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## Musahars' perspective on nature, culture and cosmology

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### ABSTRACT

*This paper tries to explore Musahars' understanding and their behaviors about private property/possession, nature, and cosmology at large. Policymakers and change makers blamed that Musahars did not save private property, food, and money for their future. The establishment narrative in Madhes is, 'Musahars are the destroyer of private property'. The community was essentialized as a metaphor for Banmanchhe<sup>2</sup> (forest-human), an example of marginalization, and a sample of the illiterate community in Nepal. The main knowledge gap is, what is their understanding of private property, natural resources, and cosmology? How do they interpret themselves, other people, and nature? How do they interpret life, property, happiness, and death? To address such a series of questions, the researcher employed ethnographic observation, and key informant interviews during a fieldwork at Golbazar (Siraha, Nepal), in 2013-2017. Musahars have different understandings of life, private property, and cosmology. They believed that all natural resources were collective property including non-human by nature but powerful people exploited them by making rules of private property relations. Musahars' cosmological and natural understanding is that they could communicate and understand natural entities (wild animals, soil, trees, water, and air) and cosmological phenomena (spirits, gods, souls) and vice-versa.*

Keywords: Nature, Cosmology, Musahar, Property, Culture.

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- 1 Giri is a PhD and Assistant Professor at the Central Department of Anthropology, Tribhuvan University.
  - 2 The term Banmanchhe is not only used to denote their present socio-economic status but also to indicate their culture of migration, non-accumulation of property, not making good house, preferences of going forest and forest food.

## INTRODUCTION

National Statistics Office (NSO) report shows that the total population of the Musahar community is 264974 and the community is listed under Tarai Dalit group (NSO, 2021). The agreement among all the Musahars is that they had tribal ancestry from Chotta-Nagpur in India. Russel (2007) argued that the *Musahars* were offshoots of Bhuiya, commonly regarded as a branch of the Kol tribe. He claimed that in parts of Chotta-Nagpur and Southern Bihar the Bhuiya living in Hindu villages have become a separate impure caste with the opprobrious designation of "Musahar or rat-eater" (Russel, 2007). Their physical appearance, proximity with Bhil and Munda tribes and cultural proximity with Tharu indicate their tribal propinquity. Anthropologists explored cultural and environmental influences on bio-physical change on human physiology, size and color of specific community (Goodman, 2013; Lewontin, 2000). None of them have a clear idea about their origin place (*That-Thalo*) but they claimed that they have been living for about 200 years in Nepal.

The *Musahars* were mostly blamed that they were poor because of their own cultural practices. The common story of non-Musahars about the Musahar community was: they do not have food, a permanent home, private ownership of land, long history, and a saving (future plan) culture. In many settlements, because of their political-economic status and reluctance to engage in social activities, they were not even regarded as members of the society. When I expressed my interest to study their perspective, many local non-Musahar elites (dominant storytellers) in the study area made fun of me. They told me, "The *Musahars* are not '*Manchhe*' (human), they are '*Banmanchhe*' (wild human, forest man or people who live in forest). They asked, "Why do you study '*Banmanchhe*' ? ". Some of them made fun of my disciplinary orientation. Though I shared to them that anthropology studies human diversity, their behaviors, their interrelation with resources, and their worldview, they were not satisfied. Non-Musahars rhetorically asked me, "Do the *Banmanchhes* have worldview and culture?" Then, I engaged with the Musahars (so-called forest people) to explore their perspective of property, resources, everyday life and death culture. These two depictions: the people without worldview, culture and the *Banmanchhe* metaphor further strengthened my curiosity to explore Musahars' understanding of nature, culture and their cosmology. What are their understandings about property, resources and life? How do their perspectives reflect their cultural life? How do they articulate/share historical trajectories of marginalization?

## RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

I stayed relatively long time with the Musahars community in Golbazar Municipality during my research in 2013-2017. Jamdaha-Musarniya settlements (147 households) residing close to Chure forest were selected for the study. Though non-Musahars (particularly Tamangs) claimed that Tamangs were the first settlers

of the Jamdaha-Musaharniya, Musahars' oral narratives claimed that they were the first people who made arable land near the Chure. The settlement was selected because they have a long oral history of settlement and close relations with forest and ancestor gods. Within qualitative approach, I employed explorative and narrative design. I employed ethnographic observations, key informant interviews, and storytelling methods for data generation. Relatively old Musahars (both male and female) were selected to understand their perspectives on life, nature, and cosmology. I believed that there are multiple worldviews regarding culture, nature, and cosmology. The plurality of perspectives is realized when people communicate with people, nature, and cosmology. Ontologically, my idea of the existence of multiple narratives in the Musahar community could be unacceptable for the positivist idea of a dominant story. My axiological position was to value Musahars' ontological position about cosmology, culture (including accumulation of property), and nature. According to Holbraad and Pedersen (2017), ontology refers to the basic perspectives to understand or ways of imagining a world, concerning such analytical abstractions as similarity and difference, continuity and discontinuity, singularity and plurality, and so on (Holbraad & Pedersen, 2017). They argue that ontology is the methodological injunction to keep constitutively open the question of what any given object of ethnographic investigation might be and, therefore, how existing concepts and theories have to be modulated to better articulate it (Holbraad & Pedersen, 2017, p. x). I also believe that worldview is constructed through interpersonal, and intersubjective interactions.

## **Presentation and Analysis**

### ***Sickness and Medication***

Latu Sada (55 years old) was a popular traditional healer (shaman) of the Musahar community. In the early morning (September 23, 2013), a Musahar woman came close to Latu and told that she was sick. He looked at her face and palms. He suggested calling him at the evening to diagnose the cause of the sickness. In the evening, he called all the ancestors and other gods of the Musahar cosmology. He communicated with them through a specific mantra. After 15 minutes of communication with different gestures, he investigated the cause of the sickness. He said that her family member killed a snake in the garden. The snake was an incarnation of her grand ancestor. It was visited the garden to communicate some message but young children mistakenly killed it. The killing of a particular type of snake was a big mistake. After that, the family organized an ancestor worshiping function led by the doctor. He shook his body while communicating different types of natural and cosmological entities. After the function, the shaman said that many Musahars can communicate with their ancestors and other god. He claimed that they can understand natural entities like soil, water, trees, and air. The community believed that their ancestor came out of the soil. After death, they turn into soil.

They believed that a lived person gets a soul from the soil of an earlier dead person. After death, the soil around the graveyard was considered sacred because there could be a soul. It indicates that they can have an intersubjective understanding of the soul, dead, and dead ancestors.

The next day he told me that *Musahars* frequently communicate with evil spirits (*Dai*) and supernatural forces (*Devata*). The process and method of diagnosis of illness and healing initiatives is called *Chinta Basne*. They shared that gods are easier to satisfy in comparison to evil spirits. Jhokilal, an old Musahar of Bhangbari Musahari, shared that if an evil spirit touched him/her, a sick person suffered long time. Therefore, they preferred to consult traditional healers during illness. Almost all Musahars shared that they consulted traditional healers, to begin with for various illnesses. Latu told me that *Dai* was rampant among all caste groups of Madhes. He argued that "*Dhamiko rog dactor le Jandaina, Dactor ko rog Dhamile Jandaina*" (Doctors do not know witch-doctors types of the disease and healing process, and witch-doctors do not know doctors' type of disease and healing process). This was a famous saying among the *Musahars*. According to the *Musahars*, there were different types of disease in the community. Trees, water, soil, and air available nearby their settlement are special medicines for them. They claimed that they knew the specific medicinal plants, water, and soil. Specific diseases demanded doctor's healing methods and medicine. They chose Dhami's healing system not only because they had low budgets but also strong beliefs about supernatural spirits and familiar interpersonal relations with Dhamis. Latu argued that medical doctors were helpless to heal witchcraft-affected cases. Similarly, Dhamis were helpless when it came to curing medical doctors' types of diseases.

I have observed a *Dhami* healing children and women many times. One early morning, a Musahar *Dhami* was healing a small girl who was suffering from stomach ache. The *Dhami* recited *Mantras* and found that it was because of witchcraft that made some worms in the stomach of the girl. He demanded a long thread that was equal height of the girl. Then he lit the thread in three parts and said that killing the worms was a success. The *Dhami* said, "Killed". When I asked later what was killed, he said that the witch was symbolically killed.

Kisundev Sada got wounded when he was cutting firewood in the Jungle. He argued that natural medicine was better unless the sight of evil eyes. He applied some local medicine (a paste made out of medicinal grasses) on the top of the injury. He had learned to make such medicine from his childhood. For him, it was easy in terms of access and knowledge because his parents taught him. He did not prefer to go to the hospital doctor for medication. He tied it with a piece of black cloth because evil spirits could not affect it. Their everyday life was full of contradictions. They said that trees and wildlife are conscious like humans. They believed that natural elements can communicate with humans but not always and with everybody. Few of them could understand the language of trees and animals.

He claimed that he could talk with plants and water. The wound was caused by cutting a tree without the consent of the tree. He said that if water is not recognized, diarrhea and stomach pain disease occur. Most of the Musahars communicate with trees, water, and soil before they use them. Lachhana claimed that trees, air, and water can understand the language of the Musahars.

Somana argued that calling Dhami or visiting the hospital was decided by the nature and severity of the disease. They were habituated to the kind of disease and methods of treatment. They chose the method and preference of the healer based on the type of pain and part of the body it occurred. Somana argued that modern hospital doctors did not understand their language. He stressed that language did not mean mere Maithili language rather they did not understand *Musahars'* explanations of pains and injuries. Communication with spirits and ancestors was better because they understood each other. Therefore, they preferred to get treatment from traditional doctors. I verified the medication behaviors of the Musahars by government health workers. The health workers said that Musahars did not visit Healthpost unless they completed all courses of traditional medication practices.



*Source: The photo was taken by the researcher in 2013*

It can be argued that the Musahars have a specific worldview and diagnosis methodology of sickness and medication. As they claimed, they have an intersubjective communication capability with natural entities and their cosmological beings. They humanized plants, water, soil, and spirits and claimed intersubjective communication. Intersubjective communication between the

Musahars and nature-cosmology means they have a mutual understanding. Duranti (2010) argued that intersubjective communication means condition in which one is minimally aware of the presence of the other in which the other and self are perceptually conceptually and practically communicated (Duranti, 2010, p. 8). The communication and level of understanding among the Musahars, nature, and their cosmology share minimally. Through intersubjective communication, Musahars identified the nature of the disease and the methodology of treatment. Natural and cosmological entities also observed and tried to understand the activities of humans.

### *Forest Human (Banmanis)*

According to Hareram Sada, *Musahars* were a tribal group before the Rana regime and at least Jamindari system in Nepal Tarai. Even now, they enjoy hunting, gathering, fishing, and semi-nomadic life. Unfortunately, the Chure forest and other natural resources were destroyed by later overflow of migration. Musahars said that the Parbatiya castes and *Madhesicastes* considered the Musahars as *Banmanis* (*forest humans*), semi-human, wild humans and exotic humans. I remembered the statement given by a man from a Parbatiya interlocutor when I introduced my research project at the very beginning of my fieldwork. He said, "Ya, ban manchhe khojna aaunu vayako ho? Hernus ban manchhe kasta chhan (Ok, came to find the wild man? Look at them. How are they?). After a month's stay in the Musahari, the same man again asked me, "Hernuvayo ban manchheko chartikala?" (Have you seen wild men's activities?). My interlocutor rhetorically said that the musahar are not civilized people. They are people without culture. If I was expert of culture, he expected that I should study non-Musahars. He claimed that Non-Musahars have culture and better human. The interlocutor's statements were heavily loaded world view of the higher castes towards the Musahar community.

The *Musahars* also preferred jungle for freedom of livelihood. They preferred to visit jungle for hunting and wood collection. There is still famous statement among the *Musahars* "jungle hete to maus, sag naihete?" (If there is jungle, how could you say there will be no meat and vegetables?). The connotation of the statement is there is food, security and life in the forest. Forest is ideologically secure place where they can communicate with trees, wildlife, water and air. Their ancestors are also resided in the forest (Giri, 2018). Hareram challenged that the *Musahars* championed on hunting and gathering though very negligible food stuff and wildlife available in the forest. His challenge for other communities was that the Musahar surpassed knowledge and skill of forest survival. I observed that they collected food stuff from jungle and paddy field. Crabs, Doka-Ghugi<sup>3</sup>, wild yams, wild boar, and wild green vegetable (locally called *Siranchi*) were common food

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3 Ghugi is a kind of snail crab found in ponds and shallow water places. It has a hard spiral shell. It is boiled and outer shell is thrown. Some people make small hole on the shell and suck meat. Some people take out meat and fry it.

during monsoon. They had long stories and interpretations of each varieties of food collected from Jungle. There were stories of eating forest food, using forest firewood and medicinal plants. Their ancestor provided a variety of food in the jungle. Before harvesting and eating they offer thankfulness to nature and gods.

Musahars claimed that they lived close to nature, and interacted with nature and cosmology. The common saying of the Musahar was, " *Jungle hete ta, sag, maus nai hete?* (if there is jungle, isn't there vegetable and food?)". Jungle is considered as source of food and lifeline. (Delete Their livelihood as well as) They can better understand an intersubjective understanding with nature and ancestors. They believed that natural cosmology is the largest soul in which all living including human souls encompassed. Hareram added that man was the wish of the ancestor god because they believed that Musahar could be transformed into a tiger, fish, eagle, and again man through mantra. He argued, "Our ancestors were king of both jungle and human society through the mantra. They had the power to understand natural cosmology and varieties of souls. When they lost mantras or forgot those powerful tools, they became powerless and turned into the dark tunnel of *Haruwa-Charuwa* labour". They believed that they could recharge themselves through natural and cosmological power. He told me a mythic story of the tiger God as a mask of Musahar ancestor. He heard this story from his grandfather. The story of the tiger was:

A small group of *Musahars* had been living in the middle of the dense forest. They can communicate with trees, animals, birds, and non-living spirits in the jungle. They made land for corn production. Half of the corn was consumed by birds, animals, and spirits. The ancestors were happy to get a chance to feed all creatures. They collected most of the food items from the jungle. One day a new man and his wife came into the settlement. They pretended that their cattle were lost in the jungle. The *Musahars* gave them shelter and food. The next day they went to the jungle and came with some cattle. They made small huts at the end of the Musahar settlement. The couple demarked private territory. Gradually, other people also came near the newcomer. They started the exploitation of forests and land. The newcomers produced milk and curd. In the beginning, they gave free milk and curd to the *Musahars*. Our ancestors liked it and exchanged cultivated land with curd and milk. When the *Musahars* were almost displaced, the last Musahar went to Dhami to know the cause of displacement. Dhami told him a *Mantra* to transform himself into a tiger. Then a Musahar turned into a tiger and destroyed the land, houses, and cattle of the newcomers. Then all newcomers returned by leaving the settlement. The tiger ancestor turned into a human again and called back all the relatives into the settlement. They have many similar stories of the metamorphosis of the Musahars into fish, snake, eagle, dragon and super human (Dina-Bhadri). (Giri,2018, p.183)

Their mythic story of the Dina-Bhadri is similar to the story of origin. They believed that Dina-Bhadri was superhuman in the Musahar community. When the

Musahars were severely exploited by the landlord, Dina-Bhadri came as an incarnation of god. They were superhuman. Every year, they worship and perform super power of Dina-Bhadri in each settlement. They defeated the enemies of the Musahars. This story sounds like a phoenix since the Musahars came out of the ashes of the mythic tiger Musahar. They argued that their ancestors had the power of the resurrection of varieties of non-human and they could interact with them. Like Philippe Descola's (2013) presentation of the Hindu-Buddhist philosophical argument of a chain of beings, the connection between souls and inter-subjective communication was possible between the *Musahars* and the tiger. The differences in physical dispositions did not constitute an obstacle to communication and were partly wiped out by the interpersonal relations that were established between terms that can be substituted for one another since they were positioned at the same level of the ontological scale. Hareram added that a tiger was still considered their ancestral God. He showed me a boy (about 11 years old) who was touched by *Baghiya* (tiger God). The boy made loud sounds of animals and was dribbling saliva from his mouth and tongue. They interpreted the case as the anger of *Baghiya*. Their dhami can interact with and satisfy the tiger.

According to Chauthi Sada, an old Musahar, they were a tribal group before the Jamindari system in North India and Nepal. They were scientists of forest and natural phenomena. He added that *Musahars* were descendants of Risikul or Risodev (sage gods) who had been wandering in nature. Some of the Musahar groups still write Rishidev and Rishikul surnames. Great sage renounced family and property. They have their worldview and understanding of nature and cosmology. Great sages and Musahars have relatively similar worldviews. Sage also owned the whole of nature, the human world, and cosmology. The Musahars also believed in collective ownership of land and resources. They were not very interested in making land and resources as private property. They made arable land but all lands were privatized by powerful people. They still kept on moving from one place to another with family members.

### **Human Life and Death**

The human body is considered as the main resource of life. If their body is robust, they consider the person and family resourceful. They have to work and the body is the main tool of life. They prioritize the happiness of human life. For them, property is not the main source of happiness. A similar notion was articulated by agrarian rural people when they had a large volume of land and many cattle. Dhimal, an indigenous community of eastern Tarai, also considered owning land was so much of Dukha in the past (Rai, 2015). The Musahar live and stay within the group. Group work, living in a group, and sharing food in the group are the fundamental Musahar culture. They did not save food and money for the future. Whatever they earned, they finished within a day or a week. A popular anecdote



among the Madhesi communities is, 'If you cannot manage your private property, invite/hand over to the Musahar, he can manage/finish your property within a week'. They were notorious for the destroyer of property. Similarly, if a Musahar receives pre-booking payments, he will not go to work. Rather he will enjoy the payment. These anecdotes indicate their different worldview, and relations with private property.

Musahar said that life and death are considered as a continuum of the immortal soul. They believed that there was a similarity in the soul of all human beings. So-called higher caste and so-called rich people shared the elementary form of the soul when they shared a basic human ontological level. Lachhana (an old Musahar witch-doctor) argued that the Musahar worldview shaped by the interaction with surrounding environment and supernatural entities. He further added that natural entities are interpreted and interacted with supernatural power. There was a temporary cry and sadness for the loss of close relatives. After a few years, they believed that the soul transformed into a living entity, if not, roaming around the air. Hareram said that they have hope for the birth of Dina-Bhadri. They believed that Dina-Bhadri would come for the elimination of all forms of domination and exploitation of the Musahars.

One day when Somana, Musahar traditional leader, took me around the village farm land, forest, and settlement landscape, he told me about the history and migration of the Musahars in this area. By showing the traditional settlement, geographical as well as cosmological landscape, for instance, the exercise sport of *Diana Bhadri*, he claimed that his great grandfathers were also born in this place. He reiterated that the Musaharniya, the settlement of the Musahar but now Tamangs were the largest community in this settlement, was the first settlement of the Musahars in this village. He added that the *Musahars* were the first settlers in Jamdaha. He consolidated his argument by presenting the mythical importance of the territory. They believed that their brave ancestor (Dina-Bhadri) practiced physical exercise in the jungle near Jamdaha. There are foot, knee and fingerprints of the ancestor on the big stone. Other castes people also believed that these feet and fingerprints belonged to *Musahars'* myth. The stone prints were not archaeologically tested but local stories and myths were made up and commonly shared by the people around there. The stone prints were taken as a testimony of their belongingness to the place. Hareram argued that there were not only stone prints but also war exercises and hunting trail sports at the Chure forest. Several mythical landscapes from *Jogiya Jhajar*, *Kataiya Khap* to *Kamala River* were named and memorized during *Dina Bhadri* Puja. They claimed that the mythical landscape and their acceptance among the people were an acknowledgment of the Musahar historical attachment to the landscape. He told that when *Dina Bhadri* exercised on the stone, they became so powerful that none of the kings defeated them. When enemies knew the source of both physical and cosmological power from the stone,

they secretly turned the stone down. Then, there was the downfall of *Dina Bhadri* and the Musahar community again. Hareram was hopeful for the arrival of *Dina Bhadri* to turn the stone right side up again and bright future for the community.

## DISCUSSION

Musahars are blamed for their culture, landlessness and other political-economic status. Like William Ryan's (1971) notion of '*Blaming the Victim*' shows how society blames the victims of poverty rather than the real villain, in the case of the *Musahars*' marginalization, this is somewhat circular argument putting the individual at the center of any kind of cultural ills or problems. The logic behind the blaming of the marginalized was social Darwinism's premise of "survival of the fittest" where those people who could adapt to the sociocultural environment would live while those who could not so adapt met with their end (Buttle, 1990). I contend that these types of arguments failed to explore alternative perspectives and relations of nature, resources, and cosmology. They were out of the game of resource ownership and politics of categorization. They have maintained fundamental relations with nature, resources, and cosmology as analyzed by Viveiros de Castro (Viveiros de Castro, 2012). A similar ontological position was explored in the Musahar community. It means Musahars have a typical perspective to understand themselves, other people, nature, and cosmology at large. A group of anthropologists argue that the emic approach investigates how local people think, perceive and categorize the world, their meaningful behaviors, and their interpretation of nature, culture, and cosmology (Kottak, 2006; Harris, 1980; Headland et al., 1990; Viveiros de Castro, 2012). On the contrary, dominant knowledge sets the dominant worldview and political-economic logic of being human. Musahars' interpretations of nature-culture relationships are best analyzed by Viveiros de Castro's Amerindian Perspectivism (2012) and political-economic relations of resources in a culture group (Beteille, 1996). As *Musahar*ssaid, their great-grandfathers refused to own land because their cultural paradigm was different. Sara Shneiderman (2010) notes that tribal and indigenous people employed state-evading strategies, what she says '*Zomia* thinkings', are still a deep part of the habitus of many people. By employing their intersubjective communication with nature and cosmology, their worldview of land and nature can be better grasped. They were out of the ring of ownership and resource competition. The fundamental landless and poverty narratives about the *Musahars* found fallacious and meaningless for them. After distribution and control over public land in the name of the state were the roots of state production of landlessness. The *Musahars* neither participated in the rule of the game of land distribution nor were they players of land encroachment and accumulation game. As the generic concept of village was constructed by dominant narratives of *Panchayat* development (Pigg, 1992), the generic category of Musahars and their

derogative metaphors like *Banmanchhe*, *jungali*, and 'people without culture' was historically constructed by dominant narratives of development discourse. The dominant narratives of development and/or discourse of civilized/savage culture are not value-free categories of people and culture. White Euro-Americans established their cultural supremacy through narratives of the evolution of culture and development (Tylor, 1871). Similar narratives of civilized/savage narratives cultivated by government and non-governmental development agencies like schooling textbooks, mass media, and community development activities. These development agencies and their followers constitute dominant cultural narratives of civilized/savage people.

Therefore, this research is a contribution to exploring the *Musahars* and their everyday interactions with the dominant culture through their lens. *Musahars'* reluctance towards development activities could be an objection to the category of civilized/savage formulated by the White Euro-American and mainstream culture. The *Musahars* have their cultural perspectives beyond the binary opposition. Rather than binary opposition of dominant marginalized interactions, the research opens eyes to look at people's worldviews on their interaction and human-nature intersubjectivity. The transformation of the *Musahars* from the tiger is philosophical and equally sounds mythical. Those who were earlier transformed from wild creatures to human beings created a normative order of hierarchy. Those who came later were at the bottom of the caste hierarchy. Somana claimed that the *Musahars* were transformed and the process of transformation continued toward uncertain socio-cultural terrain. His opinion was like a continuous transformation of the *Musahars* from non-human to human tribe and greater specification. He added that whenever they came on the earth there was no doubt they were one like other mobile tribes. When they came into contact with other groups, most of the higher positions and ritual ranks were occupied. He meant that a caste-based hierarchical order was set up. Then, his group was ranked the lowest by the people of higher rank. They did not separate themselves from natural and cosmological entities. Because of their non-possessive cultural orientation and beliefs of nature and cosmology, there was difficulty in the implementation of progressive plans. Their perspectivism reflects on everyday cultural behaviors, responses to natural resources/property, and cosmology. Non-possessive cultural orientation enforced by the political-economic status-based distribution of resources was a fundamental element of their multidimensional marginalization in a competitive liberal economic society. In this logic, they were in between nature-culture debate.

## CONCLUSION

I started with a question: Why did other people used *Banmanchhe* metaphor to the *Musahar*? The interactions, observations with the *Musahars* of Jamdaha-Golbazar and their stories reveal that their anti-current relations with resources,

cultural practices, and world views made them *Banmanchhe* in the eyes of dominant communities. They maintained differences in private property ownership, their relations with natural resources, livelihood strategies, and their capacity to understand non-human entities and intersubjective understanding. These cultural differences are historically intertwined with political-economic relations of the caste system, land tenure systems and symbolic powers by the dominant communities. Therefore, their differences are the product of long politico-economic domination in the society and exclusion from politico-economic processes of the state. Their different worldviews, relations with nature, resources, people, and property are humiliated by calling them a series of derogatory like 'Jangali', 'Banmanchhe', 'landless', 'foodless', 'homeless', 'Bihari', 'Musakhane', 'uncivilized' and so many others. They are humiliated through the common use of derogative metaphors, and relationships of the dominant cultural groups. The *Musahars* are still considered *Banmanchhe*, uncivilized, landless, homeless, because of their cultural differences maintained in relations to political economic positions in the society, different relations with natural resources, and cosmology. They claimed that they can communicate with plants, water, air, ancestors and cosmology. They believed that natural entities can understand human and human can understand natural entities. If water and air do not understand human or vice versa, human suffer by different diseases. Their knowledge and cultural practices are reflected in their relations with property and natural resources. Their knowledge and cultural practices are not valued in the society. Global political economic hegemony is also connected through open market, development projects and educational institutions. In terms of global political economic perspective, cultural differences are disregarded and humiliated in the name of 'traditional and irrational'. The penetration of global market culture humiliated the *Musahars* as 'uncivilized' people.

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