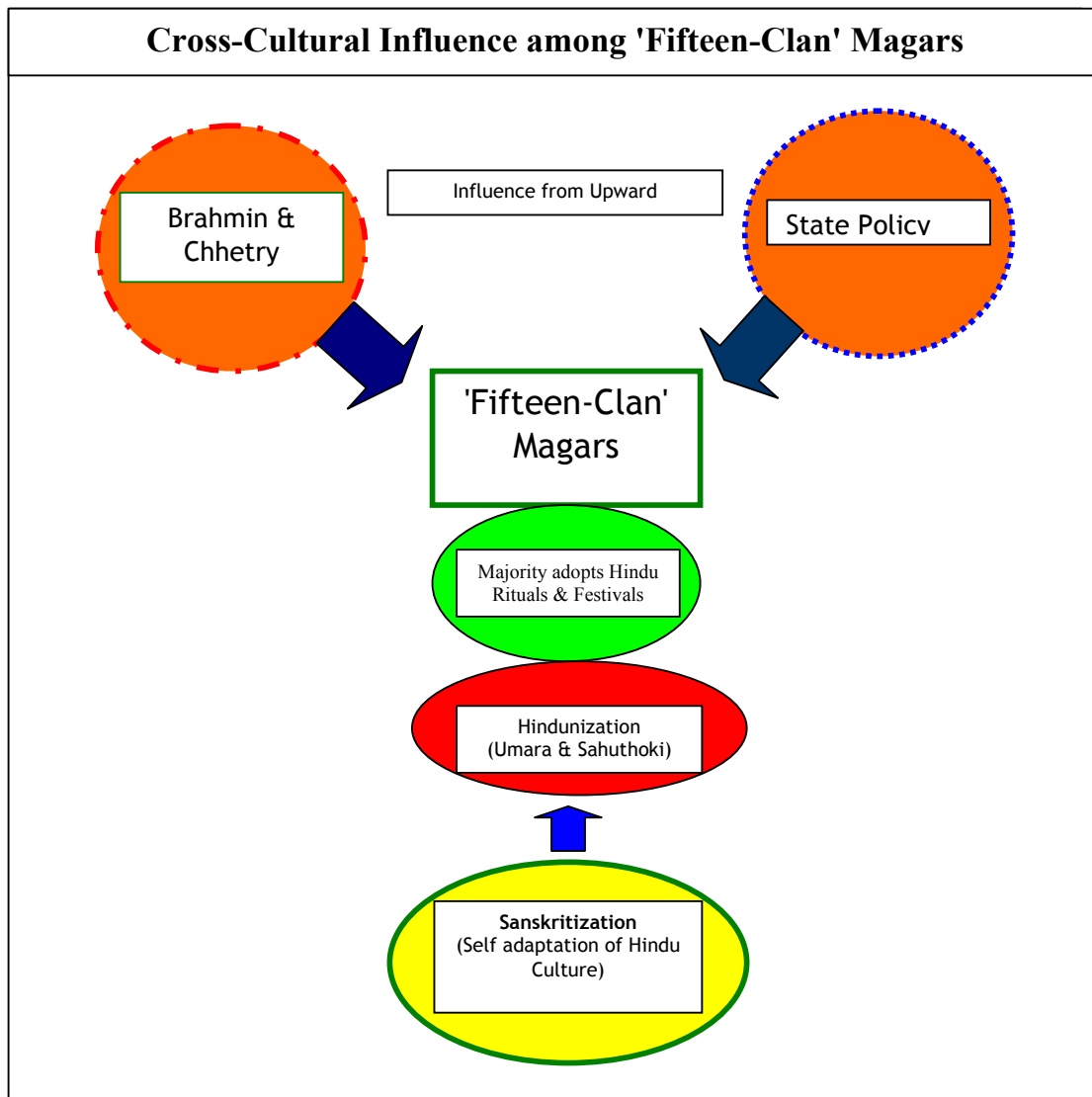
F. Kulpuja/ Bisaunapuja:

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.

4.2.5 Influence of Hinduism:

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.



Among 'fifteen-clan' Magars high social castes like *sahuthoki*, *nimmar* and *umara* have more influence of Hindu *brahmin* and *chhetry*. 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/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) marriage outside clan is not acceptable	
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 <i>brahmin</i> priest

4.2.6 Bridge Making over *uttar ganga* River

Bridge over *uttar ganga* is a symbol of unification of "fifteen-clan" Magars. It is a major river of Dhorpatan region which bisect Dhorpatan valley. Traditionally, Magars of the area were animal keeper. They used to upper land for 6 months (April-October) for grazing their animals in *buki*. For this purpose they have to cross *uttar ganga* river with their cattle. Likewise, they also have to cross the river on their way to *rukum* and *rolpa* districts. Now it is growing as a popular tourist route– trekking route.

The bridge lies in the place named *navi*. The bridge was made from wood so it is called '*kathe sangu*' (wooden bridge). For bridge construction, "fifteen-clan" Magars have divided works as per their perfection in work. Other castes, *dalit* also participated in the bridge building. Work division among "fifteen-clan" Magars are as follows:

subja: pillars

umara: floor

gharti: pillars

astamu: floor

harula: side wall of bridge

sahuthoki: roof

mainthoki: joins between
foundation and floor

manparel: floor

simale: foundation of one side

bagale: foundation floor

kangel: foundation floor

nimmar: side wall of bridge

arveja: roof

dhaitani: roof

budhathoki: foundation of one side

Graphic of Traditional Bridge



Building of traditional *kathe sanghu* had played a dependency role among "fifteen-clan" Magars of the area and also the other communities living in the area. This bridge had four major parts, (i) foundation, (ii) pillar, (iii) floor and (iv) roof. *subja* and *gharti* had to built pillars of the *kathe sanghu*. They had to search, cut and furnish woods for pillars. Building floor was another major task for *umara*, *astamu* and *manparel*. Construction of foundation which consist stone and wood works was allocated in the responsibility of *budhathoki* and *simale*. As that was a *kathe sanghu*, that need more wooden work so *kangel* and *bagale* also worked in foundation.

Trail Bridge Over *uttar ganga* River (Replacement of Traditional Bridge)



Moreover, *sahuthoki*, *argeja* and *dhaitani* had responsibility of making roof of the bridge whereas *harula* and *nimmar* had the responsibility of making side walls of the bridge. Such division of labour had done in accordance with their perfection of works. That wooden bridge was last for 5-10 years. Regular maintenance of the bridge was done also through division of labour. such division was took place through the decision of chief of the clan, usually the eldest men of the clan or *mukhiya*.

Collective works and division of labours show that there were a strong bond 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.

Chapter: Five

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1 Conclusion

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 '*developing an ethnographic baseline of 'fifteen-clan' Magars*' residing in *bobang* and *adhikarichaur* village development committee (VDCs). For the 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 which based on scientific approach because it is centered in inter-clan relationship and external influences only. 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 divisions in bridge (*kathe sanghu*) building over *uttar ganga* 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 system (though it was exist in small scale) of Magars also demonstrate their dependency with each-other. Rites and rituals are other factors which have used describe their dependency with each-other.

However, 'fifteen-clan' Magars have large level of external influences from high castes Hindus. Celebration of *dashian* 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.

The study has proved the hypothesis— *despite external (cross-cultural) influences, there is a strong bond of inter-clan relationship among the "fifteen-clan" Magars.*

5.2 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 magarant*.
- 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.

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Indigenous Nationalities of Nepal

MOUNTAIN

- | | | |
|----------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Bara Gaunle | 7. Lhomi (Shingsawa) | 13. Thakali |
| 2. Bhutia | 8. Lhopa | 14. Thudam |
| 3. Byansi | 9. Marphali Thakali | 15. Tingaunle Thakali |
| 4. Chhairotan | 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.

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 or immigrant
 - 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/dependency (cooperation, conflict and influence)
3. Additional related information (IF ANY)
4. Suggestion/comments in research proposal (IF ANY)

Prepared By: Jhakendra Gharti Magar
SIRF Fellow
Inter-clan Relationship among Magars

Guideline for Focus Group Discussion (FGD)

1. FGD should be 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 name³ 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 (Brahmin, Chhetri, Dalit etc.)
3. Additional but related information (IF ANY, will be noted)

Prepared By: Jhakendra Gharti Magar
SIRF Fellow
Inter-clan Relationship among Magars

³ Ancestor name equivalent to Hindu's *Gotra*

Acknowledgement

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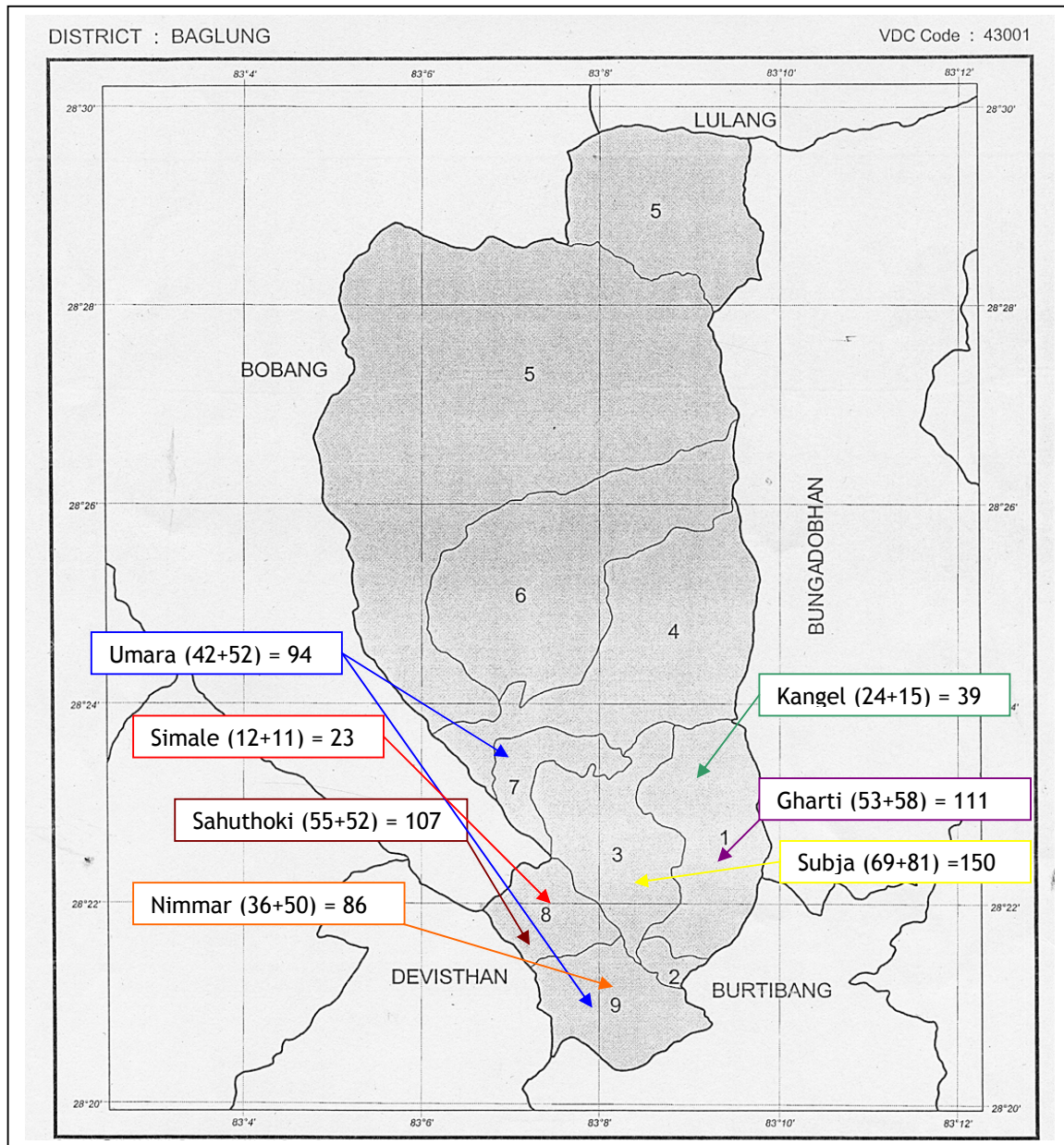
It would be impracticable to list all those who contributed some or other way to this study and I apologize to those who find no mention their name.

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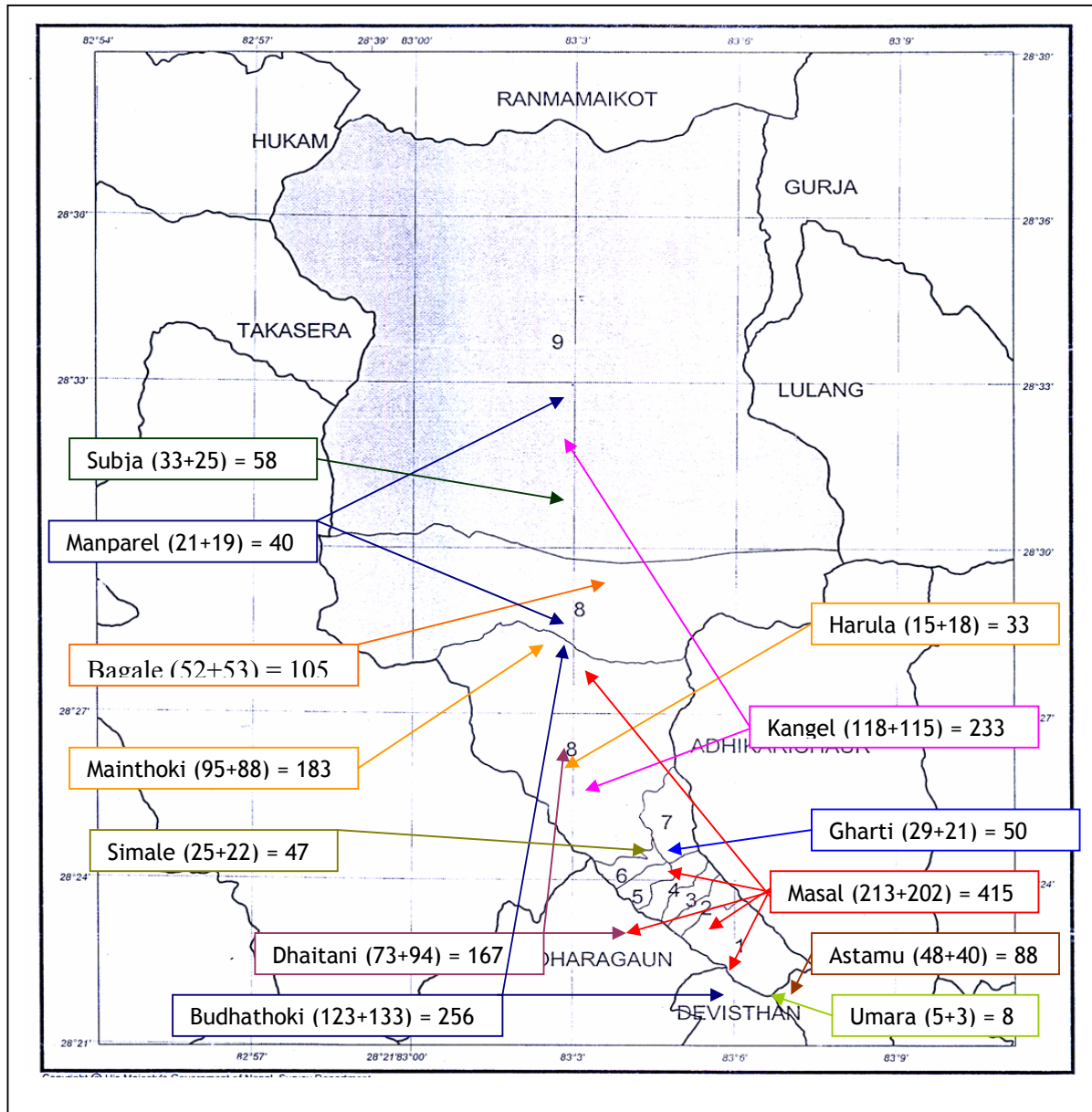
There are many invisible hands for their contribution who wished to remain anonymous for a variety of reasons. At last but no means of least I owed to those helping hands.

Jhakendra Gharti Mager
SIRF Fellow 2007

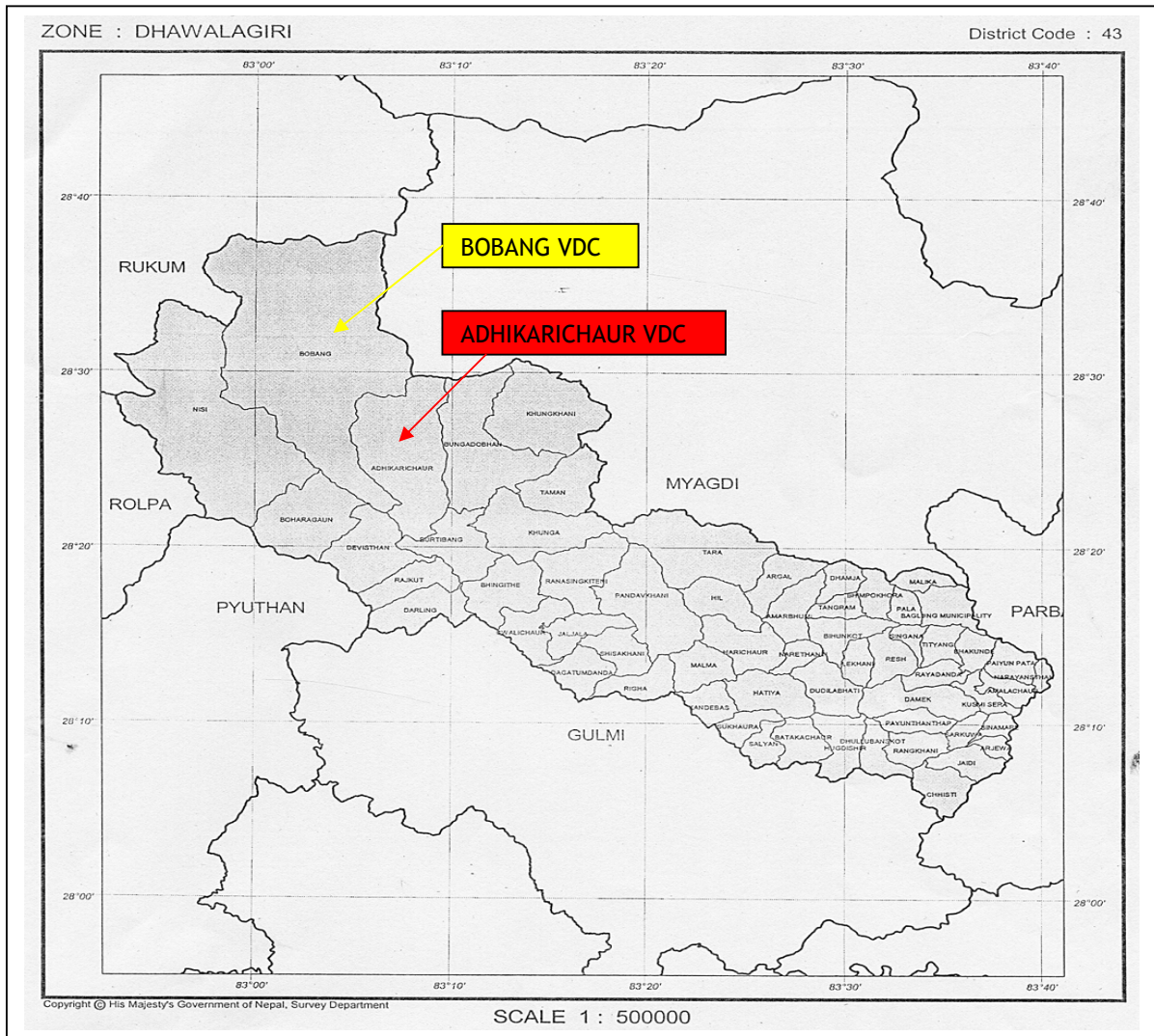
MAP OF BOBANG VDC



MAP OF ADHIKARICHAUR VDC



MAP OF BAGLUNG DISTRICT



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

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

Source: House Hold Survey (15-17 & 24-26 October, 2007)

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

Demography of 'Fifteen Clan' Magars of Adhikarichaur VDC

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

Focus Group Discussion (FGD)
Inter-clan Relationship among Magars

VDC: Adhikarichaur
Date: Oct. 7, 2007

Location: Gharti Thok - 1
Time: 1 PM

SN	Name	Address
1	Deviram Gharti Magar	Adhikarichaur-1, Ghartithok
2	Shovalal Gharti Magar	Adhikarichaur-1, 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
Date : 28 Oct. 2007

Location: Pyangkhola - 9
Time : 11:00AM

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	"

VDC: Adhikarichaur
Date: 29 Oct. 2007

Location: Sahuthok - 3
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	"

Focus Group Discussion (FGD)
Inter-clan Relationship among Magars

VDC: Adhikarichaur
Date: 30 Oct. 2007

Location: Subjagaun - 3
Time: 11AM

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	"

VDC: Adhikarichaur
Date: Nov 1, 2007

Location: Dogadi - 7
Time: 1:00PM

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	"

Focus Group Discussion (FGD)
Inter-clan Relationship among Magars

VDC: Bobang

Location: Serabang - 5

Date: Nov. 2, 2007

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	"

VDC: Bobang

Location: Juri - 9

Date: Nov. 3, 2007

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

Location: Dunapanera - 8

Date: Nov 4 ,2007

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)
Inter-clan Relationship among Magars

VDC: Bobang

Location: Sukurdung - 8

Date Nov. 5, 2007

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

Location: Masuri - 7

Date: Nov - 6, 2007

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	"

PHOTOGRAPHS OF STUDY AREA



Magars of Bhujji valley gathering for social work.



A Magar house and a under-construction *Goth*, cattle space in Adhikarichaur VDC.



Entry point of Dhorpatan Hunting Reserve, Dhorpatan, Baglung



Subja Magar roasting chicken in *Chaite Dashain*. They search their fate in liver and heart of the sacrificed chicken.



Tibetan scripture in the way to Dhorpatan.



People gathered in Focused Group Discussion (FGD) at Adhikarichaur VDC, Ward No. 8.



Tibetan Refugee Camp of Dhorpatan Valley.



Baisa Dhara of *Uttara Ganga* pilgrim site. A Mela is organized here in Janai Purnima.