

Historical Processes of Power, Knowledge, and Identity Change in Gurungs: With Relevancy to Identity Conflict and Modern Debates in Nepal

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Abstract

The major theme of this paper is to demystify prior theoretical concepts of cultural identity in Gurungs and tries to establish new arguments regarding identity. Most of the previous theoretical contributions found that identity always remains the same and is fixed in a single blood, land, or territory. However, this paper claims that identity cannot be understood as a fixed form, it is always changed and constructed in a historical time frame. Even different forms of cultural and ritual practices in societies have been created in certain time frames and are also being changed. Based on this, the construction of Gurungs' identity was the consequence of long historical processes and power formation. Recently, many social scientists have argued that culture and identity should not be understood as observing the only objective reality but need to be subjected. It can be interpreted as understanding the long historical migratory processes, contacting different clans, and groups, studying the historical power formations, new knowledge establishments, economic relations, and changes. Gurungs' identity and culture can only be interpreted by understanding the historical migratory roots in the northern foothills from Mt. Kailash to Kaski, Lamjung, and Gorkha and contact with different kings' (local king (Kroh) powers, Ghale king powers, Hindu kings' powers, and modern economic powers) and their formation of knowledge in a historical timeframe. Power is the major key factor in the creation of culture and identity but it does not mean only political power, rather understood as established new knowledge formation in the society.

Keywords : consequence, formation in the society, migratory processes & timeframe.

Introduction

Basically, this paper debunks the primordialism concepts of cultural identity that were proposed by Shils (1957), Isaacs (1989), Armstrong (1982), Smith (1986), and Conner (1978) being conceived as an unchangeable and naturally given entity. Previous scholars had been believed that identity is always fixed with the same blood, land, territory, and essential biological unity. Based on these perspectives, Geertz (1963) has defined society as sharing ideas of the same blood ties, races, speech, territory, religion, custom, and tradition. However, this article has strongly denied previous theoretical concepts that identity is always constructed and changed with an exploration of new knowledge formations and unique historical processes in different times and contexts. The study has argued that

identity is never formed by single blood, single land, and single territory. And argues that *Gurungs'* identity was never understood as primordial but as constructed and changed in the historical time frame. Once in history, *Gurung* identity was connected to hunting, collecting foods, and migratory groups, and changing with time, culture, and identity, which is connected to military history. Now, *Gurungs'* identities have been formed in diverse ways. With the rise of modernity and globalization, the number of migrants worldwide has rapidly increased which has created many diasporic societies, multi-cultural cities, and new cultural identities (Appadurai 2005). Migration and transnationalism create transnationals who belong to multiple spaces that shape their multiple identities (Shizha, Kimani-Dupuis, and Broni 2018:2). People are changing their national identities such as Nepalese-American, Nepalese-British, and Nepalese-Canadian, Nepalese-Australian and so on. Such this scenario, *Gurungs* can't be exceptional. Now, they are changing their identities in different nationalities in global perspectives. But, in the context of Nepal, *Gurungs* are dividing their own intercultural conflicts within the same cultural groups such as clan conflicts, ritual conflicts, cultural conflicts, and so on. These are not only examples of *Gurungs* but also widening in many other castes (*Magars, Rais, Tamangs*, and so on).

Objectives

This article tries to explain post-structural analysis and how the emergence of different knowledge has established many cultural realities and belief systems. To justify the arguments here, the paper deserves previous paramount contributions of Nietzsche ([1888] 2005), Foucault (1972, 2000), Wolf (1982), Lewellen (2003), Appadurai (1998), Anderson (1983), Hirschman (2003), Fearon and Laitin (2003) to contemporary anthropologists Abu-Lughod (1991), Clifford and Marcus (1986), and Clair 2003. Those have started distinctive methodological perspectives in writing history in anthropology and established new theoretical models regarding culture. Based on these theories, the paper claimed that identity and culture have never been static and it is always impossible to understand without the historical process of change and new knowledge formations. Such background, culture, and identity should not be understood without detailed historical power processes and knowledge formations. So, Foucault says, all forms of knowledge are the same as "power". "The history of knowledge domains connected with social practices... (Foucault 2000:2)." Again, Foucault says "Political power is not absent from knowledge, it is woven together with it. (Foucault 2000:32)." By these facts, *Gurungs* identity and cultures can never be static in one truth.

Current Issues and Debates

Today, identity is a vigorously debated field in social sciences (political anthropology, post-modern anthropology, sociology, and political science) on the issues of primordial vs. constructive perspectives but almost all anthropologists today reject the primordial notions of identity, now "viewing group identity in constructivist terms" (Lewellen 2003: 163). Identity politics is widely accepted around the world. Primarily, the foundation of identity politics was based on civil rights movements during the 1960s and 1970s. Discrimination between color, sex, race, gender, and class was demanded of civil

rights for minority and backward groups, that was the major background of rights in identity but fundamental mistakes occurred when politicians took their power to get political authority by using the primordial nature of cultural identity. Consequently, cultural conflict in Asia and Africa is being highly increased today. Conflicts over “identity” account for more than 70 % of the civil wars that started between 1960 and 1999 (Sambanis 2001:261). Thus, Appadurai (1998) among others rightly traced the roots of the brutal surge of ethnic violence in Latin America, Eastern Europe, and Africa to the uncertainties, anxieties, disillusion, and chaotic environments created by economic globalization. Postmodernists claim that identity is seen as new wars and turning into barbarism again and these new wars have seen the increased politicization of ethnic identity and the polarization of the society (Koldor 1999; Richards 2005).

In such contexts, Nepal cannot be far from such realities, each cultural group has suffered so much today. And *Gurungs* could not be far from such realities. The clan conflict between *Ghale* and *Gurung*, the ritual conflict between *Pachyu*, *Klehpri*, and *Lama*, religious conflicts between *Shamanism*, *Bonism*, *Lamaism*, *Hinduism*, or *Tibetan Buddhism*, animals/birds’ sacrifices or non-sacrifices groups between *Pachyu*, *Klehpri*, and *Lama*, or within *Pachyu*, *Klehpri*, as well as other various conflicts such as cultural dances conflicts in *Maruni*, *Sorathi Ghatu*, *Krishna Chalitra*, *Gotra* practices, ritual priesthood practices conflict between *Pachyu*, *Klehpri*, *Lama* and *Hindu* priests, and conflict between celebrating the *Hindu* festivals or not are the overall recent cultural conflicts in *Gurungs*. During these contexts, most of the *Gurungs* are confused what their cultural identity. Despite all these conflicting scenarios as mentioned above, the paper has only explored how *Gurungs*’ cultural identities have been formed and changed in contact with different historical powers and kings that directly affected to establishment of various cultural practices and changes.

Methodology

Neither Deleuze, nor Jean-Francois Lyotard, nor Gaudari, nor I ever do structural analyses; we are absolutely not “structuralists.”...I would say that we study dynasties...I would like to show how the political relations have been established and deeply implanted in our cultures, giving rise to a series of phenomena that can be explained only if they are related not to economic structures, to the economic relations of production, but to the power relations that permeate the whole fabric [fundamental structure] of our existence (Foucault 2000:17).

The research was conducted in *Sikles* village, *Kaski* district in central Nepal. Similarly, the ontology of this research has taken subjectivity reality more than objectivity. The study does setting post-modern or post-structuralist (study of powers or dynasties not only social structures) research in anthropology not only used ethnographic methods but included discourse analysis of Foucaudian perspectives based on historical analysis of power or knowledge. Key informants, selective interviews, participation observation, and focused group discussions are major methods to prepare this paper. *Sikles* village in *Kaski* district has been selected for the study area. The detailed root outs of the identity of *Gurungs* multisided settings is another distinctive research method. Most of the

anthropological writing cultural histories in Nepal are the dominant history by western theories, methods, and scholars. Traditional settings of positivist ethnographic methods and theories do not explore the truth of culture and meanings. Only observing objective reality by scholars and interpreting meanings only gives a primordial sense of cultural meanings.

Clifford and Marcus (1986) “Writing Culture” have started major new forms of critique in cultural anthropology. They claimed that writing culture of anthropological histories is the mask of colonialism. The writing culture of colonial ethnography has been developed based upon biases of superiority and inferiority, which has clearly been mentioned by Bayly (1995) who claimed that cast and race in the colonial ethnography in India. He strongly debunks colonial ethnographic stereotypes. Nepal cannot be far from such domination of European power, Foucault (1980) mentions that power is necessary but it is harmful when repressive and dominant. In most of these contexts, the historical development of anthropology starts from Kirkpatrick (1811), Hamilton (1819), Hodgson (1874) and Oldfield (1880), and so on, who have left some important materials from the 18th and 19th century for anthropological analysis of Nepal but Nepalese anthropologists never aware who they are? Why they came? What was their mission? Still, very few Nepalese anthropologists are aware that the historical writing culture in Nepal began with the dominant history of British and American Power. One of the prominent Nepalese anthropologists Dilli Ram Dahal said “...anthropological portrayal of the “real Nepal” has been the project of western social scientists (Dahal 2015:55).” The fact cannot be rejected that many military spies, British Officers, and Christian missionaries were the beginners of anthropological writing culture history in Nepal, once in a period of the history, British Indian military forces had attacked many times on Nepalese sovereignty. Their goal was to study Nepal to get huge benefits to the expand European Hegemony by covering huge cultural globs.

Postmodernists critically argue that such types of traditional concepts, theories, and methods of anthropology do not address today’s complex modern issues. So, to understand broadly *Gurungs’* identity post-structural and post-modern analyses have been used in this research. “Culture cannot be separated from power and politics...both are connected to each other”(Spencer 2007:12). Such backgrounds, this paper has chosen historical power analysis, multisided methods, and ethnography.

History of *Tamu* Identity

“...identity as a ‘production’, which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation... Cultural identities come from somewhere, have histories. But, like everything which is historical, they undergo constant transformation... [It] is not a fixed essence at all (Hall 1994: 222-223).”

Once in history, *Gurungs* were recognized as “*Tamu*” in ancient times referred to hand tools called “axe”. If we look at the meaning of “axe” in the pre-historical sense, it was a very popular tool since the Stone Age. The extra-ordinary decorated stone village structure, worshipping a flat big stone, that nature of *Gurung* deeply connected with the hand

iron axe because without the role of hand iron axe *Gurung* villages were not be constructed, so *Sikles* is one beautiful example of a decorated stone village. Most of the *Gurung* villages have found with beautiful Stone decorated and constructed so that the meaning of “*Tamu*” is more related to the context of *Gurung*. But today “*Tamu*” is widely famous in “*Gurung*.” In historical terms, *Gurung* identity was related to “Hunter”, then turned into “Shepherd” during the pastoral practice. *Hunting* and the Trans-human Shepherd System are still in practice in *Gurung* but largely, *Gurung* identity was established after contacting Hindu power as “Military Identity”. Today this identity is widely around the world. The power-sharing between *Hindu Raja* is the major factor in recognizing and establishing *Gurung* identity.

Origin and Migratory History

One of the prominent religious figures Shree Lama *Gurung* (*Tangting* Village) representing as New Tibetan Buddhism sect was told in detail the cultural meanings of “*Ke-Ta*”, “*Bhu-Ta*” or “*Ke-Bai-Ta*” or “*Bhu-Bai-Ta*”, during the interview. According to his statement “*Ke-Ta*” means “origin” and “*Bhu-Ta*” means “Progress” in *Gurung* terms. Further, he said, “we should not forget our two things ‘Origin’ or ‘Progress’ but we should follow ‘Progress’ not the ‘Origin’.” The statements of Lama and Nietzsche reviewed paradigm are similar connections and research explores the same process of progress of the knowledge and powers. Previous scholars have argued that ‘origin’ is fixed and ‘progress’ is changed but this study reveals that both ‘origin’ and ‘progress’ are changing form, it’s never never-ending process, whether ‘origin’ or ‘progress’. Even, though our whole universe is changing and expanding, so there is no static knowledge or truths. This is a fact today that inventions of science and technology help both search “past” and “future”. Similarly, Pachyu Kul Prasad Kromsai said that *Gurungs* originated in Northern Himalaya and then migrated in various parts of northern Himalaya from Mt. *Kailash* Surround to *Jumla*, *Jumla to Dolpa*, *Dolpat to Mustang*, and arrived in *Manang* through ancient migratory roots and many groups repeatedly arrived in different times and history. The study finds that before agriculture, *Gurungs* lived a true nomadic life during hunting and pastoral life, then, they became semi-nomad after adopting sedentary farming. These practices still exist in *Sikles* as a shepherding system, then, *Gurungs* ancestors were truly searching for fertile land after the practice of sedentary farming. At that time, they widespread into southern *Manang* in *Kohla* civilization and then dispersed into different groups in *Kaski* and *Lamjung* districts. That was the period of *Sikles* settlements. All these migratory processes are found in the oral scriptures of *Pachyu*, *Klehpri* and *Lama*.

Power History in *Zhan-Zhung* Kingdom and Common Language Identity

Study shows that *Gurungs* were already widespread in the northern Himalaya periphery of Nepal and Southern of ancient Tibet before the 7th century. It was the time before the unification of Tibet by *Songstan Gampo* (618-650) called it *Zhang-Zhung* State (Snellgrove and Richardson 1968). The ancient *zhangzhung* was well-known for its existence in the shamanism of Tibet. The state was divided into 18 different small principalities, which were not dominated by center power due to the complex geographical

setting of Tibet. Even mini principalities were as freedom themselves. The *Zhang-Zhung* had broadly widespread from *Ladakh* through the Indian border to Sikkim and Bhutan. There were many junction marketplaces in different small principalities. *Sarke* languages were most practiced during that time. The history of *Sarke* Languages was the most preliminary foundation languages of *Tamang*, *Gurung*, *Thakali*, and *Sherpa*. Many scholars agree that the same languages become different with the process of long migratory and generations of Gap. Based on ancient *Sarke* languages, those who came from upper places, they called *Tamu*. Those who came from the East side are called *Sya*, and *Sherpa* is called *Sya* (Gurung 2071:2)

Similarly, those who come from riding horses are called *Ta*. *Ta* means horse and it became *Ta-Mang*, some are called merchants of horses also. Written scripts of *Sarke* languages were recorded during the reign of *Srong-btsan-sgam-po* in the 7th century in the *Uichang* Kingdom. The reign of *Srong-btsan-sgam-po* was the most powerful king of Tibet who formulated Tibet and founded ancient Lamaism or the very old *Nyingma* sect of Buddhism, which was the rival times of practices animal sacrifices in northern Himalaya, then, he was influenced by the *Guru Padma Sambhav*. Surely, *Gurungs* believed in shamanism since ancient times but Lamaism had adapted before 1400 years, whereas, *Guru Padmasambhava*¹ (also known as *Guru Rinpoche*²) formed very old Buddhist sects *Nyingma* in northern Himalaya and *Gurungs* accepted by the influence of *Yarlung* Dynasties during 6th and 7th century, while powerful King *Srong-btsan-sgam-po* had expanded his empire into northern foothill of Nepal and 1200 years of old Hinduism had practiced when *Jumla* reached apex power from 8th century to 12th century after power fluctuated between *Mangol* and *Khasa* (Stiller 1973). Still, practices of the *Lama* Clan and Lamaist texts are the major proof of the *Nyingma* sect religion. Some texts are in Sanskrit due to not being fully translated at that time, so this is the major premise of about 1400 years of old Lamaism practiced in *Gurungs*.

Decline of *Se-rib* Kingdom and Rise of *Jumla* Power: Separation of *Gurungs* and *Magars*

Se-rib was a kingdom, south-west of Tibet and north-west of Nepal that had separated to *Zhangzhung* Kingdom during the period of *Yarlung* dynasty. But *Se-rib* was conquest by *Yarlung* dynasty's power king *Srong-btsan-sgam-po* and joined to whole western foothills connected to *Zhangzhung*. During the *Se-rib* kingdom, it was separated into west *Zhangzhung* and north *Yarlung*. Tibetan history has mentioned that *Yarlung* ruled presumably from 95 BC to 846 AD on the southeast of the Tibetan Plateau (Kuzmin 2010). The dynasty become more powerful after rising *Srong-btsan-sgam-po*. After beginning to fail and decline in *Yarlung* dynasty, the kingdom began to be ruled by the far-western Indo-Aryan *Khasa* Kingdom. It was a period of fluctuated power between *Khasa* and Mongols,

¹ *Guru Padmasambhava* is precious master in Tibetan Buddhist, he was famous Indian tantric Brahmin from Odisha was connected to Nalanda University, who founded in very old *Nyingma* sect in Tibet.

² *Rinpoche* is use in the context of Tibetan Buddhism as in recognized title as reincarnated, respected, and nobility based on accomplishment of Lamas or *Dharma*.

later *Khasa* extended their kingdom into *Purang* and *Guge*, and the kingdom had flourished before 10th century into *Ladakh* in western Himalaya. Then *Khasa* power shifted the rise in new powers and decline of old *Se-rib*. That was the time of rife with wars and skirmishes. A preliminary history of west-north Himalaya or west-southern Himalaya Tibet had a fluctuation of Mongol and *Khasa* people, which is clearly pictured through the history of *Se-rib*. Before arriving in the *Yarlung* dynasty's powerful king *Srong-btsan-sgam-po*, there were small Kingdom *Se-rib* that had become powerful in the Himalayas. That might be the right time that *Gurung* Chronicles says *Ghale* King had married an Indian princess. *Yarlung* dynasty had captured all southern foot of hills *Se-rib* kingdom and western *Khasa* Kingdom (Jackson 1978)). Both had the same cultural background and shared with each other, both had power. Both had started to dominate each other after the weakness of the *Yarlung* dynasty, *Khasa* had dominated that Kingdom. Based on these study shows that *Se-rib* might be the ancient Kingdom of *Gurung*, and *Magar*, which had already existed in the southern foothill of Tibet and the northern foothills of Nepal. Later, *Magar* identity was distinctly formed, those who settled in southern *Kali Gandaki*. *Gurung* identity was formed after migrated to *Manang*. Some local people say *Magar* had separated from *Gurungdi-Thum* in *Syanja*.

Warrior King *Pashramu*'s Bravery and Emerged in *Ghatu*

According to *Ghatu* Guru Men Bahadur Gurung (Aged 68), explained that the apex power rising of *Khasa* powers are the major reflections of *Ghatu*. The detailed explanation of King *Pashramu* from his marriage to death in the *Ghatu* and *Jumla* has easily perceived that *Gurungs* had already connected *Jumla* King before separating into *Baisi* and *Chaubisi*. *Pashramu* was a king who had tried to combine previous *Jumla* power after separating *Baisi* and *chaubisi*, which clearly reflects *Ghatu*. The story of his marriage and shopping market place in near the *Bhagirathi Ganga* through the *Kedalipur*, *Balanpur*, *Tapekhan Hatiya*, and *Shriramu Ganga*, and Queen *Yemphawati* place in *Ratanpur*, *Rampur*, and *Bijulipur* shows that *Jumla* had widely expanded and connected to *Uttar-Pradesh* in India. Many *Nepali* folk words like *abaila*, *kahabaila*, *jabaila*, represent pure language history in *Jumla*. In *Ghatu*, King *Pasharamu* might have arrived in *Gorkha* and *Lamjung* bordered to reconnect with *Jumla*'s power, while *Jumla* had fractured between *Baisi* and *Chaubisi*. He fiercely fought crossing the *Madi*, *Marsyandi*, *Seti*, and *Kaligandaki* River and controlled his previous places *Rishinkot*, *Ghiringkot*, *Kaskikot*, *Nuwakot*, *Tansenkot*, and so on. Unfortunately, the war is uncontrolled while he arrives at *Lohasur* is battle-filed and dies. His dead body was reached by his Military and private horses. *Rani* goes to Sati. *Goshaighat*, *Masaneghat*, *Ghumeghat*, *Ghumrighat*, *Kedalighat* as well as different *Ghat* has mentioned about *Utter-Pradesh*. In the history of *Jumla* had reached in highest power from the 8th century to the 12th century and deteriorated after the 13th and 14th centuries (Stiller 1973: 34-36). One of the prominent Historian Dr. Jagman Gurung mentioned that the life histories of the King and Queen of *Gorkha*, *Pashramu* Raja, and *Yamphabati* Rani have been depicted in *Ghatu* (Gurung 2035:64). Further he explains that about 1200 years of old southern Brahmanism still exists in the *Ghatu* dance. Based on the life story of the *Pashramu* King, *Ghatu* might

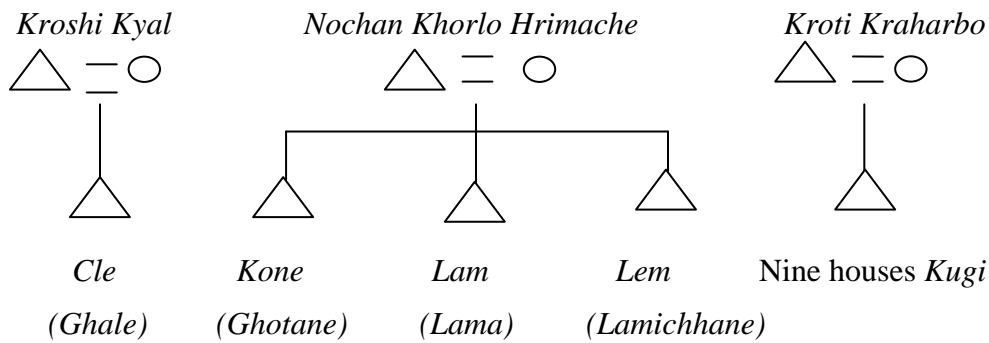
have been adopted in *Gurung* between 1300 A.D. to 1400 A.D. Fluctuated in power history has been mentioned by *Ghatu*. Thence, *Ghatu* itself is a combination of mixed identical history between *Hindu King* and *Gurungs*.

Analysis: The above explanations show how power is being implanted in our cultural practices.

The power formation history of *Kroh*, *Nochan*, and *Ghale* and clan formations

If we look at the Clan history in *Gurungs*, their Clan had been constructed by three different clans; *Kugi*, the offspring of *Nochan Khorlo* (*Lam, Lem, and Kone*), and the *Ghale* clan based on the different arguments of oral scriptures, myth, and genealogical history show that three separated clan had joined together after end of the nomadic life. With the adjustment of the three clan histories, they have recognized *Ghale* as King. Based on the well-known mythology of *Nochan Khorlo* story explained by *Pachyu Kul Prasad Kromsai* described that the leader of the village would call *Kroh* in the *Kugi* clan, where *Kugi* first adopted their own King, then accepted as the leader of *Nochan* and finally *Ghale* powers. Due to the long story, the researcher could not inter in details but the story believed that *Kugi* had run their society under the leadership of *Kroh* (local king) power. With the changing of time and context, when villagers could not fight with devils of the *Kroh* leadership, they were invited to *Nochan* (a shepherd boy from another group) and accepted as a leader after he won the devils. There was a time when the *Ghale* chieftainship should be supported by all *Nochan* clan and *Kugi* clans. Especially, when the *Nochan* had a King in *Gurungs*, later agreed on *Ghale* as King for their extra bravery after *Nochan*. History shows that the adjustment of three clans had already joined before *Kohla* Kingdom. In *Kohla* history, when the *Kugi* clan had found flat land and villagers migrated. Then, *Ghale* King also decided to settled settle in *Kohla*, it shows that *Ghale* was already accepted the king before arrived in *Kohla*. Similarly, the culture had broadly constructed in *Kohla* by the support of these three different clan groups.

Finally, it was ruined after the birth of internal conflict. Similarly, after the rapid growth of the population, they faced scarce of resources. *Kohla* settlement was the first place, *Gurungs* developed modern agriculture after arriving at this place and then, they dispersed broadly into low land and highly migrated downwards. Power-sharing history mainly depended upon the *Sogi* clan (*Lam, Lem, Kon*), and *Ghale* was King. Even nine houses *Kugi* clans also had a major role to the power history of *Kohla*. If *Kugi* did not support *Ghale* King, the power of *Ghale* could not be strong. *Kugi* had also decided to be a *Ghale* King to continue his power. This above historical process shows that *Ghale* had suffered internal conflict to maintain his power. That may be the reason to great support to control by the *Hindu King* in *Lamjung*. When *Kugi* had supported *Hindu* power after their internal conflict arose. *Hindu King* easily took the power from the internal group conflicts in *Kohla* of *Ghale* power. It shows that *Gurungs* internal conflict was the major cause to the dominant *Hindu* powers. *Gurungs* elites never raise these issues, again. Still, that disease has been widely seen in *Gurungs*. They had always backed not by *Hindu* power but by their self-boastful acts and internal conflicts.



Analysis: Based on the above perspectives show that Gurungs adopted many kings' powers from *Kroh* (local king), *Nochan* kings, and his offerings (*Lam*, *Lem*, *Kone*) and finally accepted *Ghale* King. Now, *Lam* is called *Lama* Clan, *Lem* is called *Lamichhane* Clan, and *Kone* is called *Ghotane*. Then, *Ghale* clan also being practiced in *Gurungs* after adopting the bravery of the *Ghale* King. It shows that *Gurungs* accepted many powers in the historical time and context and formulated the larger *Gurungs*. Similarly, the power-sharing history of *Hindu* King is another part that how power amalgamated in *Gurungs* and influenced cultural practices and identities, which is shown in next topic.

Power Sharing History with *Chhetri* King and Birth of Military Identity

One of the prominent historians Dr. Jagman Gurung said that, once in history, *Ghale* king was the most powerful, they had expanded the ruling territory of *Lasarga* from *Syangja* to *Samri* in *Dhading*. *Gurungs* were highly migrated while *Kohla* State had faced an internal conflict between *Ghale* and *Kugi* clans and migrated from the north-south. Then, groups of *Gurungs* migrated lower side of *Kohla* through *Taprang* to *Yunlung* village in *Kaski*. *Ghale* had the most autocratic king of *Gurungs*, they had generated strong power after supporting the *Kugi* clan. When *Kugi* did not accept their autocratic characters, by the result, some *Kugi* groups started to support *Hindu* king. Thence, Military identity is the historical recognition part of *Gurungs* in Nepal. In *Gurungs*, military identity had begun since the period of the first *Lamjung* king *Yasobramha Saha*, who was the third son of powerful king *Jagadikhan Shaha* from *Kaski*. *Jagadikhan* had expanded his kingdom in the south side and *Gurungs* had in the north side.

Further, his book *Gurung* (2035) explained that *Yesobramha Shaha*, *Lamjung* king had decided to power sharing in *Gurungs*' king *Ghale* by organizing *Lamjung Dharmashava*. That plan was also liked in *Ghale* king. *Lam* (*Lama*), *Lem* (*Lamichhane*), *Kone* (*Ghotane*) was the major warrior of *Ghale* King. So that, *Ghale* king (1), *Lama* (2), *Lamichhane* (1), *Gotane* (1) had participated in that *Dharma Shava*. Though, *Dharmashava* was the indirect defeat of *Gurung*, but other side, if they did not do so, many thing might be lost in the future. Those moments were not power-sharing history in *Gurung* but also a cultural sharing between them. For the cultural acceptance to the *Gurungs*, King had given *Gotra* to stay into the palace. Similarly, *Bhardwaj Gotra* gave to *Lama*, *Atri Gotra* gave to *Gotane*, *Garga gotra* *Lamichhane*, and *Kasyap Gotra* for other *Gurungs*. Even, few years'

history, *Sikles* had allowed to *lamichhane* as priesthood. From that period *Gurungs* had been recognized as high ranking military warrior in *Hindu King's Palace*. *Hindu* caste systems and *Dashain* has strongly followed by *Gurungs*. *Military* identity was established in *Gurungs* since that time. By the result, *Gurung* warriors had strongly supported in *Gorkha*, while *Drabya Shaha* was the first founder King. That was the beginning history of *Military Identity* in *Gurungs*. They had been widely dispersed from *Gorkha* after King *Prithivi Narayan Shaha* unified Nepal.

Mythology on the Same Historical Origin of *Gurung, Tamang, and Thakali*

Another distinct personality of *Gurungs'* community, Mr. Dillijung Tamu, highlighted that historically, *Gurungs* were migrated through many villages: *Tukarso Toh, Lache Toh, Langi Chhayebai Toh, Yular Sarmyu Toh, Kedrasai Toh, Mraisain Toh, Manang Toh, Nar Toh, Proto Tini Toh, Nachai Toh* and so on. During migratory times, three brother's families had been jointly settled in *Manang*, the groups had become larger, they had faced several problems with food and shelter, and they could not see any idea to survive life there, then, three brothers discussed together, what would be the best way to survive the life?, How could they stay in that place?, At last, they had agreed to migrate into three separate places. Based on the discussion between the three brothers, each would decide to cross the rivers. After that, the groups of elder brothers went to cross the *Mano* River, the next brothers groups went to cross the *Kerung* River, and the younger brother groups went to cross the *Thak* River. Later, the groups who crossed the *Mano* River were recognized as *Tamu*, those who crossed *Kerang* River were recognized as *Tamang*, and *Thak* River as *Thakali*. In the *Gandaki* region, the *Ankhu* River of *Dhading* district is believed to be as border between *Tamang* and *Gurung* Cultures. From the *Ankhu* River to the east side is taken as *Tamang* Culture and the west side is taken as *Gurung* culture. Still, another story has prevailed that groups of *Tamangs* and *Gurungs* had separated from the bottom of *Ganesh* Mountain in *Dhading*. This mythology and today's existing commonality cultural practices and languages assumed that most of them were same historical origin but the historical process of powers and formations had made differences in *Gurungs* and *Tamangs*.

Conclusion:

This paper explores that *Gurungs'* identity has been always constructed and changed with the formation of different historical knowledge, powers, and realities. Power is deeply implanted in our culture; it changes the previous reality or truth establishes new knowledge formation and influences the identity and culture. The major themes of this paper mention, *Gurungs'* identity was never primordial or the same blood, land, and territory, which had been constructed at different times and histories with contact in different clans and migratory groups. The political process of the local King or (*Kroh*) power, *Nochan (Lam, Lem Kon)* power, *Cle (Ghale)* power, *Malla* and *Shaha Thakuri* power are the series of transforming new realities and truths that formulated different cultural identities in *Gurungs*. History shows that *Gurungs* were long migratory roots from *Kailash* to *Jumla, Jumla* to *Dolpa, Dolpa* to *Mustang*, then, *Manang, Kohla*, and dispersed many places. Similarly, *Gurungs* had constructed their previous realities through many dynasties since *Zhang-Zhung*

through the *She-rib* Dynasty, *Yarlung* Dynasty, *Jumla* Dynasty, and *Gorkha* Dynasty. Hunting gathering, migratory, trans-human systems, sedentary farming, agriculture, and modern technologies are the continuous process of change in *Gurungs*. Apart from that, rising nationalism movements and birth of hundreds of dynasties in 16th and 17th centuries have also supported to construction the *Gurungs*' identity. Anthropologists believe in the diversity of the culture but why does culture become diverse within the same historical migratory groups? This is the result of the connection between different knowledge and power formations. Now, *Gurungs* are divided into many rituals and religious sects today in the name of identity. Based on the above facts, previous scholars could not connect that culture is the root connections of power and new knowledge formation, which has been highly affected in *Gurungs*. In this regard, there are various reasons behind it. Misinterpretation of cultures, ethnocentrism, lack of historical analysis and cultural process, separation of culture into sects, clan-based interpretations, ritual-based interpretations, and misunderstanding of the formation process of culture are the major problems that create the cultural and identical conflict day by day. Apart from that politicized cultural groups through dividing the small identical groups is also a major factor. Similarly, the paper argues that all these recent emerging conflicts are the result of the primordial nature of the cultural analysis of previous scholars. *Gurungs*' identity and culture cannot be understood without separating about 1400 years of old Lamaism, and 1200 years of southern Brahminism or Hinduism. These are the complete processes of *Gurungs* cultural formations but previous scholars were only focused on Shamanism with single blood, land, and territory. Thus, the paper argues that only describing shamanism ritual practices does not represent whole cultural identities and cultures in *Gurungs*. They rapidly became advanced with mixed blood history in *Kugi*, *Sogi*, and *Ghale* clans, later with *Khasa* clan in different dynasties through *Zhang-Zhung*, *Se-rib*, *Yarlung*, *Jumla*, and *Gorkha*. The fathom of culture does not explore without separating the change process of history, knowledge, and power formations. The change process has still been going on. It is a never-ending process. So, history never came back but people can learn from history (Hall 1994).

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