

I. Puma and Its Ritual Performances

This research focuses on the Parusewa(PR) *Mundum* (PR) ritual performance of the Puma¹ community of the eastern parts of the Nepal. This research studies Parusewa *Mundum* ritual with the analysis of the field observation, audio-video as well as library works, drawing critical insights from the Performance Studies as the main methodological tool and explores at the performative sides and dimensions of the Parusewa performance. This research has been divided in three chapters. The first chapter has introduced basic rituals of Puma culture among which, Parusewa *Mundum* ritual is extensively focused. In second chapter, the Parusewa *Mundum* ritual has been closely analyzed using the methodological framework of Performance Studies. The second chapter is, thus, the analysis of the Parusewa *Mundum* ritual and its performative elements. The final chapter has

¹ Puma denotes the ritual language of Kirat Puma or Khambu or Rai or Rokong people. See Figure No. 1 for genesis and language tree of Puma.

concluded findings about Parusewa *Mundum* performance and the importance of its performative elements to bolster the Puma cultures.

Puma is mongoloid physiognomy of indigenous ethnic people and one of the branches the Kirati, which denotes to the ancient cast or people of civilization. Puma community belongs to the generation of the King Yalambar, who had defeated the Gopal dynasty and ruled in Yalakhm(PR) i.e. Kathamandu Valley of Nepal. A researcher, Praveen Puma observes in his book *Henkhama-Ninamma* that “32 generations of Kirati Kings had ruled 3789 years 8 months in Nepal” (11).

However, historicist G. P. Singh claims in his book *The Kiratas In Ancient India* that the Kirati dynasty had “ruled over the valley of Nepal from 3102 B.C, the beginning of the *Kaliyuga*, to the 7th century A. D.”(395). Anthropologist Bishnu Rai clarifies about the Kings of Kirat dynasty in his book *Socio-Political Anthropology in Nepal* that the “Yalambar” (580-565 BC) was first Kirati King and “Gasti”(95-110 AD) was last Kirati King”(77). Later, Gasti King had been defeated by the Lichchhavi dynasty and Kirati people were migrated towards the

eastern part of the Kathmandu Valley, which is called “Kirat region”.

Here “Kirat” denotes the religion or territorial land of Kirati people.

Historicist and cultural analyst Chaitanya Subba clarifies in his book

The Culture & Religion of Limbus that after annexation of Kirat region

into Nepal in 1774, the Kirat region had divided into three regions as

the “WolloKirat” ; near Kirat i.e. the Köitschawan, “MajhKirat”;

MiddleKirat i.e. the “Khambuwan” and “PalloKirat”; Far Kirat i.e. the

“Limbuwan” (12). Köitswan (N) is a historical and territorial land of

Köits i.e. Sunuwar or Mukhiya people of Nepal, which lies in between

the eastern border of Kathmandu valley to Likhu Rivers of Nepal.

Likewise, Khambuwan(N) is a historical and territorial land of Khambu

people of Nepal, which lies in between the Likhu to Arun Rivers of

Nepal. Likewise, Limbuwan(N) is a historical and territorial land of

Yakthung i.e. Limbu people of Nepal, which lies in between the Arun

to Mechi Rivers of Nepal.

Puma is known as Khambu too, which is one of the races of ethnic group of people and they all have their own separate cultures,

languages and identity in the society. Kiratologist, Iman S. Chemjong views in his book *History and Culture of Kirat People* that Khambus were the first immigrants to the Himalayan region. He further views: “The Mongols and the Munaphens . . . people came in later periods and intermingled with the Khambos and constituted a big human race” (3-4).

Puma is one of the branches of Khambu people. Later especially, after 1774, Puma is also widely affected politically from the term “Rai” as other Khambu. The Rai term had used to before 1336 as the post of King or ruler of the state but later Rai represents casts, having more than 28 languages, cultures and own separate identity among Khambu community. A researcher Khagendra Bahadur Rai observes about the term Rai in his book *Adhibasi Kirat Raiharuko Sangchhipta Chinari*. He further claims : “After fall of the Kirat dynasty, Rai term had emerged as the King” (424). In ritual language, Pumas are called only “Puma” and in political language, they write “Rai” only.

Puma has own tradition, culture, religion, language, literature, and so on. Life of Puma people has guiding by the *Mundum²(P)*. The *Mundum* is the traditional religious verbal and performative holy text, magical tradition as old as Kirat civilization, based on animism, taken as the holy words of the gods and goddess and the religious power of great strength. It is originated in the creation period of the universe as well as living being, philosophic speech of human being-god. It deals with supreme almighty, ancestral and natural Gods- Goddess, creation of universe, earth-sky, sprite-soul, wind-water-fire, light-dark, nature-ancestors, religion- culture- customs -traditions, civilization -rite- ritual, myth-creation, sins, god spirit- evil spirits, jealousy -anger, cause-effect, death-lives, habits- behaviors-belief, astrology-mathematics, knowledge, philosophy, aesthetic, art, literatures, languages and so on. It is oral form because written form of the *Mundum* is not accepted as valid by society. It must be gained in dream, not simply learned by heart and transferred one generation to another generation orally. It is strongly related

² See Figure No. 2 for the tree of relatedness of the Mundum.

with ritual performance. Thus, *Mundum* is parts of the ritual or the synonym of the Kirati ritual and due to the linguistic variance of the Kirati, *Mundum* is known as *Mutdum*, *Mundhum*, *Mungdum*, *Mukdum*, *Mutdhum*, *Mugdum*, *Ridum*, *Palakhe* and so on. The *Mundum* is performed in musical form, which is called *Risiya or Hakwa or Hakwasatim*. It is recited, chanted and performed by the Dowa³.

Puma do not have their authentic written history until now. So, they believe in the *Mundum*. According to the *Mundum*, Puma had originated in the creation period of the ancestral holy couple the Sumnima-Paruhong . The Sumnima is the supreme female God, wife of the the Paruhong and known as Sunniku(P)/ Henkhama(PR)/Muwama(PR)/ Hetlukma(PR)/Thaklungma(PR)/Mamawa (PR)/ Chuniwa (PR) Wasangkuma (PR)/ Sorongkuma (PR)/Bhabini (PR)/Rekhani (PR)/Nahima (PR)/Nayuma (PR) and so on. She represents the earth and ancestral mother of Puma. However, the

³ Dowa refers all kinds of Puma ritual shaman as Boktongmi, Nakchhong, Bunglumi-Bungpenmi, Suksangmi-Rahangmi, Selekmī but researcher focuses the use of Dowa word mainly to denote the Suksongmi-Rahangmi in this dissertation.

Paruhong is the supreme male God, husband of the Sumnima, lords of flowers. He is known as the Paruhang (N)/ Ninamma (PR)/Naribung (PR)/Namritahang (PR)/Salappa (PR)/ Budhahong (PR)/ Warilikhanga (PR)/Kumdapahang (PR)/Pagarihang (PR)/Duptahang (PR)/Boboronghang (PR)/Suserahang (PR) and so on too. He represents the sky and ancestral father of Puma. Praveen Puma has highlighted the mythological aspect of the origin of Puma in his book *Henkhama-Ninamma*. He observes that an ancestral holy couple the Sumnima-Paruhong got married and gave birth to “Chapchaa” i.e. Tiger, “Banpa” i.e. Bear, and “Hongchha” i.e. Man, and they called their offspring the “Puma”. Especially, Hongcha’s children are called “Puma” i.e. the “Origin” (37-38). So, Puma respect and worship to the Sumnima-Paruhong as their ancestral Gods and tiger and bear as their kins.

Puma’s Samet (PR) i.e. the protoclan, is the Namdhung (PR), which is called Sibilusibrong(PR). Female Samet is called a Namdhungma (PR) and male Samet is called a Namdhungpa(PR). The

Samet is their main ritual identity, which is compulsory needed in every ritual performance. Puma has three kins as the Diblung (P) i.e. elder kin, Palun (P) i.e. middle kin and Henyongchha (P) i.e. last kin. Praveen Puma has traced mainly fourteen clans of Puma in his booklet *Dongwanga-Dondngdapa*. He further observes that the “Diblung kin” has mainly seven clans as “Thumrahong”, “Yongdohong”, “Hongtangkha”, “Dumamlung”, “Limmachhit”, “Hadira” and “Garaja”. However, “Palun kin” has mainly six clans as “Mithahong”, “Tongmalung”, “Metlongthong”, “Wabihong”, “Khahong” and “Ririhong”. In addition, “Henyongchha kin” has only one as “Henyongchha” itself (2). However, each clan also has its sub clans.

Puma has both ritual and historical state. Their ritual territorial state is called the *Pumasohon* i.e. ritual state and lies mainly in between area of Sawakhola (PN), Bechhuchon(PR), Bungwakhola(PN) and Dudhkoshi (N) rivers of Khotang district of Nepal. Praveen Puma has claimed that “Pumasohon” had divided into three Bobbi i.e. ritual kingdom, in his book *Henkhama-Ninamma*. He writes that Puma

Bobbies are “Tilungbobbi” (PR), “Rohothumbobbi” (PR), and “Saksalungbobbi” (PR) (83). Further, Tilungbobbi is ritual kingdom of Diblung clan, which lies in Diblung VDC of Khotang, Nepal. Likewise, Rohothumbobbi (PR) is a ritual kingdom of Palun clan, which lies in Devasthan VDC of Khotang, Nepal. Likewise, Saksalungbobbi is a ritual kingdom of Henyongchha clan, which lies in Pauwasera VDC of Khotang, Nepal. In addition, both “Pumasohon” (PR) and “Bobbi” (PR) are compulsory need of their every ritual performance. However, historical land of Puma is the Khambuwan (N).

Puma is also called the “Rokong”(P) and their language is “Rokongla”(P), which is from the Sino-Tibeto-Burman family. Their written script is Kirat Lipi(N) i.e. script. Puma has both oral and written literatures, which explore their ideology, philosophy, identity and so on. According to the CBS report 2011, the number of Puma is 6686 and most of them are illiterate and below the poverty line. Pumas are mainly inhabited in the Khotang and Udayapur districts of Nepal. Later, many of them have migrated at different parts of Nepal and India,

Bhutan, Barma, Brunei, Singapore, UK, USA, Germany, Arab and Gulf countries for good jobs. Puma's main come source is agriculture, government jobs and remittance from foreign countries.

Puma perform their all rites and rituals with certain purpose as the *Kirat religion*, which is an oldest, traditional, and animistic religion that guides whole of their ideology, community, and rites, culture, customs, and festivals daily life and so on. Latter, in the name of "The Kirat religion", "The Satyahangma"(1930) has been developed by the Falgunanda Lingden (b. 1885- d. 1948), and "The Heavenly Path"(2004) has been developed by the Supreme Master God Angle (b.1980-...). These religions are also related with ancestral and natural gods and goddesses as traditional "The Kirat religion". However, both theses reformed religions never sacrifice any animals or chickens in the name of Gods and goddess as the traditional "The Kirat religion". According to the traditional Kirat religion, Kathukpa (PR) i.e. ritual head of the male person, never touches and eats a Sungsa (PR) i.e. goat's meat. The goat is regarded as the pollutant and completely

restricted for the Puma Community. The *Mundum* expert, inhabitant of Sanichare-8, Kirtipur, Morang, Nepal, Mr. Jagat Bahadur Rai (b.1930---) believes that if Sungsa is touched or eaten by Kathukpa, S/he may suffer mentally or physically or may die. He adds in his interview⁴: “Sungsa is our evil enemy. If we touch it or eat Sungsa or its meat, we may lose our power of the *Mundum (P)* or die. So, we never touch and eat Sungsa” (Interview: 2009 AD, my translation from Puma Language).

Puma mainly worship their ancestral gods and goddess only in own Hutlung (PR), home and natural resources, not in monastery, mosque, or any temples. Hutlung is a holy ritual hearthstone and known as the Dabbya(PR) or Suptulung(PR) too. It is an ancestral holy place of the home and living holy place of all ancestral gods only. It is made from rectangular stones. In the middle of the Hutlung,

⁴ All the interviews used in this dissertation are personal interviews in different date, place and person from Puma Languages. I have translated them and all the translations used in this dissertation are my own. I am grateful to all related owners of original texts.

long three stones are erected to form an oven, where all ancestral gods are believed to live and guide to their children through the direction given in dream, which is an intangible communication in between ancestral gods and Puma people. Pumas are the ancestral and the natural worshipper because they are related to ancestors and nature. So, Puma worship various powers of nature like, the earth, the sky, the sun, the moon, the fire, the air, the water, hills, and so on. The earth is taken as mother, the sky is taken as father and water is taken as maternal home for them. Puma believes that every parts of nature have souls of human being. Thus, they compulsory worship nature and natural goddess too.

Puma always perform their cultural and rituals ceremonies following the guidelines of their *Mundum*, which must be recited, chanted and performed by the Dowa (P). The Dowa represents positive activities of the Sumnima-Paruhong. The Dowas are mainly five types in Puma community. They are Boktongmi i.e. only ancestral ritual male shaman, Nakchhong (PR) i.e. only Sakela (PR) ritual

shaman, Bunglumi-Bungpenmi (PR) i.e. spiritual flower holder shaman, Suksangmi-Rahangmi (PR) i.e. supernatural magical power holder shaman, Tayami i.e. knowledgeable head of the ritual performer. Even that, they are equally important in their own ritual areas.

Puma performs their all rites of passage at the home to inform, to introduce and to show the direct presence of ancestral gods in own kin by the direction of the Tayami (PR) i.e. knowledgeable person of rituals. Praveen Puma writes about rites of passage of Puma community in his article “Kirat Pumaharuko Jiwan Saskar”. He observes that they mainly perform the “Sakongkhamang” (PR) i.e. birth rites, “Nangpuma” (PR) i.e. naming rite, “Chaaittma” (PR) i.e. rice feeding rite, “Khammaittma” (PR) i.e. dressing rite, “Sayakappma” i.e. marriage rite and “Sima” (PR) i.e. death rite (20-22). In this way, Puma community completes their rites of passage.

Puma mainly worship their ancestral gods for happiness, calmness, power, energy, protection, prosperity, and blessing for all family members of the home with the guidance of same kin of

Boktongmi i.e. ancestral ritual performer, in the common presence of kin. In any ancestral ritual performance, the Boktongmi must be called and worshiped to male ancestral Gods of performing home and provided all kind of ritual foods at first and later female ancestral gods and later to other same clan of all ancestral gods at the Hutlung similarly, which is called the “Thapsonghili” (PR). Puma accomplish their ritual performances in two sessions of the year as the “Dongwaga” (PR) and “Dongdapa” (PR) rituals. Dongwaga is a rising of the season of the year. It is in between the month of March to June. In addition, Dongdapa is a falling of the season of the year. It is in between the month of August to March.

The Dongwanga ritual is all kind of ritual performance in the rising session of a year. Praveen Puma writes that the “Dongwanga ritual” includes mainly the “Phagu”, “Samkha” (PR), “Mongngen” (PR) rituals and other related ritual of the raising secession of year in his booklet the *Dongwanga-Dongdapa Ritual*. He further claims that the main purposes of Dongwanga ritual performances are “to inform the

ancestors for new plantation of the grain and to get permission for all kinds of ritual performance of the rising session of the year” (3-4).

Phagu (PR) is first and main ancestral worship in rising of the season of the year. Samkha is a worship of ancestors in twice a year at the rising and falling session of the year. Mongngen is a worship of Mongchhama (PR); lords of the prosperity, grain, wealth, mind, knowledge and so on.

Likewise, the Dongdapa ritual is also all kind of ritual performance in the falling session of a year. Praveen Puma clarifies that the “Dongdapa ritual” includes mainly the “Nuwagi”, “Samkha”, “Lewa”, “Khala”, “Mongngen” rituals and other related ritual of the falling secession of year in his article “Kirat Pumako Sanchhipta Parichaya”. He further claims that the main purposes of Dongdapa ritual performances are “to inform the ancestors for new harvesting crops and to get permission for all kinds of ritual performance of the falling session of the year” (38). Nuwagi(PR) is the greatest and first ancestral worship in the raising session of the year. Lewa(PR) is a

worship of millet gods i.e. Mongchhama and called Lewatupkhu(PR) too. Khala(P) is a worship of paddy grainy gods in the memory of the marriage ceremony of the Sumnima-Paruhong.

Pumas not only observe calendar rituals, but they also observe the non-calendar rituals. They are mainly in as below. The Khimrong(PR) is observed entering into new home formally and ritually. The Hutlungthungma(P) is another ritual. It is worship of the God in the occasion of establishing ritual hearthstone from the father formally. Another ritual is the Dwarika(PR). It is formal worship to main door of new house. Another ritual is the Khali(PR). It is extension form of the Samkha. Another ritual is the Saya (PR). It is raising head soul ritual. Another ritual is the Dhiwatoma(PR). It is formal ritual observed on the time of towering main ritual pillar of the home. Another ritual is the Tanglan(PR). It is performed to avoid the affliction of female sexual problems. Another ritual is Hiwa(PR). It is performed to avoid the affliction of same kin blood. Another ritual is the Monghim(PR). It is madness of ancestral gods. Another ritual is the Chhamong(PR). It

is performed to avoid the affliction of child soul. Another ritual is the Mochamong(PR). It is performed to avoid the affliction of death child soul. Another ritual is the Watupsamkha. It is performed to avoid the affliction of begging step of water gods. Another ritual is the Wahutmong (PR). It is performed to avoid the affliction of middle step of water gods. Another ritual is the Chiyamong(PR). It is performed to avoid the affliction of last step of water gods. Another ritual is the Wahunmong(PR). It is a worship of powerful water hunter god.

Likewise, another ritual is the Teremong(PR). It is a worship of powerful hill hunter god. Another ritual is the Budhahongsewa(PR). It is a worship of Sumnima-Paruhong through the soul flower ritual.

Another ritual is the Sarichapchen(PR). It is a worship of the Sumnima-Paruhong through the supernatural magical power to avoid the evils spirit. Another ritual is the Hopmachham(PR). It is a performance of the supernatural magical power through the powerful ritual oral song. Another ritual is worship of Hongmasewa(PR). It is a worship of the powerful Puma female goddess.. Another ritual is the

Puchhapmong(PR). It is a worship of snake gods. Another ritual is Tarimong(PR). It is a worship of the old forest spirit god. Another ritual is the Limbhumong(PR). It is a worship of powerful gods of pigs. Another ritual is the Yaksasewa(PR). It is worship of powerful forest gods of cattle. Another ritual is the Akfungwa(PR). It is worship of the gods of unmarried female dead spirits. Another ritual is the Temmayuo(PR). It is ritual worship of land forest god. Another ritual is the Sansari(N). It is worship of powerful forest gods of universe. Another ritual is the Thani(N). It is worship to resolve inter-caste marriage affliction problem. Another ritual is the Khulamong(PR). It is worship of forest spirit. Another ritual is the Thampung(PR). It is worship of hunter god spirit. Another ritual is the Dakmilungsewa(PR). It is a worship of holy couple of Golpa King and Phengma Queen. Another ritual is the Bhairungsewa(NP). It is worship of old saint god. Another ritual is Balenwa(PR) that is worship of tiger god and so on. In this way, Pumas perform their rituals as per demand of purpose the time, place, purpose and needs of the family members in which

performance plays dominant roles. Among these rituals, this research focuses on the performance and its importance in Parusewa *Mundum* ritual with the assistance of Performance Studies.

Parusewa is the greatest religious a verbal and performative worship of the creator of the Universe, supreme the Kirati God Sumnima-Paruhong. The “Parusewa” word has derived from Puma language. Etymologically, the Parusewa is made of two words- “Paru” and 'Sewa”. “Paru” means “the creator of the Universe, supreme the Kirati Gods Sumnima/ Paruhong” and “Sewa” means “to worship”. Parusewa is called as the Parutupma (P) or Parufongma (PR) or Sewalama (PR) or Sisomfongma (PR) or Somlofongma (PR) or Suksongchongma (PR) or Rahangchhong (PR) or Gurusewa (NP) or Gurupuja (N) and so on. It is a one of the parts of the *Mundum* and always connected with the *Mundum* ritual.

Parusewa is performed by the Suksangmi-Rahangmi Dowa, once a year on the occasion of the Dongdapa at Dowa's house in the presence of kins, mainly for the renewal of life force, refreshment,

legalization of the ritual, gaining knowledge and power, embracing the divination, for Khawa i.e. a kind of gum gained by the performer on the water kept in a plate from supernatural power which is believed to have a power to keep all the evil spirits away, happiness, calmness, protection, prosperity, and blessing from the gods and ancestors, to heal the sick people of the community and to bring good spirit for living being and avoiding bad spirits in the whole society and so on.

Parusewa is a main ritual performance of the Dowa. Thus, without Parusewa performance, Dowa never performs others rituals in the Puma Community. Senior Parusewa performer, the *Mundum* expert, inhabitant of Diblung-6, Kharchongpa, Khotang, Nepal, Mr. Dal Bahadur Rai (b. 1928- d. 2012) agrees to the aforementioned purposes of Parusewa, "Parusewa is our main ritual. If we do not perform it, we would be devoid of the power of the *Mundum*, mentally misbalanced or somehow we might die too. So we must compulsorily

observe it before performing any magical *Mundum*" (Interview: 2011 AD, my translation from Puma Language).

Parusewa is generally performed at Dowa's house but sometimes, it is performed anywhere accordance with the need of its performance, especially, if the Suksangmi-Rahangmi Dowa gains the Ken in dream from the Sumnima-Paruhong and gets in real time, s/he performs the *Mundum* unlimited time until not get the Ken (PR). The Ken is a ritual musical instrument, which must be gain dream from the Sumnima-Paruhong. It is made from the wood or stone or metal, skin of animals like deer, tiger, bear, bull, etc., Rudrakchhe, magical uncooked rice, Salawa (PR) and so on as their dream. Ken represents weapon, friend or wife or husband of the Dowa. The *Mundum* expert, inhabitant of Chisapani-7, Pathibhara, Khotang, Nepal, Mr. Khadga Bahadur Rai (b.1965 -...) says: "If the Dowa is getting the Ken, Parusewa should be performed at on ways and getting the place of the Ken" (Interview: 2009 AD, my translation from Puma Language).

During the Parusewa performance, the Suksangmi-Rahangmi Dowa prays, recites, chants, worships, begs the power of the *Mundum* from ancestral God, Goddess, own Guru; tutor; teacher and automatically trembles vigorously, transforms into the different related and respective Gods and goddess and performs their activities with Silee (PR) and spiritually goes to the Paruhon (PR) and reverses all her/his respective gods, and goddess in the reverse ways and ends the Parusewa performance at the Hutlung of the Dowa's hose.

According to the *Mundum*, Paruhon is the fountain chaos with the beautiful garden of flowers. These flowers represent the souls of human beings. It lies in between above the earth and under the sky. Paruhon is the royal place of the Sumnima-Paruhong and known as Papahi(PR), Paruhi(PR), Parusohon(PR), Parukhap(PR), Bungkhim (PR), Bungkhora(PN), and so on too.

This research employs Performance Theory as the methodological framework. So, it is very relent to discuss some major premises of the Performance Studies.

Performance is the collective term to denote the acts of living being. It is completely acting of living being as performing, doing something with the talking, walking, playing, dancing, entertaining, working, writing, an acting out of the daily life; especially human being. It generally, means acts in theatrical arts as music, drama, art, entertainment, sports, recitation, or some other forms of arts etc, which is performed by related performer. According *Collins COBUILD Advanced Learner's English Dictionary*, "a performance involves entertaining an audience by doing something such as singing, dancing, or acting" (1066).

Performance is inherent human activities of life, communicative modes of life, a performative and transformative communication, embedded with the society, politics, economic, environments, business, arts and so on, repeated, intentional and unintentional, innovative and derivative thing. A critic Richard Bauman defines that performance has a broader sense of communicative behavior and action. He adds; Performance is "a mode of the communicative behaviour and a type of

commutation event. . . . performance usually, suggest an aesthetically marked and heightened mode of communication, framed in a special way and put on display for an audience”(qtd. in Bell, 16).

Performance is originated from the communal society. It is performed in the community. It carries the calendar life with ritual performance with the plan for the successful performances. Senior theatre critic Abi Subedi claims that performance takes its shape through the planning in his book *Nepali Theatre as I See It*. He further writes: “Performance originated from the community” (28).

Performance involves performer, actions, context, time, audience and proposes as the characteristic of performance. It has certain propose, process and progressive idea, certain aims or goals as doing, seeing, embodiment of living being, performing drama, musical, playing, rituals, daily life style etc. Critic and theorist Elizabeth Bell views about its main three characteristics in her book *Theories of Performance*. She further claims: “Performance is both process and

product . . . Performance is productive and purposeful . . .

Performance is traditional and transformative” (16-17).

Performance accounts the mimesis, poises, and kinesis, reflecting, crating and breaking line of multiple realities. It creates awareness, consciousness, selfhood, self-identity, solidarity, security, joy, happy, pity, fear, legitimacy and attention of any issue through the context and content in various rituals performance; especially for the audience and performer. Critic and theorist Richard Schechner believes that audiences or those who participate in such performances go through open and secret forms of changes and transformation. He further says in his book *Performance Theory* that for those, who wait years to participate in the ritual festival or come all the way from different parts of the world to participate in such ritual festivals, the experience itself becomes the process of identity formation, and the participants collect very important subjective experiences. Therefore, such ritualistic or culturally and ritualistically important festivals bring

changes in the consciousness of audiences as well as performers (70).

Performance is constitutive, epistemic, critical power and much different but often maligned way of knowing the world of ideas, an epistemology; a way of knowing ourselves, other and a world.

Schechner views that performances occur in many differences and contexts and as many different kinds in his essay the “Fundamentals of Performance Studies”. He says:

Performance as an overall category must be construed as a broad “spectrum ”or “continuum”of actions ranging from ritual, play, sports, popular entertainments, the performing arts as theatre, dance, music etc, and every life performances to the enactment of social, professional, gender, race, and class roles, to healing (shamanism to surgery), and to various representations and construction of actions in media and internet. (xi)

Unlike the Schechner's concept, performance has multiple dimensional meaning depending on its fields. It needs a broad sense of knowledge to understand about performance. David E. Apter views that performance counts for a great acting ability in his essay "Politics as Theatre: An Alternative View of the Rationalities of Power". He says: "Performance is measured by the quality of representation including expression, articulation, style, presence, and a sense of disciplined deployment of the spectacular"(226-227).

Performance is common activities of life and outcome of performers. It always involves certain performer, actions, context, time, audience and proposes. It always needs audiences and the entire actors. In addition, entire audiences, generally, know about it before its performance, even that the audience is carefully involved and observe its performance. Critic Archana Thapa explores her idea about connection in performance, the performer and the audience in her essay "Performance Art: Feminine Representations as Cultural Intervention". She further asserts: ". . . performances are conducted

in front of audiences, often audience members also become performers by participating in them”(20). Sometime, the audience automatically involves in such a performance for her/his physical appearance, which is good example of the common performance and solidarity of community. Without the audience, the performance becomes valueless. Therefore, audiences play vital role in any successful performance.

Performance is related with performativity of the performer.

Performativity is involved with a daily life of the performers with social norms and value and evokes a selfless and self-identity. Critic and theorist Elizabeth Bell views that performativity is related with action of body. Bell, says; “Performativity plays special attention to bodies, but body does not determine or cause gender as in biological determinism and sexual difference Theory” (177).

Performativity is doing activities instead of reporting or narrating activities of leaving being. It maintains that identity, especially for gender, desire, race, ethnicity and abilities. It is the pragmatics of

language with the concept of J. L. Austin's idea in speech act theory, which treats an utterance as an act performed by speaker in a context with respect to an addressee. Austin views that performativity occurs with a constatives and performatives utterance. The Constatives is a fact or direct things and states true or false thing and the performatives is some direct actions as praising, questioning, and promising, praising, felicitating etc. Austin asks, "Can saying make doing it so?" He answers, 'yes', if a "performative is uttered within certain "conditions", in the proper circumstances, before the proper authorities, with sincere intentions"(qtd. in Bell 188).

However, Jacques Derrida disagrees with Austin's idea on language between citation and normal utterances. Derrida further argued: "All language is citational: All language can be lifted from its original context and "quoted" in a different context. All language is an iteration, or a repetition, with no link to an original version" (qtd. in Bell 188). However, Elizabeth Bell views that both concepts of Austin

and Derrida on language are very important and played vital role for performativity. Bell further claims that :

Austin's speech act *Theory* and Derrida's critique, then, are very important to performativity: Performances of identity are iterations-repetitions of sedimented historical conventions. All performances are citations-enacted references to ways of doing gender, sexuality, ethnicity, class, and ability that are bound by constraints that are legal, medical, religious, and always political. (188)

Performativity is also a theory of gender constitution, rejects foundational approaches to gender, and argues for gender's material and historical constitution in performance. Bell further claims; "Performativity can be utilized to critique the boundaries, institutions, and languages that produce it" (184).

Performativity explores an idea of new possibilities for understanding self-identity, creates identity and history, and strives to calm the selfhood with agency of work and against the dominants of

the different ideology. Performativity can be performed at broad areas as theatre, streets, grounds, places, office, home, room, market, or anywhere in its needs. E. Patrick Johnson says:

The stage, for instance, is not confined solely to theatre, the dance club, or the concert hall. Streets, social services lines, picket lines, loan offices, and emergency rooms, among others, may also serve as useful staging grounds for disidentificatory performances. Theorizing the social context of performance sutures the gap between discourse and lived experience by examining how queers use performance as a strategy for survival in their day-to-day experiences. (qtd. in Bell, 192)

Performativity deals with the postmodern self as multiple, shifting, fragmented, and contingent concepts. If performativity has undermined the stable subject, how can political movements recognize this and still articulate a viable political praxis? Performativity is as political practice and demonstrates against the oppressive authority for the resistance of

own identity and changing oppressive structures and ideologies in everyday life.

Performativity involves always certain performer, actions, context, time, audience, proposes, and evokes a certain action and exhibit a certain level of power with performance. It connects with the past, presents and future actions. It glimpses a traditional ritual and cultural actions of ancestors. It guides to new generations for future actions; especially raising and resisting cultural identity in the 21st century of the world.

Performance is related with ritual also. Ritual is a complete performance of human life. It includes rites, ceremonies, service, formal procedure, custom, habit, practice, convention, tradition, festivals etc. It is always performed in common way to fulfill certain religious purpose of life. According *Collins COBUILD Advanced Learner's English Dictionary*, ritual is a religious service or ceremony. It involves series of actions human life in a fixed order. It is a way of behaving or a series of actions, which people regularly carry out in a particular

situation, because it is their custom to do so. It is done inexactly the same way whenever a particular situation occurs (1248).

Ritual is involved with mental imaginary and symbolism. It requires an intention to sway nature or the divine will. It normally includes words and ideas as well as actions. Critic Marshal Sahlins views that ritual is performative medium for the negotiation of power in relationships and ritual activities appears central to cultural life. He further adds: "ritual enables enduring patterns of social organization and cultural symbolic systems to be brought bear on real events; in the course of this process, real situations are assessed and negotiated in ways that's that can transform these traditional patterns or structures in turn"(in Catherine Bell, 77).

Another critic Jeffrey C. Alexander views in his essay "Cultural Pragmatics: Social Performance between Ritual and Strategy", that rituals are episodes of repeated and simplified cultural communication with a direct social interaction, observation, sharing common mutual belief with a descriptive and prescriptive validity of the

communication's symbolic contents and accept the authenticity of one another's intentions because that rituals have their effect and affect.

He adds:

Ritual effectiveness energizes the participants and attaches them to each other, increases their identification with the symbolic objects of , and intensifies the connection of the participants and the symbolic objects with the observing audience, the relevant "community" at large. (29-30)

Ritual is a repetition of certain actions and behavior in ceremony or occasion. It solidarities the society with an ontological sense, the unproblematic, authoritative disseminators of meaning and social order as past. It depicts a central arena of the cultural mediation with various combinations of structure and history, past, and present, meanings and needs, are brought together in terms of each other. It involves a unique social space, set apart from everyday life. It communicates social life with symbols and emotions of actions. It confirms and transforms people's worldviews, identities, and

relationships with others. Senior theatre critic Abi Subedi claims that ritual and power become one and creates more power than before for the raising own identity. He further adds: "The ritual embodies the power of the people in the community" (29).

Ritual occurs gathering, performing and dispersing of people in theatrical performance, where all activities of community are performed with commonly. Critic Victor Turner also believes that ritual performances play important role in maintaining the sense of *communitas*. He argues in his essay "Liminality and *Communitas*" that everywhere especially in the indigenous community rituals play an important role not only in restaging the memory of the community but also in staging the presentness of the communities and their inhabitants (90).

Rituals are like actions of daily lives as a way to give meaningful and significance to experience and performed spontaneously for social *résistance* in the society. According to critic and theorist Elizabeth Bell, every ritual is performance of human life.

She further views that “ritual performances exhibit all the same formal characteristic as play: a special place is staked out, a sacred ground, creating a rule-bound world of its own. And plays, as “pretend” infects pole of belief in ritual acts” (126). She characterizes that ritual has mainly five characteristics as “Formalization”, “Traditionalism”, “Invariance emphasizes”, “Rule-governance” and “Sacral symbolism” and all these characteristics are manifested in and through performance (128-129).

However, Catherine Bell categories mainly six characteristics of ritual in her book *Ritual Perspectives and Dimensions*, as “formalism, traditionalism, disciplined invariance, rule-governance, sacral symbolism, and performance” (138). According to Catherine Bell(1997,94), theorists have agreed on mainly three characteristics of ritual activities. First, ritual action is communal and involves with group of people, who gain social solidarity through their participation. Second, the action is traditional and understood as carrying on ways of acting established in

the past. Third, ritual is rooted in beliefs in divine beings (qtd. in Bell 128).

Rituals are activities and behavior of life. Every ritual performance is related with the activities and behavior of human life and cannot be avoided from the activities and behavior of the human life. Catherine Bell views that rituals are like behavior; demonstrate the importance of the body and its way of moving in space and time. The complex reciprocal interaction of the body and its environment is harder to see in those classic examples of ritual where the emphasis on tradition and the enactment of codified or standardized actions lead us to take so much for granted about the way people actually do things when they are acting ritually. Bell views:

Ritual-like activities evoke more than one of these features, and such activities span various continuums of action from the religious to the secular, the public to the private, the routine to the improvised, the formal to the casual, and the periodic to the irregular. . . . it is possible to

see dimensions of the significance and efficacy of ritual activity.

(138-139)

Ritual is included in prayer, expressions of faith, sacrifice of food, crops, animals, or other goods etc. with gathering, performance and dispersing of people in a certain action, propose, place, time, actor, audience as in Parusewa Performance.

In Parusewa performance, the all kin, relative, neighbors of the Dowas are spiritually and physically involved in the performance. They believe that Parusewa is not only for the Dowa but also whole community for the happiness, calmness, power, energy, protection, prosperity, and blessing, and to healing and to bring good spirit for living being and avoiding for bad spirits in the whole community etc. So, they involve in Parusewa performance in common way. However, in the global context of the modern society also, the Parusewa is performing with full of hopes and enthusiastic physical communal presence of the society.

21st century is age of globalization and fragmentize society; especially crisis of cultural identities. However, modern developments in communication and digitalization of the nation, all different nations and their people of the world are in nexus and connection among them. Critic and theorist Ben Highmore views in his book *Everyday Life and Cultural Theory* that modernization is global condition of capitalism's ferocious success. He further clears that : Modernity is the “bringing together the global generality of modernization with the specificity of regional and historical cultural continuities and discontinuities, that the everyday is seen as a particularly appropriate perspective for cross-cultural studies of modernity” (177). So, by taking these advantages of advance communication and digitalization of works, Pumas are living and working in the different nations of the world. However, they come back at their homeland to perform their ritual and cultural ceremonies in common way as Parusewa for their resistance and identity in the society. Therefore, it is equally importance as past performance.

Wrapping up, all rituals are the performances with the involvements of actions and behavior of human life and so they follow the similar pattern everywhere and time. Ritual is a symbolic action of a religious service and ceremony and carried out in structural fixed patterns of way. It is a series of actions, set of order, structural fixed patterns of religious and always enacted in a theatre follows the similar fixed pattern everywhere and time; especially as part of a same religious ceremony and period as calendar of life. Ritual activities in performances are the part of formal religious occasions. All rituals are performed as the religion with its purpose and meaning. Performing rituals are resisting own identity and creating powers in the society. Thus, using this methodological framework of the Performance Studies, this research studies Performative Elements in Puma's Parusewa performance from the perspective of ritual representation.

II. Performative Elements in Parusewa Mundum of Puma Community

A Study of Ritual Representation

This section of research focuses on theoretical analysis of the performance in various ritual performances embedded to the Parusewa *Mundum* ritual of Puma culture. This chapter carefully examines the performative elements of the ritual practices of Parusewa *Mundum* ritual with the analyses of the field observations, audio-video and library materials which draw critical tools from the Performance Studies

as the main methodological tool to explore the performative sides and dimensions of the Parusewa *Mundum* ritual. It stands as the wholeness of the Puma culture as a whole. Parusewa is believed to herald the rejuvenation and bring about the change in the society, which is akin to many other cultural performances of many other cultural groups or communities. Elizabeth Bell, in her book *Theories of Performance* the value of the cultural performances writes:

Cultural performances are not just mirrors, according to Turner, but active agents of change. As reflexive, cultural performances provide moments to enact, comment on, critique, and evaluate the norms and values of a culture. Turner describes performance reflexivity: “a sociocultural group turns, bends, reflects back on itself, upon the relations, actions, symbols, meanings, codes roles, statuses, social structures, ethical and legal rules, and other components that make up their public selves.”(137)

Bell's this idea is very suggestive while studying the Parusewa

Mundum ritual because the ritual does not only mirror of the Puma community rather it brings about the changes and renewal of the social bond with the world of ancestors and harmony in the community.

The visualization of the culture and ritual are very important to manifest the identity of particular culture. This age is the age of visualization of the culture, the age of media and the lack of the visualization creates the marginalization of particular culture because visual culture has supplanted the original non-visual cultures these days. So, the visualization or the visual performance of the Parusewa is very important for Puma community because it helps the marginalized community to exist. As David Morgan suggests, “Visual culture can be a powerful part of the shared apparatus of memory, national citizenship, and the socialization of the young and of converts. Religions and their visual cultures configure social relations, over time and space and between one life-world and another” (9), the Parusewa *Mundum* ritual, religious in nature helps to maintain the social bond of the members of the community enacting their collective memory. Further, the visual performance of the ritual also helps the socialization of the youths of the community.

Parusewa is a verbal and performative main religious ritual worship of the supreme the Kirati God Sumnima-Paruhong, which has great value in the oral religious doctrine the *Holy Mundum* of the community and thus, it is performed by the Suksongmi-Rahangmi i.e.

supernatural and magical power holder with Suksongbung(PR) and Rahangbung(PR) branches of tree. Senior Parusewa performer, the *Mundum* expert, inhabitant of Chisapani-3, Bajagara, Khotang, Nepal, Mr. Lachhuman Rai (b.1933-d. 2010) highlights the value of Parusewa as the chief ritual of the community as he says, “Parusewa is everything for us. It means to meet our supreme Gods; the Sumnima-Paruhong. It is our soul. So, without Parusewa performance, we cannot perform any the *Mundum* ritual” (Interview: 2010 AD, my translation from Puma Language).

Parusewa is a very complex set of ritual performances in oral form, which consists of the concepts of oracles, myths, legends, narratives and religious ritual, cultural, social, historical, philosophical, ethical, moral codes and so on are embedded with it. Since it is performed repeatedly matching with the actions of particular ancestral gods and goddess. It cannot be limited to certain time span; the time span of performance may elongate as per the necessity of the performance. Elizabeth Bell has highlighted the components of cultural

performances in reference to Milton Singer in her book *Theories of Performance*:

Singer (1972) outlined five components of cultural performances, beginning with their formal characteristics. Each cultural performance can be characterized by (1) a limited time span (a beginning, middle, and end), (2) an organized program of activity, (3) Set of performers, (4) an audience, and (5) a place or occasion of performance.

(131)

According to Singer, cultural or the ritual performances are characterized by their allocated time spans, organized programming, set of performers audience and the place, occasion or the stage of performance. So, this research focuses on the characteristics of Parusewa accordance with Singer's idea to explore its performative aspects.

Parusewa is performed by the Suksangmi-Rahangmi Dowa once a year on the occasion of the Dongdapa. Praveen Puma writes about

the performing time of the Parusewa in his article “An Introduction of Parusewa”. He observes: “It generally starts in the evening and ends in the morning” (55). If the Dowra is the both Suksangmi-Rahangmi and the Bunglumi-Bungpenmi too, it starts in the morning with worship of the Budhahong; the King of Kirati Gods and Goddess, lord of flowers, and ends in next morning. It generally takes a whole day and night. Sometime it takes many days as per the need of its performance because it must be performed the Gods and Goddesses become happy and agreeable. According to *Mundum* expert, inhabitant of Boppung-3, Shoving, Khotang, Nepal, Mrs. Yashoda Rai (b.1964---), if the Parusewa is not performed on the slated time, the Dowra may go mentally or physically ill, lose her/his power of the *Mundum*, or might die at most. So, Parusewa is performed on time period frame (Interview: 2009 AD, my translation from Puma Language).

Parusewa is performed till the Gods and Goddesses become contented and happy. Making the gods and goddesses contented depends on the convincing power and knowledge of the Dowra about

her/his related gods, goddess, and her/his knowledge of the *Mundum*.

Sometimes, the Dowra may face many difficulties while trying to convince and please the gods and goddess. In such a situation, the performance might take three days, one week, two weeks or more than two weeks depending on the difficulties the Dowra experience dealing with the gods. Senior *Mundum* expert, inhabitant of Lalitpur - 14, Talchhikhel, Nepal, Mrs. Chatur Kumari Rai (b. 1935--):

My grandfather (late. Mr. Prashad Sing Rai, father of late. Mr. Sain Dhoj Rai) was a famous the Dowra of Pumasohon. He treated all the sick people of the community. If he found some bad spirits and illness in Pumasohon, he would worship his Parusewa performance for whole seven days for the recovery of Pumasohon. He also told me that our ancestor the Dowra too, had worshiped gods for many days for the goodness of community. (Interview: 2009 AD, my translation from Puma Language)

Generally, Parusewa is completed within twenty-four hours, in a day and a night, but sometimes it takes more time as needs of its performance.

Parusewa is not only a religious ritualistic performance but also the continuity of ritual, cultural tradition, expression of social identity, solidarity, welfare and a ritual of exorcizing evil spirits from the community. Parusewa performer, the *Mundum* expert, inhabitant of Chisapani-7, Pathibhara, Khotang, Nepal, Mr. Bhakta Bahadur

Rai(1969--) says:

Parusewa is not only the continuity of the religious ritual of *Mundum* performance by the Dowa but is also the purification, treatment and protection of the whole society from the influence of evil spirits. We do not only beg power of the *Mundum* from our ancestral gods, Sumnima-Paruhong and other god and goddesses for oneself but also pray for the blessing for the whole society. (Interview: 2012 AD, my translation from Nepali Language)

Parusewa is performed on its regular time by the Dowa, who is culturally authorized a shaman to worship it. The Dowa is thus, the main actor for the performance. In his essay "Shamanism in Bangladesh", Anwarul Karim defines a shaman as:

A shaman is like a sorcerer, but performs primarily white magic and deals only secondarily in black magic and witchcraft to counter sorcery and its evil effects. In traditional societies, a shaman is a kind of healer who makes use of supernatural powers and magic for various healings or for curing of disease. A shaman specializes in spirit illness and spirit possession, deals with good as well as evil spirits, and is a mediator between the supernatural and the community. (52)

The shaman has thus, the quality to deal with the spirits and thus, s/he is the bridge between the supernatural world and physical world.

Actor is a performer of the performance. The main actor of the *Mundum* performance is the Dowa; called Ngapong(PR) also.

Genealogically, there are two kinds of the Dowa as : Suntumi (PR) and Bakhami (PR).

The Suntumi Dowa is genealogical the Dowa, who can be either female or male. S/he needs guidance from senior the Dowa to become the Dowa after her/his birth. S/he is regarded as the reincarnation of the powerful shamans after the Dowa's death. S/he is born in the same lineage of the powerful the Dowa with generation to generation. When s/he transforms to the Dowa, s/he is able to gain the knowledge of *Mundum* and spiritual power from God establishing her/his tie with them. For Suntumi, lineage of the powerful the Dowa and guidance of the senior in the process of becoming the Dowa is essential. However, Bakhami(PR) Dowa is autonomous Dowa, who can be either female or male. S/he can take birth out of the generation and could be very powerful in future. S/he needs no guidance from the seniors Dowa and is believed to get the knowledge about *Mundum* and spiritual power in dream or unconscious states from the supreme Gods Sumnima-Paruhong themselves.

Both kinds of Dowas have different specialties in the cultural and ritual performances. There are five categories of the Dowa on the basis of their special work area. They are Boktongmi, Nakchhong, Bunglumi- Bungpenmi(PR), Suksongmi-Rahangmi (PR) and Selekmi (PR).

The Boktongmi is only an ancestral ritual main male actor or performer. He is a main actor or performer of the ancestral worship. He only performs the *Mundum* of annual ancestral worship. The Nakchhong is main actor or performer of Sakenwa (PR) ritual, who can be either male or female. S/he only performs the *Mundum* of Sakela annually. The Bunglumi-Bungpenmi is main actor or performer of Budhahongsewa, and can be either male or female. S/he is soul flowers holder. S/he performs the *Mundum* of Budhahong ritual. S/he is taken as the incarnation of the Paruhong. The Suksongmi-Rahangmi is main actor or performer of Parusewa *Mundum* ritual, who can be either female or male. S/he is powerful supernatural magic spell powerful shaman. S/he performs the *Mundum* of supernatural spirits

and powers with Suksongbung (PR) and Rahangbung (PR) tree.

Selekmi is soul magical power holder, who can be either female or

male. S/he performs the magical treatment and healing to the ill

people. Among them, the Suksongmi-Rahangmi alone is authentic and

the main actor or performer of Parusewa performance. Senior

Parusewa performer, the *Mundum* expert, inhabitant of Mauwabote -2,

Kurakhim, Khotang, Nepal, Mr. Gaudhan Rai (b. 1938- ...) claims:

Suksongmi-Rahangmi is only one authentic performer of

Parusewa, who must be gained her/his position as such

gaining the power of the *Mundum* in dream from ancestral

supreme gods the Sunnima-Paruhong as I've done

myself. And, after gaining the *Mundum*, we must worship

Parusewa compulsorily. If we do not worship Parusewa,

we may lose our health mentally or develop physical

illness or die. (Interview: 2013 AD, my translation from

Nepali Language)

Dowa is highly respectable position in the society but to be the Dowa

is very difficult and challenging task as s/he needs to follow strict norms of a spiritual life, even the Dowra becomes uncertain as many evil spirits try to overpower her/his strength. S/he generally becomes unconscious as death so many times in her/his life. The Dowra is destined to be as the Dowra from the womb of her/his mother by the spiritual forces. As a signal that a baby is destined to be the Dowra, s/he trembles in mother's womb, which is only known to her/his mother and father. However, they never share such omen to other persons because it is believed that if Isama(P); a kind of witch, know it, Isama blocks the Dowra's path. If the Dowra could not find out her/his proper path, s/he may die. The mother of powerful the Dowra Mr. Bhakta Bahadur Rai, inhabitant of Chisapani-7, Pathibhara, Khotang, Nepal, Mrs. Katangsi Rai agrees to the view and says:

My Sanu i.e. small child; represents to Bhakta Bahadur, had trembled in my womb, in sleep at night. I was afraid of it and I told to Sarkepa i.e. her husband but Sarkepa had convinced me that it is for the goodness of our self.

He forecasted that our newborn child would be a power the Dowa. So, we (wife and husband) are so happy and kept it that event secretly. Later my Sanu i.e. Bhakta Bahadur became the Dowa as Sarkepa' convinced.

(Interview: 2011 AD, my translation from Puma Language)

The person, who trembled in the womb, becomes the Dowa after long time. After her/his birth gaining the teaching and insights into supernatural world by the means of dream and falling unconscious. The shaman i.e. the Dowa in Puma ritual language, has different mental condition than that of the ordinary people as s/he heads to a kind of agitated state as s/he performs as Andrei A. Znamenski clarifies *The Beauty of the Primitive: Shamanism and the Western Imagination*.

The word *shaman* comes from the Tungus (Evenki) *sLaman* or *xaman*, which one can roughly render as “agitated,” “excited,” or “raised.” The Evenki, one of the indigenous groups in Siberia, use this term to refer to their spiritual practitioners of both genders. In the most

generic sense, the shaman is a spiritual practitioner who, in the course of a ritual session, using a musical instrument, a rattle, hallucinogens, or other devices, enters an altered state (sometimes also called a trance) in order to establish contact with spiritual forces in the other world. The goal of this spiritual encounter is to secure the help of spiritual beings that populate this otherworldly reality to resolve a problem, cure a patient, correct a misfortune, or predict the future. (viii)

In Parusewa *Mundum* ritual, Suksongmi-Rahangmi goes to the agitated or excited mental state playing her/his musical instrument sanctified with *Mundum* i.e. known as Ken. So that the Dowa could start her/his journey to spiritualism and establish the contact with the world of spirits and the supreme God Sumnima-Paruhong, so as to benefit the community by healing it of its problems. In the process, the Dowa trembles, yells, cries, faints as if s/he is senseless as dead and recovers oneself as before. It represents her/his dealing and

communication with both good and bad spirits. In Parusewa performance, the Dowa divinizes and finds the reality about the problems faced by the community or its individual member and forecasts the future events. If that person is going to become the Dowa, it could be the matter of full of happiness to all, as the Dowa tries to teach spiritual knowledge to her/him in the course save her/him from the evil forces like the guardian of the community. Everybody loves and cares new being the Dowa, as s/he is arbiter of the community in its problems.

For a ritual performance like Parusewa, the cultural specialists are needed, who are the actors of the performances. Suksongmi-Rahangmi is the major cultural specialist but s/he also needs the help of other cultural specialists to accomplish her/his performance.

Elizabeth Bell has highlighted the need of the cultural specialists in her book *Theories of Performance* as:

Performances are created by cultural specialists, people who are especially recruited, trained, paid, and motivated

to engage in performances. Singer lists priests, scholars, reciters, storytellers, singers, dancers, dramatic performers, and musicians. In mass mediated cultures, editors, program directors, story writers, and producers are also cultural specialists. Still, other specialists assist the performers- production assistants, costumers, makeup artists, teachers, patrons, and organizers of performances. These cultural specialists often serve as arbitrators of cultural tastes, as well as make cultural policy. (131)

In Parusewa, as per the Bell's emphasis, many cultural especialistas are involved. They include Suksongmi-Rahangmi, Papawa (PR) i.e. ritual head and physically guide of the Dowa, Rabuwa i.e. ritual head all kins of of the Dowa and manager of ritual performance, Dilangmi (PR) i.e. head of Kenkamuk (PR), Thupasangmi (PR) i.e. assistants group of of Dilangmi, Dakchhani (PR) i.e. ritual kins of the Dowa, Sikini (PR) i.e. disciple of the Dowa, Guruni (PR) i.e. teacher of the Dowa, Yangmasang(PR) i.e. knowledgeable ritual person, Sakuma(PR)

i.e. grandmother' mother, Diwama(PR) i.e. grandmother, Popohongma (PR) i.e. head of ritual female, Mamawa i.e. ritual mother, Chunuwa(PR) i.e. ritual mother, Chhetkuni(PR) i.e. own sisters, Chhyatta(PR) i.e. women, Rimini(PR) i.e. relatives, Pangmini(PR) i.e. villager, Wadinchha(PR) i.e. children, Haklakchha(PR) i.e. young person and so on. They are physical as well as spiritual actors of the *Mundum* performance but they also have equally importance role as their functions. Among them, Suksongmi-Rahangmi is the main actor or performer of the Parusewa and rest of all performers are co-actors.

Papawa is another actor, who is a guide, director, a knowledgeable *Mundum* specialist and responsible person of the Dowa's *Mundum* performance from the perspective of ritual performances, who also must be Kathukpa (PR). He corrects and guides the Dowa in right track in all the *Mundum* performances.

Rabuwa is co- actor, who is generally a male person and a leader of all kin of the Dowa. He manages all the *Mundum* ceremony with the help of all kin, neighbours and relatives. Popohongma is co-actor of

the ritual performance, who is head ritual female of performing home.

She is an important person and performs all inside the *Mundum* performance.

Dilangmi is called Papasang too, who is leader of the Kenkamuk i.e. team members of the *Mundum* performance and must be ritual head of the home; especially a male person; called Kathukpa too. He is the main responsible person of the *Mundum* performance of the Dowra from the perspective of actionable performances. So, he leads the whole *Mundum* performance with help of his assistant members. Thupsangmi (PR) is a group of male actors or assistant members of the Dilangmi, who manages all the *Mundum* objects and helps to the Dowra in every the *Mundum* performance in the leadership of the Dilangmi. They can be either normal or ritual head of the home and called Kenkamuk or Kenchharuwa(P).

Among them co-actors, Papawa, Rabuwa, Dilangmi, Thupasangmi, Dakchhani are must be formally chosen by the Dowra in the very first day of her/his gaining *Mundum* power and cultural

authority as the Dowa in front of the community. However rest of all actors are only verbally or spiritual involved in the *Mundum* performance as the Parusewa.

On the date of Parusewa performance, all the kin, relatives, and neighbours and Kenkamuk i.e. team members of the Dowa, gather together at performing home with Sayachongma (PR) i.e. a collection including uncooked rice, local millet beer, wine, money, and they bless to the Dowa for her/his long life and successful the *Mundum* performance. And, in the leadership of the Dilangmi i.e. head of the Kenkamuk, Thupsangmi construct the Mongkhap; called Wabukhap (PR) or Nuwakhap(PR) i.e. altar. They work to get all the required objects for ritual performance as per the demand of the *Mundum* ready. Then the Dowa raises their head soul. Raising the head soul refers to showing utmost reverence to the souls of the people present there and behaving as if the Dowa is ignorant, like a child before them letting them feel superior. In the leadership of Papawa and Dilangmi, they also raise the Dowa's head soul and bless her/him for

long life and successful *Mundum* performance. In addition, the Dowa recites, chants, worships, and begs the power of *Mundum* from the ancestral gods and goddesses, and her/his Guru; and trembles and transforms into the respective gods and goddess as per their respective actions. Catherine Bell in *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions*, views the performances that copy the actions and deeds of the gods as the rites, the constituents of the ritual, which are very important to render meaningfulness to the life of the performer:

Rites . . . are reenactments of the deeds performed by the gods in the primordial past and preserved in mythological accounts. By performing these deeds again ritual, the participants identify the historical here and now with the sacred primordial period of the gods before time began. Through the ritual enactment of primordial events, according to Eliade, human beings come to consider themselves truly human, sanctify the world, and render meaningful the activities of their lives. (11)

So, Bell makes it clear that the mimesis of the gods' action and the primordial events participated by the gods in the past makes the human beings of the present truly human sanctifying the world s/he lives. For this, the Dowa transforms into different kinds of gods and goddess and performs as the respective gods and goddess. It sanctifies the world around her/him and renders meaning to the lives of people in the community but her/his action only creates puzzles, humor and fun for new people or children because they may unfamiliar about its value in the community. The mimesis of the actions of the respective gods and goddess is the beginning phase of Parusewa. After this transformative and mimetic performance, the Dowa symbolically goes to the Paruhon i.e. royal place of the Sumnima-Paruhong, in her/his spiritual journey. It is the middle and core part of the Parusewa performance. Reaching at Paruhon, the Dowa is believed to offer the soul flowers to the Sumnima-Paruhong for the renewal, refreshments and knowledge and power of the *Mundum* and heals the sick people. Soul flowers here are referred to

the souls of the members of the communities, which are believed to be taken by the Dowa while visiting Sumnima-Paruhong to renew, refresh, reenergize. When s/he returns from Paruhon, s/he brings them anew from the grace of the Supreme God. Then, s/he returns back to her/his own home with keeping all related gods and goddess at their respective places at the ending part of the performance. Thus, as Singer has emphasized, Parusewa performance has the proper beginning, middle and ending.

So, by analyzing about the actors and the time span of the Parusewa, this research focuses on the stage for the performance. Since Parusewa performance has cultural significance, the stage in which it is performed, can be seen as cultural stage as Elizabeth Bell refers. According to Bell:

The cultural stage is the place where the performance occurs- in homes, temples, public halls, and community centers. Oftentimes the cultural training in the home, rearing of children and passing down of traditions, is

informal and casual. Traveling performances, without the fixed institutional base, are often difficult to pin down, as they create their stages in and through the performances.

(131)

In Parusewa performance, the Dowa's house is the cultural stage or theatre. It is performed only at the Dowa's house in the presence of kin and needy persons of its performance. All Kinship, relatives and neighbors are the main audience, who are directly with physically and indirectly with spiritually involve in this performance. During the performance, sometimes, the Dowa gets the problems from some gods or enemy spirits and becomes senseless, that puzzles and keeps the audience spellbound. The audience is linked with communal feeling and act as *Communitas*, that is, according to Turner, a "sense of sharing and intimacy that develops among persons who experience liminality as a group" (E. Turner 2005, 97). *Communitas* is "the gift of togetherness. . . . It has something magical about it" (E. Turner 2005, 98) (qtd. in Elizabeth Bell, 134).

Generally, Parusewa is performed in the Hutlung; hearthstone and Pichitembu i. e. courtyard, of the home but sometime, it can be performed anywhere as per the needs of its performance. Hutlung is an ancestral holy hearthstone of the home. Every ritual performance let alone Parusewa begins and ends in the Hutlung. Hutlung has two floors; named Hutlungchhan(PR) and Hutlung. Hutlungchhan is the above floor of the Hutlung and is believed to be holy place of the living children's souls and the Hutlung is the ground floor of the Hutlung, which is the holy place of the living ancestral god and goddess. Only old and natural deceased's souls are kept at the ground floor of the Hutlung in death ritual performance, which means that ancestors protect and care to soul of children properly too. To begin the ritual performances and end them at Hutlung is to establish it as the center of the world from where the shamanic, metaphysical journey could begin as Robert M. Place puts in *Mysteries, Legends, and Unexplained Phenomena: Shamanism*.

Shamans believe that there is more than one center of

the world. In some cultures, such as in Mongolia and among the Native Americans who lived on the Great Plains, every house is constructed as a model of the world, and the center of every house, where the fire is kept, is the center of the world. (38)

As Place puts it, by deeply studying about that not only the shamanic journey of the Dowas begins at the hearthstone rather Mongolian and Native American shamans also follow the same trend. Hutlung is regarded as the holy center of metaphysical world of ancestors in Puma community not the fireplace alone. So, the Dowa begins and ends the rituals formally worshipping this center.

Puma community believes in spiritual and metaphysical ideologies. They appear to be animistic and animism is their major metaphysical ideology. According to Dean C. Halverson, animism is the religious faith and life system of the tribal peoples of the world. Halverson further views that “. . . animism is the religion that sees the physical world as interpenetrated by spiritual forces—both personal and

impersonal—to the extent that objects carry spiritual significance and events have spiritual causes”(59). So, by viewing the worshipping of the hearthstone as animism; the fate and dream are their main source of forecasting events that also appears to be animistic. They attribute the souls of their ancestors in the hearthstone and they decide on their every important issue according to their dream. So, dream plays vital role in life of Puma community. They believe that their ancestral gods and goddess always protect them from any badness. Whatever happens to the individual or community, it is the result of the dissatisfaction and negligence of their ancestral gods and goddess according to their belief system.

Parusewa is notable Puma ritual to explore the animism and the Dowa's journey to the metaphysical world of dead ancestors and the kingdom of the supreme God-Goddess Sumnima-Paruhong. As per the Kirat religion, after their death, the ancestors' souls are to reach at Paruhon; world of Sumnima-Paruhong, which has both bright and dark worlds. The bright world is the world of living being and dark world is

the world of deceased. So, soul of living lives at the bright world and soul of deceased lives at dark world. Death of the person is the transformation of life cycle of the living being from the bright world into the dark world. However, their respective destinations are different mainly in three places known as Hutlung i.e. ritual holy hearthstone, Bungkhim (P) i.e. royal place of Budhahong world, and Wayakha (PR) i.e. open world.

According to the *Mundum*, Bungkhim is the royal place of the Budhahong and Wasongkuma(PR); King and Queen of the Kirati gods and goddesses, which place has fountain and beautiful holy garden of more than 365 kinds of flowers. Some name of flowers are

Aamlaribung, Babaribung, Barabung, Bantamabung, Bechuklangbung, Bengsubung, Bopkhabung, Bumbibung, Buwasalimbung, Chafukyabung, Chalabung, Chamaribung, Chasumbung, Chawakibung, Chechenabung, Chekwanmabung, Chilkibung, Chimlelangbung, Chilabung, Chupchubung, Churumbibung, Chhiritlabung, Chhimabung, Chhinlabung, Chhakbung, Chhamabung, Chhukulubung, Chhokomabung, Dakbung, Dakchhabung, Damchumibung, Dangrilabung, Darakabung, Darikabung, Dudabung, Dufunglibung, Dukhenlebung, Dukhunlibung, Duwarikabung, Diribung, Diwabung, Dowaribung, Dhudhuribung, Dhhodhholebung, Faglekabung, Fekdumibung, Falelungbung, Fangsangmabung, Fencyabungung,

Gagletobung, Gogonbung, Gawamabung, Hangpabung, Hangchupmibung,
 Hangkabung, Hangtokmabung, Hakmabung, Hapmabung, Henkumbung,
 Henkhamabung, Heyokwabung, Hokchhakbung, Hopchhakbung, Hodyongbung,
 Hongchhamibung, Honglangbung, Humbalambung, Isibung, Jakhiribung,
 Jomfabung, Kataribung, Kayabung, Kechanabung, Kenchhpabung, Kewaribung,
 Kiyachakbung, Kokchalebung, Kongthokbung, Kuhakmibung, Kulangchhenbung,
 Kuyabung, Kuwabung, Khapturibung, Khongsangbung, Khewakbung, Khasanabung,
 Khidimmabung, Khawabung, Khapsibung, Kharsibung, Kulungchhenbung,
 Kuwabung, Khaitabung, Khukhulubung, Khoretlabung, Khuwabung, Khababung,
 Khakkhanbung, Lolowabung, Lengkengribung, Lengchangbung, Lamhokmabung,
 Lechilibung, Lakuwabung, Lajibung, Langkangmwibung, Lenchangbung,
 Lenkengribung, Lemchongbung, Lajalimibung, Lemchabung, Lechilungbung,
 Linchangbung, Leksibung, Lajamibung, Lungtakrgibung, Longlebung, Miaasabung,
 Michilimabung, Manaribung, Malaribung, Menchangbung, Morichhabung,
 Mukramabung, Muksubung, Mahadabung, Mensilabung, Morichhabung, Muribung,
 Makchoklebung, Munggribung, Mangrembung, Mudukbung, Nangngribung,
 Namnaribung, Nachikihongbung, Nawabung, Newalabung, Nangsangbung,
 Napchiyongbung, Napchiribung, Nanalabung, Nathembung, Nayakbung,
 Ongmabung, Okwaribung, Okhiyabung, Ombolongbung, Pagaribung, Panabung,
 Punmaribung, Pampoyokbung, Purupbung, Pharsibung, Phaleklabung, Phengmabung,
 Paruhangbung, Palsibung, Patanabung, Radhilabung, Rahangbung, Rupabung,
 Rokthokbung, Ratakbung, Rangchulibung, Rangmayangbung, Rengmabung,
 Rakubung, Ripchibung , Rengkengbung, Ranggengbung, Saksabung,
 Sakubung, Sambabung, Sahibung, Saribung, Sakyakbung, Sakhapbung, Salbibung,
 Salawabung, Sayabung, Sellebung, Sibilubung, Sikhiribung, Sililangbung,

Siliyongbung, Sonalambung, Suratibung, Subiyobung, Suksangbung, Sumnimabung, Suntutbung, Sukunabung, Tangtupmibung, Tamsibung, Taratmabung, Tarawabung, Tirilabung, Tonalambung, Tongkhokmabung, Tumpalibung, Tuwarabung, Thangmabung, Thakaribung, Thakalebung, Thamngmabung, Thaktibung, Thakrabung, Thepbung, Wajimabung, Wachikibung, Wadumbung, Wahibung, Wakuyungbung, Wasangmabung, Wasepbung, Wayaribung, Wayaribung, Wapanabung, Wokhoksibung, Yakatetbung, Yaklabung, Yachhamabung, Yongbung, Yonngsangbung, Yukthukbung and so on. Many discontented intangible soul flowers and rooms are present there; souls of every living being and dead persons are placed in the rooms. Such soul flowers present in Bungkhim represent the soul of the living being; especially child. However, Bungkhim is, thus, the holy place of the every child's soul. The souls of deceased children, who die before Khammaitma i.e. child dress and ornaments giving ritual, are kept inside the Bungkhim in the patronage of the Budhahong and Wasangkuma in the death ritual performance by the Bunglumi-Bungpenmi the Dowa because as the religious belief, child death would result in rebirth soon in the same family as the next child taking birth in the family. The newborn baby takes birth having similar signs or nature of dead child. In addition, Wayakha is the beautiful, fertile, open, free land of the metaphysical

open world and known as Bungkhaya (P) too. It is the holy and fertile place of the young and unnatural deceased persons. So, every young and unnatural deceased's souls are placed at Wayakha in death ritual performance by the Suksongmi-Rahangmi. Such deceased's souls are very rich and prosperous because of their youth, energy for the hard work to generate income and the fertility of the dark world. However, such souls might cause a lot of trouble to the living people.

The Dowa travels to these worlds of deceased in ritual journey to the gods and goddesses during the Parusewa performance. There are two routes⁵ of the Dowa in *Mundum* performance. They are Walema (PR) i.e. inside the water through the Chefama(PR) i.e. ritual boat and Wabuma(PR) i.e. hillside through the Dasibung(PR) i.e. local thread. The *Mundum* expert, inhabitant of Barkhedada Bashaha-7, Sawali Tole, Udayapur, Nepal, Mrs. Rama Rai (b. 1938) claims: “Walema is the best and safe route of journey in the *Mundum* performance of the Dowa” (Interview: 2010 AD, my translation from

⁵ See in Figure No. 3 for further clarity of the route of the Dowa in Parusewa.

Ritual Language). So, most of the Dowa performs their grand ritual journey through the Walema with magical actions. This journey is animistic and metaphysical journey that looks strange in observation from the outside but it is very important one as the Dowa i.e. shaman, explores the inner world going beyond the visible reality and looks for the solution for the every problem of the community and its members. Robert M. Place in his book *Mysteries, Legends, and Unexplained Phenomena: Shamanism* explains the shamanic journey as:

A shamanic journey is not like going to the beach for the day or visiting another city. It is not a vacation. It is an inner journey into a world that is more like a fairy tale than ordinary reality. To explain it in psychological terms, it is an adventure into the inner unconscious world of the mind. (68)

Shamanic journey is very important for the Parusewa performance of Puma community because it is the journey into the collective

unconscious of the community so as to explore and heal the communal afflictions as well as to create the harmony and brotherhood generating the communal feeling among the members of the community.

Parusewa performance is important to connect and explore the past, present and future events of the Puma community. Thus, Puma people gather for their involvement in Parusewa with enthusiastically from the different parts of the global world. They wear ritual and cultural dresses, ornaments in ritual and cultural performances, not only for continuity of the tradition, but also as the resistance to the mainstream their social identity, and highlight their identity as well as power in the society too by performing their rituals ceremonies. It is due to their self-awareness for self-identity and valorizing of their ritual ceremonies too. They live in this physical world for the society and that spiritual world for their ancestral gods and goddess. The rituals of the Puma community are the forces, which bind the community together helping the community assert their identity and communal

solidarity as Catherine Bell highlights in her book *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* in reference to Durkheim:

Durkheim clearly saw ritual as the means by which individuals are brought together as a collective group. Ritual functions to “strengthen the bonds attaching the individual to the society of which he is a member”; it does so not by means of a conscious act of affiliation but the *experience* of the collective representation as a simultaneously transcendent and immanent commonality—God above and the soul within. . . . Periodic rituals reanimate people’s experiences of these two selves, the sacred and the profane selves, shaping their perceptions of the nature of the divine and the human, and embedding these perceptions and experiences in their sense of community and self. (25)

As Durkheim views that the ritual strengthens the social bonds, Parusewa creates solidarity in the whole community and brings peace,

prosperity and harmony. It also brings happiness and cheers, not only to family members of the performer, but also to all the members of the society because they all forget the negative happenings of their past and gather together full of hope, belief and enthusiasm in such a ritual performances. As Catherine Bell, suggests in her book *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, “Whether it is defined in terms of features of 'enthusiasm' (fostering groupism) or 'formalism' (fostering the repetition of the traditional), ritual is consistently depicted as a mechanistically discrete and paradigmatic means of sociocultural integration, appropriation, or transformation”(16), Parusewa is the means to unite the members of the community and orient them to the life that is appropriate for their identity and socio-cultural condition.

Parusewa is very important mainly for the renewal, refreshment, legalization and gaining the knowledge and power of the *Mundum*, bringing happiness, calmness, energy, protection, prosperity and blessing to all people of society. It is very good environments to teach, direct and guide for the knowledge of the *Mundum* to her/his

disciple because the Dowa teaches the knowledge of the *Mundum* own disciple on this performance. It is also very effective to heal the sick people and to bring good spirit for living being and avoiding bad spirits in the community. Parusewa is the primary ritual because without this performance, the Dowa never performs any other rituals. Senior Parusewa performer, the *Mundum* expert, inhabitant of Chisapani-7, Pathibhara, Khotang, Nepal, Mrs. Gangamaya Rai(1968--) agrees to the importance of Parusewa and views:

At first, I beg and seek permission from my ancestral gods and goddess at hearthstone, then from my religious ritual tutor, then I pray supreme gods the Sumnima-Paruhong as well as other various gods and goddesses for happiness, calmness, energy, protection, prosperity, blessing, knowledge, renewal, refreshments and the power the *Mundum* for myself and our community. (Interview: 2010 AD, my translation from Puma Language)

Gangamaya' view clears that worshipping the gods and goddesses

with the prayers and mantras from the *Mundum* and worshipping the hearthstone are the parts of the Parusewa. In such a performance, the Dowā recites, chants the *Mundum*, worships respective gods and performs the actions like every gods s/he is dealing to and divinizes to verify whether the Dowā is performing exactly alike the particular god or not. If the Dowā could not recite, chant the *Mundum*, worship respective gods, and performs in similar manner as respective gods and goddess, s/he repeats the same actions, revising them, until they are not satisfactory enough. If the Dowā faces any difficulties, s/he again prays, recites, chants and worships her/his ancestral gods, supreme gods the Sumnima-Paruhong, own tutor and powerful gods and goddess, begs the power, and solves the such obstacles, which represents the continuity of the Sumnima-Paruhong. Reciting and chanting *Mundum*, dancing, trembling, divinizing and the mimesis of the gods and the goddesses can be seen as the cultural media or the modes and forms of performance as Elizabeth Bell points out:

Cultural media are the modes and forms of

communication the performance utilizes: singing, dancing, acting, and reciting as well as graphic arts. Many cultural specialists are known for their mastery of one of these media. While *spoken language* is often the premiere cultural medium, non-linguistic media are also utilized in performances. With developments in mass media, analysis of cultural performance requires considering how “cultural themes and values are communicated as well as on processes of social and cultural change.”(132)

Dowa, the actor of the performance and the cultural specialist masters on all the cultural media, Bell enlists, during Parusewa, besides the linguistic media of singing and reciting *Mundum*, s/he also utilizes the non-linguistic media like beating a Ken i.e. musical instrument, trembling, dancing and acting as per the actions of the gods and goddess.

In the process of performance, the Dowa, sometimes gets the troubles from some gods or enemies and becomes senseless as the

dead. In such a situation, the Papawa, Dilangmi, Thupsangmi(PR) and Rabuwa must help the Dowa to recover and to be normal as before; the main responsibility of them is, thus, to facilitate the Dowa's safe and successful performance as their responsibility. The main responsibility of the Dowa is to guide the performance safely and carefully and, also to take care of her/his all the team members of the *Mundum* performance.

Parusewa performance has the mythical base and its own importance as its prevalence goes back to the ancient period. Myth is the narration of the sacred history and the events happened in primordial time as Mircea Eliade clarifies in her book *Myth and Reality*.

Myth narrates a sacred history; it relates an event that took place in primordial Time, the fabled time of the “beginnings.” In other words, myth tells how, through the deeds of Supernatural Beings, a reality came into existence, be it the whole of reality, the Cosmos, or only

a fragment of reality— an island, a species of plant, a particular kind of human behavior, an institution. Myth, then, is always an account of a “creation”; it related how something was produced, began to be. . . . Because myth relates the *gesta* of Supernatural Beings and the manifestations of their sacred powers, it becomes the exemplary model for all significant human activities. (5-6)

The guiding principle of Parusewa, the *Holy Mundum* is the oral myth that connects human beings of the community to the sacred powers of nature tracing the holy history of our beginning. Praveen Puma has highlighted the mythological aspect of the origin of Parusewa performance in his book *Henkhama-Ninamma*. He summarizes: In the origin period, there was a void and nothingness. Almighty god Mong(PR) appeared by own will. 'Mong' was the omnipresent, omnipotent creator, and the source of all knowledge. 'Mong' had created the sun, the moon, sky, stars, galaxies, earth, water, air, and fire and all the living and non-living beings. In the beginning, the earth

was full of water and it became very difficult to maintenance the earth. Then 'Mong' created the Sumnima-Paruhong; the first perfect human being, female-male unified power, being transformed to the Sumnima-Paruhong her/him own power. Then 'Mong' gave all rights and powers of creation to them and had wished to continue the creation of rest things on the earth left by Sumnima-Paruhong. As per the Mong's wish and desire, Sumnima-Paruhong created rest of all living being and dried the ocean and also made small hillocks, hills, rivulets of rivers. The rivers made big and small stones and sand. Floods of river made some caves. Still the earth was muddy. Slowly earth dried and was tightly held by the grasses and earthworms. The earth became ready for cultivation; full nettle plants sprouted all over and Sumnima-Paruhong had created living being first time in earth. However, it was very hard for human being to survive due to the existence of different kinds of evils, natural disaster as flood, starving, dryness, illness so on, and was full of sorrow, pity, fear, tension, anger, jealousy, selfishness, sins, horror and so on. In such a miserable condition, the

Sumnima-Paruhong became full of sad, sorrows, hopelessness, fears, tensions, and worry and so on about their creation. So they divinize to the mankind as the way to find out the causes of their problems and created the Dowa and gave to solve the all problems. Then according to Sumnima-Paruhong's powers, the Dowa solved them with the *Mundum* bringing happiness, calmness, power, energy, protection, prosperity, and blessing, good spirit for living being and avoiding for bad spirits in community, which is being continued till now by the Dowa in the Parusewa performance. (24-36)

Thus, the myth of creation is connected to the ritual performance of Parusewa, which has the target to keep the human beings safe from the evil spirits and powers uniting the community against all the evils. According to ritologist Martin Gaenszle, “. . . myths are intrinsically bound up with ritual, the sphere of sacred performance, even if not always in a straightforward manner” (13). So, the myth and the rituals are intertwined. Sometimes, myths originate from rituals and sometimes myths are referred to the ritual activities

as Catherine Bell studies their nexus in her book *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* in reference of Raglan's *The Hero*, "In 1937, F. R. R. S. Raglan published a study entitled *The Hero*, in which he argued that most myths and folktales, if they did not specifically originate in ritual, are at least associated with ritual activities and reflected ritual structures and patterns (7).

Parusewa *Mundum* ritual is thus, connected to the origin myth of Puma community and is performed within its own ritual framework. Honoring the human creation myth of the community and the mythical gods and goddesses, the Dowa chants the gratitude to the gods at the beginning of the Parusewa performance:

My respected ancestors, since the genesis and our origin
 Since the womb of mother Sumnima and mother Earth,
 As my fate was written and created, you (Sumnima-
 Paruhong) created me Bunglumi(PR), you created me
 Bungpenmi (PR), you created me Suksangmi(PR), you
 created me Rahangmi (PR), you created me Boktongmi,

you created me Selekmi (PR), you created me the
 diagnosis of our sickness, you created the ailment when
 you created mortal people and immortal gods . . .

(Parusewa-2011, my translation from Ritual Language)

The Parusewa performance gets underway as the Dowā expresses the gratitude the gods and ancestors. Before its performance, the head of the family (generally both husband wife of the Dowā family) discusses about the Parusewa and fixes the date of its performance with the consultation of the Kenkamuk and the kinship. But, for the formal legitimacy of the schedule of the Parusewa performance, the Dowā goes to Dilangmi's home and places Wasup (P) millet wine in calabash, Wachhon(P) i.e. in millet beer Daba, and Khaba i.e. money, at Mobola (P) i.e. creeper tree, in front the Dilangmi and other Kenkamuk and raises their head soul showing the full of respect over their souls. The Dowā requests them for their roles in all kind of managements of its performance. Then, the Kenkamuk accepts it, commits to its performance on that date, and prays to his ancestral

gods and goddess sprinkling the local millet-wine at his Hutlung to inform about the performance to the ancestors and gods of the house and begging power of its safe performance. Dilangmi shares this ritual millet wine and drinks compulsorily it with all his team members for the Dowa's safe and successful the *Mundum* performance. Then, the Dowa invites to all her/his kinships, relatives and neighbors in this ritual performance.

On the performing day of the Parusewa, the house is scrubbed with cow dung and red mud for the purification. The Dowa also baths and prepares of the Parusewa performance. All the kinships, relatives and neighbors gather with the gifts of local millet beer, wine, uncooked rice and money, and gives to the performing home of the Parusewa in the respect of the head raising soul of the Dowa. The Kenkamuk also come to the Dowa's house with all required the *Mundum* objects for the performance, and they all are welcomed with the local millet beer and wine.

After receiving the welcome, the Kenkamuk construct the

Mongkhap of Parusewa in two north and south sides at the Pichitembu i. e. courtyard, of the Dowa's home. North side of Mongkhap is called Wabuma(PR) and South side of Mongkhap is called Walema. They must have made out of the *Mundum* objects.

At first, two Sambaphek (PR) i.e. green bamboo poles with their leaves, three Lichiphek(PR) i.e. green willowy poles with fuzzy end should be erected cross way at the Pichitembu i. e. courtyard, of the home. In addition Fenglabungwa (PR) i.e. the sacred flowers mentioned by *Mundum* and the Bohom (PR) i.e. seven ribs of the pig, Mukumseri(PR) i.e. mixture of food cooked in fire with the mixture of turmeric and pieces of rice at leaf of green banana, which is called Susera (PR) too, are placed at top of the Sambaphek. Under the same cross Sambaphek, the three Sakabung (PR) i.e. having the white flower of willowy tree with fuzzy end, are erected, while the middle one of the Sakabung is the tallest among the three. A horizontal Sakabung should be tied at the top of shorter two vertical Sakabung and is tied three rounds of Titri (PR) i.e. holy local cotton

ritual thread on it. If the Dowa has a Tholaken i.e. ritual drum, it is tied at the middle part of the Sambaphek by Barahi(PR); called Ripmari (PR) i.e. twelve yards long ritual rope and made from hand purely, and covered by Dasibung i.e. a piece holy white ritual cloth of local cotton. However, if the Dowa do not have Tholaken, four Buluken are sufficient for its musical performance. In addition, Puchaphok(P) i.e. necklace of snake's backbone and Rudrachhe (N), are placed on the Mongkhap (P). The Kenchhapbung (PR) i.e. sixteen pieces of the Sakabung in crossed to each other, is placed at under the Mongkhap. A Chasumbung (PR) i.e. uncooked ritual rice, should be placed under the Tholaken in three Topora (P) i.e. ray of green leaf of creeper tree made with hands. The Jarilong (PR) i.e. mixture of holy water, pieces of Salawa, Bisuwa, coin, pieces of grain and local holy beer in cup in bowl with having pure full water inside and covering different kinds of flowers, must place at among the middle one Topora. Two Nuwachhok (PR) i.e. ritual butter lamp; known as Battichok(P) too, which is taken as holy light, Ompachilung(PR) i.e.

ritual white stone, Heddikang(PR) i.e. elephant's teeth, Chappakang(PR) i.e. tiger's teeth, Banpakang(PR) i.e. bear's teeth, Saksalap(PR) i.e. porcupine's spikes, teeth, legs etc., Wasalap(PR) i.e. birds' feathers, Wasanwa (PR) i.e. feathers of living birds in iron arrows, which is taken as the powerful weapon, are place on both sides of Topora. In addition, Solonwa (PR) i.e. local holy beer in calabash, Honglangbi (PR) i.e. big kind of ritual ginger, Subibi i.e. small kind of the ritual ginger, Kongken i.e ritual female weapon and from iron, which looks like half-moon and is taken as the weapon of Sumnima, are place at Mongkhap. The Mongkalangwa (PR) i.e. mixture of holy water, Salawa i.e. a kind of bitter plant, Bisuwa i.e. the *Mundum* plant, Khaba i.e. a coin, Sakabung and so on in the bronze bowl, which is used for the sprinkling the water to make the holy ness of the altar and entire team members, Buluken i.e. a kind of bronze plate, and so on, must be place at the Mongkhap. In addition, the Khun (PR) i.e. mixing a coin, a local beer, pieces of

grain ritual bucket of bamboo or metal, should be placed at the backside of the Mongkhap.

After ready the Mongkhap, the Dowa again raises the head souls of her/his all team members of the *Mundum* performance with Sayachongma. They also pray ancestral gods, talk ritual language, bless to the Dowa and share and take Sayachongma and Dilangmi sprinkles Mongklangwa at all team members and Mongkhap for purification, and puts, Sakabung, Hakmabung, Suksangbung and Rahangbung and so on on the Dowa's both hands and blesses Dowa for her/him safe and successful performance. It means that formally giving authority to the Dowa for the *Mundum* performance by them. Meanwhile, the Dowa automatically trembles slowly on the spot. All respective people also gift white Paga(PR) i.e. twelve hands long white ritual cloth, which covered, or turban at the head as the raising head soul of the person, flowers and money, in the Dowa's head and garlands; especially orchids or marigold and raises head soul of the Dowa and bless for her/his successful the Parusewa performances. In

addition, Kenkamuk start to play kens and all people gather around at altar, which creates the enthusiastically good environment for ritual performance. Then the Dowa also formally informs the ritual performance to her/his all powerful gods and goddess and begs powers from them. In addition, the Dowa magic spells at her/his all ritual equipment or weapons; especially parts of animals and soil or stones and puts them to all her/his team members and himself/herself too for the protection from any bad evils and enemy, which is called Somchhakma and performs as the respective gods and goddess with their Silee, which is called Thomma.

In this Thomma, the Dowa mainly performs as the Diwa-Dimma(PR) i.e. ancestors, Mongchhama i.e. the lord of grain and knowledge, supreme god Sumnima i.e. wife of Paruhong, represents the earth and Paruhong i.e. husband of the Sumnima, represents the sky, Nachapachiyapa(PR) i.e. own physical first main teacher, Wakuhonma(PR) i.e. king of the water god; represents water, Dakchha(PR) i.e. own kinship, Hongma(P) i.e. Puma child female

deity Sayanachapachiyapa(PR) i.e. physical teacher of own teacher,
 Saptongkha(PR) i.e. hill side shaman god, Maglengdhipma(PR) i.e.
 forest spirit god, Sanchoklanchok(PR) i.e. rock hill animal god,
 Wabunima(PR) i.e. old god, Sakenlung(PR) i.e. earth god,
 Tangtupmi(PR) i.e. a small kind of bird god, Bubulibuwasha(PR) i.e.
 anteater animal god, Jhekwa(PR) i.e. thrush god, Makwa(PR) i.e.
 peacock god, Huluppa-Hulupma(PR) i.e. powerful god of Puma area,
 Sunpatiraja(N) i.e. Thangmi god of Dolakha, Himalibaini(N) i.e.
 Himalayan sister god, Heddibung(PR) i.e. elephant god,
 Chapchaa(PR) i.e. Tiger god, Lakayayangma(PR) i.e. dumb god,
 Jalaha-Malaha(PR) i.e. water god, Golmarajarani(PN) i.e. king and
 queen god from Dagmilung(PR), Lattejhakri(N) i.e. Himalayan Lama
 god, Dudkosi Lama(N) i.e. Dudkoshi Lama god, Hinggolamai(N) i.e.
 Himalayan god, Ista(N) i.e. Himalayan, Panchakanya(N) i.e. five sister
 gods, Dangre(N) i.e. Himalayan god, Bhimsen(N) i.e. powerful god
 from Dolakha, Siddasikari(N) i.e. local female water god,
 Singghadevi(N) i.e. local female god, Bongwa(PR) i.e. a powerful water

god, Salpa Bhote(PN) i.e. Salpa Bhote caste god from the Bhojpur ,
 Kakdumi (PR) i.e. Budhahong(PR); called Chhechenkhali(PR) also, with
 the Yaridhamma(PR); divination, to find out the truth that either the
 Dowa acts as respective Gods and goddess or not. If the Dowa could
 not recites, chants the *Mundum*, worships to respective every related
 gods, the Dowa performs as respective every gods and goddess again
 as before until not ok.

In Parusewa performance, not only the body parts of the
 animals are used but also the animal gods are duly revered with the
 mimesis of the respective animals representing respective gods. It is
 believed that worshipping all the gods of the nature gives the
 community all comfort and wellbeing in the nature creating a
 harmonious bond between the community and the natural world. It can
 be seen as animal ritualization, a kind of valuable symbolic
 communication. Catherine Bell points in her *Ritual: Perspectives and
 Dimensions* about the animal ritualization as:

. . . in exploring questions of function, ethologists

developed an important early argument about the inherently communicative nature of ritual action and concluded that the ritual gestures of animals serve as codes or signals that transmit information useful to the well-being of the group. Some studies went on to suggest that much of human culture is probably rooted in these inherited patterns of early animal ritualization—not only mating and war but also play, dance, art, and education.(31)

The animal ritualization is connected not only to the pattern of wars and mating, rather it is also connected to the aesthetics play, dance and arts. In Puma community, it is connected to the pattern of mimetic art and shamanic acting and dance. Along with the aesthetics dramatization or acting and dance, the verbal and performative performance of the *Mundum* is also important that is both performative and didactic.

After performing activities of all respective gods and goddess

with aesthetically acting and dances by the Dowa, in the leadership of Papawa, Popohongma scrubs the hearthstone and its area for purification. She fills a solonwa i.e. a mixture of various objects, kept in calabash for the Parusewa performance, at altar of the *Mongchhama* (PR) at upstairs corner of the home. In addition, she worships Mongchhama for power of the Dowa's safe and successful Parusewa performance and brings the prepared objects and the altar and places them on the Newala (PR) i.e. leaf of a creeper, at Hutlung. She prays to all the ancestors and *Mongchhama* for the peace, prosperity, happiness, power and the energy to accomplish Parusewa successfully. However, under the leadership of Papawa, the Dowa enters at the hearthstone, recites, chants and performs the *Mundum* at the Hutlung and begs the power of the *Mundum* from ancestral gods for the Paruhon, which called Sakadotma (PR) and the Dowa returns back at outside the Mongkhap of the Parusewa.

After Sakadotma, the Dowa performs *Mundum* of all-powerful gods and goddess, begs the powers and the energy for successful

performance at the Paruhon from them, and raises the head of all her /his entire team members and all the present people worshipping their souls. Then the Dowa requests to Paruhong that s/he is coming with her/his entire team members at Paruhon to offer Suksongbung and Rahangbung to Sumnima-Paruhong, to the renewal, refreshment, and their rejuvenations with the power of her/his *Mundum*, transforming all weak soul flowers into the strong soul flowers of all living beings with bringing peace, happiness, power, energy, protection, prosperity, blessing for the whole community from him. The Dowa praises the Holy Palaces of Paruhong and the ancestors and chants his purpose of the spiritual journey, which is solely for the behalf of the community:

In the palace of ancestors, the palace of Paruhong,

In the holy royal gathering,

Taking the flowers up, spreading them before the God,

Offering them,

Offering the Suksangbung flower, offering Rahangbung

flower,

Through the way of holy altar . . .

Acting piously, I'm going to ask the longevity,

I'm going to ask the prosperity. . . .

(Parusewa-2011, my translation from Ritual Language)

After chanting and acting the honour to the supreme God, the Dowa finally performs as the Paruhong with full of emotion in the motion of open air, and jumps up on the Mongkhap and joins her/his both hands with greeting towards at sky. During the Dowa's such symbolic, inner journey to the Paruhon, the Papawa recites, prays, chants the *Mundum* with sprinkling the Solonwa and a pieces of the ginger at the Dowa's head and prying and raising the head soul of the Dowa for successful performance and begs the power of the *Mundum*.

Senior the *Mundum* expert, inhabitant of Chisapani-7, Pathibhara, Khotang, Nepal, Mr. Indra Bahadur Rai (b.1966-...) performance with spreading a pieces of ginger and sprinkling the solonwa toward the head of the Dowa and chants: "Sprinkling your head soul, up raising,

up raising. Soul of tiger, soul of bear raising your head soul, up raising, up raising” (Interview: 2009 AD, my translation from Ritual Language).

After the transformative performance, the Dowa vigorously trembles three times and jumps down at ground from Mongkhap respectively. It represents the return back at the earth from the Paruhon with the renew, refreshments, power adding of the *Mundum*, transforming all weak soul flowers into the strong soul flowers of living being and bringing peace, happiness, power, energy, protection, prosperity, blessing to the whole community. This section is the core of Parusewa performance. The whole Parusewa is organized for this very special moment. Elizabeth Bell points out these deep underlying messages in cultural performances like the Parusewa in reference to Turner as:

According to Turner (1988, 23-24), (1) cultural performances are capable of carrying many messages at once, (2) they are capable of subverting on one level

what another level seems to be saying, and (3) the full “reality” of meaning and messages is only attained through the performance. (137)

Parusewa is performed for the power of the primordial *Mundum* knowledge because the Dowa should be ready to use the power of the whenever s/he needs. Sometimes, the Dowa challenges another Dowa for her/his power testing. It is intangible, challenging job to stand up to such challenges. In such situations, all present people can directly observe the effects of the Dowa’s action because winner controls the weaker one. The challenger participant can either be a shaman or witch. It is judgment of their power of the *Mundum* also.

Parusewa is regarded important for Khawa, which is culturally and ritually important substance, which sticky item like gum, and is gained only through the *Mundum* performance by the Dowa during *Mundum* performance. If the Dowa had gained Khawa in dream from the Sumnima-Paruhong, s/he begs that her/his Khawa to the Sumnima-Paruhong during *Mundum* performance as per her/his need

and gains it from them at her/his Sakbung and Rahangbung and keeps that Khawa at the bronze brass plate with the water, shows it to all the people present at the performance. In later the Dowa symbolically covers that Khawa to her/his all team members and entire altar encircling them for the protection from any badness or enemies. The Khwa looks like yellow or dark gum. Yellow one is regarded as good and powerful *Mundum* gum and dark one is regarded as bad and powerless *Mundum* gum. So, the Dowa only uses yellow gum. If the Dowa does not have gain such Khawa in dream from the Sumnima-Paruhong, the Dowa never gets it in any *Mundum* performance. Finally, at the end of the performance, the Dowa takes back the Khawa from all team members and entire altar. It is regarded as one of the powerful weapons of the Dowa.

Parusewa is also considered important for Yaridhamma (PR) i.e. divination, because the Dowa divinizes most of the serious cases of sick people of the community and finds out the reasons behind their illnesses. Either the sick person can be present before the Dowa or

s/he can be lost for a long time from home. Yaridhamma is divination, is the visionary seen by the Dowa regarding the problems of the people through the magical powers with the ritually cutting the ginger in the name of the related person and her/his problem. S/he divinizes it for the person present before her/him or absent one or the person known through any of the person's personally belonged objects. The Dowa divinizes for the person with the belongings of that person if s/he is lost from home for a long time.

Parusewa is important for gaining Ken i.e. powerful rituals musical instrument. It is made from wood or stone, and covered by the animal skin as the instruction of the gods and goddess. It is taken as the powerful friend or weapon for the Dowa and musical in musical instruments for the Kenkamuk. It must be gain dream from the Sumnima-Paruhong. If the Dowa gains the Ken in dream repeatedly, the Dowa tells all details of her/his dream to her/his team members and kins. And in the advice of them, the Dowa performs the *Mundum* and divinizes in front of present people and physically gains it as the

instruction from gods and goddess in her/his dream and as Yaridhamma.

Parusewa is important for the ritual journey too because the Dowra reaches at the different places of Gods and Goddess, gains powerful all knowledge of the *Mundum*, and avoids bestow of various divinities, deities and natural calamities. Parusewa is very symbolic and important, which represents the harmony of the society and makes unity to the village people with avoiding bitterness, hatred, envy and jealousy among society because it includes the completely human soul of the society through the *Mundum* performance. Social functionalist see rituals like Parusewa as the mean to maintain the harmony and avoiding the calamities and disturbances as Catherine Bell highlights in *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions*:

For social functionalists, therefore, ritual is a means to regulate and stabilize the life of this system, adjust its internal interactions, maintain its group ethos, and restore a state of harmony after any disturbance. As such,

religion and ritual are social mechanisms with a particularly vital role to play in maintaining the system.

(29)

According to *Mundum*, the evil spirits creates the social disturbances, so Parusewa is important for the community for avoiding the disturbances of bad spirits in the community and maintaining harmony. So, Parusewa is also important for the Mongrepma; to drive away the bad evil spirit and bringing good spirit to the sick people raising their head strengthening their souls as the Kakekkhadgo(PN) i.e. general and young bad spirit of young person, Hupmarikhagdo(PN) i.e. greatest bad spirit of ancestral hearthstone holder, Kuyakhagdo(PN) i.e. dark bad spirit of ancestral hearthstone holder, and Mamongthali(PR) i.e. greatest bad spirit of young female, Rumbusama(PR) i.e. bad spirit, which lives at plant or wood and so on. It should be performed carefully because it can be dangerous to deal with evil spirits as it may attract or harms to the performer. It is believed that during then *Mundum* performance, all treatments or

healings could be effective than other day due to the freshness of the *Mundum*, so all people gather at in this ritual performance for the treatment or healing. During the middle part of Parusewa performance, the Dowa chants her/his goal to heal the community and the ancestors from the diseases disturbances and afflictions:

Our ancestors, grandfathers and grandmothers,

The female head of the home,

The pious mother of the home,

Is getting unwell . . .

With the flower that removes the affliction,

I'm making the diagnosis,

I'm making the ailments . . .

(Parusewa-2011, my translation from Ritual Language)

Along with the healing, Parusewa performance is also regarded important for the Lamchhakma (PR) i. e. blocking the ways of the evil spirits. It is should the done in the ways of the evil spirit for the protection of the people or the place. In it, the Dowa casts a spell on

evil spirits and calls them with loving, convincing, consoling, luring, threading, and showing their testy foods or nice things and so on.

When evil spirits come there with full of hope and believe, the Dowa provides all testy foods, loves, and cares, makes happy as the lover of the Dowa and throws arrow and removes them and blocks their route. It believes that evil spirits haunt at home, make sick to living being. If these evil spirits haunt home, people turn sick due to the attack of the evil souls of dead persons. In addition, the Dowa drives away evil spirit from that home and treats or heals to ill people, home, and blocks the way of the evil spirits. However, they are very dangerous and can attract and harm to the performer. However, the Dowa never kills such evil spirits because if the Dowa kills them, s/he would be a sinner. So removing them is very challenging jobs for the performer however it depends on power of the performer's *Mundum* because it has the faith that ghosts and other evil spirits travel in the same way s/he travels during the treatment; s/he needs to be aware of the possible attack. The rituals are thus, the treatment of the

negative forces and dangerous impulses of the mind of sick people

looking from psychoanalytical perspective for the healthy maturation as

Catherine Bell suggests in her *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions*:

Volney Gay has also argued that Freud's theory of

religious ritual can be interpreted in such a way that

“ritual behavior is a product of the non pathological, often

beneficial, mechanism of *suppression*”—not repression. As

such, “rituals might, to the degree that they aid the ego's

attempt to suppress disruptive or dangerous id impulses,

further the cause of adaptation” or healthy maturation. (15)

Rituals are thus, rather than being the forms of repression of the

desires, are the healthy way outs to cure the mental problems. Thus,

they help to create mentally healthy members of the society that help

the society to uplift and prosper. Parusewa is thus, very important

ritual of Puma community with all its positive aspects and motives in

the global context of 21st century too. The sense of healthiness and

regeneration prevails in the community, when the Dowa returns to

consciousness after the unconscious, spiritual journey. The Dowa also heals the sick members of the community with the renewed vigour.

Serially performing all the required actions, the Dowa finally returns all her/his gods and goddess in a reverse way committing to meet them next year at the same time and ends the Parusewa formally at hearthstone.

After performing all actions of rituals, the Dowa ends the performance of the related the *Mundum* of the Parusewa at the Suptulung of the home. Then Kenkamuk also remove the altars accordance with the process similar to the constriction and keep at the pure garden. All team members of the Kenkamuk sit at Pichitembu i. e. courtyard, in the circle way as the Dowa's direction and they are raised their head soul with Sayachongma by the Dowa. And they also bless to the Dowa for the successful performance and the long life and shares that Sayachongma equally and they end it formally, which is called Sarimda(PR). It is a post-performance. After formally ending this ritual, all people eat foods and departure each other. On

that day, the Dowra never crosses any hill or river, which is called Chakma(PR) i.e. restriction. It is believed that if s/he disobeys it, the Dowra gets misfortune and her/his Parusewa will not success properly.

Parusewa performance is very important for the minority community because it strives the community to affirm its cultural identity resisting the mainstream culture and the impacts of globalization. As the resistance to the written mainstream and global culture, Puma community valorizes the oral *Mundum* performance and affirms its cultural identity in Parusewa performance. The communal feeling in the *communitas* during the performance resists the class hegemony inside the community on the one hand; it resists the mainstream and the global culture outside the community with the institutionalization of Parusewa and other oral and performative rituals on the other. As John Clarke, Stuart Hall, Tony Jefferson and Brian Roberts write in their essay "Subcultures, cultures and class" assert:

The struggle against class hegemony also takes place within these institutions, as well as outside them - they

become the 'site' of class struggle. But the apparatuses also depend on the operation of 'a set of predominant values, beliefs, rituals and institutional procedures ('rules of the game') that operate systematically and consistently to the benefit of certain persons and groups.' (30)

Thus, this research strives that the Puma community i.e. the certain group, in the words of John Clarke et al., the beliefs rituals and the institutional procedures not only work as the state apparatuses to maintain the class hegemony rather they are also operating systematically to rise up the community to resist the mainstream and global beliefs and hegemony outside them. The ritual performances like Parusewa are thus; very important because they help the community to renew the social bonds among the members of the Puma community on the one hand resist the mainstream hegemony as well as class hegemony to affirm its identity in the global context of 21st century.

III. Parusewa Mundum Ritual and Its Importance

This section of research has discussed about the Parusewa *Mundum* ritual performance in Puma community of the eastern parts of the Nepal. While discussing the Parusewa *Mundum* ritual from the perspective of performance theories, this research has explored the performative elements in the ritual performance of Parusewa *Mundum* ritual as highlighted by Elizabeth Bell with the reference of Milton Singer first. According to Singer, the major components of a particular event to be a performance are their certain, allocated time spans,

organized programming, set of performers' audience and the place, occasion or the stage of performance.

Tracing for the components mentioned by Singer, this research strives that Parusewa *Mundum* ritual is performed in the time of Dongdapa i.e. falling session of the year, for at least one day and a night in the full moon. Its time has been culturally allocated and it can be extended up to fifteen days as per the necessity of the performance. It is performed by Dowa till the Gods and Goddesses become contented. The convincing power and knowledge of the Dowa, the ritual performer, about her/his related gods, goddess, and her/his knowledge of the *Mundum* are responsible factor to please the gods and goddesses. The performance thus, extends as per the necessity to meet the target of pleasing the gods and goddesses. It is performed at the Dowa's house, which can be taken as the cultural stage of the performance.

The performance of Parusewa *Mundum* ritual is organized one as it is organized accordance with the ritual norms, values and the

materials used for the performance are ritually determined with the guidelines of the *Mundum*. The organization of the Parusewa is conducted in the leadership of Papawa. It always ritually starts and ends at the Hutlung of the performing home with the blessing of ancestral gods. Thus, this research explores the complex fabric of the ritual components systematically woven in the Parusewa *Mundum* ritual.

Suksongmi-Rahangmi, a sub-type of cultural shamans, is regarded as the authentic main actor or performer of Parusewa. While Papawa, Rabuwa, Dilangmi, Thupasangmi, Dakchhani, Sikini, Guruni, Yangmasang, Sakuma, Diwama, Popohongma, Mamawa, Chunuwa, Chhetkuni, Chhyatta, Rimini, Pangmini, Wadinchha, Haklakchha and so on are co-actors helping the main performer the Dowa. They are physical as well as spiritual co-actors of the *Mundum* performance but they also have equally importance role as their functions.

Shamanism is very important legacy of the Puma community as the community sees a ritual authenticated only by the shamans, as

only they are capable of establish the communication between the community to the ancestors and the gods and goddess. In Parusewa *Mundum* ritual, the Dowa is believed to accomplish the spiritual journey to Paruhon; the royal palace of supreme God-Goddess Sumnima-Paruhong, taking the weakened and enervated souls of the people of the community to renew and rejuvenate them. The Dowa further renews her/his the *Mundum* knowledge there and returns to the consciousness after this unconscious act. In the course of Parusewa, Dowa recites, chants, performs the *Mundum*, and acts accordance with the actions of the various gods and goddesses. Since this performance is believed to bring peace, prosperity, rejuvenation and energy in the community, it is very important for the Puma community.

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Figure No. 1 : Genetics of Kitati Puma⁶.

⁶ Adaptation and illustration from book *Kiranti-Köits (Sunuwar) Jatiko Chinari* (2012). I have added Khotohang as a branch of Kirati, which resource I get from Mr. Chakra Bahadur Rai, inhabited of Bashaha-7, 11 Ghare, Udayapur, Nepal.

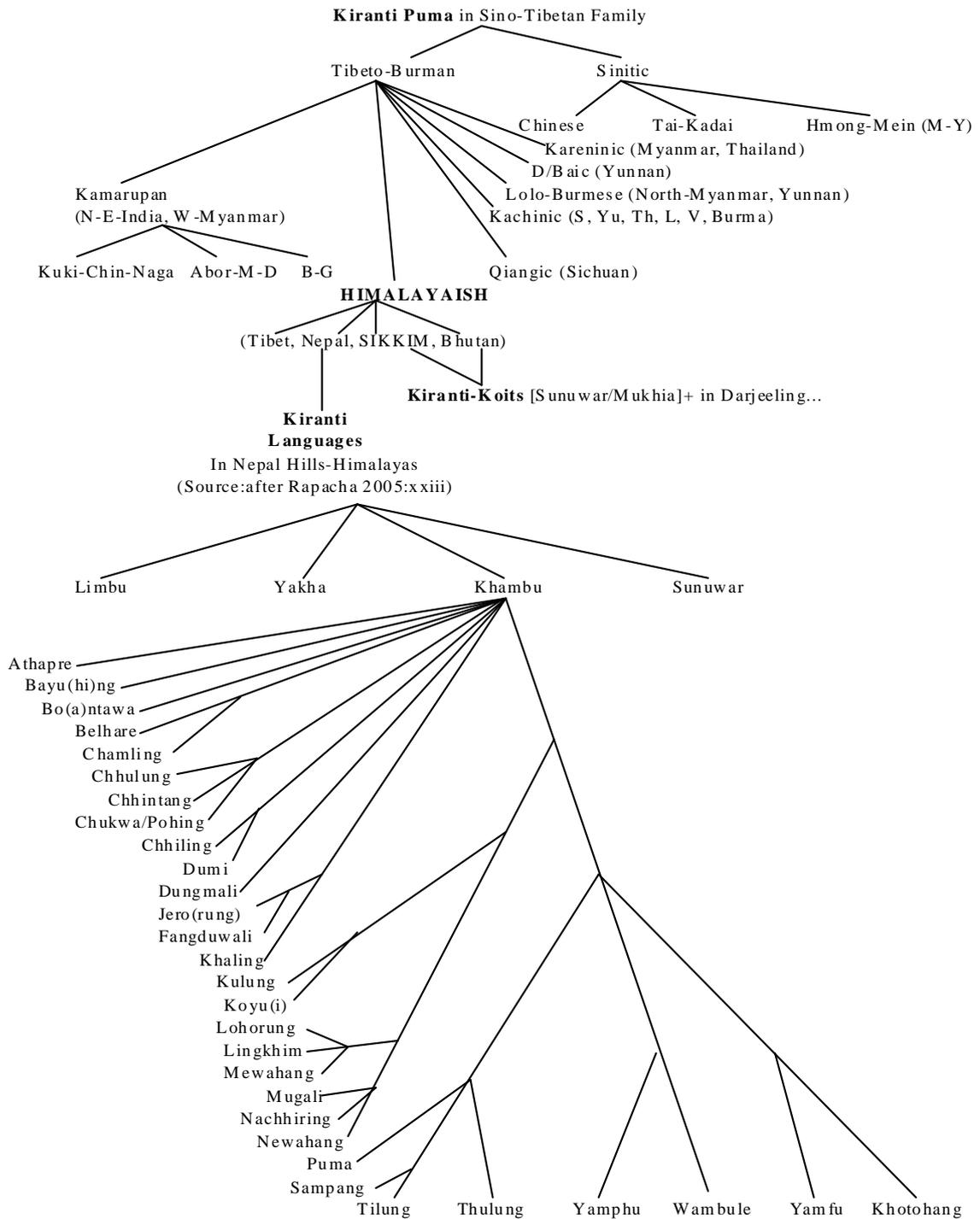
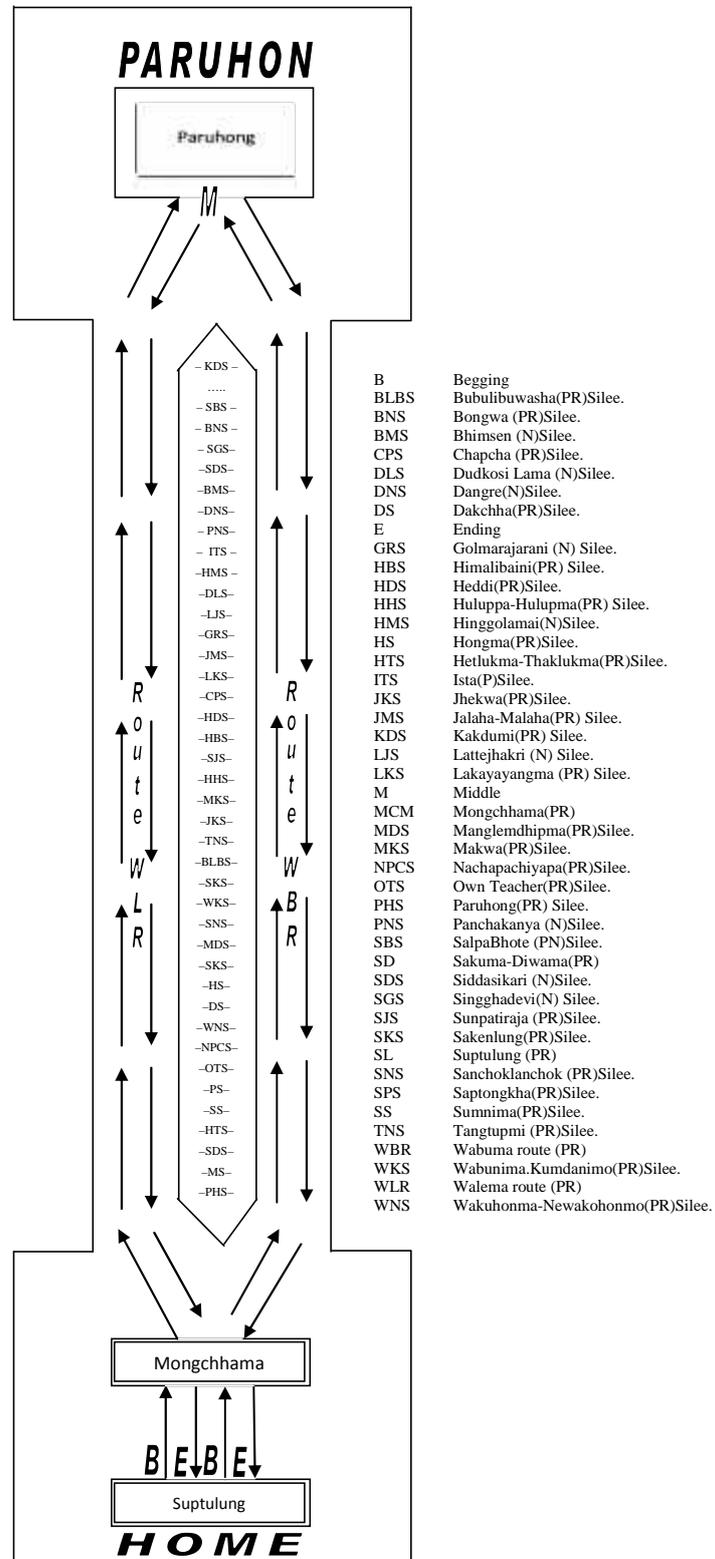


Figure No. 2 : General diagram of the *Mundum*⁷

⁷ I am grateful to Chaitanya Subba(PhD), Lal Rapacha (PhD), Chatur Kumari Rai, Chandara Chamling, Laxmi Rai and Yuma Limbu for their effort to finalize this diagram.

Figure No. 3 : General route of the Paurusewa *Mundum* Performance.



Glossary

- Banpa(PR)* : Bear; second son of holy couple Sumnima-Paruhong.
- Baramsi(PR)* : Sticks of the *Mundum(P)*.
- Barari(PR)* : 12 hand long ritual rope to tie the Ken (PR); also called Ripmari(PR) also.
- Bechhuk(P)* : Holy ginger in the name of the ancestral gods.
- Bechhuchon (PR)* : Ritual peac of hill; konwen Kuivir also, which lies near in between the VDC Kahule and Dambarkhung Siwalaya, Khotang, Nepal.
- Bisuwa(PR)* : Holy plant that is used in the *Mundum(P)* performance.
- Bobbi(PR)* : Ritual Kingdom.
- Bohom(PR)* : Head or chest of pig, which is tied in the top of an altar of the Parusewa.
- Boktongmi(PR)* : Only ancestral ritual worshipper shaman.
- Bomakalakka(P)* : Prostrate pieces of the cut of ginger in divination and taken as good omen; opposite to Langkalakka.
- Buluken(PR)* : Holy instrumental plate or bowl used in *Mundum(P)* performance as the musical instruments.
- Budhahong (PR)* : Ritual name of Paruhong and husband of Wasangkuma.

- Bunglumi-Bungpenmi(PR)* : Spiritual flower holder shaman, who uses more than 365 kinds of flowers in Budhahongsewa(PR) ritual performance.
- Budhahongsewa (PR)* : Worship of Budhahong ritual performance.
- Bungwakhola (PR)* : River of Puma area and lies at in between VDC of Danbarkhung, Kahule, Boppung, Devisthan, Pauwasera, Khotang, Nepal.
- Chapcha(PR)* : Tiger; according to the *Mundum(P)*, first son of holy couple Sumnima-Paruhong.
- Chasumbung(PR)* : Holy uncooked rice in the name of the Gods; called Makum (PR).
- Chunuwa (PR)* : Ritual mother.
- Chhetkum (PR)* : Married own sisters.
- Chhyatta(PR)* : Unmarried female or respected women.
- Dakchha(PR)* : Kins of ritual performing home and the Dowa.
- Dasibung(PR)* : Ritual local white cotton cloth; also called Rangmabung.
- Dilangmi(PR)* : Head of the Kenkamuk; also called Tayami (PR) also.
- Diwama(PR)* : Grandmother.
- Dowa (PR)* : Ritual shaman of Puma Community, called Ngapong(P) too.

- Fenglabung(PR)* : Ritual marigold flowers, which is tied at the top of an altar of the Parusewa.
- Guruni (PR)* : Teacher of the Dowa.
- Hakmabung(PR)* : Different branches of flowers carried by the Dowa during the performance of the Parusewa and also called Sakabung(PR) also.
- Haklakchha(PR)* : Young person.
- Heavenly Path (Eng)* : Philosophy of life.
- Hongchha(PR)* : Man; according to the *Mundum(P)*, last son of holy couple Sumnima-Paruhong.
- Hukmarikhadgo (PN)* : Greatest bad spirit of ancestral hearthstone holder.
- Isama(PR)* : Evil spirit or negative activities of the Sumnima-Paruhong.
- Jarilong(PR)* : Mixture of holy water, pieces of salawa, bisuwa, coin, pieces of grain and local holy beer in cup in bowl with having pure full water inside and covering different kinds of flower and also called Tamalang
- Kaarda(P)* : A kind of small and sharp weapon like knife; taken as the Paruhong's weapon.
- Kathukpa(PR)* : Ritual head of male member of the home, who never touches and eats a goat and its meat.

- Kathukma(PR)* : Ritual head of female member of the home, who never touches and eats a goat and its meat.
- Kakekkhadgo(PN)* : General and young bad spirit of young person.
- Kongken(PR)* : Small and sharp weapon like a half-moon; taken as the Sumnima's weapon.
- Khabken(PR)* : Ritual brass plate, which is played by the Kenkamuk in the Parusewa performance.
- Khababung(PR)* : Holy coin in the name of the Gods; called Khaba also.
- Khambuwan(N)* : Historical and territorial land of Khambu people of Nepal, which lies in between the Likhu to Arun Rivers of Nepal.
- Khawa(PR)* : A kind of liquid gum; gained from the Sumnima-Paruhong in *Mundum* performance.
- Ken(PR)* : All kinds of ritual instruments of the Dowa .
- Kenchhapbung(PR)* : 16 pieces of the cross Sakayawas and placed at under an altar.
- Köitswan(N)* : Historical and territorial land of Köits (Sunuwar or Mukhiya) people of Nepal, which lies in between the eastern border of Kathmandu valley to Likhu Rivers of Nepal.
- Kuiyakhagdo(PN)* : Dark world of bad spirit of ancestral hearthstone holder.

- Limbuwan(N)* : Historical and territorial land of Yakthung (Limbu) people of Nepal, which lies in between the Arun to Mechi Rivers of Nepal.
- Langkalakka(PR)* : Supine the cutting ginger at the ground in divination and represents the the bad sign or negative sign.
- Lamchhakma(PR)* : Blocking the way of enemy through magical supernatural power.
- Mamawa (PR)* : Ritual mother.
- Mamongthali(PR)* : Greatest bad spirit of young female.
- Michilimabung(PR)* : Powerful *Mundum(P)* flowers; taken as a weapon of the Dowa.
- Mongkhap(PR)* : Holy altar, where all the ritual objects are placed during ritual performance. It is called Wabukhap, Nuwakhap, Wapenkha and so on also, which is contract in north and south side at the courtyard of the home.
- Mongchhama(PR)* : Lord of mind, knowledge, grain and so on.
- Mongrepma (PR)* : Healing and treatments with the *Mundum(P)*.
- Mongkalangwa(PR)* : Mixture of holy water, Salawa i.e. a kind of bitter plant, Bisuwa i.e. the *Mundum* plant, Khaba i.e. a coin, Sakabung and so on in the bronze bowl, which is used

- for the sprinkling the water to make the holy ness of the altar and entire team members.
- Mundum(P)* : Traditional religious verbal and performative holy text.
Risiya or Hakwa or Hakwasatim also.
- Nakchhong(PR)* : Sakenwa(PR) ritual worshipper shaman.
- Newala(PR)* : A kind of creeper life leaf, which is used in the every *Mundum(P)* performance and Mobola(P).
- Nuwachhok(PR)* : Holy butter lamp; called Battichhok(PR) and taken as holy light.
- Ompachilung(PR)* : Ritual white stone; Chetlungma(PR) or Maklungma(PR) and taken as holy powerful weapon.
- Papawa(PR)* : Ritual father and grandfather.
- Paruhon* : Royal place of the Sumnima-Paruhong
- Parufongma (PR)* : Offering the souls to Sumnima-Paruhong and renewal, refreshment, legalization and knowledge and power adding of the *Mundum(P)*, demanding happiness, calmness, power, energy, protection, prosperity and blessing to all people of society. It is called Parufongma(PR), Sisomfongma(PR), Somlofongma(PR), Suksongchongma (PR), Rahangchhong (PR) and so on.
- Paruhon* : World of Sumnima-Paruhong; representation of sky.

- Paga(P)* : 12 hands long white ritual cloth, which covers the head as turban.
- Pangmini(PR)* : Villager.
- Pichitembu(PR)* : Courtyard of the home.
- Rabuwa(PR)* : Ritual formal brotherhood, who must be formally appointed in the formal declaration of the Dowa on the day of her/his raising as the Dowa.
- Rahangmi(PR)* : A kind of ritual big tree that is regarded as husband of Suksong tree.
- Rengmasang(PR)* : Weapons of the Dowa.
- Rimini(PR)* : Ritual Relatives.
- Rudramala (N)* : Necklace of garland of the Rudraksha seeds.
- Rumbusama (PR)* : Evil spirit, which lives at plant or wood and so on.
- Sakayawa(P)* : Small kind of reed sticks with white buzzy flower in its end used as one of the *Mundum(P)* objects.
- Sakabung(PR)* : Small kind of reed sticks with white buzzy flower in its end of both sides.
- Sakuma(PR)* : Grandmother' mother.
- Satyahangma(N)* : Philosophy of religion.
- Salawa(PR)* : Bitter holy plant and essentially used in the *Mundum(P)* performance.

- Sakongkhamang(P)* : Rite of mother's womb.
- Sawakhola(PN)* : River and lies northern parts of Puma area at Khotang district of Nepal.
- Saya(PR)* : Holy head soul.
- Sayachongma(PR)* : Raising of the head soul of people with putting a coin, local millet wine in calabash, Paga or any flower on the head of the person.
- Silee(PR)* : Transformation and acting out.
- Sikichh (PR)* : Disciple; called Porichha (P) also.
- Sisomfongma(PR)* : Offering spiritual soul flowers and known as the Parufongma(PR), Somlofongma(PR), Suksongchongma (PR), Rahangchhong (PR).
- Sohon(PR)* : Ritual land or area.
- Sungsa(PR)* : Meat of Goat, which is never touched and eaten by ritual head of Puma People.
- Sumnidima (P)* : Ritual head of the family.
- Hutlung(PR)* : Ritual holy hearthstone of Khambu or Rai people.
- Suksongbung(PR)* : A small ritual tree regarded as the husband of Suksong tree.

- Suksongmi-Rahangmi(PR)* : Supernatural, magical power holder Puma shaman; who uses Suksongbung(PR) and Rahanagbung flowers of trees.
- Tumpali(PR)* : A kind of shaman tree with good fragrance.
- Tayami(PR)* : Ritual, cultural and the *Mundum(P)* expert.
- Thomma(PR)* : Formally performing the *Mundum(P)* .
- Tholaken (PR)* : Ritual drum and gain from the gods Sumnima-Paruhong in dream.
- Thusangmi(PR)* : Assistant team members of Head of the Kenkamuk or Dilangmi.
- Wachhon(P)* : Local beer in clay pot.
- Wadinchha(PR)* : Children.
- Wasup(P)* : Local wine in a calabash.
- Wasang(PR)* : Feathers of birds in the arrow of iron.
- Wasangkuma(PR)* : Ritual name of Sumnima and Sorongkuma also ; wife of Budhahong.
- Wahiken(PR)* : The holy musical instrument of the Dowa, which is made cylindrical wood, coved by animal skin, and played by the Kenkamuk in the Parusewa performance.
- Yacham (PR)* : Ritual basket, where a coin, local millet wine, pieces of Salawa(PR), bisuwa, iron and so on are placed.

- Yangmasang(PR)* : Knowledgeable ritual person.
- Yari(PR)* : Divination.
- Yaridhamma(PR)* : Finding the truth with the divination.

Some Visuals of Ritual Performances



1. Main area of Puma People in Eastern part of Nepal.
2. Puma Village, Chisapani-7, Khotang, Nepal.



3.Puma Home at Chisapani-7, Khotang, Nepal.

4. Sumnidima,

Performing Birth ritual.



5. Sumnidima, Performing feeding ritual.

6. Bride and Groom,

Performing Marriage ritual.



7. Boktongmi, Performing death ritual.

8. All Puma people,

Performing Phagu ritual.



9. Boktongmi, Performing Samkha ritual.

10. Boktongmi, Performing

Monggen ritual.



11. Boktongmi, Performing Nuwagi ritual.

12. Bunglumi, Performing

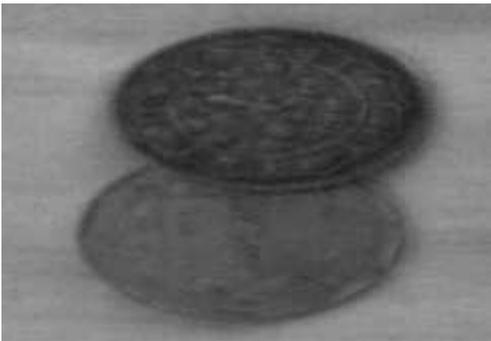
Budhahongsewa(PR).



13. Puma home at Chisapani-7, Khotang, Nepal.

14. Ritual experts, Before

Performing Parusewa.



15. Dilangmi, Preparing ritual objects for Prusewa. 16. Khabakan i.e. ritual coins to offer at Paruhon



17. Rengmasangchi, i.e. ritual objects to use at altar. 18. Busuwa, i.e. ritual canny bush to use at altar.



19. Solonwa i.e. ritual holy water in calabash

ritual holy water in bowl



20. Mangkalangwa i.e.



21. Performing *Mundum* by the Dowa at Hutlung.

22. Begging

powers from the Mongchhama.



23. Altar of the Parusewa

24. Begging the power during Parusewa at altar.



25. Magic spelling to all objects of the Dowa.

26. Dowa, Performing

Hekhama Silee.



27. Dowa, Performing Sumnima Silee.

28. Dowa, Performing

Paruhong Silee.



29. Dowa, Performing own teacher Silee.

30. Dowa,

Performing Saptongkha Silee.



31. Dowa, divinizing at Parusewa.

32. Dowa, Performing

Malnglemdhipma Silee.



33. Dowa, Performing Sakelung Silee.

34. Dowa, Performing

Tangtupmi Silee.



35. Dowa, Performing Bubuli-Buwasa Silee.

36. Dowa, Performing

Sanchoklanchok Silee.



37. Dowa, Performing Jalaha-Malaha Silee.
point of Walema route.

38. Khokwalung i.e. main



39. Dowa, Demanding powers at Hutlung the ritual journey.
40. Dowa, Going Paruhon through altar/



41. Dowa, Removing affliction of ill people.
42. Children, Self-learning of the ritual in leisure time.



43. Dowa, Healing to the child.

44. Dowa, Performing

Mongchhama Silee.



45. Dowa, Performing Paruhong Silee.

46. Dowa, Performing

Sumnima Silee.



47. Greeting to altar in the end of the Parusewa.

god in the end.



48. Greeting to the earth



49. Praying the all gods and goddesses in the end.

the all team members.

50. Raising head souls of



51. Dowa, in happy mood after the end of her Parusewa performance and chatting

with all her team members.

Source of Photos :

- A. Photo No. 1. Adaptation from book *Indo-Nepal Kirati Bhasaharu: Bigat, Samakalin Paribhesa Ra Bholiko Chunautiharu* and illustrated by researcher himself.
- B. Photo No. 38 from Jaya Siwahang.
- C. Photo No. 7, 9 and 11, from video of CPDP.
- D. Photo No. 4 and 5 from Gautam Rai.
- E. Photo No. 37, 39 and 40, 41 from Rejoin (HP).
- F. Photo No. 16, 17 and 18, from book *Kirat Rai Jati Ra Mundum Samagri*.
- G. Photo No. 2,3, 6,8,10,12,13,14,15,19,20, 21, 22, 23, 24,25,26,27,28,29,30,31,32,33,34, 35,36 ... 42, 43,44,45,46,47,48,49,50 and 51 from researcher himself.