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'Rhrusal' as a Trope of Cultural Identity: A Performative Reading of Tamang Rituals

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Abstract

The present research is a study of cultural identity of *Rhruisal* as a trope through the lens of performative reading in Tamang rituals. Socio-cultural and natural factors lead it to be as a trope of cultural identity in the Tamang community. *Rhruisal* is a particular ritual practice of the Tamang life. *Rhruisal* especially concerns about the cultural practices to be alive in the major domain of the rituals such as birth ritual, marital ritual, and death sacrament and other religious rites. It determines the clans out of Tamang caste too because it carries out multiple meanings to it. Indeed, it is a small piece of bone which is taken out from the part of forehead as a *Rhruisal* after finishing the cremation of dead body. Tamang people believe that the *Rhruisal* is known as a remainder of the human body as well as relic. In Tamang tradition, it lies in the central part of the ritualistic nature and plays a vital role when they are in the ritual practices in the society. They believe that during the time of pregnancy, white seed or bone from father and red seed or blood from mother are considered to be transmitted to the fetus in the womb. So, the surname of the child is from his/her father's clan. The daughters' clans also do not transfer to other family relation after marriage because of *Rhruisal*. It symbolizes to the purification also to their family while making the process of Thapsang (Nwaran) in birth, taking inside of out caste bride in marital life and in death sacrament. In this manner, *Rhruisal* has a cultural identity in the Tamang society.

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I. The Tamang: An Introduction of Tamang Rituals

The Tamangs are one of the indigenous ethnic groups of the Mongoloid race—a sub-branch of Tibeto-Burman origin with their own distinct collective identity, religious tradition (Buddhist), language, script, music, culture and civilization. Tamang community is horizontally divided in the name of social class. There are no superior or inferior classes in Tamang community. They are divided into a number of *Rhruis* (thars). At present, altogether one hundred ninety-six different *clans* have existed or recorded in this community respectively. However, only about sixty-two clans are mentioned on the basis of *Bapse* (place of origin), *Phola* (family God) and *Kesha* (kipat land). In this context, the editorial of *Chhar Mhendo* reads, “they were divided into the *Bahra* (twelve) Tamang and *Athara Jaat* (eighteen castes) during the medieval period. The *Bahra* Tamang are considered superior to the *Athara Jaat* Tamang, but such vertical divisions are of late origin” (18). Probably, that came into being as the consequences of Brahmins’ influence and its inherent class system. Some of the Tamang *rhruis* (clans) are identical with the place names of their ancestral residence. Most of the clan-members live together in a group as descendants defined as '*Ngaru-Pharu*' (Swangebhai). A Tamang is free to choose his/her bride and bridegroom for marriage outside his or her clan. Many other *Khors* (sub-branches of a single clan) are within a single clan.

Tamangs are one of the major, but most marginalized indigenous people of the Mongoloid race (sub-branch of Tibeto-Burman) living in the surrounding of the great Himalayan region in South Asian countries and especially in Mid-region of Nepal. They live in *Tamsaling* territory, the land of the Tamangs which is historically and culturally rich area spreading from the Budhi Gandaki River in the West to the Dudhkoshi River in the East, the Tibet in the Northern part to the East-west highway

in the South. This area covers more than 21,000 square kilometer land. However, in the present time, Tamangs are scattered all over the country. Tamang people claim that the *Tamsaling* is their homeland. Tamsaling means the historical land of Tamang people. In this regard, Brain Houghton Hodgson writes on his article, *On the Aborgines of the Sub-Himalayas*, "the great valley . . . and its whole vicinity, is the region of the Murmis and Newar" (30). For the Tamang homeland, Hodgson writes in the same article in the next page; ". . . between the basins of the Gandak and Koshi is the seat of the Murmis" (35).

The Tamsaling comprises Dolakha, Sindhuli, Ramechhap in the Janakpur zone and Rasuwa, Nuwakot, Sindhupalchok, Kavrepalanchok, and Dhading in the Bagmati zone and Makwanpur, and Chitawan in the Narayani zone. Now, they are available in considerable number in eastern part of Nepal and in western hillside like Gorkha, Lamjung, Tanahu and Kaski too. As of Now, they are densely populated in the upper parts of Tarai districts like Bara, Rautahat, Mahotari, Sarlahi, Parsa, Dhanusha, and Udayapur. They also live in Bhutan, Myanmar, Tibet, Hong-Kong and Indian states such as Sikkim to the west of the Tista River, West Bengal's Darjeeling, Assam, Nagaland, Manipur, etc. All of them have their origin in Nepal. Altogether, Tamang population is 1,535, 830 in Nepal according to National Census, 2011. The history of *Tamsaling* provides their brief historical achievements.

There are different opinions about the area of Tamsaling. There is no debate about its history but some people argue that only hilly areas of mid-parts of Nepal constitute Tamsaling. We came to know from Toni Hagen, *Nepal: The Kingdom in the Himalaya*, "... their original Nepalese home is on the southern flank of Ganesh Himal, bounded on the east by the Trishuli River and on the west by the Budhi Gandaki" (66-67). Nowadays, the claim of Tamsaling territory is centered only in the

middle part of Nepal, but it was not limited only in this region rather the western hilly area also Tamang territory in the ancient time.

Tamangs have their own language. Their language can be roughly found into seven groups, based on different dialects, is known as the *Khandoge*, *Paaljoge*, *Syarphante*, *Syardoge*, *Hyolmule*, *Khairi* and *Kagate* dialects. They used to speak and still speaking by them of this dialect in the Tamang community. Therefore, there are dialectical varieties in the Tamang language or dialectical differences in a single language. Due to the domination of Nepali language native names of Tamang places are being replaced. For example, the place of Bhaktapur is '*Thingi*' which means 'place of the Thing clan of Tamang' and next one in Kathmandu '*Gang-la-bu*' which means '*Danda-ko-khet*' but nowadays because of domination of Nepali language, it has been replaced by the term *Thimi* and *Gangabu* respectively. The Tamang language is in the crisis for being alive in this time. In the course of preserving Tamang language, some conscious Tamang have organized *Nepal Tamang Ghedung*. Here, Ghedung means union. Under this organization, many *Ghedungs* are working in different aspects of Tamang language, culture, script, ritual rites and socio-economy.

The script that Tamangs use is *Sambhota* script for writing. They believe that the invention of this Sambhota script along with the development of Tibetan civilization around the great Himalayas of the northern latitude in the World location. Samten Norboo Sherpa writes in the Journal, *Migration of the Tmang Tribe from Tibet*, "In the ancient time, the amongst the tribal groups originating from Tibet are the Tamangs, Hyolmos, Gurungs, Sherpas, Ladhakis, Sikkimese and Drukpas along with some other tribes in the Indo-Tibetan frontiers" (39). There are some philosophical and ritualistic similarities between the above tribes and the Tibetan. All of them, they uses and performs as the above said script while writing, reading and

doing some ritualistic and religious practices. *The Veda* of them is written in the same script. In Nepal due to the wide spread of Nepali *Devnagarik* script that Sambhota script is limited only in religious *the Veda* of Buddhist and in the inscription. The Tamang language and Sambhota script have their own historical background. They faced many communal and political attacks. As the Bhotay Scholars and Lama contributed to be development of the language, they were punished in Nepal and at last many Gumbas were destroyed in conspiracy with the contemporary ruler of Nepal in the ancient time. For the honor of Bhotay Scholars' contribution to be alive this script in the whole Bhotay family and Himalayan Buddhist society calls it *Chhyoi-taam*.

Tamang settlement is found between the attitude of 600 meters to 5000 meters above the sea level. There are one-storey house made up of stones with thatched roofs. Their houses smear with a red and white earth. There are windows and doors of the houses black in color. Here, structures of houses generally determines by the geographical land. Because all the high attitude from sea level there are generally roofed with slate and in the lower level roofed with *Jasta*, *Jhingati*, and straw and have wooden balconies around them at the first floor in the eastern part of Nepal. Houses of a few rich people are generally larger than the average houses. In the beginning, Tamangs were said to have been cavalrymen as the principal occupation for their livelihood and later they became herdsmen and agriculturist. They became successful rulers around the Kathmandu Valley before to the Unification of Nepal. They were brave, trustful, straightforward, hardworking and handsome warlike warriors too.

Tamangs' major profession is farming. They depend upon agriculture and in the beginning also, they were agriculturist. Where, there were prohibited to join the

British and Indian regiments and even in the Nepal regiment at that time. So, they were compelled to be a porter or coolie as a profession. Nowadays, some conscious Tamang people are to join and work in governmental department as officers.

Tamangs have their own distinct life style to live in society though they are living among Hindu and Kirat neighbors. They have a long tradition of narrating or reciting *Chhyoi* (The Veda), performing certain rituals, observing ceremonies and keeping some objects as a symbol in their own distinctive ways. Tamang community has mainly three ritual specialists that have run the whole society for centuries. They are *Lama*, *Tamba*, and *Bonbo* and they are known as the institutions of the Tamang society. They have different duties to serve the people in a single society. Lama is the main religious priest who does spiritual works in the Tamang life and they are the most respected teachers in Tamang society because of their 'knowledge of Buddhism'.

In Tamang culture, Tamba is another ritual specialist. He has a duty to tell and maintain the oral history and culture of Tamang. They believe that when the Tamang culture and civilization was developing together with the Tamba also developed in the Tamang society. In the Tamang life, they do several different cultural practices like *Thapsang* (Nwaran), *Solchhyoi* (first food feeding to baby), *Tapche* (chhewar), *Brelsang* (marriage) and other festivals. They do various ritual practices in their life and after death like *Phola-Dala* (kul-puja), *Chho-mharme* with reciting of *Domang Chhyoi* (the Veda of Buddhist), *Ghewa*, fire the light in the *Gonpa* (Gumba) and so on. Bonbo is one of the major ritual specialists in the Tamang community. Bonbo has come from shamanism. He has a duty to serve the people mainly as a doctor of the Tamang society.

In this way, Lama does the *Thapsang* in birth, the naming ceremony of a newly born child within three days to eleven days with the special characteristic of

this custom. He presides over the ritual by reading a holy book named, *Chhyoi*. This function ends with *Thui* (holy water) sprinkling to each person and inside and outside of the house by them. The Lama views the *Chi* (calendar of Buddhist) and he finds newly born child's *Lho* (year), *Kham* (element or essence), and name and at last names the child. It is necessary to view the *Chi* to maintain each and every auspicious beginning of the ritualistic functions. In the context of marriage there should be match their *Lho* and *Kham* between bride and bridegroom.

Moreover, on this occasion of wedding ceremony some elders pronounce *Rhama* at the time of wearing wedding garments by the bridegroom before procession starts. In *Rhama* they pray to the Gods and Goddesses of Sky, *Phola* (Kul-deuta), Goddess presiding over mountain tops (Devi-Deurali), and Gods and Goddesses of water and dry land (*sime-bhume*) to bless the bridegroom. The tune and rhythm of *Rhama* are quite different from *whae* (song). Here, at the last point of *Ghe-wa* also sounds *Rhama* that is not same with it. The *Rhama* sounds in the *Ghe-wa* which known as the *Mhinjyang Prachila Rhama*. The first one is in the tune whereas the latter one recites like prose. It has performed by the *Tamba* at the time of the last ritual of a dead person just before burning his or her name by Lama.

On the other hand, Tamangs have a rich, splendid and different culture likewise of other ethno-linguistic groups. On the various occasion the Tamangs perform their dances in the distinctive ways. In Tamang, the word *Syaba* means dance. The Tamang dances are divided into two broad categories like religious and ritual dances, and social and other festive dances. Social and festival dances are generally known as *whae Syaba* with musical instruments; *Damphu* and *Tungna*. The Tamang females wear a *Tagi* (cap), *Hagnre* (cholo), *Syama* (phariya) and *Bakkhu* as a costume. There is not culture to use vermilion (*sindur*) by married Tamang women in

reality but somewhere they use it in areas of Hindu concentration by influencing of Hindu culture. Tamang males wear a *Tagi* (hat), *Bakkhu* and as of now they wear *Daura Suruwal* also in the lower geographical location in Nepal. Tamang peoples are acknowledged by the knowledge of Buddhism and Buddhist culture. In this regard, Andras Hofer writes, “Tamang peoples celebrate the religious ceremonies such as *Domang*, *Wang*, *Ngyune*, *Kangyur*, *Lhochhar* and *Buddha Jayanti* (anniversary) as a religious and social festival” (3).

Similarly, *Tongba* is a favourite social drink. *Tongba* is a wooden barrel shaped vessel with a lid wherein hot millet beer served. In this vessel, filled roughly halfway that fermented red millet (pitching) which runs through the center of the lid and finely slit at the bottom to prevent the hole from entering the straw: the boiling water may be replenished several times; when served, the pitching is offered separately in a vessel filled with water and a small dish of meat or pickle is offered as a side-dish. It is also called *Chhyang*. *Chhyang*-liquor distilled in traditional way from fermented grains. It used to greet guest. Without *Chhyang*, ritual rites become incomplete. Tamang were born with this *Chhyang* and died with too. Thus, Tamang peoples believe that they are very much like and drank it each and every ritual rites, either good or bad rituals.

The culture-based literary tradition among the Tamangs are the noteworthy aspect of their homeland. In fact, it is a culturally rich land. The Himalayas, mountains, rivers and historical places of Tamang homeland are the sources of cultural discourses. Primarily, such discourses are related to such geographical structures that have handed down generation to generation historically and culturally. Here, on the several different occasions they celebrate various cultural and ritual occasions they celebrate various cultural and ritual customs with the well

performance. While performing the religious or social ceremonies, they display many types of objects to make it complete comfortably. So, they need a simple matter to identify the particular ritual practice of Tamangs that is known as the *Koko-Mhendo* (flower of Totola plant). *Koko-Mhendo* is one of the major objects that used in the Tamang society of the Buddhist community. The *Koko-Mhendo* is rarely findable flower anywhere. In this way, *Koko-Mhendo* is taken as a sacred flower in Tamang society that flourishing in the trees at night with the long cover. Tej Bahadur Ngyasur writes about this flower in his book, *Koko-Mhendola Kairan*, “It represents the full of sacred, purity, prosperity, progressive, fruitfulness, benediction to them for a long life, to be a longsighted etc. throughout one's life of the Tamang family” (106). It is believed that in the ritualistic thought there won't be completed as well without it. Along with this, other various things are used while they celebrate the social and religious rites together rather it is most important thing for them.

The *Koko-Mhendo* is a typical sacred flower of Tamang. It is white in color with a long cover. Always the Tamang people use it turned towards the eastern part or east direction but not turned to other direction of its long cover. All of the Buddhist Tamangs are assumed it is only the sacred thing for an offering to the God. So, it has a religious value which is known as the mentioned above matters as I said earlier. In that very place, still the religious faith is remained up to now and will be continuity for a long time on that matter until remain Buddhism and the Tamang society.

Rhrusal is a particular ritual practice of the Tamangs of the Buddhist community. There is a distinctive importance of Rhrusal as a trope while celebrating the various cultural and ritual practices in the Tamang family. It has the most important role and has given an incomparable contribution in each performance of the social and religious ceremonies in Tamang culture. Rhrusal is the central part of their

ritual; it concerns with all cultural practices to keep alive in the major domain of the processes like birth, marriage, death sacrament and other religious rites together. It means to be clear or to make purify of their caste while making the process of *Thapasang* (nwaran) in birth, to take inside of out caste bride in marriage and death sacrament. Moreover, after finishing the cremation of dead body a small piece of bone from the part of forehead is taken out as a Rhruisal. Tamang peoples believe that the Rhruisal is known as a remainder of the human body as well as relic. Therefore, they are very piously and safely keep it as far as 49 days respectably at home. It is the date of finale during the *Ghewa* (kaj-kriya) with acknowledging consciousness on dead body or dead person by Lama Guru. Here, according to Tamang hereditary, it determines the caste system within a single polymorphic social community. According to Tamang tradition, they believe that the period of pregnancy, a bone from father, and flesh and blood from mother are considered to be transmitted to the fetus in the womb.

In this way, *Rhrui* (bone) refers to the Tamang clans. They believe that the term 'Rhruisal' is a derivative form of the word *Rhrui*. In the Tamang society, it has taken as the formation of relationship between parents and their children, the seeds of human lifecycle by breeding and social commitment. It determines the internal structure of Tamang society. So, the concept of *Rhrui* is threaded in a single source to the Tamang society from the ancient time to the present. Similarly, in the Tamang concept, the word *Rhrui* stands for the several different matters which is as such bone, clans, descendant, family and family God, the concept of *Kipat* land and origin place, relic (Rhruisal), the concept of family-relation or kinship, and it does notice for the social conduct and dignity in their community. Likewise, *Thapasang* (nwaran) ritual is one of the major rituals in birth to the Tamang society. In this context, Rhruisal

represents to purify to parturient woman in child's birth. The component *Rhrui* means 'clan or bone' and *Syal* means 'face' of human body. The literal meaning of it is here a face of clan and it is assumed that the purification of bone or their descendant.

According to Tamang belief, a newly born child will be able to enter in his/her father's family after complete Thapsang rite. Here, they would have done worship to the *Phola* (family God) with *Torma* (round lump) of rice or flour and was a vogue of Thapsang in birth by the headman of family or Labon (conjuror) in the ancient time. Nowadays, it has completely done by Lama Guru, at the end of the religious rites of Thapsang Lama views the *Chi* (Lunar calendar) and finds that a newly born child's *Lho* (year), *Kham* (element or essence), and name. After finding it then only Lama names the child in the practice of Tamang culture. So, Rhruisal has a distinctive dignity in their community.

In the beginning of the Buddhism with the wide spreading effect of the Tamang society; there were a custom to do Thapsang by Tamba and Bonbo instead of Lama, which is known as the *Maamsang* or *Baapsang* with the sound of non-written verbal text. In Thapsang, the institutions of the Tamang community, they can keep cultural aspects to maintain of all institutions, the social and cultural rites alive. While they maintain the process of Thapsang, they use some common materials of plants for the same purpose to purify them. H.B. Hedgeson collects and writes about Thapsang, “the common materials such as *Titepati*, leaf of pine tree, *Dusyapat*, *Khaniyapat*, leaf of fir tree, sacred grass (*dubo*), *Kataujipat*, *Phalantpat*, barley grain, wheat, the sesame seed and rice”(43). There is existence of Tamba, Bonbo and Lama at present in Tamang society; but Tamba and Bonbo have been decreasing their importance day by day whereas Lama has high position in reality. All of them are from different background where the Bonbo from shamanism and the Tamba from traditional

historian of the Tamang origin and civilization. So, both of them have not written holy text wherein the Lama have only that the holy text as a holy *the Veda*. Thus, in the cultural, social and religious rites they remain along with to each other.

In the context of marriage, Rhruisal has symbolized to a clan of the Tamang caste; they believe on that traditional saying in their society, there are considered to be moved a bone from father, and flesh and blood from mother to the child. Therefore, it is a typical concept for them and it determines their caste system too. This belief is known as a major foundation of the Tamang-life from the sight of social and cultural perspective together with. In this way, in Tamang custom there is no system of bestowal of the daughter in the marriage. In this context, Amrit Hyonjan Tamang advocates about it in his book, *Tamang Encyclopedia-1*, "Tamang daughter's *Rhru* does not transfer to other family relation after marriage" (94). Wherein, gathering both sides Tamba, relatives, their parents, aging people and neighbors in bride's natal home after accumulated that auspicious moment by Lama Guru in the function of marriage ceremony, where there will be strongly noted for commitment between them. Now, in this function Tamba has noteworthy role because the side of bride's Tamba says at first – "Maternal brothers have delivered the blood and flesh of the daughter to the bridegroom from today but her Rhruisal is on the hand of maternal brothers." Moreover, the side of bridegroom's Tamba replies - "In case, deceased of the daughter, respected maternal brothers should come in *Dajang* (the place of Lama while reciting the holy text) of the Lama to bring this Rhruisal" Therefore, according to this Tamang tradition, the daughter is not compelled to be victimized to the bestowal of the daughter in the Tamang in marriage ceremony. Rhruisal is rendered to the father because it has sufficient evidences which are known as the mentioned above. Moreover, the tradition of the Tamang entirely affected with the patriarchal

society.

Likewise, the word *Brelsang* refers to the marriage in Tamang language. Although they manage themselves their marital-relations between a single Tamang castes, there is prohibited to marry in a certain clans for them. In the sense of *Brelsang*, writer Amrit Hyonjan Tamang, *Tamang Encyclopedia-1* writes about the topic *Rhrui-la-thim*, “the clans are divided into two branches such as maternal clans and non-maternal clans. The clans are like brotherly clan or their own clan remained inside the maternal, the clans are remained inside the non-maternal clans those are free to marry in Tamang community” (93). So, there is not allowed to marry with the maternal clan. It is prohibited and punishable too. However, there is culturally and socially accepted subject in their society for the marital relationship between cross cousins that are to one's mother's brother's sons/daughters or father's sister's daughters/sons. Therefore, it is called *Phupu-Chela Mama-Chela*; Tamangs have a distinctive culture and faith respectively. Likewise, there is not allowed to marry between parallel cousin like one's father's younger/elder brother's son/daughters or mothers younger/elder sister's daughter/sons in their society. In this way, polyandry is absolutely forbidden but there are a few cases of polygamy among some rich man. They can manage themselves that marriage variously such as arrange marriage, stealing marriage and widow marriage too, existed in the society especially as a vogue.

Regarding the death sacrament, *Rhruisal* remains into the central part of this phase. The death is only the way, is the truth for the human being in the world. So, *Rhruisal* also concerns about this truth way in Tamang culture. It is a piece of bone, after finishing the cremation of dead body it takes out from the part of forehead as a *Rhruisal*. It is leading to the cultural identity of the whole Tamang life. Here, *Mha*

(son-in-law) is needed for them wherein that Rhrusal to keep and bring to the home safely. According to Kumar Tamang, “They keep Rhrusal with a copper coin by binding of a thread for the days of seven weeks or forty nine days altogether” (95). In this way, they believe that the human body is made by five elements such as soil, water, air, fire and sky in the Tamang society of the Buddhist community. The flesh and bone are related to soil element, blood and other liquid things are related to water element, breathing air adjusts to air element, heat joins to fire element, tunnel-like parts to adjust with sky element. These are the physical parts of the body but here lies a shadow soul which is adjusted being alive with a body, it is a full of sensitive life. Moreover, they believe that after death of a person there will be remained that shadow soul to the eight hours in the dead body and forty nine days with his/her family at home. Therefore, until the pass out of eight hours time there should not do final procession of the dead body. Here, the forty ninth day is the date of finale for the Rhrusal during the *Ghewa* with acknowledging consciousness on dead person by Lama Guru. Now, the shadow soul will go to be as a family God, according to Tamang belief.

Similarly, Rhrusal of the daughter is returned to natal brothers by *Kutumba* (family-relation) in *Ghewa* function, according to their Rhrusal custom. It is a social commitment in Tamang culture, they have had strongly noted of marriage. In this way, natal brothers give them in marriage like sickle and bronze cup as a dowery. If there is a death of *Cheli* that sickle uses for the wash out a dense woody plant in the area of crematorium and a small cup uses for the wipe out tears with water in the death of natal brother by his *Cheli*. So, this shows the intricate relationship between them because of Rhrusal. Likewise, in the function of *Ghewa* they make a *Ghur* (symbol of dead body) by placing Rhrusal inside Ghur. Ghur keeps in front of Lama.

By performing the religious rites, all the family members and relatives serve to the *Ghur*. At the last point of the *Ghewa*, the Lama burn a name written paper of a dead person, after burning it is finished social and religious rites together.

By observing the condition of Rhrusal as a trope of cultural identity in Tamang heredity, this research assumes that the nature of ritualist society, i.e. greatly influenced by performative approach where the cultural practice is the responsible factor to bring the whole Tamang community under the one roof of their culture. Rhrusal leads to the condition of different performance of Tamang customs, rituals and religious activity like the process of birth, marriage and death sacrament in a single Tamang family.

This thesis is divided into three chapters. In the first chapter, the researcher introduces the topic, elaborates the hypothesis and quotes different critics' views regarding to the culture. In the second paper, the researcher makes a thoroughly analysis of the culture by applying the tool of performance. The last chapter contains the conclusive ending of the research.

II. 'Rhrusal' as a Trope of Cultural Identity in Tamang Rituals

The present research is an example of how the Tamangs have Rhrusal as a trope of cultural identity in the day to day life of Tamang. The Tamangs have a community as an organization, i.e. based on natural dispositions like common characteristics within a single caste, stable united class groups and that produced social cohesion itself in the society. Along with, the Tamang community has a distinct collective identity, religious tradition (Buddhist), language, script, culture, civilization and so many other social and religious rites. By remaining, they mobilize in the tropical sense of Rhrusal in their community. Tamang people are thoroughly devoted to the Rhrusal through the ritualistic rites from the perspective of performative reading of Tamang rituals. Indeed, the Tamangs have a rich and splendid culture. Therefore, they are culturally, ritually and traditionally prosperous rather than economical condition in the society. Although the Tamang people are compelled to be alive with miserable condition and there is no alternative way rather the Nation identified them in the category of the marginalized group of people. The community include that social and religious events like rituals, ceremonies, proclamations and public decisions as the cultural factors. So, culture is an identity of particular group and its performance lies in the heart to bring in forth. Therefore, ritual performance is the medium to carry out the culture.

To point up the conditions of Tamang community, there is in the process of changing of positions in cultural space, state or cultural condition, social position, age and their status through the ritual subjects in the society. In this regard, Vitor Turner says, "rites se passage as rites which accompany every change of place, state, social position and age" (89). They seem like a straightforward, peaceful mind, passive or humble, ambiguous and indeterminate types of nature too. Their conditions are such

as the mentioned qualities between them because of the cultural transition. At present, they are considered to be changed that such habits, behaviors and social positions. It has become due to the domination of Nepalese culture, language and so many other subjects. Moreover, the Tamang people have had some of these characteristics such as passivity, humility, near-nakedness by the social position, etc. in a symbolic social environment that represented like a grave and a womb. However, it is a positive way that all the Tamang are in a single community with the egalitarian society and an intensely comradeshipness, the result is because of inferior conditions which are often associated with ritual powers and with the total community seen as undifferentiated.

In this concern, Turner forwards his argument:

Among themselves, neophytes tend to develop an intense comradeship and egalitarianism. Secular distinctions of rank and status disappear or are homogenized. The condition of the patient and that inferior people's had some of these attributes- passivity, humility, near-nakedness-in a symbolic milieu that represented both a grave and a womb. In imitations with a long period of seclusion, such as the circumcision rites of many tribal societies or induction into secret societies, there is often a rich proliferation of luminal symbols. (90)

Similarly, the Tamang peoples live in a certain territory with golden complexions, which gave them an appearance very distinct from the Indo-Aryan inhabitants of the Genetic plain. The entire Tamang Community is divided into several clans (thars). At present, altogether one hundred ninety-six different clans have been existed or recorded in this community respectively. However, there are mentioned only about sixty-two clans based on their *Bapsa* (place of origin), *Phola* (family God) and *Kesha* (kipat land). On the other hand, the Tamangs divided into the *Bahra* (twelve) Tamang

and *Athara Jaat* (eighteen castes) during the medieval period. It was assumed that the *Bahra* Tamangs considered more superior to the *Athara Jaat* Tamang, but nowadays such vertical divisions are of late origin. Most of the clan-members live together in a group as descendants defined as *Ngaru-Pharu* (Swangebhai). Many other Khors (sub-branches of a single clan) are a single clan. In this regard, Eden Vansittart further mentioned about Tamang clans (Rhruis) in his book *Notes on Nepal*:

Kalden, Khanikhor, Khyungba, Khyutpa, Chothen, Gyabak, Gyamden, Grangdan, Gole, Gongba, Gomden or Gomja, Gompa, Gishing, Ghale, Ngeke, Titung, Glan, Tupa or Tuba, Dumjan, Dimdong or Dimdung, Domton, Dhokchan or Bokchan, Don, Dopchan, Toisang, Ngel, Ngyangjo, Ngesur, Ngarba, Ngichen or Mikchan, Thing, chhyumior chhopten, Jimba, Jhongden, Fyukpa, Bomjan, Bal, Bion, Thogar, Dong, Negi, Lo, Pakhrin, Bajyu, Moktan, Marba, Sumba, Hyonjan, Rumba, Lopchan, Lungwa, Lamkhor, Laktan, Mamba, Waiba, Syangbo, singer, Syandan, Samden, Singdan, Hoptan or Chyuni, Dartang, Himdung, Brosinger. (186-187)

Likewise, it is based on traditional Bonbo belief that there were altogether nine couples of *Mheme* and *Maam* (grandfather-grandmother) lived together. They gave birth and all of that born descendants known as *Swangebhai* (brotherly clan) between them. These clans consider to each other as the member of the same family.

Therefore, although the different clans, there is restriction to marry between a single *Swangebhai*. There are some examples of clans which are lived harmoniously under the umbrella shadow of it. *Chhar Mhendo* Bulletin mentions the clans such as:

Dong, Titung, Gole, Bal or Balten, Gongba, Dimdung, Kalden, Gyamten, Lapa, and Bajyu are the dynasty of the Mheme Dong

Chhenpo and Maam Taksalms. Hyonjan, Bomjan, Lopachan, Dumjan, and Mikchan are the dynasty of the Mheme Hunga Raja and Maam Nangsalmo. Thing, Ngyasur, Singer or Brosinger are the offsprings of the Mheme Sai Pu and Maam Hoi Salmo. Waiba, Rumba, Jimba, Gyabak, Tuba, Sumba, Marpa are the descendants of the Mheme Gyalbu and Maam Yangsalmo. Gishing, Glan, and Lo are the descendants of the Mheme Saipapu and Maam Dengsalmo. Syngbo and Blon are the offspring of the Mheme Larki Dorje and Maam Ngingsalmo. Moktan, Pakhrin, Thogar, Syangdan are the dynasty of the Mheme Semchoi Rhrinburchhe and Maam Chyamjinmo. Lungba is descendant of the Mheme Linga and Maam Ngyongchhema. Lamkhor is the descendant of the Mheme Lamakhor and Maam Khantoma. Here, Lungba and Lamkhor clans have not other branches clans as brotherly clans. (21)

Therefore, the Tamang community keeps their relationship between their brotherly clans and other kinship family relation with very harmoniously, horizontally, and with ritual powers and undeviatingly. They have kept always-sacred social position as a characteristic.

While observing the condition of Tamangs, they are entirely considered to be fixed voiceless, weakness, passive, inferior in historic transitions between cultural conditions and thoughts. Here, in reality the Tamangs' not well presence in the political, legal and economical area whereas instead of it they are strongly associated with the complete community seen as an undeviating position and with well ritual powers. Regarding this, Turner argues:

The point I would like to stress here is that there is a certain homology between the "weakness" and "passivity" of liminality in diachronic transitions between states and statuses, and the "structural" or synchronic inferiority of certain personal, groups, and social categories in political, legal, and economic systems. The "luminal" and the "inferior" conditions are often associated with ritual powers and with the total community seen as undifferentiated. (92)

The Tamang peoples speak their own Tamang language, it makes easy to us for communication, which is one of the family members of Tibeto-Burman (Bhotburmeli) linguistic group. It is very old probably as old as their origin. Altogether, Tamang language speaker is in number 1,353,311 in Nepal according to National census, 2011. Our country has not only ethnic, cultural, religious diversities but also linguistic diversity. In this concern, Gyaneshor Bhattarai writes, *Nepal ko Bibhid Jankari*, "there are 123 identified languages in the context of Nepal. Here reported all the prevalent major four types of language family which is known as *Bhotburmeti*, *Bharopeli*, *Aagnea* and *Drabina* in the Nepali society respectively" (245). As mentioned above that identified languages are also existed under the control of prevalent major group of language family. Most of the living language, do not have their own written scripts, they have only oral form. Among them, only a few languages have both spoken and written forms.

Similarly, there are dialectical differences in a single Tamang language. It can be roughly divided into several groups where known as the *khandoge*, *Paaljoge*, *Syanphante*, *Syardoge*, *Hyolmule*, *Khairi* and *Kagate* dialects. Among them, *Khandoge* is very different from other dialects and hardly intelligible to their speakers. *Khandoge* speaks in the parts of Gorkha, Rasuwa, Northern part of Nuwakot

and Dhading district and a few in number speakers of its other districts too. The Khandoge speaker is virtually wholly intelligible to other dialect speakers of the village of different place who must even resort to Nepali to communicate with distant relatives living in other places. On the other hand, *Paalgoge* dialect is one of the major dialects of the Tamang language. It is literally the dialect of the Paaljok area which known as the place of Sindhupalchok and Kavre Palenchook nowadays. It speaks in the surrounding as the mentioned above areas, Dolkha, Solukhumbu and in more or less all over the *Tamsaling* territory. Even now, the importance of Tamang language can see in Socio-cultural aspects because most of the places in Tamsaling area have been named in Tamang language such as Semjong, Yabeng, Dhading, Timiling in Dhading district. In the same way, in Nuwakot district, many places have been naming in their language like Namsapuran, Golpuhu, Jimnang, Chhepar, etc. Similarly, Temal, Tamalhuzen Tyamrang, Kavre and so on in Kavrepalanchok district have named in the Tamang language.

Syarphante dialect is speaking throughout the eastern region. Somewhere in the mid-region and almost the entire eastern region is Syarphante dialect speaking area of Nepal where there is the Tamang settlement. The term Syarphante is a Tamang adjectival form of *Syarphant*, the region where the designation for all of present Tamang territory. Moreover, *Syardoge* is one of the major dialects among them. It is spoken somewhere in the eastern part with typical language of Tamang. Some believes that the Syardoge speakers may have migrated to the eastern region from the origin place of typical Tamang language. Similarly, *Hyolmule* dialect is also existed within Tamang language. It is originated dialect in the Sindhupalchok district's *Helambu* area. This dialect has a certain territory because only the Helambu dwellers speak this dialectical language in the Tamang community. Likewise, *Khairi*

dialect has different speciality than other recorded dialect in the Tamang language. The dialect is spoken everywhere in the Tamang society with an addition of native Nepali. Although this dialects have a certain boundary for speaking, i.e. known as boundariless along with mingle form between native Tamang language and native Nepali language. In the same way, *Kagate* dialect is also existed within the Tamang community. It has distinct specialty in order to establish between the users of this dialectical language. *Kagate* dialect is formed virtually based on paper maker community in the Tamang Society. They used to speak and still speaking of this dialect. Therefore, there are dialectical varieties in the Tamang language or dialectical differences within a single language.

At present, due to the domination of Nepali language has brought the crisis in Tamang language. On the other hand, in the course of preserving Tamang language, some conscious Tamang youths have organized as the official institution like *Nepal Tamang Ghedung*. Under this institution, many *Ghedungs* (unions) are working in different aspects of Tamang language, culture, script, ritual rites and socio-economy. In this context, writer K.M. Titung, *Hyang Tamang Gyot Lopke* from sikkim writes about Tamang Language:

Tamang language is one of the official languages out of the eleven languages recognized by the government of Sikkim on 31th march, 1981. It is widely spoken by about fifteen Lakhs people of India mostly in the state of Sikkim, hill area of west Bengal, Assam and other north-eastern states. Almost thirty five lakhs Tamang peoples Speak this language in the world scattered throughout Nepal, India, Bhutan, Myanmar, Tibet, U.K., Hongkong and other parts of the world. (9)

Tamangs' language also recognized as an official language in Sikkim. But in Nepal, the government has not accepted it as official language as in Sikkim. In reality, Tamang language is in crisis nowadays. Present generation of Tamang community and children are unknown to their language, literature, culture, social norms and values. Perhaps due to the development of science and technology, new generation does not know the process of socialization because they are involved in computer internet, etc. So that, there established central office for the development of the Tamangs' language and literature. Therefore, language is the most important medium to carry out the cultural performance of the community. Performance communicates belief, value and ritual among the groups through language, gesture and other activities. It shares the idea pervasive in one group with other. In this sense, Pelias argues, "Performance is communicative process. All performances are transactional communication event between speaker and listener" (16). It shows that performance always links different groups of people as performer and audience or speaker and listen. Moreover, performance is not always imparting information but also representation of shared belief therefore, Bell writes, "performance is an epistemology, a way of knowing ourselves others and the world" (20).

Tamang settlements are found between the attitudes of 600 meters to 5000 meters attitudes above the sea level. Geographical land determines that the settlements with different structures; somewhere compact settlements and somewhere scattered with distinct features. All the high attitudes from sea level, there are generally roofed with slate and in the lower level roofed with *Jasta*, *Jhingati*, and straw and have wooden balconies around them at the first floor in the eastern part of Nepal. But in the surrounding of the Kathmandu Valley, there are one-storey house made up of stones with thatched roofs. In the same way, each and everywhere they erect a *lungdar* or

darjyu in the side of house-yard by performing some religious rites and rituals. Somewhere they hang up *lungta* as a long festoon by the height place. Both of its flags are filled with sacred verse of the Vedas of the Buddhist religion. Likewise, in the community they plan the various artistic and aesthetic aspects like concert, theatrical event and socio-political and religious events like ritual, ceremonies, proclamations and public decisions for the performance. Performance occurs in creation place, which is called stage. Stages are used intensely considering the crowd of people for the scheduled events. The stages should be uniquely organized and all the props should be well managed that's why all the audience can observe performance easily and appropriately. As of now, the Tamang houses are also a kind of stages for the performance of the cultural practices and religious rites without the fixed institutional base or the stages it is often difficult to pin down. Concerning cultural stage, Bell states, "The cultural stage is the place where the performance occurs in homes, temples, public halls, in community centers and so on" (131).

Tamang culture is blowing in their every blood speck of the Tamang people. They call *Rhimthim* to the Tamang culture. Nowadays, they do not say only *Rhimthim* but they call it *Mharmin-Chhanna rhimthim* of Tamang or the culture of Tamang civilization. Therefore, the identity of the Tamang culture is to lead in the hidden or concealed way to the culture and civilization. In this way, Tamang have a very valuable, rich and splendid culture, and cultural and ritualistic nature within the caste. They have a long tradition of narrating or reciting *Chhyoi* (the Veda), performing creation rituals, observing ceremonies and keeping some objects as a symbol in their own distinctive ways. In the Tamang community, there are mainly three ritual specialists, which have been running the whole society for centuries. They are Lama,

Tamba, and Bonbo. They are known as the institutions of the Tamang society. In this regard, Parshuram Tamang argues:

The Tamang society, culture, ritual, rites and economic aspects are widely discussed. Similarly, discursing about 'Tamang Rimthin', the festivals and worshipping methods, which are celebrated within one year, are discussed widely that processes and the beliefs of worshipping of Tamang Lama, Bonbo and Tamba are also mentioned. (120)

There is widely discussed about *Tamang Rhimthim*, festivals and worshipping methods, which are celebrated within one year. There are different duties to serve the people within a single society. Lama is the main religious priest who does spiritual works in the Tamang life and they are most respected teachers in Tamang society because of their 'knowledge of Buddhism'. Tamba is another ritual specialist. He has an unlike duty than other ritual specialists in their community; to tell and maintain the traditional rhimthim and history of Tamang. He has most important role in the various rituals like *Chhewar*, *Kul-puja*, marriage, death sacrament and so many other cultural practices. It is believed that when the Tamang culture and civilization was developing together with Tamba was also developed in the Tamang society. So, Tamba is the speaker of the Tamang society as well. On the other hand, Bonbo is one of the major ritual specialists in the Tamang community. Bonbo has come from Shamanism. He has a duty to serve the people mainly as a doctor of the Tamang Community. Therefore, all of the ritual specialists are the active agent who transforms the raw experience into palatable forms and makes a work an art. They are the integral element of performance.

In this way, the institutions of the Tamang society - *Lama*, *Tamba* and *Banbo* are known as the well performers. So, performers are here like the artist. A

performance carries different performer with different roles and characteristics. They march from page to stage and make comprehensible even to an illiterate through their body language. Their experience from real life to reel sharpens their skills and the performance is their skill they exhibit artistically. Generally, in most of the performance are singer, dancer, musician, priest, storyteller, act and so on as performer. They are aware of their role and perform consciously. In this regard, Elizabeth Bell writes:

A performer is one who manifests performance consciousness. The consciousness, or the reflexive awareness of oneself as performing, works of many levels. First, the performer is aware of the frame and pays attention to the relationship among performer, frame and audience...level in performance consciousness involves a kind of inner dialogue with in the performance. The third level of performance consciousness involves how a performer pushes emotions ideas and attitudes for the sake of audience. (43-44)

Tamang people are always conscious about their culture and cultural practices, rituals and other festival as the religious and social festivals. They perform very consciously their ritual as a perfect performer. In this way, Lama does the Thapsang function, the naming ceremony of a newly born child within the 11th days with the special characteristics of custom. He presides over the ritual by reading a holy book named, *Chhyoi*. In this function, at first, they smear their house and in the surrounding of house yard keeps neat and clean. They prepare to the parturient woman by taking bath and cense there in the house before start the *Thapsang* ritual. This function ends with *Thui* (holy water) sprinkling to each person, and inside and outside of the house by them. The Lama views the *Chi*, and he finds newly born child's *Lho*, *Kham*, and name

then only he names the child. It is necessary to view that *Chi* for the auspicious beginning of the ritualistic functions. In the context of marriage, there should be match their *Lho* and *Kham* between bride and bridegroom. Moreover, before beginning of the Buddhism with the wide spreading effect of the Tamang society; there were a custom to do Thapsang by the Tamba and Bonbo instead of Lama which known as the Baapsang with the sound of non-written verbal text. In Thapsang, all of the institutions of the Tamang Community such as Tamba, Bonbo and Lama, they can keep cultural aspects to maintain of all institutions, the social and cultural rites alive. While performing that Thapsang where some common materials of plants are used for the purpose to purify them. The common materials such as *Titepati*, leaf of pine tree, *Dusyapat*, *Khaniyapat*, leaf of fir tree, sacred grass (dubo), *Kataujipat*, *Phalantpat*, barley grain, wheat, the sesame seed and rice. At present, Tamba, Bonbo and Lama are known as the performer of the cultural performance in their community; Tamba and Bonbo have been decreasing their importance now a day whereas Lama has high position in reality from the viewpoint of religious activity. All of them are from different background where the Bonbo from shamanism and the Tamba from traditional historian of the Tamang origin and civilization. Although both of them have not written holy text, in this case, Holmberg states, "Many Bonbos practice as a pangtung before completing an initiation under the supervision of preceptors or Guru" (3). Wherein, the Lama has only that the holy text as a holy *the Veda*. Thus, in the cultural, Social and religious rites they remain along with to each other.

Likewise, there is a general belief that pregnant women are not allowed to go up to the top of the hill side, to climb trees, to cross big rivers, to cross the rope of cow, to see animals slaughter and so on in their society. They follow that mentioned above beliefs and there general rules make them the success gained in work. They

want to deliver at home because the Tamang women suppose that home is the good place for childbirth from the viewpoint of protection for Tamang while delivering situation. In this way, when women give birth a newly born child they note his/her *Lho* (year), *Kham* (element or essence), month, day and time or they record his/her that perfect date. During the Thapsang day, they identify to the newly born child with that noted date and name by Lama. Therefore, it is the process of identification and beginning of socialization too from here. The Thapsang ritual is the sanctification process and sanctified to the family, family God and house of that related person in the Tamang community.

In Tamang culture, *Solchhyoi* (first food feeding) is one of the important rituals in their community. They call it another word like *Kan-khwaba* also in their own language. This ritual is the process to socialize to the infant in the society. In this ritual, Lama has a significant role to fix the date for organizing the function by viewing the *Chi*. He decides the day after viewing it. If there is born a baby girl, they organize that ceremony in the fifth month and if there is a boy then they organize it in the sixth month of the birthday. In this very function, they start to feed under the control of the major person of the family or the Lama. Before starting the feeding, Lama recites the holy religious book for the auspicious moment of this function. On this day, the baby is taken to bath and wear new cloths. There come all the relatives, neighbors and guests in this occasion. They bring various things like money, cloths, jewellery and so on to give to the baby as a gift at that time. Other all invitees follow this respectively. In this process, they bless for better future of the baby.

Chhewar is an important ritual practice in Tamang community. They do this function only of the first son and it is not compulsory for other sons. In their community, they organize this ceremony in numbers of the son's odd years within

three years to eleven years such as three, five, and seven and so on. There is a restriction to do this ceremony mostly in the months of the *Chaitra*, *Saun*, *Bhadau* and *Paush* according to their traditional concept, rule, value and belief. Chhewar is the *Aasheng* -mouthed ritual rites because in this function, Aasheng (mama) lies in the superior position and they do everything with the command of the Aasheng. The Tamangs call it *Kra Bre:Ba*, to shave hair of the head. Although this Chhewar ritual in Asheng-mouthed, the Lama has a special importance where there is not option of Lama. Lama accumulates that auspicious moment for the function of Chhewar or *Kra Bre:Ba*. By consulting the fixation of the day and functional division of the *Kra Bre:Ba* special ceremony with the Lama, they call to the day of that consulting day *Groi chhyang laba rhe*. Before at least two weeks ago, they should inform to the Aasheng about their function with the *Kosheli* (like gift) and through this *Kosheli* they invite him to contain as a necessary part. Such kind *Kosheli* is known as the *Aasheng Khi: Ba Dang* in their prevalent tradition and culture. On the day of Chhewar, they go with the *Damphu*, *Damphu*-player and *Ganba* (aging people of the Community) to bring the Aasheng to joint center of two way.

On the other hand, it is necessary for the formation of the active performer group as the appointed to perform a specified service or function with the well performance. The formation of that formed team will not be mendaciously. Such performers, *Lama*, *Tamba*, *Bonbo*, *Choho* (principal of the village), *Ganba* (aging or old generation people), *Chhyangba-sya* (a woman who managed that tea and chhyang pani), *Kathauba* (custodian), *Bandelba*, (caretaker of the collected materials), *Odiwa* (a person who manage the drinking water) and *Bhanjewa* (chef) are the performer groups of the *Kra Bre:Ba* function. This functional performance will finish with the presence of mind as the mentioned above those honorable persons. This ritual

function is concerned for the son in the family of the Tamang community. In the Tamang Community, there is a custom to give costume for the younger daughters, which is known as the *Syama pinaba* (Gunyu-choli dine). There is a parallel relation with the *Kra Bre:Ba* ritual practice in their society. It looks just for the daughters by viewing that auspicious moment.

Tamangs wear cultural costumes on the various occasions such as in the cultural and ritual ceremony, social, and religious rites and other festivals. Tamang females wear a *Tagi* (cap), *Hangre* (cholo), *Syama* (phariya) and *Bakkhu* as a costume. There is not culture to use Vermilion by married Tamang women in reality but somewhere they use it in the areas of Hindu concentration by influencing of Hindu culture. They were another various cloths like *Kulagi*, *Kragu* (pachheuri) and *Syade* as a costume with the appointed above cloths. The women use different many other jewellerys for personal adornment, such as bracelets, rings, necklaces, *Simala*, *Byurumala* and amulet-worn as a protection against evil. Likewise, the Tamang males wear a *Tagi* (cap), *Bakkhu*, *Khenja* and as of now they were *Daura Suruwal* also in the lower geographical location in Nepal as their costumes. Costumes are very essential to make the performance live and attractive. By using the costume, they describe their roles and make the performance distinct and unique. Cultural dress used to and still using in order to celebrate the social and religious rites, performing their dances in the marriage ceremony and in various other rituals by Tamang people is different from the dress used than other castes on the various occasion in their different ritual practices. Therefore, the performer must be aware of using costumes as well.

Marriage is an important ritual part of life. Tamang people display marriage ceremony with great show. On this occasion, they perform some ritual performances

like *Rhama*, *Whaee-syaba* and various other ritualistic nature by the guests and local people. In this course describes it is briefly. In this way, marriage ceremony organized by both side of bride and bridegroom. We came to know in Tamang community, male and female have freedom to choose their life mate. When confirmation of marriage in bridegroom's house, in the course of process, bride is taken away from her parents home by team bridegroom and accompanied by a group of ladies and gents known as *Muyung-muyungsy*. After, bride is taken away from her parents' house, nearby house some women shut their way by placing the *Sagun Chhyang*. All of the people participate there to drink wine and after finishing it, they go ahead on their way. There the bridegroom has to pay some money to open the way. Then after, *Damphu* dancers lead the team to home.

In this ritual practice, they perform that some formal characteristics of cultural performance as a social play. A special place is staked out, a sacred ground, creating a rule bound world of its own. So, marriage ceremony of Tamangs have their own distinct way for the celebration because they live and die culturally. It is a union between a man, and a woman and the children legalized in society because human beings are social animal. In this regard, Lucy Mair advocates:

Marriage creates new social relationship and reciprocal rights between the spouses, among each kin of the other and establishes what will be the rights and status of the children when they are born. Every society has recognized procedure for creating such relationship and right, and for making it known that they have been created. (19)

To keep the family relation and generation continuity, marriage is an important for human life because it declares that a new couple and established a new relationship. It provides identity of those who are born and legitimacy in society. In this way, in the

Tamang community, there have been existed various type of marriage system mainly such as arranged marriage and love marriage. Mostly accepted system is arranged or managed marriage. The Tamang people accept the bride and bridegroom from different clans between a single Tamang family. If the married couples are not from different clam, they believe that the crime and sinful activity seriously. In this concern, Dor Bahadur Bista says:

All the clans are exogamous but each clan members can intermarry with other clans except in the case of the maternal (brotherly) clans who consider themselves, Moreover, all the members of one clan is said to be descended from the same ancestor. In the case of brother clans, the common ancestors were brothers. (290)

In the community, it is happening rarely some such cases are about marriage like *Jari* marriage, Forced marriage, Abducted and to marry with sister in law (if elder brother dies, younger brother marry with his sister in law). Therefore, not these all kinds of marriage are allowed within a society.

Such ritual performance has its own characteristics, which help to develop its mechanism. Ritual theorists have agreed on three characteristics of ritual activities, according to Cathrine Bell. It can prove down the characteristics of ritual activity from the quotation of Elizabeth Bell. She writes in her Theories of performance that "first, ritual action is communal involving groups of people who gain social solidarity through their participation. Second, the action is traditional and understood as carrying on ways of acting established in the past. Third, ritual is rooted in belief in divine beings" (128). Now, we came to know that ritual is communal, traditional and rooted beliefs as well.

There is not allowed to marry from same blood relation in their community. If somebody spent such sort of conjugal life, they commence their life from relatives and being evicted from the communities as well. There would have adolescent marriage system also before many years ago but now a day they do not have adolescent marriage system in their community. On the other hand, Tamang peoples are almost left that managed or arrange marriage system because of higher expenditure. There are a lots of dowry systems which is known as the defection of the society. So, it is difficult to manage for poor people. But prestige is directly connected with this sort of marriage. Most of the Tamang conscious people had left to this marriage because it is only unnecessary become expenditure. Although, there is emerging competition between them, who are celebrated excellently marriage ceremony in a society. In the course of time, Tamang people began to become enlightened. As a result, they are able to abandon their meaningless acculturation and Tamang people are processing to be acculturation. In the present time, concepts of the peoples are totally changed in the capitalistic society. Without capital, we cannot do anything because matter determines the consciousness. So, people think their conscious mind and avoid this kind of acculturation. Although culture is, a part of way of life of people in this capitalistic age people cannot imagine anything. That's why, abandoning this kind of marriage is their compulsion not their desire.

Thus, at present, some Tamang people started to love marriage. The bride and bridegroom are accepted to each other then they were bound in conjugal life. It is cheap and best way to wedding. There are no expenditure in the side of bride and bridegroom as well. Most of the educated Tamang people do not managed marriage rather than love marriage nowadays. This is to say, love marriage is very much flourishing in our Tamang community. It is easy to marry between lover and beloved.

There is no chance to break their relation. They were known very nearly before marry than only decide and marry. As a result, their conjugal life is full of future bright. They are conscious to marriage their life style. It is easy to way bound in conjugal life. Actually, to bound in marriage is a rebirth of a life. Here, another one is *Jari* marriage, which means second marriage of bride with other candidates. In this marriage, bridegroom must pay compensation to the first groom of the bride.

Whether arranged marriage or love marriage, they agree that cultural customs in a community. There is culturally and socially accepted subject in their society for the marital relationship between cross cousins that are to one's mothers' brother's sons/daughters or father's sister's daughters/sons. Therefore, it is called *Phupu-chela* *Mama-chela*, Tamangs have a distinctive culture and faith respectively. Mostly the Tamangs do not marry in a certain months such as *Kartik*, *Chaitra* and *Sawan* months and their own birth months and in the year of their won *Lho* (year) also especially that arranged marriage but other kind of marriage they do not care rightly. Somewhere inter-caste marriages also have done in the Tamang community. However, it does not see as the respected position in the society. In the inter-caste marriage, female should take a suitable relative clan as a natal relationship for them. Otherwise, it will be unfortunate or unholy relationship with Tamang society.

In the managed or arranged marriage, if the girls seem in a positive way to marry; from the side of boy should take away a *Pong* (made up of clay, pot) to the house of girl with a company of the Tamba and Ganba who are known as *Lami*. Then, both side of Tambas and Ganbas describe about their Tamang ritual, human origin and nature with the *Sagun Pong* by taking on hand and that *Sagun* sprinkling upper side with the flower of *Ko-ko Mhendo*. They are called it *Khasyorba* or accepted that boy's proposal. To finalize the cylindrical date of wedding ceremony, Lama has

needed and he finds that auspicious moment for the wedding ceremony according to calendrical date by viewing the *Chi*. Then after, Ganba goes to the girl's house by carrying that information about wedding date and other customs for it. On the day of wedding, Lama, Tamba and Bonbo pray to the family God of bridegroom. While wearing the wedding garments by the bridegroom before procession starts, Tamba, Ganba and some aging peoples sound *Rhama* at that time. In *Rhama* they pray to the Gods and Goddesses of Sky, *Phola* (Kul-deuta), Goddess presiding over mountain tops (Devi deurali) and Gods and Goddesses of water and dry land (sime bhume) to bless the bridegroom. Bridegroom decorates with the traditional costumes such as *Tagi*, *Bakkhu*, amulet and so on. Before procession start, bridegroom bow down on the feet of his parents and all the Tamba, Ganba, Damphu player, singer and dancer go ahead along with bridegroom towards the bride's house as the members of marriage procession. The next day, they return with bride to his home and enter with their ritualistic activity inside the house. The bridegroom introduces the bride to his parents and relatives by greeting the process of bow down on the feet of his respected parents and relatives. Then after, the wedding process will end completely.

The performance that communicates the content of the culture through singing, dancing and acting and these are the arts of performance, which stroke the audience vehemently. The sonorous music, beautiful paraphernalia, the delicious food and alluring smell of incense stimulate all the sense and bestow the heavenly flight. In this point, Turner says "...cultural performances are composed of sensory codes that enlist all of the senses. All the sense of participants and performers may be engaged; they hear music and prayer, see visual symbol, taste consecrated food, smell incense and touch sacred person and objects" (137). The performing arts: singing, dancing and acting in combination makes the performance perfect and complete. The song is the

harmonic oral representation of the vocabularies with sweet composition of the musical notes. They are embroidered by the literary devices like simile, metaphor, alliteration, assonance, image, symbol and repetition, which make the song artistic. Actually, music has universal appeal and works as the medium to express the inner feelings like joy, sorrow, fear, regret, love, hate and so on. Singing song is the great way of unifying the people. There is some traditional musical dance drama as well which needs acting to be associated and contains the dramatic elements like plot, dialogue, character, setting, action, interaction etc.

Moreover, Schechner has developed a new concept of natural theater. Theater is the special place where people come and do something. The theater is heated with different genres of performance, i.e. dance, music, drama, ritual, sports and so on. According to him, there are two kinds of theaters: Eruption and procession. Similarly, Procession is another kind of theater in which the spectators gather along the route and at an appointed place. Usually the procession moves to the goal, which is already set. Procession is well planned for rehearsed and ritualized. Along the way to the goal, the performer performs and the spectator observes and joins with them. In this concern, Schechter states, "A procession which is a kind of pilgrimages to gather along the route and at appointed places procession halts and performances are played, parades, funerals, cartages are processions" (178). In surface, Procession seems contradictory with eruption but sometime they can occur together. Therefore, Schechner says, "...eruption and procession can occur simultaneously, especially when large numbers are involved and the leadership of the group is flexible"(178).

On the other hand, the Tamang people celebrate the various ceremonies in their life as a religious and social festival. So, *Lhochhar* is one of the major festivals of Tamang community in Nepal. They celebrate it delightfully in reality. The

component *Lho* means the year or age and *Chhar* means new. Therefore, the literary meaning of *Lhochhar* is the 'New Year'. All the twelve months of a year has been naming with the different twelve animals such as *Jiwa* (rat), *Lang* (cow/ox), *Tag* (Tiger), *Hyo* (rabbit/cat), *Dug* (dragon), *Dul* (snake), *Ta* (horse), *Lhuk* (sheep), *Te* (monkey), *Jhya* (bird), *Khi* (dog) and *Phag* (Pig) respectively. They assumed that the first Lho is *Jiwa-Lho* and the last Lho is *Phag-Lho*. It repeats after twelve years completed which known as the '*Lho Khorlo*' or wheel of the year.

The Tamangs have been celebrating the *Sonam Lhochhar* from the ancient time. The Sonam Lhochhar will be on the day of *Magha Shukla Pratipada* in the every year. It is based on the Tibetan Lunar *Chi*. They start to prepare the Lhochhar from one month ago, before starting of it. They keep neat and clean every place such as house-yard, paths, water spring, water well, natural platform, *Stupa*, *Gonpa* and smears their houses with colors to welcome of the 'New year'. On the day of Lhochhar, they go to Gonpa and stupa for the worship and fire lighting in the name of late ancestors and the God. If it is not possible to go in the Gonpa, they invite Lama in their house to keep lungdar and lungta also by making the sacred things with *Thui* (holy water) sprinkling over it. All the Tamang people dress with a new cloths, prepare food such as potatoes, fruits, wild roots, meat and so on. Similarly, on this occasion of Sonam Lhochhar, some food varieties are very needed as compulsory like *Kuthuk*, *Duchi*, *Chhemar/Phembar*, *Khapse*, *Alum*, *Thongse*, wild roots, fruits, etc. After completed the worship, they go to take that benediction from aging member of family with *Khanda*, *Ko-ko Mhendo* and other *Koseli* for the prosperity, peacefulness, for a long life and to be a longsighted throughout one's life of everyone. Moreover, all the youths organize the program and they perform various types of dances, songs and make a pleasant program. By gathering in the public places or in the Gumba, the

Tamang youths perform their religious and ritual, and social and other festival dances like *syabru* dance, *mhane dacne*, *saigole*, *mhendo maya* dance and *Damphu* dance in the community. In this regard, Jas Yonjan Says, "In the first category are dances such as *Bakpa* dance, *ziunba* dance, *Ghyan* dance, *Torma mharso* dance, *Bonbo* dance, etc. Social and festival dances are generally known as *whaee syaba* and *Damphu* dance"(182).

Buddha *Jayanti* (anniversary) is the most important religious and social festival. Tamangs are in born Buddhist. Therefore, they celebrate it very significantly on the day of Full moon night of *Baishakh* month. On this occasion of Buddha *Jayanti*, all the Tamang peoples visit the *Gumba* in the clock wise direction at least thrice times, food offered and *Khanda* cause to rise to the God, one by one they bow down on the feet to the Lama Guru. While celebrating this festival, Lamas show the different types of various religious dances in *Gumba* and other public Tamang youths can organize the Program with the purpose of rite of hospitality and to make it pleasant. Where, thought the series of performing the dances, songs, acts, etc. communicates and transforms the messages, awareness and so on about their culture, ritual and ritualistic system to the public and to the new Tamang generation in the community. Dance is another performing art. It is the bracing movement of body with harmonic combination of gestures and elegant facial expressions following the steps of the song. It attracts the attention of audience completely and makes forget their sorrow and heightens the joy. Sometime the pain is split in song, dance and drama, which lightens the heart and fills jubilation. However, these are the primitive arts and traditional legacy, which resembles our ancestors. The song, dance, costumes and props really reflect the society.

In this way, rituals are the codified, repeatable actions which emphasizes over efficacy like healing the sick remembering the past, prioritizing the God, exorcising the demonic, maintaining the cosmic order forming social relations, and maintain the social relation and theater emphasizes entertainments celebration and enactment of social solidarity. So, performer displays learned skill. It is the individual creativity where audience watches, appreciates and criticism flourishes. On the other hand, he believes ritual as result and for a divine other performer possessed in trance. It is the collective creativity, in which audiences participate themselves, believe and criticism is discouraged. There are other several vantage points as well to look at specific performance. But, the truth is that, there is neither absolute entertainment as such nor absolute efficiency. In this regard, Schechter forwards his arguments:

A performance is allied theater or ritual because of where it is performed, by whom and under what circumstances. If the performances' purpose is to effect transformation to be efficacious then the other qualities listed under the heading efficacy will most probably also be present, and the performance is ritual. And vice versa regarding the qualities listed under the entertainment. No performance is pure efficacy or pure entertainment. (130)

Regarding time and space, it is very considerable aspect is performance. No performance takes place out of spatial temporal framework. Every performance occurs between the given periods with its rituals. *Lhochhar* festival before *Ngyune* neither one can celebrate nor Buddha *Jayanti* festival twice in a year though one favors most. This is the temporal framework if anyone violates, turns charmless and lasts no more. This is calendar time and another is the performance time, which refers

to the event time that each event takes. Therefore, the calendar time refers to the clock time, which is linear. In this context, Schechner argues:

Clock time is mono directional, linear yet cyclical uniform measurement adapted from day night and seasonal rhythms. In the performance activities, however, time is adapted to the event and is therefore susceptible to numerous variation and creative distortions. (8)

In Tamang heredity, we came to know that *Rhrui* (bone) determines the clans system within a single polymorphic social community. Although, it is structured of constructed by the various different nature of beliefs in society during the initial phase of Tamang origin. Such beliefs are based on the origion place family God and *kipat* land in the past. Later they were divided into the *Bahra* and *Athara Jaat* Tamang though it is completely such vertical division are of late in origin in the present time. In the context of Tamang origin or Tamang birth, they believe that during the time of pregnancy period a bone from father, flesh and blood from mother are considered to be transmitted to the fetur. Therefore, the obtained that a bone from father remains on the upper part of the human body as the shape of 'Om' letter and the received that flesh and blood from mother lies in the navel as the shape of 'A (a)' letter, it is the religious faith of the Tamang community about *rhrui*. so, the child bears as a result of the combination between a bone or white seed and red seed or blood of the father mother. In this way, then after birth of child will be decorated with his/her fathers' caste name because of white seed or a bone as a natural gift to them. According to Tamang belief, a newly born child will be able to enter his/her father's family after complete a certain ritual rites, i.e. *Thapsang*. *Thapsang*, the ceremony of naming a newly born child within three days to eleven days with the special characteristics of the customs. Until finish that *Thapsang* ritual, the child would not have identity and

positions in the society. So, they use many types of objects as a symbols to make him/her fully of identity and positions in cultural space while performing the Thapsang ritual. Then after, the child would have full of values, identity and social positions in their community through this Thapsang ritual. In this regard, victor Turner Says:

Liminal entities are neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremonial. As such, their ambiguous and indeterminate attributes are expressed by a rich variety of symbols in the many societies that ritualize social and cultural transitions. (89)

There is a transitional phase and likewise the word *Rhrui* also stands for the several different matters, i.e. known as the bone, clans, descendant, family and family God, the concept of kipat land and origin place, relic (Rhruisal), the concept of family relation or kinship, and it does notice for the social conduct and dignity. Therefore, there is general belief that the term *Rhruisal* is derived from the word *Rhrui*. In birth, Thapsang ritual is one of the major rituals of the Tamang society. It is the process to do that Rhruisal by purifying to the parturient woman in childbirth and to all of her family and family God. In the context of birth, Rhruisal represents to purify to them with the especial features of Thapsang ritual. Here, Rhrui means 'Clan or bone' and 'Syal' meas 'face' of human body. The literal meaning of it is here a face of clan and assumed that the purification of bone or their descendant. So, Rhruisal has a distinctive dignity in the Tamang community.

The marriage is taken as to keep the generation continuity, and to maintain the social conduct and dignity in the society. In the context of Tamang community, Rhruisal has played very significant role in reality in terms of the marriage system in

their caste. They believe on that traditional saying in the society, which are very considerable and believable as a major foundation of Tamang life. During the pregnancy period with the combination of white seed and red seed of the father and the mother, it grows up as a fetus being in the womb. Now, there white seed dominates upon red seed, means the child remains with their father's surname in the society. So, Tamang tradition also father or male dominated society. Simply we can say it patriarchal society. Moreover, according to Tamang custom, there is not system of bestowal of the daughter in the marriage. Tamang daughter's Rhrui does not change or transfer to other family relation after marriage also. Wherein, for commitment between bride and bridegroom; gathering both sides' Tamba, relatives, their parents, aging peoples and neighbors in bride's natal home after accumulated that auspicious moment by Lama Guru in the function of marriage ceremony, where there will be strongly noted of it. In this function, Tamba has a noteworthy role because the side of bride's Tamba says at first while performing the *Char daam*, "Maternal brothers have delivered the blood, flesh, soul, essence and everything of the daughters to the bridegroom from today but her Rhrual will be remained on the hand of maternal brothers. The commitments heard by the *Danphe Naame* (bird) of the Himalayas and *Taarnga* (fish) of the Ocean also but here remained all the respected people heard or not?" At that time, there all the present people reply in a single voice "Yes...heard!" And then, the side of bridegroom's Tamba recently replies - "In case, deceased of the daughter respected maternal brother should come in *Dajang* (the place of Lama while reciting the holy text) of the Lama to bring this Rhrual. Therefore, according to this Tamang tradition, the daughters are not compelled to be victimized to the bestowal of the daughter in the Tamang community. Tamang daughter's class does not transfer into other family clans after marriage also but there Hindu females' natal clans

completely changed in society. So, in the Tamang community, daughter's natal clan, rights and everything will be connected to her natal home because of Rhrusal.

Thus, Tamang youths manage themselves their marital relation in a single Tamang caste though there is restriction to marry in a certain clans for them. In the sense of marriage, Tamang clans are divided into two groups such as maternal (brotherly) clans and non-maternal (non-brotherly) clans. There is not allowed to marry in between the brotherly clans but non-brotherly clans are free to marry in the Tamang community. To marry with the maternal clans, it is prohibited and punishable too from the perspective of culture, social and moral in the society. It is based on Tamang tradition there is accepted subject for the marital relationship between cross cousins. So, it is called *Phupu-chela Mama-chela*, Tamangs have a distinctive culture and faith respectively. Likewise, to marry in between parallel cousins are not accepted in the society. In the context of inter-caste marriage, Rhrusal directly concern there, when they take inside of out caste bride at home. At that time, there should make her as a new Tamang Rhrusal by the process of purifying with the especial ritual practice. The bride of out caste must be choose one of the non maternal clans to make her natal brother and which clan's she choose for maternal brother, her clan also will be fixed that brother's clan. In order to do this function, all the Tamang institutions, scholars, relatives, etc. are gathered and Lama recites the holy book, *Chhyoi* and sprinkling holy water *Thui* to both of them. It is the process of Rhrusal which is existed in the Tamang community as a vogue.

The death sacrament, the death is only the way, is truth for the human being in the world. So, Rhrusal also concerns about this truth way in Tamang culture. Rhrusal remains into the central part of this phase. It is leading to the cultural identity of the whole Tamang life. Simply it is just a piece of bone but it has multiple values, dignity

and respectable beliefs too, after finishing the cremation of dead body it takes out from the part of forehead as a Rhruisal. In this way, *Mha* (son-in-law) is very needed for them to keep and bring it to home piously and safely. They keep it with a copper coin by binding with the help of thread for the days of seven weeks or forty nine days altogether. According to Tamang belief, the human body is made by five elements such as soil, water, air, fire and sky. Likewise, the flesh and bone are related with soil elements, blood and other liquid things are related to water element, breathing air adjusts with air element, heat of the body is related to fire element, tunnel parts like hole of nose, mouth, stomach, etc. adjust with sky element. These are the physical parts of the body and here lies a shadow soul which is adjusted being alive with a body, it is a full of sensitive life. In the Tamang community, there is a general belief that after death of a person almost that shadow soul remains with the dead body by eight hours around and with his/her family fourty nine days at home. So, they do not final precession of the dead body until the pass out of eight hours time. Before funeral procession start and cremation of dead body on the funeral pyre, Lama does the function of *Phowa*, the process of separation that shadow soul from his/her dead body by reciting the holy text of Buddhist religion. Every week of the death date or days, they do *Ngo* (Shradda, Vow) in the name of dead person. Moreover, up to the forty nine days the shadow soul stay with family at home, it is a period of *Bardo* (the period of non crossed over up to the heaven) for the dead person. So, they do *Ngo* with fire lighting at home every week of the death date in the presence of Lama. Wherein, the forty ninth day is the day of finale for the Rhruisal during the *Ghewa* with acknowledging consciousness on dead person and *Mhinjyang* (a paper where writes dead person's name) burns by Lama Guru. According to Tamang belief, the shadow soul will go to be as a family God.

On the other hand, the last function of the death sacrament is *Ghewa*. In the function of *Ghewa*, *kutumba* returns that *Rhruisal* of the daughter to the natal brothers, according to their *Rhruisal* custom and the commitment between bride and bridegroom during the *Char Daam* in marriage. It is a social commitment in Tamang culture. In this way, natal brother give to *Cheli* in marriage some materials such as sickle and bronze up as a dowery. That materials have a symbolic meaning when they die, at that time, they use it. If there is a death of *Cheli* that sickle uses for the wash out a dense woody plant in the area of crematorium and a small bronze up uses for the wipe out tears with water in the death of natal brother by his *Cheli*. So, it shows the intricate relationship between them because of *Rhrusial*. Likewise, they make a *Dajang* for the performance of the *Ghewa* function where *Lamas* sit and recites that the *Veda* of Buddhist. They make a *Ghur* also and keeps it side by *Dajang*. *Ghur* is a symbol of dead person which makes by placing *Rhruisal* (relic) inside it. While performing the religious rites, all the family members and relatives serve to the *Ghur* by censing there. Before finalize the *Ghewa*, *Tamba* also represents with his non-written verbal text by murmuring sound to reach in heaven for the dead person as a consolation. It is known as the *Thundo Sorba*. Then after, at the last point of *Ghewa*, *Lama* burns *Mhinjyang*, a name written paper of a dead person. After burning, it is finished social and religious rites together.

Tamang rituals have a distinctive way than other people. All of the relatives are invited then gathered and greatly celebration among relatives. Since typical norms and values, there ritual also becomes differential values. Mostly *Rhruisal* is represented with a distinct quality as a cultural identity in the life of Tamang community. *Rhruisal* concerns almost all of ritual practices to be alive in the domain of the processes such as birth, marriage and death sacrament. Because, first of all,

peoples started to be conscious and then only learn to celebrate rituals. By performing rituals, Rhruisal indicates the hidden truth to all. While celebrating the ceremonies, they knew about inner reality of their origin, culture, festivals, relations and values of cultural identity. On the other hand, people enjoying by eating and drinking during the performance of ritual functions.

III. Rhruisal's Revelation as a Trope of Cultural Identity

As the researched analysis of 'Rhruisal' as a Trope of Cultural Identity is issued as a part of a research through the gaze of ritual performative reading and liminality, the researcher has come to conclude that the significance of Rhruisal, concept of cultural identity of Tamang rituals on the ground of culture which are entirely based on 'Rhruisal' and 'Rhimthim'.

The revelation of 'Rhruisal' has been practiced from a long time bygone in Tamang society. Rhruisal, a particular ritual practices of Tamangs in the Buddhist community. Thus, it has been transferring generation to generation as a cultural heritage. So, culture is a way of life of people. Not only in Tamsaling territory, the Tamangs perform their different culture in a distinctive way as a ritual practice out of Nepal such as in some states of India, Sikkim, Bhutan, Myanmar, etc. In this context, Tamangs have their own distinct collective identity, culture, tradition, costume, religion and various other ceremonies as a religious and social festival. Together with, they depend upon agriculture and in the ancient time too they were agriculturist. Although, Tamang peoples are rich in culture and ritualistic nature, they are in the condition of disturbed and besieged life because of highly economical weakness and poverty in the society. Mostly, they identified with voiceless, rightless, illiterate and chanceless as a marginalized group of people. As a result, almost there are compelled to be a porter or coolie as a profession in their life. Tamang people are living in the society very indifferently than other ethnical group of people though they seem like a happiest indigenous group of people by heart because of the notion of 'knowledge of Buddhism' in reality.

Tamang have a long tradition of reciting *Chhyoi* (the Veda), performing certain rituals, observing ceremonies and keeping objects as a symbol in their

distinctive ways. To handle it in the right way, they have mainly three ritual specialists such as *Lama*, *Tamba* and *Bonbo* who are all known as the institutions of the Tamang society. All of them have different duties to serve the people in their own community. In this way, the Tamang do several different ritual practices like *Thapsang*, *Solchhyoi*, *Tapche*, *Brelsang*, *Ghewa* and they celebrate the various other ceremonies such as *Lhochhar*, *Buddha Jayanti*, *Phola-Dala* (Kul-Puja), etc. as the religious and social festival. In these rituals and festivals, all the ritual specialists play the especial role to make it complete comfortably in their society. Lama has different duty than the Tamba and Bonbo in order to perform the ritual and festival. Formally, Lamas are educated with the religious knowledge and respected Gurus in Tamang community. Lama fixes the date for the celebration of ceremonies as an auspicious moment by viewing the *Chi* (Lunar Calender). Likewise, Tamba speaks about cultural history of Tamang and he represents on the especial occasion. Another ritual specialist is Bonbo who is known as the doctor of their community. He is come from Shamanism.

Damphu-Syaba is a kind of social dance, i.e. performed beating the drumlike with bodily movement where even women, equally participate in the auspicious occasion of Tamang marriage ceremony, new built house opening and celebration of Lhochhar festival. It is performed by imitating the creatures; the audience can feel massage of nature. Its performance; people believe that blessing for their conjugal prosperity in the context of marriage. Thus, it provides massage of harmony between them and entertainments and other social traditional beliefs, norms and values, duties and responsibilities. These kinds of performativity help easily transform to the new generations. So, performance based on Damphu-Syaba is an identity that is related to

Tamang rituals. The Tamang people celebrate different ceremonies and festivals at different time and situational.

Rhrual is a particular ritual practice of the Tamangs of the Buddhist community. There is a distinctive significance of Rhrual, mostly it plays the vital role and provides an incomparable contribution in Tamang community. The revelation of Rhrual seems as a determiner of the Tamang life and in the domain of their rituals such as birth, marriage and death sacrament respectively. There is a general belief that the Rhrual is known as a remainder of the human body as well as relic, after completing the cremation of dead body it takes out a small piece of bone from the part of forehead as a Rhrual. They keep it as far as forty nine days or seven weeks altogether with respect in a holy place at home. They organize the *Ghewa* within the forty ninth day; it is the date of finale for the Rhrual in the death sacrament. In the Tamang tradition, it believes that during the pregnancy, white seed or bone from father, and red seed or flesh and blood from mother are considered to be transmitted to the fetus in the womb. Then, the obtained that a white seed or bone remains with as the shape of 'Om' letter on the upper part of the human body and the received that red seed or blood lies in the navel as the shape of 'A(a)' letter, according to religious faith of Tamang. So, Rhrual (relic) is also taken out from the part of forehead which is transmitted white seed from father and the daughter's *Rhrui* (clan) does not transfer to other family relation after marriage. Everything is father centered rituals in Tamang life due to the Rhrual. On the other hand, Rhrual means the process of purifying their caste in the function of Thapsang in birth ritual and whit taking inside of out caste bride in marriage with some special practices of their ritualist nature. It is taken as the purification of their bone or clans or family God and it does notice for the social conduct and dignity in Tamang community. Reputedly

they make a *Chhyorten* (Stupa) by placing inside it that Rhruisal of the dead person in the name of respect to them, if they are strong in economical condition otherwise just they make a cone shape of it as the shape of Stupa and keeps in a sacred place.

Tamangs believes that the shadow soul of the dead person will be gone to be the family God. So, it is in reality very respectable too.

Rhruisal has a distinct expression as a tropical sense in Tamang life through the ritual practices. Thoroughly, Tamang people used to respect and still they are respecting its norms, values and soci-traditional beliefs. These kinds of cultural performativity help easily transform to the new generations respectively. So, Rhruisal's revelation is in the Tamang life as a trope of cultural identity. It is the responsible factors too for the new generations to respect and follow this tradition. Nowadays, Tamang people themselves aware for their life style with distinct cultural identity.

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