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*Soskhaa Tos*, Performance and Economy in Kirat Nachhiring Rai

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## Letter of Recommendation

It is recommended that the dissertation entitled *Soskhaa Tos*, Performance and Economy in Kirat Nachhiring Rai in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the M. Phil Degree in English by Smita Rai has been completed under my supervision. I recommend it for readily acceptance.

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## Abstract

This research work is based on *Soskhaa Tos*, a ritual performed by Kirat Nachhiring Rai. *Soskhaa Tos* is celebrated in the Nepali month of Fagun. On this occasion, Kirat Nachhiring Rai worship the land, nature for the better growth of crops and prepare themselves accordingly and also they worship their manes at the same time for their benediction bestowing upon the clan. This research attempts to show the performative and the economic significance of *Soskhaa Tos* related with the pragmatic aspects of the clan. Ritual and economy have interdependent relationship with each-other so, both of them impact each- other. For the economic growth, production of agricultural products plays vital role and the production is impossible without the land and the skills to cultivate. Land is the main source of survival. Worshipping the land and nature means worshipping the components of environment. The community perform the ritual to worship the nature and the performance brings the ritual into its existence. So, environment is worshipped in this ritual, *Soskhaa Tos*. For the development of the country, economy plays the main role and economic development is not possible forgetting the environment and ritual. The medium is performance that gives life to the ritual, *Soskhaa Tos*. I have brought the performance theory by Richard Schechner and Victor Turner to analyze the ritual from the perspective of performance and Michel Callon's Performativity theory in economics is used to support the idea of relation between ritual and economy. As this reresearch talks about the economy, I have also brought the idea of Japanese economist Hiwaki Kensei's idea of culture and economics about sustainable development. Interviews with Mr. Bhupadhoj Thomoros, Mr. Tek Nachhiring and Mr. Balu Kubir Nachhiring who are working in the field of Kirat culture, were done several times. I have taken reference from different books and watched online video on *Soskhaa Tos* and the ritual is analyzed from the perspective of economy. For

the development of the country economy plays the main role and economic development is not possible forgetting the ritual and environment - is the conclusion of this re-research.

**Key Words:** Soskhaa Tos, Ritual, Nachhiring, Clan, Manes, Worship, Performance, Environment, Crops, Economy, Pragmatic Life

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## Chapter I: Introduction to *Soskhaa Tos*

### Introduction

This research work is on *Soskhaa Tos*, a ritual performed by Kirat Nachhiring Rai. They perform this ritual to worship their manes and land for bestowing benediction to the clan for better production of crops and for a better economy, prosperity and health of the people. The Rais of Nachhiring Rai community like other Rais and Limbus are indigenous people of Mongoloid race and practice a distinct language and culture. *The Kulunge Rai* claims that: "Rai tradition relates that the first of the ancestral Kirati entered Nepal's eastern hills through the Barakhshetra gorge of the Koshi valley, the natural gateway into the region through the Mahabharat Range, which separates the hilly inter land from plains" (3). They are concentrated in the hills of the eastern Nepal.

The story of Kirat Nachhiring tells about their origin that in the ancient time, in the process of hunting, their clan's senior Ratapkhu reached at Pomlalong located at Gudel in Solukhumbu district. He had two sons named Ritibel, the elder one and Kachibui Warindo, the younger one. The younger son fell sick and died at Pomlalong. After the death of Kachibui Warindo, Ratapkhu buried his son's body at Pomlalong and promised his spirit that upcoming generations' spirit would be sent to the Pomlalong at the same place. Since, then the clan's death spirit is sent to the place Pomlalong with the help of a ritual. Now, too, if the death is natural, their spirit or soul is sent to the same place as Ratapkhu had promised to his son, Kachibui Wanrindo. This is how Pomlalong has become one of the holy places for the clan. After the death of his younger son Kachibui Warindo, Ratapkhu did not feel like staying at Pomlalong. He missed his dead son so much that he decided migrate to Sotang, a place located at the lower belt of Solukhumbu district. He stayed there with his only son Ritibel now. The present clan are the offspring of the same father. So, they are the descendants of Ratapkhu. The clan

spread in large number in Sotang. They are recognized as Sotang Rai, too. Later, with the pace of development and in the process of seeking better lifestyle and job opportunities they got scattered in different parts of the world. At present, the tribe is found in different countries of the world.

Nachhiring Rai worship the earth, land or nature and their manes as their god. They believe that their existence is possible only because of the presence of the skills bequeathed from their manes. The clan worship nature and their manes in many ways in different times, *Soskhaa Tos* is also one of them. This research concentrates on one of those Kirati Rais' ritual *Soskhaa Tos* connected with the performance and celebration of economy.

According to the census 2068, among 133 castes, the Nachhiring Rai is one. As they are the descendants of Nasmi or Nachhiri; they are also recognized as Nachhiring or Sotto in the community. And in the past their ancestors spread in the place called Sotang in Solukhumbu district so they are called Sotang Rai. Some of them prefer calling themselves only Kirat Nachhiring. Here, I have addressed them as the Kirat Nachhiring Rai. Their community worship nature and believe in their ancestral soul. *Soskhaa Tos* is a festival, Kirat Nachhiring Rai perform to worship the earth, environment and their dead ancestors' soul. They believe that present life of human being is possible only because of the skills that they have got from their ancestors and because of the presence of the nature. Life is meaningless and futile in the absence of the nature and without the skill that they have learned and bequeathed from their ancestors. So, the community performs this ritual with this due respect.

Besides *SoskhaaTos*, *Naagi* and *Dedaam* are other two main festivals celebrated by them in their community. Similarly, they also perform other rituals like, *Chhidaam*, *Saaipoma*, *Rongkemme*, *Laladoom*, *Chhamro Mong*, *Deebooram*, *Khalkomong*, *You*

*Pooja, NaagPooja, Hoplong* and others. There are many sub-castes under the Kirat and they perform this ritual in their own ways and they have their own names for the festival. Bantawa Rai call it *Sakenwa*, Chamling Rai call it *Sakela/Sakewa*, Khaling Rai call it *Wass*, Limbu call it *Chasok Tangnaam*, and Nachhiring Rai call it *Tos*. And Kirat Nachhiring Rai performs *Tos* seven times in a year. They all have their own names importance and time to perform. Among them *Soskhaa Tos* is one of the *Toses* and the first *Tos* performed in the beginning of the year.

The meaning of *Soskhaa* in Kirat Nachhiring Rai language is cleaning something negative like; dirt, disease, famine, pests, dryness in the earth, evil and all types of bad amen that can be harmful for the crops, human beings, animals and keeping them pure, clean, healthy and beautiful and the meaning of *Tos* means worship (Pooja). The *Soskhaa Tos* means worshipping the earth and their dead ancestors' soul to protect the harvest from pests and to protect the cattle and human being from any type of misfortunes and diseases.

It is a type of ritual based on their ancestors' teaching. They have been practicing this festival since their ancestors' time. In the ancient time since there was not enough land for the cultivation, there were forest everywhere, their ancestors cut down the trees of limited area, they cleaned the bushes and weeds, let them dry and then they burned the dried weeds and cut branches and started cultivating the lands (*Kirat Pilmo Rai Jaati*49). This is one of the reasons why they started worshipping their ancestral land as it provided foods for their survival. The cultivation became their economic source. Since, then to the present, the *Tos* has been performed. By performing the ritual, they believe that they get blessings from the nature and also from their ancestors. Such blessings, they believe bring prosperity, healthy life, and success in their lives.

In this ritual, the entire community gather to worship the rain water for better growth of seeds, for the fertility of land, for long life of soil and the earth. They consider the earth as the living god/living being. They worship the earth so, they believe that it does get angry at their wrong acts. The community believe that human beings happen to commit one or the other kind of wrong deeds to the Mother Nature. With this ritual, they promise not to disturb the earth's natural attributes. As this is the time to commence the cultivation, their main duties are to manage fertilizer, clean land, plough land, manage seeds, keep sapling of paddy and millet. With these things, they want to grow sufficient amount of crops. The farmers need to be careful about all these things on time so that they can harvest a good amount of fruits, vegetables and crops. Before the commencement of everything, the preparation plays pivotal role. This festival reminds the Kirat that 'prevention is better than the cure'.

The *Soskhaa Tos* is celebrated in the Nepali month of Falgun/Chaitra because this is the month of preparation for the cultivation of the year and time for sowing the seeds. It is mainly performed in Solukhumbu, Bhojpur, Khotang, Morang districts and other eastern parts of Nepal by the clan. The areas, where Sotang Rais have settled down like; Sotang, Pilmo, Bangdel, Namlung and Dimma are the main synonymous districts and areas to know about the clan. This clan celebrate *Tos* seven times in a year and they have their own names. They are: *Soskhaa Tos*, *Banchhar Tos*, *Rumul Tos*, *Gneryo Tos*, *Chalim Tos*, *Sama Tos* and *Saairum Tos*. Among them, *Soskhaa Tos* is one.

According to Ramri Maya Pidisai, one of the seniors of the community says, "During the time, especially the crops and vegetables like maize, potato, ginger, garlic, onion, cucumber, pumpkin, chilly, yam, beans, soya-bean, wheat, buck-wheat species of grain are sowed in the month of Fagun and Chaitra". Those vegetables and crops are the main food and the main economic support for the year. Another significant work

especially some years back during this time was, the cattle were taken to *Kharka* (uncultivated open pastures in the hilly areas) for their shelter and lands were kept unoccupied for cultivation. But at present this is not practiced by many because many people from the community are engaged in other different professions too. In my personal interview, Shahu Ram Nachhiring, one of the seniors of the clan says, "People of the village before 20/25 years used to take cattle to *Kharka* because during the season of Fagun and Chaitra, there is lack of green grasses and lands need to be kept empty for the cultivation." The *Kharka* where, the cattle are taken is suitable place for grazing the cattle, the place has variety of grasses and further such places belong to no one special. *Kharka* is a public land covered with different tropical trees, grasses and spacious area. One or two members, or as per the number of their cattle and need, go to the place as shepherds and lead the cattle and spend time there looking after the cattle. They carry some amount of necessary *Laamchaam* (food stuffs) for limited time with them and return to the village again to bring the food items if it is consumed or finished. At present this culture is being disappeared. So, they do not take cattle anywhere because rare people have cattle.

#### Literature Review

Among seven *Toses* one of the research dissertations was done on *Chalim Tos* by Bharat Nachhiring titled *Performance Study on Chalim Tos in Kirat Nachhiring*, "*Chalim Tos* is celebrated as the part of cultural items to reflect its distinctiveness. It is an occasional celebration which falls in the season of fertilization Asadh Purnim (full moon day, falls on the mid of June/July)" Bharat.pg1. Here, he has analyzed *Chalim Tos* from the perspective of performance. But present research is on *Soskhaa Tos*, which is celebrated in Fagun. He has not described about *Soskhaa Tos* and its economic aspects.

Another research had been also done on *Tos* by Tek Nachhiring where he has studied and described about all types of *Toses* and their importance in the community in general. He has also described about how it started, what is the objectives of doing *Tos*, how is it connected with clan's identity, how all types of *Toses* are performed, what types of material are used in the ritual etc. but he has not focused on economic side of the *Tos*.

Another research, Rai (2064), "About the commencement of the festival Sakela even though there are many myths existed among the community, it is especially connected with the Paaruhaang and Sunnima's imaginary myth who had created the earth. The main aspect of Sakela is to show the clan's religious, cultural and their daily lives aspects through *shili*. Numerically *Shili* can't be recorded as the fixed and final types but approximately according to its characteristics *shili* can be divided into four different categories. Characteristics of nature, Characteristics of Agriculture, Characteristics of animals, birds and Self characteristics." Here, too Rai has mainly focused about the characteristics of *shili* performed during Sakela.

Nachhiring, 2015 "*Chaalim Tos* in the process of development based on verbal and listening knowledge is performed to commemorate and respect the agriculture. Nachhiring believe that agriculture was possible only because of the contribution of the ancestors, the earth and nature. In Nachhiring language *Chaalei* means growing shoot of crop. The word *Chaalei* with the time changed into *Chaalim*. After the growth of shoot from the crop, they worship it for better growth of the crops, keep away and safe the crop from pests, save it from hailstorm, diseases etc." So, in this research too there is description about only *Chaalim Tos* and its objective of performing the ritual but has not focused about *Soskhaa Tos'* economic side.

In this way few scholars have studied about *Toses* from different perceptions however, they have not studied *Soskhaa Tos* from the perspective of economics.

## Statement of Problem

Economy and rituals are interdependent so, this re-search brings the economic importance and performativity of ritual which has not been done by any of those re-searchers. This re-search works on the following questions:

How is it connected with celebration of economy?

Why is it important to study from the perspective of economy?

How is it celebrated and how is it connected with the community?

So, this research work attempts to explore the economic side of *Soskhaa Tos* or study is focused from the perspective of economic aspects.

## Hypothesis

Life demands variations for survival. Every community in the society needs different aspects for sustainable life and development. As the festival is related with culture and environment, it has significant role for the sustainable development of the clan supporting the community to the country. And it leads the community towards the eternal journey towards the nature and their ancestors.

Economy is the backbone of every country. In the absence of economic part one cannot imagine sustainable development and existence of any creature in the earth. Economy does not only count as money that people use to purchase and use in their expenditure. It is not only the property like; skyscraper house, car, expensive gadgets, and sophisticated life style rather it has close knit relationship with environment, community, rituals, agriculture and many more. It is an agrarian economy that sustains human life. Further, it is also related with the main dimensions and components of economics; production, consumption, investment and economic growth. And those components are intertwined with environment. Michel Callon says, "Markets depend on

social relationships, at all levels, and thus social relationships are part of economy" (27). As Callon delineates, *Soskhaa Tos* is also a part of social relationship where all levels of people come together. They share the knowledge about the skill to grow crops that are taught by their ancestors, they internalize the relationship among nature, their ancestors, environment and themselves which, help them in their daily lives. In this way ritual impacts the economy.

The earth is worshiped because it is the place and land where people grow crops, vegetables and everything to sustain life. It is a meaning of life. And it is possible due to the skill of art, the art of cultivation the present generation have learned from their ancestors. After production only it is consumed and remaining portion after consumption is either sold or can be used as barter system. Selling and barter system means growth of economics. The root of economics begins from the production. Production is based on the preparation they follow.

#### Objectives

The main objective of the Research is to bring the fact that *Soskhaa Tos* is not merely a rite that the community perform to their manes. Neither it is only a ritual perform for the entertainment purpose. The ritual is also a performance connected with the agrarian economy of the clan. The sustainability and the sustainable development of the community.

#### Methodology

Personal interviews with different seniors from the Nachhiring community were done several times. The interviews were taken with: Mr. Bhupadhoj Thomoros and Mr. Tek Nachhiring, who are working in the field of Kirat culture, Mr. Balukubir Nachhiring a young cultural expert about Nachhiring Rai helped and managed me to show live *Soskhaa Tos* online, I asked many questions about the clan to Mr. Ram Kumar

Nachhiring, I also asked many questions about crops grown in the month of Fagun to Mr. Shahu Ram Nachhiring and Ramri Maya Pidisai the seniors of the community. I have taken reference from different books and watched online video on *Soskhaa Tos* and the ritual is analyzed from the perspective economy.

I have brought the performance theory by Richerd Schechner, Catherine Bell and Victor Turner to analyze the ritual from the perspective of performance and Michel Callon's Performativity theory in economics is used to support the idea of relation between ritual and economy. As this re-research talks about the economy, I have also brought the idea of Japanese economist Hiwaki Kensei's idea of culture and economics about sustainable development.

I have used the concept of "performativity" which was introduced in economic sociology by Michel Callon (1998). I have also used the idea of Stephen Gudeman and Chris Hann about ritual and economy. While analyzing the ritual, I have taken different components and features of *Soskhaa Tos* and looked them through the lens of economy. It highlights the thing that, how *Soskhaa Tos* is connected with economy of the community that can help them for sustainable development. To show its relation with economy I have divided them into five different parts and analyzed them using given above theory:

1. Month of Celebration 2. Preparation for the Cultivation 3. Materials used in *Soskhaa Tos* 4. *Tos*, Environment and Traditional Wisdom 5. Risiwa(Mantra)

At the end of the analysis I have added Myth about Celebrating *Tos* which also shows, how the myths too are related with economy and their ancestor' teaching.

Significance of the study

This ritual is connected with the cultivation, land and the clan's ancestors. It is about the living life of the community which is connected with the community's

economy. So, it is a significant part to read it from the perspective of economy too. It will also provide basic information about the ritual to the most people of the clan themselves too because many people not only other tribes and castes of the country but the same community members who are scattered in the different parts of the world at present know very less about it or many of them have no idea on the subject. This research will be a help and small try for the community to know about their culture and themselves. It will help the community know, how *Soskhaa Tos* is connected with economics. How it is helpful to connect themselves with their ancestors and why it has been celebrated from their ancestors' time to the till date.

*Sokhaa Tos* is directly connected with the nature. It is a culture followed and practiced by the clan. The culture worshipped to the nature. It is a belief, which makes them feel closer to their manes and the earth. So, both of them are inseparable. The nature exists, so the people exist. If people do not care, love and think about the nature, there will be only few years remained with human existence. Respecting and worshipping the earth means loving and caring humanity too. So, such types of cultures bring the better face and condition on the earth.

I have chosen *Soskhaa Tos* because this is the first *Tos* of the year and it is connected with the commencement of the cultivation time of the year. Generally, people focus on result, happiness, success only but they do not prepare themselves accordingly for that. But this ritual shows the mandatory part of preparation before starting any work. When it is performed before the commencement of the cultivation means the community is concerned about proper preparation and readiness for better output. They take preparation as the most important aspect for better production of the crops so land is worshipped means they take care of the land which provides foods for human being that they can consume to sustain their lives which is connected with economics. Economic

aspect for living beings is the most important part that the community has internalized to celebrate it. And they do it, with the means of performance.

#### Limitations

This research is done for the dissertation purpose of M.phil remaining only under limited studies. Some interviews with the resource persons like; Bhupudhoj Thomoros, who has been working in the field of Kirat culture for numbers of years, Tek Nachhiring; who is a leading young cultural student working about Kirat Nachhiring culture , Balu Kubir Nachhiring, a young leading re-searcher about the clan's culture, some books which will be mentioned in work cited and some videos. It is mainly based on the *Soskhaa Tos* celebrated in Sotang, one of the seven rural municipalities of Solukhumbu District. Under the title 'Rai', there are many sub-castes and they worship the land and their manes in their own ways in different places. This *Soskhaa Tos* celebrated in Sotang might differ from the *Soskhaa Tos* celebrated in other places by the same clan and other Rais because mainly it is based on the Tos celebrated at Sotang. I chose the place Sotang because my resource persons and materials from whom I collected mostly are well-known about the rituals celebrated in the place. I took interviews, watched live *Soskhaa Tos* with the help of Mr. Balkubir Nachhiring from Sotang performed in the place and read some available materials and prepared the re-search. Re-search itself means to search something new and bring hidden or unnoticed thing to the front which is not possible to do at one attempt so, should be done again and again. In this sense there might be many things to unravel on the same topic.

#### Chapter dissertation

The first chapter provides a short introduction to *Soskhaa Tos*, the clan Nachhiring and research work. The second chapter describes about and discusses the ritual, *Soskhaa Tos* as a performance and theoretical ideas. The third chapter, which is the

main part of this work concentrates on the economic significance of *Soskhaa Tos*, where different components of *Soskhaa Tos* are analyzed with the eyes of economy. Final chapter, chapter four talks about the pragmatic aspects in *Soskhaa Tos* which is in the conclusion part of the research.

## Chapter II: *Soskhaa Tos* as Performance

*Soskhaa Tos* is a ritual performed in a systematic way for the healthy crops, cattle and the clan themselves in in the Nepali month of Fagun. It is a ritual performed on the basis of Kirat Nachhiring Rais' ancestors teaching to the clan. It is in its existence because of its performative characteristic. It is a ritual based with their practical lives. Ritual is a religious or solemn ceremony consisting of a series of actions performed according to a prescribed order. It is something based on some believes and religions that has a cultural formation of a particular society which is repeatedly practiced by human beings in a systematic way. There are nearly eight billion that is 7.951 people in the world (2022, World Bank) and every community of each country among 195 countries (United Nations) has own typical culture.

In the world each individual clan and caste in each society practices some unique rituals based on their belief. It is a culture that defines the society, clan, and any castes' origin, identity and existence. So, ritual is developed as a culture.

*Soskhaa Tos* as a ritual is related to economy through the social connections it makes. It is a sanctum of celebration where everyone develops the sense of brotherhood. Taking break from their busy works, the community on the day of this ritual assemble together. They make merry sharing their kith and kin. The food like; *sevem* (local bread), boiled corn, alcoholic beverage thought as the sacred food prepared especially for the day are brought from each of the houses are distributed among one another after the completion of the ritual. They eat the food as the blessing of the nature and their ancestors. The food items used and brought on the day are locally produced by themselves so, before their self-consumption, they offer those food items to the mother earth and their manes. The food items they grew in the land and the cattle they reared

during the time was the main source of income for the community in the past but at present the community people are engaged in other different professions too. The *Tos* is related with the economy because the items used in the ritual and the purpose of protecting the land for the better growth are directly connected to the production which is the main component of the economics. Rituals express repeat and sustain social ties. It is the most important day for the community because the sense of co-operation is strengthened among one another on this day. It ties the community members to sustain the mutual relationship in the society. Stephen Gudeman and Chris Hann in their work titled *Economy and Ritual* write, "For us rituals are related to economy through the social connections they make and break. Rituals express reiterate and sustain social ties" (7). Like their idea, I want to state that *Soskhaa Tos*, a ritual too, expresses, reiterate and sustain social ties. Those activities are done through performance. The community express the way of living through performance which has their historical, cultural and mythical importance connected with the economy. And as all the members assemble together, they discharge each duties duly with due respect towards their manes and nature which enhances the sense of closeness and sense of oneness with their genesis.

In the same idea, I want to bring Smith's definition of ritual, "ritual is a special cultural space where life can be imagined, staged, watched, practiced, done right, and then, hopefully, recollected in daily life – but always with the understanding of a gap or distance between ritual and ordinary life." In the way Smith has said life can be imagined in the ritual because every activities we perform in the ritual are not based on only reality, some of the activities are imagined and brought into action, next word Smith has used is 'staged' it is staged in the sense that ritual has a specific space to perform like a stage and like a stage full of different characters with their own roles, in the sanctum of ritual too there are many participants with their own roles and responsibilities. Smith has

also brought another word 'watched' besides the main role players in the ritual are several common participants who remain present there like the audience in the stage, in the sacred place of ritual to observe it. Similarly, the next word 'practiced' means it is repeatedly done like an obligation. There are some far differences between daily activities and ritual. Daily activities sometimes are not followed but rituals are formed as a rule for particular reason and fixed purpose. Some of them might come from different communities and some of them might are children. They all observe the ritual and learn about its importance. So, they obtain not only enjoyment and feel togetherness but they also obtain some knowledge and information at the same time.

Theory on the other hand is a term that remains to argue and facilitate the embodied form to a topic present as a subject matter. Theory deals with particular subject and provides a form and definitions to it. It creates a different ways to observe the subject matter and brings different perspective to it. Theories are based on some logical, intellectual and philosophical instruments and ideas. It can be about any area like; performance, psychology, economy, society and many more. According to Elizabeth Bell, theory always tries to accommodate to the questions like: what, why, and how to constitute certain vision. Bell, "theory as something we operationalize every day. All theories attempt to explore and to imagine possibilities. Theories ask what, why and how questions; and they ask the question in discourse of representation, understanding or suspicion" (quoted Nachhiring, 27). As Bell has delineated theory facilitates the answers, reason and cause of questions 'what', 'why' and 'how' on any subject matter that is put on the table in the mass of different intellectuals, philosophers, scholars, writers and critics. And then they come up with their own ideas and perspectives based on their understanding, research, study and knowledge. And to scrutinize and scan the cultural

components like; ritual, festival, marriage, literature, and science etcetera such theories are necessary.

Society is full of diverse culture so with religion and rituals. The existence of such culture and rituals are bequeathed from one generation to another generation by different means. For example: those are either transferred orally, oral interpretation or should have some written documents. But most of the rituals are based on oral interpretations which are not written and the means of bringing those oral interpretation into life and existence is through the means of performance.

#### *Soskhaa Tos* as Performance

Performance carries the potentiality of bringing unwritten rituals into existence. Since, their ancestors' time the community have been performing the ritual only because their upcoming generations listen to the oral story behind the reason and they observe the ritual while performing by their ancestors and they learn, follow and develop such rituals to the reality. It is one of the proofs and histories of civilization. It has the origin with the beginning of agrarian phase to the present cultural and systematic community.

Certain amount of cereals like maize, rice, millet or wheat is collected from each house of the village before three or four months of *Soskhaa Tos*. It is collected earlier because it takes time to get the alcoholic beverage ready. It is collected in one of the houses of the community which, they decide turn wise to cook alcoholic beverage for the occasion. The alcoholic beverage is cooked in two separate places; one is to offer to the dead ancestors and to the earth and next is for the participants of the *Soskhaa Tos* on the day of the ritual. On the day of *Soskhaa Tos*, in the morning, blowing *Pung* (the wild buffalo's horn) a euphoric invitation is given to all the villagers. It is an update given to all the villagers that there is *Tos* today. Before the day of the ritual, in the evening time, *Nokchho* (the main head of the ritual, who has the skill and power of connecting both

spiritual world and the real world) invites all the dead ancestors' soul and keeps inside *Lhota* (a small brass jar) covering with cut branch of chestnuts. In the morning of the ritual, when all members from the villages carrying some sacred foods like *sevem* (a type of local bread), boiled corn cooked at their own home get assembled at the courtyard of the house where alcoholic beverage is cooked then after keeping some portion of that food to offer in the *Toskham*, which is also called *Yankhulu* (the sacred place for the ritual) and in the name of their dead ancestors separately they distribute among one another and eat those as *prashaad* (sacred food).



Figure 1. Sacred food items prepared from local products for *Soskhaa Tos*

The alcoholic beverage cooked for the ritual is also filled separately in the *Kathuwa* (a wooden container in the shape of small jar, which is skillfully designed and crafted) and *Wavam* (a dried outer shell of bottle guard) for the dead ancestors, the earth and the participants of the ritual.



Figure 2. Alcoholic beverage filling into wooden's pot ready for *Soskhaa Tos*

From the house of natural dead ones, this year, *Matamau* (a full basket of cooked rice) is brought to use as *prashaad* and take it to the *Toskham/Yankhulu* and the dead's souls are called in the ritual as their ancestors afterwards. After the completion of *Tos* participants distribute the *Matamau* among one- another and eat that *matamau* as sacred food.



Figure 3. Participants sharing *Matamau* (a full basket of rice brought from the recently dead person's house)

The *Nokchho* is made ready with a unique attire. A *Todham* (crown) beautifully woven with *Sontherbung* (a dried bark of orchid flower), a turban made out of nettle bark's thread, a long white gown which is also made out of nettle bark's thread.



Figure 4. Nachhiring, Pahalman . Present *Tos Nokchho* of Sotang, in *Soskhaa Tos*

The *Nokchho* recites some mantras, addresses all the genesis and chimes cymbal and one of the participants in the ritual blows the *pung* (a musical instrument made out of wild buffalo's horn). The *Nokchho*, then circles the *Suptulung* (three stone stove) *chula* which is considered as Kirat's one of the main sources of power inside the house.

*Pomlalong*, *Suptulung* and *Toskham* are the three main places where they call their natural dead ancestors' spirit but if the death is unnatural like; suicide, accident etcetera then their spirits are not called as their ancestors in those places, such spirits are sent to the place of sun sets. The *Nokchho* pronounces different *Dapsnings* (genesis interpretation) to the dead souls and finishes the first step of the ritual. *Dapsning* is like 'Gotra', 'kool' or 'Pachha' in Nepali. There are many *dapsnings* in the clan which are named by the seniors of the community according to their characteristics. It is not allowed to get married between the same *dapsning*. Close blood relation is not accepted. If the same genesis of the same caste get married, they are given separate *dapsning*. Before the completion of seven generation, they can't get married between the same

geneses, if any of the couples do that, they are given new *dapsning*. That's why the formation of the *dapsning* goes continuous in the community. During the break, they take alcoholic beverage as *Prasad* (pure or sacred food) after that all get ready for the *Toskham* (the sacred place for the ritual). All of them come out of the house then the *Nokchho* circles the lingo (cut branch of chestnut's tree) erected in the courtyard of the house three times and moves towards *Toskham* chimes the *jhyamta* (cymbal) and blows the *pung*. They chime cymbal and blow *Pung*. First the *Masimi* (the head of *sil*) followed by *Nokchho* and other participants in a line, move towards *Toskham* (a sacred place for the ritual). Before reaching the *Yangkhulu* near the *Yangkhulu* the *Nokchho* circles the eight stones among sixteen, which one of their ancestors Doshum in the past while taking those stones, those had to be taken without taking rest that he could not reach to *Toskham* carrying all so eight stones were left there while transferring *Yankhulu* from the place Dachhelu to Gomdaa.

After reaching in the *Yangkhulu/Toskham* the *Nokchho* performs the ritual.

*Toskham* is a sacred place. It symbolizes the faith, hope and veneration of the community.



Figure 5. *Nokchho*, *Saakhambu* and other participants while performing *Soskhaa Tos*

Cotton silk tress is the symbol of faith for the community. This ritual is performed in the *Toskha*, beneath *Sunmasing* (cotton silk tree) because it is the source of the clans' evolution or origin according to the myth. So, performing the ritual in the *Toskham* under the *Sunmasing* is also one of the most important things in the ritual because this ritual is not performed else in other places.



Figure 6. *Toskham* of Sotang district, Solukhumbu.

The *Nokchho* pronounces *dapsning* (genesis interpretation) of all the genesis from their eldest *Ratapkhu* to the last who are dead. While pronouncing *dapsning*, if some of the dead ancestors' *dapsning* is forgotten to pronounce the name of *Suptulung* (three stone oven) is pronounced which they believe will fulfil every dead ancestors' *dapsning*. In each pronouncement *Masimi* (*Nokchho*'s helper) offers rooster's feather to the ancestors' soul and *Nokchho* offers alcoholic beverage to them. The *Nokchho* worships to the ancestors' soul for their blessings upon their generations and children. He also worships their dead ancestors' souls to rest in peace and not to have any bad amen upon them. Then, they all dance together in a circular way with the beat of the drum, *jhyamta*. The dance is known as *sil*. Next after dancing for some times they drink the alcoholic beverage, eat *wakpum* (boiled corn), *Sevem* (local bread of rice) as *prasaad* (a sacred

food) sharing among one another and then the ritual is completed at the *Toskham*. All the participants get ready to return to the home. Everyone present in the ritual walks forward and the *Nokchho* walks at the last calling their *laau* (soul). The *Nokchho* is aware that no one's *laau* (spirit) would be left in the *Toskham*. Because it is believed that among the participants if anybody's *laau* remains there then he or she will fall sick. So, the *Nokchho* follows other participants at last calling their *laau*. He worships for the whole clan of the village and calling everyone's soul they reach home. When they arrive at the courtyard of the house the *Nokchho*, again circles the erected cut branch of the chestnuts tree three times and enters into home. Inside the home again clashing the cymbal and pronouncing some mantras he circles the *Suptulung* for three times, he sprinkles alcoholic beverage to the *Daamphe*(a small rack of a wood kept in the upper part of the house in the corner to offer things for the dead ancestors) with cut branch of chestnuts and let ask every dead ancestors' soul rest in *Daamphe* and completes the ritual.



Figure 7. *Tos Nokchho*, offering alcoholic beverage to manes on *Damphe*

After the completion the ritual, *TosNokchho*'s attire is taken off in a systematic way and they all declare that the first *Tos* of the year, *Soskhaa Tos* has ended. They promise to meet in next *Tos* and depart from there gradually.



Figure 8. *Saakhambu*, taking *Nokchho's* ornaments off after the completion of *Soskhaa Tos*

This festival covers not only the myth and the ritual it is very connected with pragmatic aspects too, including history it has its own system which is connected with the practical life. Performing this ritual, the clan bring their lives in to more meaningful. The ritual is about skill of living that shows different activities needed in the ordinary life of the clan. Similar to this statement Richard Schechner delineates, "Performances mark identities, bent time, reshape and adorn the body, and tell stories. Performance –of art, rituals, or ordinary life-are made 'twice of behaved behaviour' 'restored behaviour", performed actions that people train to do, that they practice and rehearse" (16).

The above lines speak that performance marks the identity. This ritual is also an identity for the clan because this is related to the clan themselves in terms of the way they live, the food they eat, the attire they wear and the ritual it is performed depicts the story of their origin and identity. The art of performance brings the fact about the behaviour of the clan's ancestors. They perform the ritual based on their ancestors more or less in the same way. In the ancient time, when their ancestors started cultivating the land thereafter, the systematic way of living began. Before that they used to spend

nomadic life. They didn't have fixed place for their shelter. For their survival they used to hunt wild animals like deer, boar etc. After obtaining the knowledge of cultivation they had to stay in a fixed place for the crops until the crops were ripen. Which made the life easier as it helped them economically too. People need to have proper preparation for each initiation. It is performed in a systematic way, only one *Nokchho* who is selected through *Saarbukhaam* (a systematic ritual to choose *Nokchho*) is allowed to perform the ritual until his death or until he delegates his power or authority to the next. So, it is a place to transform cultural property onto other upcoming generations. The younger generation adopt the ideas methods and trends from old generations by hearing the *risiwa* (mantra) recited during the ritual and by observing the performance, which interpret and explain about their ancestors and their origin. By observing the performance during the ritual, the young generation learn about the modes and system of the ritual. The pattern and modes are bequeathed by their ancestors and are handed over the young generations from the precursors via performance. Performance in this way takes part everywhere and any time which gives and explains about the varieties of activities people take part in. Similar to this idea Schechner says, "I discovered that performance can take place anywhere, under a wide variety of the circumstance and in the service of an incredibly diverse panoply of objectives" (1). Like the above lines, *Soskhaa Tos* is also performed with diverse panoply, the participants wear their own cultural ornaments, they wear their own cultural attire, they, as much as possible use their own local products during *Tos*. As Schechner has said performance is has wide variety of the circumstances in the same way *Soskhaa Tos* has also wide variety in terms of participants and activities. The commencement of ritual begins inside the house, the *Nokchho* pronounces some mantras and it is performed outside the house in the courtyard, circling the erected cut branch chest nut three times, they move towards the *Yankhulu* (the sacred place to perform the

ritual), before entering into the *Yankhulu/ Toskham* they perform some ritual outside the *Toskham* circling eight stones and enter into the *Toskham*. So, it is performed in different places and many people from different communities like; political leaders, teachers, people from various institutions and communities disregard of any religion and culture participate in the ritual.

Even though, this *Tos* is performed more or less in the same way, some changes are seen in the performance. Performance does have some changes with the pace of time at the same time. Like Victor Turner, in his book *The Forest of Symbols Aspects of Ndembu Ritual* has observed:

Since J.S Mill has after all written of 'state of progressive transition', but I prefer to regard transition as a process, a becoming, and in this case of rites de passage even a transformation – here an apt analogy water in process of being heated to boiling point, or a pupa changing from grub to moth. In any case transition has different cultural properties from those of a state. (94)

Little change than can be seen in the performance of this ritual at present in terms of participants and materials. There used to be many participants during the time of performing this ritual but the number of participants are decreased at present. Some of the materials used during *Tos* like; *Wavam* is replaced with beer bottles and *Tukuni* and *Kathuwa* are replaced with the modern containers like; Jerricans. There used to be only local food like; local bread, boiled corn, rice during the *Tos*, at present some more modern varieties of food and drink like; Coke, Dew are also used. Up to Just before few years about 20/25 years back these all the activities were performed as a mandatory aspect of the ritual, at present too *Tos* is performed somehow in the same way like in the past years but compared to past one can see very few participants in the ritual. It might be because in the past the main source of income mostly was based on agriculture, they

did not have other means of income, people were not much educated, and technology had not covered most of the parts. But now, with the development and access of internet, and as human needs know no boundary, their demands for better ways of living life have too increased. So, from the community many people are migrated and are engaged in other professions, some of them are in soldiers, teachers, doctors profession too that is the reason the number of participants in the ritual has gone down. Even then, till now the ritual is being performed in the community. It is celebrated till now because it is connected with their living way of life which is based on their ancestors' teaching.

1. Mandatory materials for *Soskhaa Tos*:

Chindo (dried bottle gourd's shell) full of alcoholic beverage, an *aari* (a bowl) full of rice, a rooster, Garlic, 16 pieces of cut branches of katus (chest nut), *Chauthi* or *Tukuni* (wooden pot) full of alcoholic beverage, For prashad (sacred food); boiled corn, Roti (local bread), rice and instruments; *Chindo* Drum, *Silim* (a flat type of wood), *Buyem* (yak's tail), *Jhyamta* (cymbal), *Pung* (wild buffalo's horn) are compulsory materials needed in the ritual.

While performing this ritual, *Nokchho* pronounces *dapsning* (genesis interpretation) and some mantras which are also related to the clan's identity and way of living of the clan.

2. Participants of *Soskhaa Tos*:

A ritual is not complete and meaningful if it is not performed in its system. It has its own laws and components. Ritual carries particular communities' historical, geographical, social and economic significance. It has its own myth and existence. It is a discourse practiced since time immemorial. *Soskhaa Tos* has also its own components. There are certain major role players with their own responsibilities to bringing this ritual in its practice in the community which not every normal individual can carry such roles

responsively. The main participants in this ritual are the Nachhiring Rai. Other people from other communities too can join the ritual as a general participants but the main role players *Nokchho*(the main priest of the ritual), *Mauke*(a fixed person to eat the special sacred food), *Masimi*(head of the dance), *Saakhambu*(senior of the clan, who knows about the ritual and history) are the main ornaments and elements of the ritual to make it possible or to bring the ritual into reality, who merely should be from the same clan. In general everyone from any community, gender and age group can join the ritual but little discriminative sense towards female could be seen in the past because they were not allowed to enter into the *Toskham*(The sacred place for the ritual) in the years back thinking that they are impure as they go through menstruation process. Menstruation is a natural process so, it is not a reason to be impure to do anything. With this realization, at present and the community is pacing ahead in terms of education, now there is not such biased attitude towards females too. If they are interested they can also enter inside the *Toskham*. Bhupudhoj Thomoros, in my personal interview that I have translated into English says, "Actually not only female but youngsters and children are also not preferred inside the *Toskham*, it is because some young generations sometimes do not understand the sentiments of the ritual and might happen to violate the rituals due to lack of knowledge and small children are not that matured to understand about the significance of such rituals. But in my opinion, no matter whether children or young they also need to enter inside the *Toskham* and have to observe the ritual so that they can learn the importance of such rituals and that connects them with their ancestors and nature closely". In this way, the clan with their seniors' guidelines are bringing some positive change in the ritual.

### 3. Components of *Soskhaa Tos*:

All the participants have their own duties and significance in the ritual but as I have already mentioned that *Nokchho*, *Mauke*, *Masismi* and *Saakhambu* are the main properties of *Tos*, now, I am going to describe each of their responsibilities in the ritual.

*Tos Nokchho*: *Tos Nokchho* is the main priest of the ritual he is the beauty and the main attraction, who wears a unique attire different than others in the ritual and has a great responsibility to carry out during the ritual who is selected from a unique procedure named *Saarbukhaam*. It is again a complete ritual to be performed for the selection of *Tos Nokchho*.



Figure 9. *Tos Nokchho* and *Masimi*

According to Tek Nachhiring, a young leading Nachhiring culture expert, in my personal interview, which I have translated in to English it goes like this:

All to be *Tos Nokchhoes* and seniors of the clan assemble in a fixed place where they need to produce fire out of the friction from two pieces of dried *bhakimlo* (Rhus Chinesis) wood. One of the woods among two should have semi-hole at the center, is placed horizontally on the floor into which one point of the other wood vertically is inserted and fixed into that hole and with the help of a rope tied around next point of the wood friction like while churning milk to make butter is given to it until fire is not produced. This process of producing fire sometimes takes very long time too. Once the

fire is produced with the friction out of two woods, a complete full-fledged fire oven is made ready, after that all to be *Nokchhoes* sit around the fire in a circular way. They are the candidates to be chosen as the *Tos Nokchho*. Now, a mud pot with water into it is put on the oven which is covered with newly banana's leaf tied its lead with a rope. Heating water process goes on until it is not completely boiled and water drops released blasting the covered leaf of the banana. When the droplets of that water blasts, it blasts towards which *Nokchho*? That decides the *Nokchho*. It means the direction towards the *Nokchho* which boiled water has splashed will be the new *Tos Nokchho*. In this community besides *Tos Nokchho*, there are other two more *Nokchhoes* too. They are called *Selemi Nokchho* and *Khoo Nokchho*

*Selemi Nokchho*: *Selemi Nokchho* has a super natural power to see ghost, spirit and god. There are two ways that how people get death. The community has a ritual to send such dead person's spirit to Pomlalong one of the sacred places of Kirat Nachhiring Rai located at Solukhumbu district and this is done performing a ritual, only the *Selemi Nokchho* can send such spirits to their destination if the death is due to unnatural reason like; from the accident or suicide which are known as unnatural death. *Selemi Nokchho* sends the dead persons' spirit to their destination.



Figure 10. *Selemi Nokchho*, Bal Bahadur Dibuloo

*Khoo Nokchho*: *Khoo Nokchho* performs the other main rituals named as *Naagi*, *Dedaam*, *Chhidaam*. In their beginning stage, when they are novice, *Khoo Nokchhoes* don't have super-natural power to see ghost, god etcetera, on the process of performing such rituals, the power gradually increases and get supernatural power too.

So, *Tos Nokchho* is different than those two above described *Nokchhoes*. *Tos Nokchho*, specially performs *Tos*.

*Mauke*: *Mauke* has got its name from 'mauk'. 'Mauk' is one of the sacred foods among many which are offered to the dead ancestors and nature during the ritual. 'Mauk' is separated for *Mauke* only. For normal participants there is a normal sacred food separated that everyone can consume but 'mauk' is forbidden to eat by other participants except 'Mauke'. The community believes that if the 'mauk' is consumed by other participants they will fall sick, their chin will be dislocated, hands and legs will be twisted and paralyzed, they will suffer from the diseases like diarrhea and might die. So, *Mauke* only can consume the 'mauk'. Even *Maisimi*, *Nokchho* and *Saakhambu* are also not allowed to consume the 'mauk'. *Mauke* has also some rules which he has to follow strictly. The one who is chosen as *Mauke* for the ritual can't use the utensils used by others, he should have separate plate to eat food, separate mat to sit and is not allowed to eat green vegetables for some limited days. If he mistakenly breaks any of those rules it is believed that he will too fall sick and die. 'Mauk' that's why is forbidden to touch by other participants. If in case, it is touched by any of them, they need to clean their hands, legs and body thoroughly with *katusko paat*(leaves of chestnut), *Titepaati*(a medicinal plant with bitter taste) and clean water.

*Saakhambu*: *Saakhambu* is the most senior member of the clan who has an intellectual insights about Nachhiring clan's origin, history, culture and rituals. In the community, *Saakhambu* has a great respect. He even guides and instructs to the *Nokchho*

because he knows more about the systematic way of performing *Tos*. He has all traditional knowledge, insight and experience so *Saakhambu* decides how the ritual should be conducted. In the community there are three types of *Nokchhoes* including *TosNokchho*. In case if any one of those *Nokchhoes* forget or has to learn additional system in the ritual, *Saakhambu* guides and gives instructions to them. In the community those who have got natural death, their souls are sent to *Pomlalung*(The sacred place of the clan located in Solukhumbu) by *Saakhambu*.(Balu Kubir Nachhiring a young leading Nachhiring culture expert) In addition *Saakhambu* also worship *Suptulung*(three stones' oven), *Saaipoma*(a ritual to perform keep someone's moral high). But *Saakhambu* doesn't have supernatural power, who can see invisible soul and energy like other *Nokchhoes*. To the nut shell *Saakhambu* is the main person having bundles of knowledge about the clan so in his absence the ritual is incomplete.

*Masimi*: The dance performed in the ritual is called 'sil' in Kirat Nachhiring Rai language. 'Sil' is guided by the head of the dance who is known as *Masimi*. The *Masimi* plays vital role in the ritual because he is the main person to start the 'sil'. Until the *Masimi* does not start 'sil', the ritual itself doesnot start. During the time of *Tos* even the bishop of the ritual, *Nokchho* too doesn't enter inside the *Yangkhulu*(the sacred place for performing *Tos*) without *Masimi*. *Masimi* is the leading character to lead others towards *Yankhulu*. The *Nokchho* enters inside the *Yankhulu* only after *Masimi's* entrance. *Masimi* with *Silim*(wooden plank) in one hand and *Buyem*(Yak's tail) in other hand enters inside *Toskham* dancing in a systematic way. *Masimi*, followed by *Nokchho* and other participants circle the *Sunmasing*(cotton silk tree) once and the *Nokchho* sits under the tree to perform the ritual while the remaining participants circle the *Sunmasing* thrice. *Tos* is incomplete without *Masimi*. *Tos* without 'sil' is incomplete and 'sil' without *Masimi* again is incomplete. So, *Masimi* has significant role in the ritual.



Figure 11. *Masimi*, Nachhiring, Nar Bahadur and participants "dancing in *Soskhaa Tos*"

Besides those participants from the same clan regardless of any background, colour, religion, party, caste, gender and age group can involve in the ritual. It is a sanctum where every individual feels happy to share their sorrows forgetting their pain and suffering.

Those above elements of *Soskhaa Tos* in the form of different names and roles provide significant message to their present clan, which is possible only because of the performance. This echoes the idea of Turner, who says, "Cultural performances are capable of carrying many messages" (140). As Turner has said, performing *Soskhaa Tos* means also a message to the clan that ancestors and nature are the part of their daily lives, which they should never forget.

When some practices and rituals are performed on the regular basis it becomes a type of culture. Culture can be defined as all the ways of life including arts, beliefs and institutions of a population that are passed from generation to generation. So, culture has been called 'the way of life for an entire society'. As such, it includes codes of manners, dress, language, religion, rituals, and art. In this sense, *Soskhaa Tos* is a ritual developed as a culture. On the occasion of this ritual, the participants wear their own cultural dress and ornaments that reflect their identity: *Murchunga* (small musical instrument of metal,

which produces a rhythm when it is blown putting between the lips), *Binayo*(small musical instrument, made from bamboo, tied with a string at the end of one side, put between two lips and blown), *Phurka*(an ornament like flower, made with the thread), *Fenga*, *Patuki*, *Daura*, *Suruwal*, *Chaubandi*, *Gunyu* (These are traditional dresses made from the bark of nettle's thread) *Reji*, *Haari*, (These are metal necklaces, they have round shape like coin), *Tarwar*, *Khukuri*, *Hasiya* (These are iron weapons used in their daily life for cutting things), *Jhumke*, *Bulaki*, *Dhungri* (These are ornaments made from gold or silver). These are some of the ornaments that reflect their identity. Especially, the *Nokchho* wears the ornaments like; *Todham* (crown) made out of dried orchid's outer bark and peacock's feather, a long gown and *fengaa* (coat) which are made locally out of the nettle's bark. The sword, is another main ornament of the *Nokchho* which he carries during the ritual. And while performing this ritual, the *Nokchho* recites the mantra with their *dapsning* (a special code language as per their characteristics). In this way most of the ornaments, dress are locally made using local products and natural products. These all the things are possible to observe through performance. In a sanctum these all are seen and done by performing the rituals.

It is the performance through which the ritual is existed till now. Once, the community stops performing the ritual, upcoming generation will be novice candidates who have to learn a lot from the beginning. So, performance brings the ritual into reality. It is performed, so the participants come to know about the way of performing the ritual. In this way it passes from one generation to next. In the sanctum of this ritual, there are different actors and they have their own responsibilities and duties discharged to them. It is a system and it has its own complete form of life. It brings the history of the clan, sacrifice of their manes to them and provides enthusiasm for doing works vigorously.

And it is not possible without performance. So, performance plays pivotal role for the existence of this ritual.

In this regard performance plays pivotal role to bring any culture or rituals into reality. The word 'performance' itself speaks the meaning. Doing something with motion. There is movement of the body. Gestures of the physical parts. So, ritual comprise of performance is like a living creature full of energy and enthusiasm which has number of ideas to be scrutinized. About performance Richard Schechner states, "Performance study is always saying what is done what is thought not what is written but what is done"(141). So, performance means doing something where participants and body are in motion. It brings the performed thing into action and makes the thing concrete. It helps any of the cultures and rituals live long. And through that living performance not only religious importance is defined but different aspects of culture and rituals can be observed. Performing culture and rituals in the community not only helps in keeping particular group's identity, not merely talks about social values and not only observed for making merry but it has also the main role in the economy.

### Chapter-III:

#### Celebration of Economy in *Soskhaa Tos*

In this chapter, I have focused on the economic issue of the ritual *Soskhaa Tos* and I have divided them in five distinct acts which are the main components of this *Tos*. While doing so, have used Japanese Economist Hiwaki Kensei's theory of analyzing sustainable development to analyze the *Soskhaa Tos* because this *Tos* is a culture where environment plays vital role. And I have used the concept of "performativity" which was introduced in economic sociology by Michel Callon(1998). While analyzing, I have taken different components and features of *Soskhaa Tos* and looked them through the lens of economy. It means how it is connected with economy of the community that can help them for sustainable development. To show its relation with economy I have divided them into five different parts: Month of celebration, preparation for the cultivation, materials used in *Soskhaa Tos*, Environment and Traditional Wisdom, *Risiwa*(Mantra). Myth about celebration of *Tosis* also added at the last section of the analysis because it is about the commencement of celebrating *Tos*, which is also related with theclan's economy.

Economy refers to the state of a country or region in terms of the production and consumption of goods and services and supply money. The careful management of available resources means economy. Wealth, resources and finance can be its synonymous words. Economy is directly connected with production; production of goods, production of materials and also production of crops. Analyzing ritual and economy in a surface level, the relationship between two does not come apparent but ritual and economy are connected with each-other because as per the condition of the economy, so is the size of the ritual. *Soskhaa Tos* is related with production because this is a ritual performed for the betterment of crops. In this ritual the community worship

their manes and the nature for bestowing the benediction upon them. Now, a question can be raised how such worshipping can help for better growth? According to Nachhiring, Tek in my personal interview, "The belief that the community have on the performing the ritual is; with the performance of the ritual, crops grow properly." There are certain activities and mantras those are performed and recited during the ritual which are related to the clan's origin, daily life as well as economy which will be talked further in detail. A prediction done by the *Nokchho* (the main priest) of the ritual on the day of performing this ritual, which is called *Chinga Khomaa* and the sacrifice of a rooster and recitation of the mantra during the ritual is called *You Saaima*, The *Chinga Khoma* ritual are some of the main activities in the ritual that determine the clan's preparation for the upcoming days. With the performance they feel close to the nature, close to their manes. The sense of closeness develops their will to do better for them. They work hard paying much attention for the production, as a result there will be better production of the crops which will help them sustain their lives. They consume the stuffs for their survival and remaining crops, they sell in the market. In this way it is connected with each other because production, consumption and investment are done and then only economic growth is possible.

In Sotang area at present, most of the people sustain their lives based on agriculture and animal husbandry. Besides this, people from the place are engaged in business, Jobs like; Teacher, Police, Army, Indian Army, British Army, and Foreign employment too which are some of the main income source of the community. Even though their main occupation is agriculture, due to lack of irrigation facility they need to depend on rain water and follow traditional way of cultivation that is one of the reasons the community perform *Tos*. Because it is a traditional way of performing *Soskhaa Tos* for better growth of crops at the commencement of cultivation.

The intertwined relation among culture, environment and community determines the sustainable development. Now, I want to bring some of the theorists' ideas who have spoken about sustainable development. One of the prominent Japanese economist, lecturer and writer Hiwaki Kensei in his book *Culture and Economics in the Global Community* has delineated:

Sustainable Development is taken here to be a well-balanced personal, spiritual and material thriving of all human descendants in perpetuity on the basis of our socioeconomic activities harmonious with the environment and resource constraints on our insular planet. In this sense, the concept of Sustainable Development addresses squarely the issue of life or death. (1)

The above lines clearly state that the sustainable development is the issue of life or death and it is the matter of well-balanced personal, spiritual and material of all human descendants on the basis of our socioeconomic activities without the absence of environment. *Soskhaa Tos* is the part of this. It is a part because descendants are worshipped in this ritual. Their skill and art of living life is handed over to the generation. Also, it is the part of it because it never forgets the environment. The earth which grows all types of cereals, vegetables, fruits and provides shelter to all of them is worshipped in this ritual. This ritual highlights the reality of human existence. It develops the sense of brotherhood among the people, it teaches the clan to be thankful towards their ancestors and furthermore it gives a lesson that preparation and precaution before the commencement of every work has great importance for human existence. Nature and environment are two main important things, in their absence any of the existence is not imagined. This ritual, *Soskhaa Tos* keeps these things in its heart because it is a ritual performed to worship the nature and nature lies in the environment.

Culture and environment are the most significant components for the sustainable development, it covers ritual too. This is the ritual that keeps us under certain rules. Ritual covers broad area among which many are not explored. Normally, rituals are comprehended and analyzed only from the perspective of rite and culture which, in my opinion is not sufficient. Including cultural rite rituals carry other many aspects. In the same way is *Soskhaa Tos*. This ritual is related with the economy because it is performed for the better growth of the crops. It is related to the development because it is a social system that includes production, consumption or distribution of the production and investment means living standard. Production is the main thing that sustains life. It is related with the practical part of life. For better production the community performs *Tos*, where including the clan's manes, the earth, crops and environment are worshiped. The sustainable development of all individuals and collectives in both present and future have to be concerned about socioeconomic human development which is impossible forgetting our environment.

For instance, crops are grown in the land. Land is the main component of the economy where production is based. It is the land where different crops, vegetables are grown. It is the land, where each second of our life is spent. It is land, where respiration of human beings is entangled. We can't even imagine our life without the land. The energy that people get from is food and food comes from the land. They earn and invest energy, skill and time to sustain their lives, the sustainability of life itself is a sustainable economy. Similarly, another component of the economy is consumption which is related to production. The stuffs we consume for living comes from production. When there is better growth, there is better way of living life. Then, the matter of investment comes in the economy. This component provides the clan, the sense of keeping something for the coming generation. Investment of strength, skill and time on activity for producing

benefit that help again in living better life. Observing the ritual through the lens of economy, one find a deep rooted relationship between ritual and economy. For instance, another main component of the economy is economic growth. So, how growth is possible without skill of cultivation. In this way these all the components are interrelated. Kensei, while talking about sustainable development argues that we should not forget our environment and the contemporary life from where we are sprung. We can't go beyond the environment and the society. He writes: "Carrying on our daily life and business, we should be aware of the "bottleneck" that cannot be changed instantaneously by a "magic wand" or technological innovation. This bottleneck in our contemporary life is the "insularity" of resources and environment" (18).

The above lines clarify that in the process of doing our daily activities and business one should not forget the capacity and reality one poses. The term he has used is "bottleneck" which means originality and the capacity of life. The bottle neck does not change immediately like a "magic wand" does in the magic. Kensei does not go against the technology but he advices to remember the resources and environment that bind people in the vicinity of economy. In the absence of environment and resources life becomes insular. Forgetting natural resources and environment if one focuses only on modernization in the name of development, it will have adverse result in the sustainable development. Kensei here states:

In the age of economic and digital globalization, the modern mind and the economic idealism have also accelerated the depletion of natural resources and the degradation of the global environment ..., by mobilizing a growing proportion of what little remaining resources there are toward the production of goods and services for the "insatiable and avaricious" individuals of the contemporary world. (19)

The above lines of Kensei brings an idea that one should not forget natural resources and environment. Yes, modern mind and globalizations are again significant agendas mandatory for the development but if natural resources and environment are depleted, what little remaining resources there for the production of goods and services will not be sufficient for human existence. There will be unappeasable needs of goods like food that the contemporary world suffers of hunger and leads humanity to be more avaricious.

So, nature and environment combined with culture existed in each local to the worldwide belonging to each clan have indispensable relationship.

Rituals are related to economy through the social connection they make and break. Society is always a living organism that grows, performs different rituals and follows certain rules. The society keeps on updating with the new inventions, human needs and innovations on different areas. A ritual may cost time and wealth. From *Economy and Ritual*, "In relation to material economy a ritual may cost time and wealth. For example, as prosperity increases, so may the size of rituals a form of display or thanks, as in wedding and birthdays. As wealth falls, ceremonial expenditure may decline." Stephen Gudeman and Chris Hann (7). These lines clearly state that ritual and economy have deep rooted relationship. Economic condition of the people determines the size and way of performing different rituals. Performing many rituals are expensive, where the family has to spent large amount of money. Using large amount of money in such types of rituals is not possible without wealth. The bigger size and multiple steps of the rituals need bigger type of preparation and bigger expenditure. In this way both the ritual and the economy are associated with each-other deeply. Stephen Gudeman and Chris Hann in their *Economy and Ritual*, disagreeing with the idea of ritual related only with religion argue and say that ritual is not only related with religion but ritual is at the central to the study of economy. The best way to appreciate is the mutual relationship

between economy and ritual because both are indispensable, "This is the hermeneutic dimension of our institutionalism. The method of hermeneutics is conventionally associated with fields, such as religion and ritual. But for us it is no less central to the study of economy. Indeed it is the best way to appreciate the mutual embedding of economy and ritual" (18).

In the above lines, Gudeman and Han argue that economy and ritual are indispensable, and *Soskhaa Tos* is ritual too.

In this way while unraveling the relationship between the ritual and the economy, we are very much assured and it is proved that ritual and economy always impact each-other. With these lines the re-search brings the fact that *Soskhaa Tos* performed by Kirat Nachhiring Rai is the celebration of the economy.

Further, I would like to bring the components of the *Soskhaa Tos* embedding the relationship with economy.

1. Month of Celebration: *Soskhaa Tos* is celebrated in the Nepali month of Fagun(February/March).The reason behind celebrating in the month of Fagun is: this *Tos* is a rite to perform for the better growth of crops and this is the month when all the necessary activities for the cultivation are done. The main activity for the production is its preparation. When there is better preparation then there is better production. For better growth of crops ritually they perform *Tos* based on their ancestors' teaching and commemorating their ancestors' contribution for their skill of the cultivation where they especially offer alcoholic beverage and a rooster to the dead souls. They believe that if their ancestors' had not bequeathed the skill of production they would not have gotten the opportunity to sustain their lives or their existence would not have remained in the present form. And again for better growth of crops they physically too manage fertilizer, seeds, and other necessary stuffs. The month is a dry month raining rarely takes place in

this month. Small bushes, weeds and grasses generally do not grow easily in this month. There is lack of grass in the land and the stored crops in the store come into small quantity after consumption. Now, they need to get ready for the new crops which they need for the whole year due to those reasons they physically and ritually become ready for the cultivation. This is the first *Tos* of the year that shows that now the community people are taking precaution for any adverse effect on their cultivation and in a means of precaution they perform this *Tos*.

## 2. Preparation for the Cultivation

The main reason behind the celebration of *Soskhaa Tos* is for the better growth of the crops of the year. It is a general thing that if there is good preparation for the crops then only there will be better result. In the same way the community believes that performing *Tos* is one of the major preparation for the crops. Without out performing this ritual if they start the cultivation, they believe that there will not be suitable climate for the crops and due to this reason the production of the crops won't be good. Their belief towards the greatness of the environment and their ancestors' teaching help them for the preparation of the crops. In the ritual, all the dead ancestors' souls are invited by the *Nokchho* with his supernatural power and keeps them in the *Toskham*, those are called *Khaal*(dead ancestors' souls). And while pronouncing their *dapsning* (genesis interpretation) at the end of their *dapsning*, *Naasmi* is added. It means they are the descendants of their ancestor named *Naasmi/Nachhiri*. It means it was their ancestor *Naasmi* who taught them about cultivation, who taught them about growing crops. The main source of performing this *Tos* is for better climate and they do it by worshiping the earth, tree, stone and soil. These are the main things to grow crops which come under one of the most important elements of the economics, which is production. So, for better production, including performing *Tos*, they clean the land, they plough the land, scatter

fertilizer, burn dried bushes collected in the land and sow seeds of paddy and millet. These are the main activities necessary for growing more crops. And they grow vegetables, cereals, and fruits which are source of the economy. So, they perform *Tos* and economy becomes better. When their economy is better again they perform *Tos*. There is matter of performance. This idea or concept of 'performativity' echoes the idea of Michel Callon who says, "Economics does not describe an existing external 'economy', but brings that economy into being: Economics performs the economy, creating the phenomena it describes Mackenzie and Millo (108).

These above lines describe that performativity describes the notion that economic theory does not merely describe the world as it appears but has the capacity to act upon the world and in doing so make the economy- and the agents within it appear more like the theory itself. *Soskhaa Tos* shows the daily ways of activities of Nachhiring people, which are projected during the ritual that is why the clan perform this *Tos*. For them their economy is based on performing *Tos* because they cultivate on the basis of the interpretation that the *Nokchho* does, which is called *Chinga Khoma* (a ritual to predict about the future) during *Soskaaa Tos*. In this sense economy is not merely economy it is a part of ritual too.

Economy brings the economy into being and the medium to bring that into being is performance, which Callon brought the idea of 'Performativity in Economics'.

### 3. Materials used in *Soskhaa Tos*:

Each ritual has certain materials in use. In *Soskhaa Tos* mostly natural materials from the nature are used. First, I want to begin from *Nokchho's* attire; *Nokchho* wears a special *Todham* (crown) made up off *Sontherbung* (orchid's dried bark), birds' feather, and porcupine's quills, all of them are woven skillfully. A white turban made out of nettle bark's dried thread. He carries *wavam* (a dried bottle gourd's shell) full of alcoholic

beverage in his left hand and sixteen cut braches of chest nut tree in his right hand. Those attires all are natural from the nature made without using any artificial manufacturing company, based on their skills, but at present in the matter or *wavam*, we can see wooden pot in the market designed same as *wavam* somewhere which is made using some kind of machine. Next, necessary material used in *Tos* is *Pung*(wild buffalo's horn), which is found naturally. It is an instrument that produces a sound somehow like conch shell while it is blown. Any modern instrument is not used replacing the *Pung*. Similarly, another necessary instrument is cymbal which carries its own unique existence and it is a traditional instrument related to the clan's identity. To carry alcoholic beverage, besides *wavam*, *Tukuni*(a wooden pot) full of alcoholic beverage is also used in the ritual. Next necessary material used in the ritual is a bowl full of rice. Another necessary material used in *Tos* is *Buyem*(yak's tail), *Buyem* too is a natural stuff, after that *Silim*(a flat wood). *Silim* and *Buyem* is carried by the *Masimi*, the head of the dance in his both hands one and other respectively which add more attraction in the dance. These two things are used only during the dance not in other activities of *Tos*.



Figure 12. Drum, *Buyem* (yak's tail), *Silim* (a flat wood), *Pung* (wild buffalo's horn) and other necessary materials in *thunse* (bamboo's basket)

Other things used in *Tos* are ginger, local bread, rice and boiled corn. Normally local bread is made out of millet and corn's flour. These all the materials and stuffs are naturally found in the nature. In the land where, they were originated. The clan's ancestors used all those things in the ritual and their descendants too are using the things mostly the same but little changes because it is influenced by the dynamics of society. Using those all the necessary materials in *Soskhaa Tos* shows the optimum use of natural things which are found in the environment of the earth. Optimum use of natural stuffs means protecting the nature. So, protection of the environment is one of the most important thing in the developmental matter.

#### 4. Environment and Traditional Wisdom about *Tos*

Most of the developments take place in the process of civilization. Civilization brings new ways of life and new direction for sustaining lives. Our culture, ritual and habit carry the meaning of our lives. Such cultures shape us and show way to do further work and to go ahead. Human beings go through different phases of lives, most of them are learned from our ancestors. Even though technology brings many facilities, our culture and legacy have significant role in each sectors. The way *Soskhaa Tos* is performed has a system those are related to the clan's ancestors' teaching. This ritual performed to worship the earth in the month of February/March. This *Tos* is performed during the time of sowing seed in the dry month of February/March so it is called *Soskhaa Tos*. The *Nokchho* who worships in this ritual at *Toskham*(the sacred place to worship) recites those mantra, I want to cite some lines based on their ancestors' teaching while performing the *Tos* *Nokchho* says, "The time of sorrow has come and we are going to start our cultivation, grow healthy and proper quantity of crops." These lines show the respect towards the earth it addresses the earth as the most powerful and important thing for their survival and they respect it.

## 5. Mantras

Mantra is based on *Kirat Mundhum*. *Mundhum* carries philosophy of Kirati people and their lives. The way the community has a systematic way of their life style, cultural life, social life, economic life, and the way of their thought of psychology all of them are guided by the *Mundhum*. Like; a child takes birth and birth date is recorded in the respective District or administration to get birth certificate, in the same way in *Kirat Mundhum* at first, after the birth of a child, date of birth is recorded in the *Suptulung* (three stone oven), which is considered as the administration to issue the record of child's birth. From birth to death whatever cultural rituals are performed, every ritual is done in front of the *Suptulung*. So, *Mundhum* is a philosophy of Kirati people's history, origin and lives from which all the activities, rituals from birth to death are guided by. It has its own schooling through which everything continues in the community. The *Mundhum* till now, except written in few documents is based only on oral interpretation but some more documents are in the process to come in printed form too on the way. The main leaders, and instructors of the rituals are *Nokchhoes*. As Kirat Rai are multilingual *Nokchho* is addressed as *Nachhung*, *Maangpa* and other names too. They are the main source of information and knowledge who know about the historical, social and economic aspects of Kirat people. They recite different mantras in different rituals which speak about the way of living of Kirati people in the ancient time.

Now, I am going to cite some parts of the mantras and their meaning recited by *Nokchho* in *Soskhaa Tos* in Sotang in Solukhumbu district that I have translated into English, and I am connecting the mantra to observe it with economic aspect. First, I will pick some lines of mantra and explain that similarly I will do the same with the rest parts of the mantra. So, I am trying to explain the mantra in separate parts without escaping the connection with economy.

The mantra goes like this, "O Se Se! Today, what I recite is;the clan originated from an egg in *Minapronkho Haalkhumbu* (at present Baraha Kshetra) and came to this place. The genesis' *Nokchho* emerged, ancestors emerged, off spring emerged and started to do their respective duties and jobs..."

The above lines of mantra bring the history of the Kirati people that the clan's ancestors used to stay at Baraha Kshetra which is called *Minapronkho Haalkhumbu* in Kirat Nachhiring language. With the pace of time the clan dispersed in different places for different reasons and purposes. The lines also state that the main priest of the ritual named *Nokchho* and their ancestors too came from the place. The mantra states human being took birth in the place from an egg. Human beings have own duties and responsibilities in the same way, after the emergence of *Nokchho* and their ancestors they too carried out their respective duties. After the birth when they were matured they, including other fundamental needs the most important stuff food was necessary so they hunted animals, birds and sustained their lives and later cleaned the forest and started to do agriculture. It was not at once but it took long time and many years to know about the cultivation. They grew crops in the land cleaning the forest and after that they started to worship the land as their main source of living.

The word 'land', gives wide meaning because it is one of the most important components of the economy. Worshiping land means increasing economy as when people have love and respect towards something, there is sense of emotion connected with it and that leads human being becoming more conscious about the subject matter. Worshiping land means taking care of the land. When they worship it they do not do anything ill to it. They try to protect it because it is connected with their sentiments and lives. And the respect and care to the earth means growing more crops as the land becomes fertile only after the care and love. Further, if there is no land life can not be

imagined. Human beings are standing on the land, eating on the land eating the stuffs grown on the land, sleeping on the land and will die on the land one day. From our birth to death whatever activities they do, whatever responsibilities they perform, these all the things are not even imagined without the land. So, land is mother who protects her children from any types of misfortunes. If land is protected and cultivated people can grow crops and other necessary stuffs then they can consume that. After the consumption the remaining food items can be either stored or sold. If the food is in large amount it can be sold. In this way people can earn their living. So, producing food items, consuming them, selling them and investing the amount out of that in particular area or business is related with economy. Furthermore it is a culture to protect the earth to preserve that the clan perform *Tos* and commemorate their ancestors at the same time.

This ritual is a part of culture in the community which has important role in the growth of economy. Economy, like Callon says, is not merely an economy as it appears, rather it has multiple aspects and areas covered within it. The most important area and component is culture too. Culture has great contribution for the development of the country. Callon claims, "...Thus, it can be said that economics is a program of economization of social reality" (Callon 381). It is an economization of the social reality because culture exists in the society. There are different cultures practiced in the society and those cultures are influenced by the economy and economy too is influenced by the culture. They both are inter-related binaries. It is because people believe in culture and perform the rituals. They believe that the better result depends on the ritual that they perform and when they have good amount of money and better economy they can perform it in more conscious manner. Once, they have money it is not that major hindrance for them to sustain their lives because they now can manage sufficient amount of necessary stuffs in an easier way than the situation when they don't have money. So,

besides production, consumption, investment and economic growth other aspects too, play important role. Because including those components, economy goes far beyond them besides those components, culture, environment too are blended with the economy for the long-term development. The components like production, consumption, investment and economic growth for the development is limited within short-term development so, for the long term development culture and environment together should go hand in hand. Culture and environment are the two strong pillars for the development.

Now, the next portion of the mantra goes like this, "You are the one having multiple supernatural power, the one, who can vividly recognize the bright day, night, good luck, bad amen and you are the one who works for the betterment of human beings..."

Pronoun 'you' in the above lines is referred to the nature and their dead ancestors' souls. Nature is considered as a living being by the community. It is considered as living because varieties of crops, vegetables and other necessary items are grown on the land through which every living being respire and survives. And they believe that after the death the soul of their ancestors remain with them in the *Suptulung*(three stones oven), the clan believes that if there is blessing from their ancestors' soul then only the community can remain happy. They believe that souls have supernatural energy that can assist them in solving their problems. They can predict about the future and have wisdom of knowing good and evil. Knowing the fortune and ill they make us aware about it.

In *Soskhaa Tos* in Sotang, Solukhumbu they sacrifice a rooster and check its inner organs to know about the future. They hit the rooster with a stick, if water comes out of the rooster's mouth it is considered as bad. They believe the climate will not favour the crops and there won't be good crops or some types of bad amen would come and they prepare themselves accordingly. Instead of water if there is blood in the mouth of

rooster, it is believed that as a good sign, the climate favours the crops in the year would grow properly. There would be no ill and bad luck. In some places they don't sacrifice a rooster instead they sacrifice pig or hen. While in other places some of them do not enjoy sacrifice. Every ritual has multiple parts carrying some meaning, and this part of sacrifice of rooster is also the main part of the *Soskhaa Tos*. They believe in ecological balance. Some animals kill other animals to survive. Eagle attacks small birds and chicken, Snake eats frog, Squirrel kills snake, big fish eats small fish, birds eat insects and so on. It is to mean that their ancestors lived eating those things like; rice, rooster, alcoholic beverage etcetera and after their death too, the community offer the same stuffs to them. They believe in the real and world. Ancestors were the people like them who lived consuming such stuffs, so they offer them the same. In *Economy and Ritual* Stephen Gudeman and Chris Hann supporting that economy and rituals are related with each other and disagreeing with many economists' ideas assert, "For most economists, ritual and economy have little to do with one another in the contemporary world. Economy is treated historically as a realm of struggle, of material production on which ritual actions are a drain, a cultural barrier to efficiency".(2) Like Gudeman and Hann have said, economy and ritual are interconnected, both of them impact each -other. Ritual influences economy too."A great deal of production and distribution consists of highly routinized encounters between persons and persons and things, cementing trust through rituals may be especially significant in the financial sector." (3) They perform *Tos* and there are many participants from different sectors, They come closer to one another's emotional and rational sharing which develops the sense of brotherhood that sense of brotherhood leads them to work together and the unison of physical strength in addition to their emotion encourages them to perform such rituals that can be helpful in the matter of co-operation in their agriculture, business, daily activities and economy.

Next lines of mantra say, "On the occasion of performing *Soskhaa Tos* at Sotang, being cheerful towards us, taking all the diseases, evils and bad amen away, benedict us; nature, land, cattle, plants and crops with your blessings and bestow good health, happiness, good environment for the crops ..."

The above lines of mantra speak that the clan consider the environment as their god. So, in this *Soskhaa Tos* they worship the nature for providing better environment. They pray to the nature and their ancestors' souls to take all the diseases away, misfortunes and evils and provide them suitable climate for the crops. They worship for the betterment of land itself, cattle, plants and crops. When the benediction of their ancestors and nature god is bestowed upon them, it will help in suitable environment. The belief that people carry with them determines their way of life. It is the belief of human being that shapes their duties and responsibilities. Believing on something directs them to perform the rituals and other activities in their lives. The belief that they have in their minds suggests them to perform the activities based on their learnings which has direct relation with economy. Performing organic rituals like *Soskhaa Tos* can help people to understand the value of their own culture where there is less possibility to be influenced by others cultures forgetting their original one. So, performing the rituals based on their beliefs will create a sound communal value system that will balance the imbalanced nature of materialism, individualism, progressivism and egotism remained in the society. Deviating from our original rituals and culture, we might create antagonistic free competition which does have adverse effect in the economy of the country.

Similarly, another lines of the mantra goes like this, "Without any deceit; clean all the invisible evil energy away, take all the misfortunes away, remove all the bad luck from our surrounding, bestow our land, cattle, crops and environment with full of your benediction, let the earth be undisturbed by any imposters..."

The above lines of mantra recited in the *Tos* is to the spirit or soul of their ancestors. As already I have mentioned above that the clan believes in the existence of soul after the physical death. They also believe that the soul of their ancestors remain with them for their betterment and the soul has supernatural power to combat against unseen deceits and evils that are harmful for them. And they do it with the help of the *Nokchho*. *Nokchho* is the medium to connect the real world with the supernatural world. So, they worship the soul and spirit of their ancestors. The *Nokchho* recites; without any treacheries remove all the evils, unseen black powers around and keep the surrounding environment healthy. Their beliefs on their ancestors' soul and spirit in the existence of the earth or land is the main reason to perform such rituals. Society is full of different beliefs and cultures. No society has run without any belief on any of the power. The belief that remains with people encourages them to perform different rituals and Kirat Nachhiring Rai too have this belief. In *Economy and Ritual* which is edited by Stephen Gudeman and Chris Hann bringing the idea of Bronislaw Malinowski claim, "No human beings, at whatever stage of culture, completely eliminate spiritual preoccupations from their economic concerns" (4). The above lines assert, in every stage of life in any place human beings are connected with their cultural and religious sentiments. They cannot eliminate spiritual preoccupations from their economic concerns. In the same way, Nachhiring Rai are also dispersed in different areas of the world, when there is the time of performing this ritual they manage their time and participate to perform the ritual because it is connected with their spirit and their daily life. It is connected with their spirit so they perform the ritual and it is connected with their daily activities so cultivate the land, remain engaged in multiple business performing the ritual. Whatever occupation they adopt, where ever they reach, the spiritual value about the ritual brings them together to the sanctum of *Tos*. Their belief that their ancestors know better than

them so they need to learn from their ancestors and ask their ancestors to forgive them if they could not perform the ritual in a proper way. So, this trust of the clan towards their ancestors' soul and the land which influences them to perform the ritual. And performing such ritual has significant role in the economy. They have deep rooted trust towards their ancestors' soul that the soul or the spirit will do better for them so they perform the ritual. There should be proper relation and balance between traditional and progressive value. In this twenty first century where society is marching ahead on the way of technology and doing a lot of progress, at this phase if people forget tradition they will forget themselves. And to keep the identity and to create a harmonious society such performances play significant roles and *Soskhaa Tos* is one.

In the *risiwa* (mantra) next lines say, "Remove all the treacheries, misfortunes, famine, diseases and bless us with all types of good lucks and make us prosperous with your benediction." The lines clearly state the fact that the *Nokchho* is pronouncing the mantra for the betterment of the community. The *Nokchho* is worshipping the nature mother and the ancestors' soul or spirit's benediction for the healthy crops, cattle and human beings. He is requesting to remove all the treacheries, misfortunes, famine, diseases that harm the crops, cattle and community and he worships for all types of good lucks and prosperity. The *Nokchho* with the other helpers and participants plays significant role to perform this ritual in a systematic way. The mantra speaks about the betterment of crops and lands which are connected with the economy. So, they believe that if they perform this ritual they will have better prosperity which can help them for raising their productivity and that leads them towards economic growth. To this statement I am citing some lines from *Economy and Rituals* edited by Stephen Gudemann and Chris Hann:

The relation to economy, these rituals may "assist" practices, such as prayer for help with a harvest, pleas to a saint to cure an illness or animal, or appeals that working with certain machines or chemical should not prove harmful.

Evolutionists such as Frazer and Bucher and Functionalists like Malinowski emphasized effects of this kind, arguing that such assistance was indispensable to persuade people to work at all and conducive to raising productivity. (7)

The above lines vividly bring the idea that the relation to economy with ritual assists people in cultivation, unity, and in harvesting crops. Such assistance helps the community grow healthy crops that provides large amount of cereals to sustain their lives. In the same way *Soskhaa Tos* too helps the community's people come together assisting one another at their daily activities like in planting crops, sowing seeds, harvesting crops and many more. In this way ritual are connected with economy and *Soskhaa Tos* is one of the rituals.

Now, I have brought myth about the celebration of the ritual *Tos*, which also is connected with the daily activities of the clan in the past that relates with the present clan. There are different myths about *Tos* about how it came into practice of celebration. Kirat Nachhiring Rai have also its own myth related to the celebration of *Tos*. Myth according to Oxford dictionary is; 'a traditional story, especially one concerning the early history of a people or explaining a natural or social phenomenon, and typically involving supernatural beings or events.' It can be paraphrased as folk tale, story, folk story, saga, tale, lore, allegory, legend etcetera. For now, I am using one of the stories about *Tos* that I have translated in to English and the story is collected by Indra Kulung (Honitti) in the in his book *Kulung Lok Katha* (2076). This myth is applicable here because it is related with the commencement of the ritual *Tos*.

### Commencement of the Ritual, *Tos*

Using an old trap/ snare of his father, Khokchilip (an ancestor of Kirat Nachhiring/Sotang Rai) trapped a dove. There were paddy, maize, millet, and wheat etcetera in its *Jaante* (millstone) when the dove was killed and chopped into pieces for their meal. As the millstone was of no use, it was thrown in the land near to their settlement area and as a result, after some days crops were grown in the land. Crops were ripen after few months but there was no idea with them whether those crops could be eaten or not. Khokchilip and his wife Weilim made a guess that the crops eaten by the dove could be eaten by human beings too. So, they decided to eat that crops. As they were living in the cave and since they didn't have any place to store the crops, they harvested the crops and kept on a big flat stone nearby their cave. They used to thrash, clean and grind the crops in the same stone for their use. Time was going in that way, in their amazement the stone with the crops started to give light at night. At dawn, different birds, white rooster came and ate the crops in the stone but they became invisible during the day. Khokchilip and Weilim thought that there must be some power in the stone. Since, then they decided to worship the stone. The worship they had started and they did to the stone at present is known as *Tos*. The crops that was grown from dove's millstone became useful for their living. They started to cultivate the land and continued to plant the crops. They became rich because of the agriculture. There is a saying in the Kirat community that the one who takes the crop out of the crop container(Bhakaari) she/he shouldn't eat the meat of dove. They believe that they should not kill the dove.

The above myth too shows that the celebration of performing the ritual, *Tos* was related with the cultivation, the crops they grew and their daily activities they followed.

The clan believe that the sun, moon, earth, plant, animals, birds are the off spring to the same mother Ninamridum. Ninamridum one of their ancestors, gave birth to every

creatures in the earth including the clan so, they are the part one- another. In the ritual, *Tos* too those all are worshiped as their manes and perform the ritual commemorating them. Those ancestors who bequeathed the skills of cultivation to the clan, helped them to sustain their lives. Now, next myth of creation too connects the clan and nature together. It explores that Kirat are the offspring of the Sun, the Moon, the Air and the Earth.

## Chapter-IV

### Pragmatic Aspects in *Soskhaa Tos*

*Soskhaa Tos* is a ritual performed in the Nepali month of Falgun by Kirat Nachhiring Rai. This ritual is related with the pragmatic aspects of the clan. It explores each and every activities related to the daily life of the Kirati Nachhiring Rai from the beginning of their origin to the present. With the performance of this ritual, one can understand about Kirat Nachhiring Rais' social, historical, cultural, religious, economical as well geographical background. And it also shows, how their ancestors began a systematic way of living life, how they started cultivating the land, how they learned practical skills of cultivation and living life from their ancestors. These all the skills are bequeathed from their ancestors through oral interpretation and performance which are very important for the identity of the clan and existence of this ritual. So, it brings the performative and economic aspects of the ritual *Soskhaa Tos*. Ritual and economy are not comprehended as the influential factors to each other. They are understood completely as different disciplines. And they are described from the perspective of rite and culture only but present re-search tries to explain the ritual from the perspective of performativity and economy. This ritual in relation to economy of the clan and economy relation to *Soskhaa Tos* together have interdependent relation. To support this idea of performance, performativity and economy, theory of performance by Richard Schchner, Victor Turner is brought in the analysis of the ritual. Performance theory as per the theorists is always done but not written, in the same way, *Soskhaa Tos* does not have any written documents, and it is performed by the every generation. It is the performance done by the clan so, present generation learned it through observing the performance. Performance plays significant role for the existence of this ritual. Next Michel Callon's theory of performativity is brought in the analysis part where, Callon states that economy

is influenced by the ritual. Economy brings the economy into being and the medium to bring that into being is performance.

And the research work is based in economic part of the clan so, the idea of Japanese Economist, Hiwaki Kensei is also brought to analyze *Soskhaa Tos*. Kensei argues that only the modern components of the economics production, consumption, Investment and economic growth is not sufficient to discuss about sustainable development. Culture and environment are the mandatory components that should cover local to the international level and we should never forget our origin and identity. Culture and environment play the main role in the economic development. In the same way *Soskhaa Tosis* a ritual, a culture of the clan where they worship the environment for the better growth of the crops they worship the earth, plants crops for better production and they also worship their manes for their benediction bestowing up on the clan at the same time. The belief towards their manes and nature's contribution is the main thing that encourages them to perform the ritual. Much physical effort for growing crops is embedded with the trust of existence and blessing of their manes as a result they grow big amount of crops and vegetables. So, economy is a part of the ritual and vice versa. The trust that they think due to performing the *Tos* they are able to grow better crops inspires them to perform the *Tos* further. And the better growth of the crops influences the celebration of the ritual, *Tos*. So, it is not solely rite that is performed for the purpose of entertainment rather it is a rite that connects the clan with their ancestors and their skills. The skill bequeathed from their ancestors in the presence of soil, stone, plants, trees and crops are the mandatory parts of this ritual they worship during this *Tos* which are the clan's need for sustaining their lives. The economic reason, that connects the clan with their pragmatic aspect of life brought into existence through the performance and celebration takes part. So, rituals are not performed only for the perspective of

entertainment and they are not merely rites, they also have indispensable relationship with pragmatic life and economy too – is the conclusion of this re-search.

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