

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Nepal is multiethnic/caste, multilingual, multi religious, multicultural country. Founder of modern Nepal *Prithivi Narayan Shaha* has said, "*Nepal char jaat chhattis varna ko phulabari ho*. Nepal is called as a melting pot because the inhabitants of different castes are mixed here. Among the different groups, Gurung is one of major ethnic group. The census of 2068 B.S., indicated that the total number of persons speaking Gurungs are 3,25,622 (CBS, 2012).

The Gurungs traditional homeland is in southern hill slopes of the Annapuran Himalayan range of central Nepal. Their traditional territories extend from Kali Gandaki of western Gandaki zone to Ankhola of Dhading District of Bagmati zone. Nowadays, Gurungs have migrated to different parts of Nepal. The major inhabitation of Gurung is Gandak area. Even in this area, Gurungs have extended their traditional territories to Gorkha, Lamjung, Kaski, Tanahun, Syangja, districts. Specially, the historical areas of Gurungs are Lamjung and Kaski. They have their own language, cultures, rituals and dresses (Pignade, 1966).

Gurungs have not found their own script of language. So, they use to write Devanagari lipi. Rodi, Ghantu, Sorathi, Huri and Parma systems etc are the different cultures of Gurungs. 'Rodi' is a unique culture of Gurungs. It is a kind of social system. Ghantu and Sorathi are the traditional dance cultures of Gurungs. Ghantu is related with formal Gurung kings history and Sorathi is based on Krishna charitra. 'Huri' system is a help of labour for who is in poor condition and Parma is an exchange of labouring. The female Gurungs wear black chhitko Guniyo, Seto Patuki, Chaubandi cholo, Ghalek, Mujetro and Tikis and males wear Malmal Ko Dhoti or Nainasut ko Kachhad, voto, topi, pasmina ko pagari, Aainthe and jutta and khukuri at waist. Gurung celebrate Tamu Lhosar on 15th Poush. It indicates beginning of New Year (*Lho*). It is the different identity among the Nepalese.

The Subcastes of Gurungs are divided into Sorha Jaate and Char Jaate. Char Jaate are known as Ghale, Ghhotane, Lama, and Lamichhane. And Sorha jaate Gurungs are recognized as Ghapren (Tu Ghapren, plehn Ghapren), Pachyu (Lhege pachyu, Kronje pachyu ...), Kohonla, Pahachyu etc. Ghapren and Pahchyu are the priests of Gurung. Agriculture is the main occupation of Gurungs. They produce millet, corn, wheat, paddy, buck-wheat etc. Millet is very important for Gurungs because they make 'paa' (Domestic wine) from it. Paa is needed for every time or every ceremony for Gurungs compulsorily. Most of Gurungs are in the British and Indian armies. A certain number of agreements were signed between the Governments of Nepal, the United Kingdom and India to limit the recruitment zones, the number of recruits, and to fix wages etc. It was usual to call the soldiers from Nepal who served in the Indian Army, "Gorkhas". At present, recruits come from among the mongoloid highland people. Gurungs, Magars, Rais, Limbus and Tamangs, who live mainly in the northern parts of Nepal. And other young Gurungs, who don't recruit in British and Indian Army go to another foreign countries for search of employment. Minority of the Gurungs are educated. So, it is creating a problem (Gurung, 2034).

Pignede (1966) has elaborated the origin of Gurung. They entered Nepal from Tibet and they live in central hill of southern slope of Western Region. A legend of the Rai and Limbus describes the origin of the mountain populations of Nepal. A man coming from, Tibet, Munainua, had ten sons, 'Gurapa ' was the ancestor of the Gurungs among ten.

According to a Tamang legend, the Gurungs are the offsprings of Ghale King. Ghale King ruled northern slope and southern slope of Himalaya (Siklesh, Ghandruk, Lamjung, Gorkha). After the entrance of Indian princes, the state of Ghale Kings was ruined. They intermarried with indigenous people. The marriages between the Ghale and the original inhabitants resulted in the clans of contemporary Gurung society. And Gandak area becomes inhabitation of Gurungs (Pignade, 1966). Nowadays, there are many kinds of movements for requirement of "Tamuwan region" by the Gurungs.

There are different rituals prevalent in different societies. Different place and society creates cultures differently. Gurungs have their own prevalent rituals from birth ceremony to death. In reality, the Ritual, in Nepali "*Sanskar*" has come from Sanskrit language. The meaning of 'Sanskar' clarifies doing better work or good function. But

practically, it is understood to scene, to purity, to change. First of all, in "Rig-Veda", it is found for using to make pure or holy. While human infant takes birth s/he becomes as a biological being or as an animal. Our ancient saints had searched the ideas to make civilized, cultured, intellectual and developed person from animal stage. The process of those whole ideas is called "ritual". Ritual helps to make a person cultured, developed, co-operative and responsible. According to Hindu Religion, there are sixteen ritual. They are Garvadhan, Punswan, Simontonayan, Jaat Karma, Namakaran, Niskraman, Annaprashan, Keshant, Karnabedh, Aksharamva, chudakaran, Upanayan, Bedaramva, Samabartan, Bibaha and Antyesti (Adhikari-2063).

There are different kinds of rituals prevalent in Gurung community. They are Namrash Juraunu, Chhaithi, Nwaran, Pashni, Putpute, Ksheur, Bibaha, Antesti kriya and Arghaun (Gurung, 2034). Among these rituals, this study concentrates in Antesti Kriya and Arghun (funeral rites) or Death ritual. All the rituals are very important but among these rituals, death ritual is very important and compulsory. When any person expires, his/her relatives Aanshyo (his mawali or her maiti), chah (son), Chahme (Daughter), Mho (son-in-law) should be present compulsorily. The tradition of Gurungs is such that some people keep Lama and some keep Ghhepren as a priest for death ritual of death body. At the same night, there will be "Motonba" after cremation of death body. The meaning of this is called dead soul. Such ritual, *Victor Turner* (1970) describes in the case of Ndembu people of Africa. Gurungs take condolence from three days to thirteen days according to their culture of place to place and their desire. The indigenous language calls it "Kiriya". At the last day of *Kiriya*, they have a tradition of throwing "*Thaso*". "*Bayupuja*" (*Pitripuja*) is done in Mangsir Purnima or Panchami and Baishakh Purnima or Panchami. Some people do Bayupuja after they suffer by dead persons soul (pitry). The belief is that any family member and any animal will become sick and Ghepren or Pachyu will declare that it is because of *pitry* and even some people start to do Bayupuja as their side at any suitable time. It is done continuously every Mangsir *Purnima* (full moon) and Basishakh *Purnima* until celebrating *Arghun (pae)*. Gurungs assume 'pae' ceremony as send to heaven the dead soul. Pae is the final ritual of death ritual. Pae is divided into *EK Rate* and *Teen Rate*. One is called "Mhusi chhyoba"(short oblation giving peace for peace). Generally that is less expensive for time and economical. It should be odd *Lho* (years) from date of

death to mourn Pae and should be odd number of pitry also in their clan group. On the first day of pae, there stands *Aanla* (hanged at tip of bamboo with clothes, foods etc as a lingo) and in the second day, take "*Rhiteba*" (Ghepren or Lamas dance by making image/puppet of pitry) and pae is ended in the third day by "*Kyun chhaba*" (grazing sheep) program and by making fall down *Aanla* (bamboo hanging cloths, foods etc which is believed as the throne of dead soul). Then the relatives do "Syaisyai" to Kiriya Puttries of dead person. Syaisyai is done by giving money or clothes. The syaisyai program in Gurung community is conducted in success to encourage and in unsuccess or illness to give consolation and condolence in death ritual. But in pae, relatives are invited for *syaisyai*. While doing *syaisyai*, they make nine knot and nine roll of wick for males and seven knot and seven roll for females.

Thus, over pae, Gurungs assume their pitri reached to heaven after pae. If pitri will give suffering to any family member or any animals, they should conduct pae again for that *pitry* to send to heaven. But they don't need to do like *Shrada* (necrolatry) of Brahmin culture after pae. The pae is made subject of main identity of Gurungs. This is the unique characteristics of Gurung community based on which this study moves a head.

1.2 Statement of the Problems

The Lahure culture rooted in Gurung community is affected by the elements like Migration, Modernization, Westernization, Urbanization, Hinduization etc in death ritual too. Some wealthy people show ostentatious behavior and the result has become excess day by day. This kind of unnecessary expenditure has made unable to access for the poor people to conduct pae. On the other hand, the new generations are becoming ignorant with their own culture and rituals because of the lack of Gurung language and the importance of rituals has been known to limited persons. So, it is necessary to raise awareness to people about the significance of rituals. There is the fear of losing it. Therefore, it is necessary to preserve Gurung cultures and rituals. Death ritual has become bond to unite nuclear family and joint family which are divided due to the effect of modernization and cultural change. Even death ritual is a tool for harmony, interrelations and interaction with relatives and it identifies the

importance and relation of relatives in Gurung community. Doing Syaisyai by relatives also helps economically.

But nowadays, the meaning of syaisyai is being similar to exchange (*Parma*). Nowadays, people are doing *syaisyai* with more money same to higher economic status person in the hope to return it back. It is just opposite in the case of poor one who are sufferers. If Gurungs want to preserve their culture, they should give up doing syaisyai without the desire of return back. It is becoming a great problem in Gurung society. It is a social and cultural problem. Under the strong effect of modernization, urbanization and westernization, the death ritual is undergoing through the process of social and cultural change and fluctuations.

Based on these discourses this study will be concentrated with in following questions.

- Why and how death ritual is conducted in Gurung culture and community?
- How has been death ritual affected in Gurung society and culture?
- Is traditional ritual affected by Migration, Modernization, and Hinduization etc. or not?
- What are the various impacts of death rituals in Gurung Culture?
- What is symbolic and interpretive meaning of these customs in this ritual?

1.3 Objective of the Research Study

As an ethnographic study, the broad objective of this study is to explore the death ritual of Gurung and to study its different aspects embedded with migration.

The specific objectives are as below:-

- To find out the cultural and economic aspects of death ritual in Gurung culture.
- To explore the importance of social relations in Gurungs' death ritual.
- To trace the changing process and to describe the general role (son and daughter) in death ritual in Gurung society.

1.4 Importance, Rationale and Justification of the Study

Nowadays, anthropological study has become a subject of concern in the world. Anthropological study is a scientific study. It is in the theoretical framework of Anthropology that the problem is identified and analyzed. Therefore, this study will be important and rationale. It will help further researchers, the students of Sociology/Anthropology. Information of Gurungs can be derived from this study and many rituals and cultures which are going to be disappeared may be identified and discussed in time.

1.5 Operational Definition of the Key Terms Used in the Study

Adaptation- People adapting cultures from other groups/caste/ethnics after migration in Pokhara. It is also to become adjusted to new conditions, etc.

Cultural Relativism- Culture represents differences according to time and place. The perspective which studies from equal view of different cultures is Cultural Relativism.

Death Rituals- Doing activities and conduct any functions after death of any person in Gurung community.

Diffusion- Diffusion is the diffused cultures or imitated culture of another castes/groups/religions etc.

Ethnography- Ethnography is scientific study and description of different races and cultures.

Kinship- The term kinship is a family relationship: claim kinship with a close feeling between people that develops as a result of common origins, attitudes.

Migration- The process of migrating for education, employment, to get better facilities from village to urban is Migration. They can settle permanently or temporarily.

Modernization- The use of new technologies and strategies is Modernization. It is to change suitably for modern needs or habits.

Sanskritization- Sanskritization is the following/imitating cultures of high caste by lower castes.

Social relation- involvement and interaction in social and cultural functions and ceremonies.

Social role- Playing the roles of society members and kins in death ritual of Gurung community.

Structural Functionalism- Function of a particular social usage is the contribution it makes to the social life as the functioning of social system. The social structure in death ritual in Gurung community, functioning rite by kins and members of society is the key term of this study.

Symbolism- Symbolism is the gesture meaning and interpretation of any activities and made/used materials in Gurung death ritual.

Urbanization- Urbanization is following the cultures and facilities of urban area

1.6 Limitation of the Study

This study is limited to the migrated Gurungs of Rupakot VDC in Pokhara which is based on "**cultural relativism**". It is concerned with death rituals practices among the Gurung. The study is based on the questionnaire prepared with 60 different Gurung people. This is the micro study. So, while doing generalization, it can't be matched to other places and cultures. However, it is more qualitative and hence Anthropological only.

1.7 Organization of the Study

There are nine chapters in this study. The first chapter is a general introduction of Gurungs, ritual, and Gurung death ritual. In this chapter, there is the statement of the problem, importance of study, operational definition of the key terms used in study and limitation of the study. Likewise, in the second chapter it is literature review. Chapter three is research methodology. The profile of Gurungs in Rupakot and Pokhara has been described in chapter four. Chapter five is the analysis about cultural aspect, chapter six economic aspects, and chapter seven deals with importances of social role and chapter eight is about changing process of Gurung death ritual. Summary, conclusion and recommendation is in last chapter nine.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Definition of Ritual

A Ritual is a set of actions, performed mainly for their symbolic value. It may be prescribed by the traditions of a community, including a religious community. The term "Ritual" has long enjoyed wide use in a number of disciplines. In Oxford Dictionary (2010), Ritual is described as a series of actions that are always performed in the same way, especially as part of religious ceremony. Turner (1970) describes, "A ritual is a stereotyped sequence of activities involving gestures, words and objects, performed in a sequestered place and designed to influence preternatural entities or forces on behalf of the actor's goals and interests." Likewise, Douglas (1970) in "Purity and Danger" offers an explanation for beliefs in ritual pollution. She deals special religious significance which is seen as sacred and others are seen as polluted. She also says, rituals enable people to avoid potential confusions; rituals to "purify" people who have been exposed to pollution serve to correct such confusion.

2.2 Theoretical Review

Different theoretical perspectives have been reviewed in this study which is pertinent for this study as they provide theoretical knowledge for this ethnographic study.

2.2.1 Symbolism

Human being is the superior existence in animal kingdom, because of their conscious existence. Human being has been succeeded to stand on the stage of developed civilization. Human behaviors and civilization have begun from the use of symbol. There is close affinity between symbol and culture.

Symbolism shows the importance of symbols in a culture. Symbols are gestures which form the basis of human communication. Interpretation of symbol differs according to the culture. It represents signs which are used to signify objects real or

imaginary. It is ritual and psychological expression. The meaning of symbol depends on interpretation.

In Anthropology, the concept of interpretive Anthropology developed in 1960s. Victor Turner, Clifford Geertz, Marry Douglas and David Schneider, and other Anthropologists played a vital role in interpretive Anthropology in anthropological history.

Victor turner (1970) studied about "Ndembu Tribe" of Africa. According to him, symbols are multi focal and multivariants and they can represent many things at the same time. He focused on "Rite de passage."

Marry Douglas (1970) is more concerned with the meanings of symbols and how people use the symbols construct a world view. All her works are concentrated on the concept of pollution and purity."

Clifford Geertz (1972) is known for the study of "Cock fight" Balinese people of Indonesia. According to him, culture is historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols. Cock fight is symbol of masculinity, masculine, per excellence, courage, brave and strong males.

Sherry Ortner (1978) describes about the economic sociology and aspects of culture of to Sherpa inhabitants of Dzemu village in Solukhumbu district. Holmberg (1998) carried out the Tamang's cultural heritage inhabitant of western part of Rasuwa and Nuwakot. The perspective on symbolism is pertinent for this current study on the symbolic interpretation of death rituals of Gurungs.

2.2.2 Functionalism

Society is a whole body. Society is a web of social interaction. All the parts of body are functioning continuously. They are not isolated from each other but interdependent, interrelated, interacted and interconnected to fulfill the basic needs of human by interacting in society. Society is maintained by social consensus, unity, coherence, harmony, homogeneity, order, stability and integration. Eufunction and dysfunction help to control the social system and division of labour emphasis in integration (Ritzer, 1999).

The major explainers of Functionalism are Emile Durkheim, Bronislaw Malinowski, Radcliffe Brown. Durkheim described about Mechanical solidarity in his publication "The Division of Labour in Society" (1893) and he has also described about "equilibrium" in society. Similarly, Malinowski (1920) has focused in individual biological/social needs. According to him, first aim of every society is survival. Culture combines inherited artifacts and goods, techniques, process, ideas, habit and values. Malinowski conducted his fieldwork study in New Guinea about Trobriand Islanders culture. Anthropologist Brown (1922) has emphasized in structure of society. He had studied about Andaman islanders.

The above literatures has been fruitful for this study because these literatures have depicted the cultural importance of symbols in society, hence providing a theoretical guidance to this current study.

2.2.3 Diffusions and Relativism

As the form of sociological theory, diffusionism is in reality, how the cultural elements diffuse and spread from one place to another by the process of simple to complex being cultural increase and concerning with development. "The spread of cultural traits borrowing and migration from one area to another or one group to another in the same area is diffusing process by which an innovation spreads. The diffusion process is spread of a new idea from its source of invention or creation to its ultimate users or adopters.

Culture is defined on the basis of some premises for theoretical perspective. Man is imitative by nature than inventive. Invention takes place in favourable conditions and only by mutual people are capable of doing it. The majority of people are prone to imitate than invent and create. The invented cultural traits or elements spread out or diffuse by mutual contract. Only the limited men hold the capacity of the creation of technology and ideology. So, the diffusion is necessary for the transformation of culture and technology. Only the limited geographical areas have the favourable condition for the origination of culture. So there are limited cultural centres in the world (Upadhyay, 2003).

There are kind of quite distinctive cultures of human beings inhabited in each society. That cultural characteristic is different than another culture of society. And human believe that their culture is superior to others. There are found many differences in traditions, customs, norms and values in each society. Every culture is created on the basis of their physical and geographical environment so one culture should not be compared with another culture for describing to get whole aspects of cultures. It should be seen with relative. The perspective which studys from equal view for different cultures is called 'Cultural Relativism'. Cultural relativism is the attitude that a society's customs and ideas should be viewed within the context of that society's problems and opportunities. This perspective was initiated by Franz Boas an Anthropologist of America (Upadhyay, 2003).

G.E. Smith (1933) has said that ancient Egypt was the cradle of the world civilization. According to him, Monument and pyramids of Europe are the imitation of Egypt. Invention of cultivation, arts, cultures, had been in Egypt. Then it diffused to other places from Egypt. He has compared that Egypt as civilized society and beside of Egypt, other societies like as natural or wild society. So, culture spread from one place to another like this because imitation is human nature than invention. Few people have capacity of invention. Likewise, Franz Boas is also famous scholar of this theoretical perspective. He studied about problems of social economic of central Eskimo. He has explained archaeology, language, science and other aspects of them. Boas (1911) has emphasized socio-psychological approach for describing of ethnography of tribes. He keeps very important approach, cultural relativism for study of any culture which is elaborated in his book Race, Language and culture. The next scholar of this approach is Alfred Louis Kroeber. In this theoretical contribution, he originates the view of cultural concept which was initiated in 1920s. To define this term he prepared comprehensive lists of items. Kroeber said that the term culture centre emphasizes on the geographical center. He used the term Culture Climax' instead of culture center. He stressed on the importance of ecological and geographical factors. He considered the Native Americans and divided the cultural areas to six different zones. The perspective of cultural diffusion is pertinent in the context of migrating cultures/groups in the case of Gurungs. Cultural relativism is focused on the relative importance and dignity of diverse groups/cultures.

2.2.4 Evolutionism

Evolution is a process of differentiation and integration. Evolution is continuous change. It is gradual change. Its progress is indefinite direction, differences in quality and differences in model or action. The concepts of these are Evolutionism. The scholars of this concept are L.H.Morgan, E.B.Tylor, and Leslie White.

Morgan (1877) has described the origin of family in system of "Consanguinity and Affinity of Human family". He has explained the Evolution of family as consanguine family, Punaluan family, Syndyasmian family, Patriarchy family, Monogamous family. Likewise, E.B. Tylor have divided the stages of human society as Savagery stage, Barbarism stage and Civilization stage. He explained human society in three stages. Likewise, he has also emphasized the evolution of Religion as Animism, Polytheism, and Monotheism. Leslie A. White (1949) is known as Neo-Evolutionist. Leslie White believed that culture develops with uses of technology in form of power in human on the resource or environment. It means, $\text{Environment} \times \text{Technology} = \text{Culture}$.

2.2.5 Conflict

There remains co-operation, co-ordination, interaction, dependency and also competition and struggle or conflict in society. Struggle is conflict. Conflict is ever lasting law. Conflict between individuals, classes, groups, institutions or all of these produce change. Any type of conflict or competition can lead to change. There are some resistances and reactions in each function which can take as a form of conflict. There are major scholars Hegel and Karl Marx who discussed on conflict.

According to Hegel (1914), 'idea' is the real creation of world. Wisdom is the most powerful in this world. That's why, human society have been possible. He has explained Dialectics for explanation of progress. Karl Marx (1848) is the conflict theorist who emphasized competition between classes as the major source of social change. He says, present society is the history of class struggle. Conflict theory is known as a theory of social change. According to Marx, society is constructed by two major elements, substructure and superstructure. He has divided basic structure in means or tools of production (land, technology, and other capitalist materials) and relation of production. So many problems of society create conflict. Conflict means

revolution which means social and cultural change. Social and cultural change are possible in modernizing societies amid Urbanization and Westernization trends. Migration of people and new settlement also create conflicting situations with the customs and traditions as in the current study on Gurungs.

2.2.6 Social and Cultural Change

Change in society and culture is natural law. It is being changed continuously. Generally, change is to get some difference in any structure. Changes in social structure, form, unity, relation, interaction are social change. Human beings adopt different cultures which they need. Rural society is going to be urban society. There are changes in organization, function and objectives of each society. Ginsberg defines it, "by social change, a change in social structure, e.g. the size of the society, the composition or balance of its parts or the types of its change may be defined as modification in ways of doing and thinking of people." According to Maciver and Page (2010), "Direct concerns as sociologists are with social relationship, it is the change in these relationships which alone we shall regard as social change.

Social cultural change is the changing process in social pattern and human life style. Change into art, literature, philosophy is the social change. Social change is change into social pattern, social process, social relationship and interaction. It is the universal phenomenon. The speed of social change is not uniformed everywhere. Some social change has been naturally and planned and some change is because of revolution. Social cultural change is an essential law in all communities and societies.

How do sociologists account for the process of change that has transformed the way of human life? The Greek philosopher Heraclitus pointed out that a person cannot step into the same river twice. Societies are influenced by the physical environment, political organization, cultural factors, economic influences and the result is social change or change in social structure. Changes those are going on in the societies are much more interdependent than they were ever before.

Some social cultural change theories are as below:

a. Sankritization

The term "Sankritization" is introduced into Indian sociology by M.N. Srinivas. The term refers to a process where by people of lower castes collectively try to adopt upper caste practices and beliefs, as a preliminary step to acquire higher status. M.N. Srinivas in his study of the Coorg in Karnataka, found that lower castes, in order to raise their position in the caste hierarchy, adopted some customs and practices of the Brahmins and gave up some of their own which were considered to be 'impure' by the higher castes (Srinivas, 1952).

M.N. Srinivas has explained in 'Religion and Society' (1952), the caste system is for a system in which the position of each component caste is fixed for all time. Movement has always been possible, and especially in the middle regions of the hierarchy. The customs, rites and beliefs of the Brahmins and adoption of the Brahmins and adoption of Brahminic way of life by a low caste seems to have been frequent, though theoretically forbidden. The process of mobility of lower castes by adopting vegetarianism and Hindu values to move in the caste hierarchy in a generation.

Later on, he redefined it as, a process by which a low caste or a tribe or other group changes its customs, rituals, ideology and way of life in the direction of a high and frequently, twice-born caste. Sanskritization denotes the process in which the lower castes try to imitate the life styles of upper castes in their attempt to raise social status. Sankritization denotes the process of upward mobility. Mobility that is involved in the process of Sanskritization results only in 'positional changes' for particular castes or sections of castes and need not necessarily lead to "structural change". The castes which enjoyed higher economic and political power but rated relatively low in ritual ranking went after Sanskritization for they felt that their claim to a higher position was not fully effective. Economic betterment is not a necessary precondition to Sanskritization nor must economic development necessarily lead to Sanskritization. It does not take place in the same manner in all the places. The process of Sankritization does not automatically result in the achievement of a higher status for the group.

b. Westernization

The role of "Westernization" has been very significant in understanding the socio-cultural changes of modern society. The following of new technology, institution,

knowledge, beliefs and values of western countries by developing society are westernization. According to M.N. Srinivas (1952), "Westernization" refers to the changes brought about in society and culture as a result of over 150 years of British rule and term subsumes changes occurring at different levels- technology, institutions, ideology, values.

Westernization not only includes the introduction of new institutions (eg. newspapers, elections, Christian missionaries) but also fundamental changes in old institutions (Rao-2000). The concept of westernization is prone to give adequate guidance to current study on Gurungs where there is the high trend of westernization.

c. Modernization

Modernization is understood as a process which indicates the adaptation of the modern ways of life and values. According to C.N. Shanker Rao (2000), the term Modernization was being used previously to refer only to change in economy and it's related social values and practices. It was also described as a process that changed the society from primarily agricultural to primarily industrial economy, the society itself underwent changes in values, beliefs and norms. The term 'Modernization' is understood as an attempt on the part of the people, particularly those who are custom-bound, to adopt themselves in general.

Modernization refers to a complex set of changes that as it attempts to be industrialized. Modernization involves ongoing change in a society's economy, politics, education, traditions and religion. Modernization involves a transformation of social, political and economic organization. This includes the transformation indicated by Durkheim from Mechanical solidarity to organic solidarity. This trend of conversion from mechanical solidarity to organic solidarity is visible in the context of Gurungs.

d. Adaptation

Human beings try to adopt any new concepts, norms values, cultures etc. Adaptation is a process to make suitable for a new use, situation etc. The process of adaptation is a production on the stage, technology etc. Adaptation is the way in which social systems of any kind (eg. a family group, a business firm, a nation state) 'manage' or

respond to their environment. According to Tolcott Parsons, adaptation is one of functional prerequisites which all social systems must satisfy if they are to survive. He argues that in industrial societies the need for adaptation is satisfied through the development of a specialized subsystem, the economy (Collins Dictionary, 2000).

Human being keep on creating new social environment and this is their turn, make certain adaptive is of a product of change the intended or unintended consequence of it.

2.2.7 Ethnography and Ethnographic Studies

Ethnographic (from Greek *ethnos*-folk/people and *graphic*-to write) is qualitative research design aimed at exploring cultural phenomena which reflect the knowledge and system of meaning guiding the life of cultural groups. It was pioneered in the field of socio-cultural Anthropology but has also become a popular method in sociology, communication studies and history that study people, ethnic groups and other ethnic formations, their ethnogenesis, composition, resettlement, social welfare characteristics, as well as their material and spiritual culture. It also often is employed for gathering empirical data on human societies and cultures. Data collection is often done through participant observation, interviews, questionnaires, etc. ethnography aims to describe the nature of those who have studied writing. In the biological sciences, this type of study might be called a "field study" or a "case report", both of which are used as common synonyms for "ethnography" (Oxford Dictionary, 2010).

Ethnography is the direct observation of an organization or small society and the written description produced. Often the method of observation involves participant observation (Collin Dictionary-2000). Ethnography is the scientific description of different races and cultures (Oxford Dictionary, 2010).

Thomas E. Frick (1986) has described about Timling village in Rasuwa District in the article, "Himalayan household- Tamang Demography and Domestic process. He examined the inter-setting relationship between adaptive strategies and demographic and household process in Tilming. Frick has focused on subsistence behavior within environmental and variables which were always seen as part of the relationship.

Likewise, August Molnar (1981) researched in Hill Region of Northern Dolpa among Kham Magar. She has focused to examine interrelationship between ecology and economy of Kham Magar in terms of ecological constraints and opportunities. Molnar identified mainly five factors. Access to natural resources, Cultural factors, Trading pattern, Seasonal labour and availability of health and education.

James Fisher (1977) deals in "Trans-Himalayan Traders" with the socio-economic and cultural make up of the Magars of Tarangpur village of Dolpa district of north western Nepal. He considers the trade of salt, livestock, wool and other commodities as the basic elements of Tarangpurians cultural identity and the social structure of Tarangpur village. Fisher (1977) includes all the preliminaries of settlement pattern, language, religion, ethnic origin, life style, feast and festivals, sacraments transportation and communication etc.

2.3 Empirical Review

Sharma (1977) has described in his article, "Caste, Social Mobility and Sanskritization", that the process of Sanskritization accelerated after the penetration of Hindus in Nepalese mid hills around 12th century A.D. The Hindu socio-cultural structure, political and administrative system and language influenced different ethnic groups which were not practically influenced but later they adopted the Hindu cultural content and the language as well.

Likewise, Mishra (2067) has explained in his book "Badalindo Nepali Samaj", that society is changed by economic mode of production. The result of it is migration, to be taken out to foreign country for employment. People (Brahmins, Dalits etc) embrace other occupations leaving their traditional work. It made many revolution in political aspects like the end of monarchy and also changed education and health. Changes influenced their life style and livelihood by social and cultural changes.

Janak Lal Sharma (2058) has written Historical background of Gurungs. Jagaman Gurung has explained about historical background, cultures, different rituals, dresses, traditions and customs in his book "Gurung Jaati tatha Sanskriti" (2034). Likewise, Homa Thakali (2067 B.S.) has described in her book "Tamu Jaati ko Utpati ra Dharma Sanskriti", about origin, religion, customs, traditions, rituals (living and

death), cultures, role of priests etc. Bernard Pignede (1966) has elaborated the whole aspects of Gurung community of Mohoriya village. Pignede has emphasized on the allows for the verification of the submission of spirit, the performances of Pachyu and Ghepren in the death funeral of Gurungs. He has interpreted about beliefs and practices of culture on the basis of Pye-Tan-Lhu-Tan (Gurung holy book). This is an oral tale which is chanted by Pachyu and Ghepren in Gurungs pae.

In this current study, the researcher has attempted to describe the social and cultural change and role and importance of kinship and other aspects Symbolic interpretation of death ritual has been analysed. That's why; this research study will be different from previous researches.

2.4 Reviews from Previous Literature

About historical background of Gurungs Janak Lal Sharma (2058) has written that Gurungs are offsprings of 'Huns'. According to him, Gurungs are found settled in Rumjatar village of eastern Nepal. They are seen any where from Mechi to Mahakali of Nepal. But the major inhabitation of Gurung is found in west from Budhi Gandaki, east from Kali Gandaki south from Himalaya and north from Gandaki. Gurung called their king, 'Ghale'.

He has also written, Shaks inhabited in western part of mid Asia and named 'Hun' caste that inhabited its east and north part. Huns chased Shaks and not only ruled over them, they stabled their power in Korea, China and also in middle Asia. In 5931 B.C., there was internal conflict among Huns. China took benefit from this and Huns state was ruined. Huns were compelled to leave their land and they moved toward south. The name of their leader was Torman. The son of Torman was of bad conduct. So, people were not satisfied with him. Huns lost war with king Yshodharma and Baladitya of Mawal in 528 A.D. That Hun's offsprings are present Gurungs.

Pignade (1966) has writtern that Gurungs were invaded by Rajputs whose descendants founded the dynasty of the Thakuri regime in Nepal. One prince who belonged to the dynasty of the Surjes was meditating in the Himalayas, accompanied by his wife, and by the family of his priest and his servant. They intermarried with the

indigenous people. From these unions came the founders of the different Gurung clans.

'Tamu' is known as 'Gurung'. But the original name of Gurung is 'Tamu'. It is clarified from different kinds of logics and studies. The name 'Gurung' was given by Hindu rulers. If anyone asks to Gurungs 'What ethnic/caste do you belong to?' Their answer is 'Tamu'. The meaning of 'Ta' is up and 'Mhi' is man. It means man coming from up or north. According to oral description Pye (Shastra), Gurungs had originated in Mangolia and they came in Syamsung, Coconore Lake, Lokha, and Chhyamdo of Tibet by hunting. They crossed these places after many attempts and entered towards "Kohla Sonthar", Thini Gyalsha, Labru/Lupra, Nar (Manang), Ngawal, Chilee (Sikles), Sota/Ma Hyakhusyo (The Madi Stream which is between Sikles, Parche and Tangting), which places are in the south slope of Annapurna Himalaya Range. And they settled in these areas. (Thakali, 2067) Gurungs have build Fa-li-na kohaimbo (temple of Grepren /Pachyu). The meaning of Fa-Li-na is, Gurungs who come from ravine of Fali *pro* (Steep slope) and Libro Mohrsyo of Dhaulagiri and Nar of Manag (Pye-Tan-Lhu-Tan) (Gurung, 2067).

Pe-Tan-Lhu-Tan (Culture and religion Shastra), *Kerlo* (origin Shastra) and *Ngome* (Medicine Shastra) are the main Shastras of Gurungs which has been preserved on the basis of memory of Gurung preists. According to the description of oral fiction of *Pye* (Shastra), the civilization of Gurungs had developed eight- nine thousand years ago. Which Shastra (Pye) is remained with only Ghyepren and Pachyu. This is the identification of Gurungs. And it is the culture and civilization of Gurungs. Before Srangchang Gampo merged Syamsung State in Tibet in 644 BC, there were 18 states having different indentity. Democratic Samgsung State was extended from Himalaya boarder of Tibet to eastern to western Himalaya of Northen Nepal as a Bon country. Another name of Syangsung was 'Jhuangjhung'. Manang Vot, Mustang Vot, Larke Vot, Kevang Vot etc lie in it (Tamu, 2067).

There are many Lakes in Tibet. Primitive Gurungs used to fish and hunt for their livelihood. On the process of hunting, they went through Himal by chasing the animals. And they found plain and arable land. They planted some crops there and came back to see them after four months. They saw them grown very nicely. And they said their Klehe (leader/Mukhiya) to migrate there. Then they settled in that place

which place is Kohla *Santhar* (three clans) which is explained in *Pye* (Shashtra) (Gurung, 2067).

The civilization of Gurungs was developed from Kohla which is described in *Pye*. The *Chhonj* (meeting) of Kohla was managed by the division of labour to their people for good governance and systematic society. They allocated the responsibility for each people. According to the decision of Kohla Chhonj, the king (*Klehe*) should care whole state as a good ruler, *Mhigrachons* (gentles) were responsible to suggest and interact with priest and advising and caring of villagers. *Pleheme* (the contemporary Gurung clan) was responsible for making system for priests (Pachyu, Ghepren, Lama) and making *Kohaimbo* (like stupa for pachyu, Ghepren/Priest of Gurungs), *Mhinakujo* (a kind of Gurung Clan) was for giving information to villagers. The priest Pachyu, Ghepren and Lama were also determined by their working field. Pachyus removed Thakumoku, Cheko (Polluted Spirits/Vut prete) of village and treatment for people by medicine and *tantra mantra* (Shaman). Gheprens were determined for, Thaker, Songu, Hyonkhu and Tha (Purification and collection of good wishes). They provided Lamas for doing oblation of peace (Swasti, Shanti, Chhekhu, Augu Sadana) etc. Thus all people were determined for certain working field. After this division of labour, Gurung society became more systematic and civilized (Gurung, 2067).

Gurungs had settled about 10,000 years in Kohla. Times later, they left this very wonderful plain land. The causes behind it was suffering from polluted spirit (Vut prê) which is described in *Pye*. Another group of Gurungs migrated towards Chili (Siklesh). Other a group of Gurungs migrated to Lamjung, Gorkha from Kohla, Syangja, Parbat slowly. Later, Gurungs came into contact with the kings of *Baise Chaubishe Rajyas* and Indian rules especially with Hindus. Then Gurungs became exploited and political conspirator. And Gurungs country broke and ruined. Then they have to be migrated from Kohla (Gurung, 2067).

When the Gurungs were in contact with Hindus, there began many discrimination and heterogeneity in Gurung community. Hinduization divided Gurungs into Char Jate and Sora Jate and created superior and inferior. In the reality, Gurungs were not in discrimination. Thakali (2067) have written, it is meaningless matter. It is not any true matter. There are *Songi* (Tin Thar/three clan) and *Kungi* (Nau Thar/nine clan) in

Gurung caste. More than 172 Thar in Gurungs are found (Thakali, 2067). *Klehe* (leader) is combined in Songi (Tin Thar) and have become Plihegi (Char Jate). Klehe is called 'Ghale' by Hinduization. In Pye Lhu and Gurung fictions, Lhege, Kromche, Tu, Mhobje, Chomi, Tohorje, Naksee, Rhila and Yoja are Kungi (Nau Ghare). But they are called Sora Jate. It is unrelated context because it is unactual and unlogical. The cause of having servant's son, made inferior caste like *Sora jate* is found only in the Pedigree of 1549 B.S. That Pedigree was made by Raj Pandit Vojraj for King Jagati Khan in 1549 B.S. 9th of Fagun. It was prepared as a duplicate pedigree of Gurungs for the conspiracy to take over power. On the basis of that pedigree, in 1911 B.S., Shikhar Nath Subedi had included and published Gurung pedigree with pedigree of other castes, as named Thar Gotra Bamsawali (Sharma, 2058). Then, Cornel Laxman Gurung complained with contemporary prime minister. Janga Bahadur Rana against Shikhar Nath Subedi, that there is no division as Sora Jate inferior and char Jate superior in Gurung caste. Then Shikhar Nath Subedi was punished by Rs. 20 and his book was seized.

Different literatures written about Gurungs explain about origin, costumes, cultures, feast and festivals, dress pattern, languages, tradition of Gurungs. These matters can be found in "Gurung Jati Tatha Sanskriti (2034)" of Jagaman Gurung and Bernard Pignede, "The Gurungs: A Himalayan population of Nepal, 1966". Dor Bahadur Bista has discribed about Gurungs together with other castes and ethnic groups in his book, "Sabai Jaat Ko Phulbari (2002). And Narayan Prashad Adhikari, "Hamra Sorha Sanskar (2063) has described about Hindu rituals.

Sherry Ortner (1978) has explained about Sherpa of Solukhumbu district and Holmberg (1998) about Tamang of Rasuwa and Nuwakot by the perspective of Symbolism. The Newars (1965) of Gopal Sing Nepali is based in Structural Functionalism which is helpful for current study. There are many literatures written about Gurungs by Nepali and foreign writers. But there is very little number of literatures written about Gurung Pye- Tan- Lhu- Tan which is a religious book or *Dharma Shashtra* of Gurungs. In this, we can find the history of Gurungs from pre-historic period. There is explained about many cultures, rituals, rules, values, norms etc. Simon Slade Strickland (1982) of Jesus College, Cambridge has explored in this thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of philosophy about Gurung Pye-Tan Lhu-

Tan (Gurung Dharma Shastra). He has emphasized belief, practices and legends of Gurungs. He has explained belief in 'soul' of Gurungs.

In addition to the linguistic studies, there have been several ethnographic accounts in different parts of Nepal. The first and most comprehensive of these is Pignede's 'The Gurungs' (1966). This is a study of Mohariya Village in western Nepal. It covers aspects of local economy, demography, kinship and religion which forms the substance of any ethnographic survey completed for the first time for people.

Likewise Dal Bahadur Lehege Tamu (2064) has written in 'Tamu kewe Tan' about the events and myths which is explained in Pye-Tan-Lhu-Tan. 'Tamu Gurung Jaati Ko Utpati Ra Dharma-Sanskriti' is a book explaining about Gurung's Religion, Rituals, Feast and festivals and folk cultures and traditions written by Homa Thakali (2067). She has emphasized the fundamental Religion 'Bonism' of Gurungs and influence of Tibetan Buddhism and Hindu Religion on Bonism or Gurung Religion. Dillijung Tamu has also explained states of Gurungs, historical background, Religion, Cultures and traditions of Gurungs in his book, 'Tamu Jaati Ko Itihas' Nachai Gaun Manag, (2067). Pam Bdr. Tamu has written about Kohla in 'Tamu haru ko pitri thalo kohla (2067). Kohla is explained in Pye-Tan- Lhu-Tan as ancient place of Gurungs.

2.5 Religion of Gurungs

2.5.1 Animism

Human beings develop and adopt different religions and cultures in the process of development of civilization. In the primitive stage, human beings lived in Jungle, ate wild roots and bulbs, hunted wild animals. Human beings were succeeding to cross the hunting gathering stage and Stone Age to enter agricultural and postural age. They entered into Agricultural stage which is the biggest innovation of human beings (Morgan, 1877).

Human beings began to worship all the objects which are used for their livelihood. They had developed the belief in having soul of living and lifeless things like stone, hills, soil, trees, rocks, minerals etc. Evolutionist E. B. Tylor (1865) has said such kind of stage is, "Concept of animism". Thus, the beginning of human civilization is found from the development of animism. Animism is not a religion itself but it is a

kind of prehistoric philosophy. Slowly, people believed in seen and unseen power and were frightened from natural disaster. They thought, there are soul in ghosts and spirits, God – Goddess, natural – non natural, their own ancestors etc. which is concerning with their life. They felt fear, love pity, sympathy, respect when they consumed domestic and wild animals and birds. They began a tradition of worshipping to animals as the religious activity for the release from such kind of sin. According to Tylor (1865), "Religion is strictly on a cognitive basis in three basic stages – Animism, polytheism and monotheism."

We can describe culture and Religion of Gurung on the basis of Animism, Shamanism and Bonism. Gurungs adopted such religions and culture. The religion of Shamanism is found prevalent in specially most of inter Asian countries–Siberia, Turkistan, Mangolia, China and nook and corner of Himalaya. This logical statement has been described by Homa Thakali (2067) in her book "Tamu Gurung Jaati ko Utpati ra Dharma–Sanskriti". If any person or any member of family had been ill, trouble, they find out from astrology or any other methods and do treatment. This kind of tradition has been continued till now. Witch doctor (Jhankri), release for suffering spirit of ghosts, by banded with support of stick or with the support of colourful thread, by giving the things for persuding, by chasing, by threatening, Jhankri read a long instruction for it. This kind of tradition is in prevalance in Tamang, Thakali and Gurung who settled in Nepal. If they are unable to keep happy to their God and Goddess, they will get angry and disasterous situation like flooding, earthquake, landslide, and storm–wind etc. will occur. So they felt insecured. The concept of Animism, Religion, sky, earth, sun, moon, snow, hailstone, mountain, stone/rock, water, fire etc are the related things with human life. Gurungs continue still such type of traditions. They believe their surrounding natural sources like hills, etc as their protector and guardian (Sildo Naldo). And they respect their mother father and worship dead ancestors (Thakali, 2067).

2.5.2 Shamanism

'Shamanism' is believed to be 30 thousand years old. Nepali Brihat Shabdakosh has explained, Jhankri (witch doctor) called the person who uses enchantment (tantramantra) to do hocus – pocus and to treat of sick people. Pachyu, Ghepren, Lamas do such kind of work together Death ritual in Gurung caste. Shamanism is the

accepted method for the treatment of diseases in prehistoric period. In the process of treatment, they used medicine by rubbing of herbs with hocus- pocus (Thakali-2067).

Such kind of treatment method and ritual and its relation of origin, professor Lama Tensing Wangyel (1993) of Rice University of America has described in "Wonder of natural mind" on the basis of Primitive Bon story as achievement knowledge of oral tale named "Syamsung travelor/Yatri". He has explained on it about 'Shamanism' of local tradition of middle Asia. According to this tradition, illness is imbalance and disturbance between power of soul and physical. The people of Animism and Shamanism religion believe in the matter of laziness of body having negative and trouble condition of heart and paining in nerve by trembling. They have concept of disease, it possesses by imbalance of environment and there should be combination between natural things and disturbance soul. These souls are made by five objects like sky, air, water, fire and earth. The imbalanced activities of human being make environment pollution and result is illness and disturbed human body. The things happening on earth become imbalanced by the activities of digging, cutting, breaking the hills–mountains, rivers, trees etc which are in nature. Not only earth, the universe also becomes disturbed and imbalanced by these activities on the shape and condition of sun, star, moon, cloud. And there will be polluted environment and climate, Lakes Rivers etc. As a result, living existence and lifeless materials become polluted. After pollution of earth, human heart, mind and body also become polluted. The pollution of fire heat human body, the pollution of water makes blood of body polluted. The priests and shamanism Jhakries believe on it. They find out the cause of illness for becoming sick person. If someone gets ill by imbalance of external causes or environmental elements, they send him/her to Ayurvedic doctor and if illness happens by displeased souls of nature (*Satto Jane, Vut prêt le Dukha dine etc*), they call witch doctor (*Jhanakri*) for it. Such kind of illness, Jhanakri found out by astrology or meditation. Shamanism is prevalent primitive custom in present time in the world to balance the relation and to keep stable norms and values between human and nature.

Mostly, there is the presence of shamanism in all religions of world, (Tylor, 1865) It is continuing in prehistorical period among Gurung till this day. Gurungs believe in different Rocks, mountains etc. which lie on all sides of Annapurna Himalaya as the form of super – natural power. They worship Devi, Dewrali. They also believe that

there is the super natural power around Machhapuchre (fishtail) mountain. Gurungs have come doing resisting and adopting remedial methods by traditional priests Pachyu, Ghepren and Bon Lama to balance souls, soul of living and lifeless objects and environmental balance (Thakali-2067).

"Kalo Bon Dharma" is seen as the main basis of religion and culture which Gurungs have come embracing. "Senrup Miochhe" is regarded the "Dharma Guru" of Bon religion. Gheprens follow the education of Senrap Miochhe in Tamu religion and culture. But, coming this day, there are some differences in this religion and cultures. Nowadays, old generation is following these religious works in village or society. But new generations is not found to be concerned and known about it. There is a tradition of doing peace lighting in parts of village. Thus, Gurungs have their own original religion tradition, custom. Pignade (1966) has explained about the local religion for such kind of religion and culture of Gurungs.

2.5.3 Bonism

Bonism' or Bon Religion is the developed form of Animism and Shamanism which Gurungs were following from prehistoric period. After the diffusion of Buddhist religion in 8th century, Gurungs acquired some traits of Buddhist religion in this Bon Religion. Before diffusion of Buddhism in Tibet, the people of Tibet followed this Bonism and is described in searching pace of its history of origin. The people of Bon religion had given continuity to the form of traditional concept to be grateful and faithful toward nature. This religion was extensively customary in Ladakh of India in surroundings parts of hilly and mountainious of Nepal and Bhutan. It is believed that the origin of Bon religion as a religion has its origion in border 'Tagjik', India and Iran (Thakali, 2067).

Lord Budha is the originator of Budhism. Similar to this Bonist people believe that Tonpo Senrup Miochhe is the originator of Bonism. Tonpo Senrup was born as a prince in Olma Lung Ring of Tagjik of north western state of primitive Sangsung which was in Sangsung country before unification of Tibet. Bon Religion is seen almost alike with 'Ananta' education of culture and 'Bajra', comparing with Budhism tradition. Benarjee (1981), argues that Bon is the primitive religion of Tibet. In Tibet, in 8th century, there was forced restriction to Bon religion in the regime of King

Digram Sanpo and King Threw Srong Dechhen. The Bon Scholars had become successful to hide Bon books (composition). That's why, this knowledge is called 'Gupta Gyankosh' or 'Terma', writes Homa Thakali (2067) in her book. Some religious books (*grantha*) never have been hidden and Bon scholars are teaching continuously this knowledge as an oral tale. Pachyu, Ghepren are trained from this knowledge of oral sources. The Gurung Ghepren also follow the same tradition which is pertinent in this present study.

Types of Bon Religion

2.5.3.1 Drolbon

According to Bon myth, a child of 13 years was kidnapped by a master. That child came back after 26 years with achieving knowledge of super power. He achieved developed knowledge and skill to remove and avoid negative spirits. He had also been able to predict which spirit will be good and which will be not. He taught the matter to human to do workshop and can be released by monsters or negative souls. We can find in some resources, that child as 'Senrup Miochhe', is described. The priests of this Bon accomplished the rituals charm, enchantment, removed and chased ghosts/negative spirits, purification of earth etc (Thakali, 2067).

2.5.3.2 Kyorbon

'Kyor' means deviation. In Kyorbon School develops capacity to make quiet to death souls by avoiding the negative spirits, to make prosperity and good health for living beings by worshipping God and Goddess. The priests Pachyu, Ghepren of Gurung caste do this kind of functions and rites (Pignede, 1966).

2.5.3.3 Gyarbon

Gyorbon' is the mixed form of Bon religion and Buddha religion. When diffusion and publicity of Buddhism was in Tibet, there began a quarrel and interference between these two religions. In 5th century at the time of Srang Chang Gampo, there was an attempt to follow Buddha religion from the level of country/ State in Tibet. But there was division in the aspect of Bon Religion and Buddha Religion. Bon Scholars kept by hiding some Bon holy books (*Dharma Granthas*) under the rocks. Tamu Bon

Lamas are seen as the follower of mixed kind of Bon religion. In *Pye – Tan – Lhu-Tan* (a holy book of Gurungs) most of tale depicts that, Bon Lamas took education/ knowledge from Milarepa and Ghepren, Pachyu from Nhari Bhunjung. Because Bon Lamas obey their teacher to Milarepa and Ghepren Pachyu to Nhari Bhanjung (Thakali, 2067).

It is described that Bon religion is the fundamental religion of Gurung. The charter of 2nd conference of Tamu Pye- Lhu – Sangh central committee (2067), "focused on to co-operate with different institutions to write "Bonism" as fundamental religion of Tamu in the constitution of Nepal and travel for uniformity and raising up of Gurung culture".

2.5.3.4 Gurungs Priests

a. Pachyu

Pachyu is the more important and oldest priest among Gurung priests. It is seen, Pachyus had been working from primitive stage of Gurungs or from nomadic and stone age. It can be imagine by looking their dresses which they wear in their rites. If there happens any wound and ill, Pachyu do treatment by medicine hurb and hocus-pocus. Pachyu use the different natural sources and materials or power. And using these, they were achived with knowledge, power, method and ethics. They used animals and birds and getting hurbs from nature. Pachyu is the one of important priest of Local religion (Bon religion) of Gurungs. Pachyu is also called 'Jhankri'. But Gurungs don't use this word practically. It is called in only Nepali Language. Some Jhankri live in Kathmandu and Darjeeling but they are found different from Gurungs Jhankri. Gurung Pachyus drum has not got a handle (Pignede, 1966).

The Priest Pachyu's role were determined as below:

- Sike (death ritual)
- Soke (treatment for living people like hocus - pocus, medicine from hurbs, oblation)
- Protection (Gharbar/house protection, Jiubar/body protection, Tohonte/Village protection etc.)
- Erudition (find out good time/moment)

Specially, there are two clans of Pachyus as 'Lehege Pachyu' and 'Kromje Pachyu'. The master of lehege Pachyu is "Namabido" and "Namadaya" of Kromje Pachyu. In spite of there two clan pachyu, if any other doing this work, they are called 'Lo Pachyu'/Learned Pachyu (Pye-Tan-Lhu-Tan).

The priests have their own determined dress and materials/instruments. Pachyus used the instruments when they conduct rites and oblation (Pidgnede, 1966).

- Rhalpo (a slightly pointed cap of course)
- Syon (bell)
- Potochhyaba(tyanku)
- Lhyarfya(bird's feathers)
- Khogre(Large bird's beak)
- Silchyon (Jhyalee)
- Mala
- Tusimhru (prickle of Porcupine)
- Ngha (drum)
- Herkochhyaba
- Lahadefurko (small bells hung all around the belt)
- Dhuparo (vessel to carry burning coals on which ghee or incense is burnt)
- Ghalek.

b. Ghepren

Ghepren is the one of important royal priest of Gurungs. Ghepren is called where Lhepre, Kehebree, Ghepren, Klebree, Lhouree, Kohoure etc. according to the place. Ghepren is a part of Bon religion. There is description in Pye (Shashtra/sacred book), the origin of Ghepren became after death of 'Syauli' Pachyu in Kohla.

The main function of Ghepren is Sike (death ritual). According to Kohla Chhoja (meeting/Manifesto), in spite of death ritual, Ghepren has done priest hood as Kul Pooja, La Theba, Prakritik Pooja etc. Now a days, it is also seen, Ghepren has done work for living people because there is helpless not to be arrival of Pachyu immediately (Gurung, 2067 B.S.).

Specially, there are also two clan Ghepren as 'Tu' Ghepren and 'Mhapje' Ghepren. The instructor of 'Tu' Ghepren is 'Mhibar' and 'Adasing Khe' is of Mhobje Ghepren. Besides of these both clan are 'Lo Ghepren' (Learned Ghepren). The personal Traditional instruments for requiem of Ghepren are Faki (Patuka), Shanka, Syon (bell), Chhyenla (Jhyali), Dhuparo, Nga (drum -one sided), name (wooden bird), mala, kaiya koi, Urkeni (five pictures of gods worn as a crown round the head) etc. Kainya koi (jama) weared Ghepren is long sleeving like voto and tight at wrist. Moon, sun, triangle have made in body of this cloth of Ghepren. In pae, Pachyu clear and wedge the way. Pachyu chase and remove impurity soul, negative spirits from way. And Ghepren take the death soul on the cleared and wedged path. Thus, Ghepren work across death soul to the heaven. Pachyu Ghepren read Pye in Gurung language (Pignede, 1966).

c. Lama

'Lama' or 'Lam' is also very important priest of Gurungs. Specially, in Gurung community, there are used two kind of lamas. They are Bon lamas and another are Mahayani Lamas. Lama priests appeared much later. Bon Lama is the priest as local Gurung religion Bon. But nowadays, Bon Lamas are disappearing from Gurung Community. Gurung Lamas had learned their priesthood from Nar of Manag. These Lamas do rites like pachyu, Ghepren by sacrificing the animals and birds. They read in Tibetan Language. In 1960 A.D. Tibetan refugees came to Nepal and start settlement in Nepal. They also settled in Pokhara. Then Gurungs Lamas or Bon Lamas influenced by Tibetan Budhist Mahayani Lamas. As a result, they adopted Tibetan rituals and cultures by leaving own cultures.

Lamas wear the crown of different pictures of god and goddess. The sleeve of Jama (frock) is long. In their Jhyali they do not put thread like of Ghepren. The instruments they used are Gheling, drum, Dhorje (Bell), Damaru, Kangling (the bone of man), Furba, Serngen etc. They tie Faki (Patuki) at weist. Mahayani Lamas conduct all rites themselves but Bon Lamas conduct the work put hand together with Pachyu (Thakali, 2067).

d. Paindi

Astrologer is called 'Paindi' in Gurung language. Paindi is one of important and famous priest of Gurung. The role of Paindi is specially to find ouspicious time for performance of a work for marriage, Arghun (Pae) etc. Besides these, Paindi conduct oblation for home, people. It is called in Gurung language Graha Thoba (cut), Dheen (House) Rakhawar laba (do), Mi theba (nam Juraune) etc. Somewhere the work of Paindi is done by Ghepren and Pachyu too. In pae, Lama, Ghepren and Pachyu move according to determine the good time given by Paindi. So Paindi is the director of pae (Gurung, 2067).

Development of Pae (Arghoun)

Pae of present is not practiced easily. It has very long history of development. Human beings have crossed so many historical stages. They have created and developed many time relative rituals and cultures. So, the stages of development of Pae (Arghun) are as follow:

a. Roho pae (Dead body Arghun)

Karu Kyahala (Kargali Kyahala) got married with kroron Rohongru Naye Fe. They had a son named Karje kyahala. Karu Kyahala went to create keeping his son in gold box for protection giving responsibility for caring to a woman Naljyon Riye Fe. He was as a god with super power. He sat in Opama (cave) and devoted. By his meditation, he knew, his birth was in sky as a living existence and he fell on earth. Then he regarded father to sky and mother to earth. Then he created nine suns and nine moons. But the over heat made, his son expired, Naljyon Riye Fe went and informed about it. Karu Kyahala blamed to her that she killed his son, saying his creation could not do it. Then Karu Kyahala cursed, if it happened by his creation, nine suns and nine moons will have been eaten by Rahul monster. It had happened and there was darkness. When he was in sorrow, the sound of his son (spirit) said, "Baa Ngai Pae Lamido; (Father, let do Pae for me) otherwise I could not reach in heaven." Then Karu Kyahala discussed at meeting to conduct pae. According to meeting, pae started in evening and will be ended in morning with rise of sun. But there was no any symptom of morning brightness because Rahul had eaten all suns

and moons. Tehen Pachyu (Kroen Pachyu) conducted an oblation for taking out one sun and one moon from stomach of Rahul monster. He used a bird. The requirement of bird, red fariya (sari), red cholo, red pachheura, leg of twig (Sinka) and beak of titepati had been used (Tamu, 2064).

When the bird danced with comedy, Rahul monster laughed and took out one sun and one moon from his mouth. Then removed the long darknes. It was during twelve days by counting time. It had been the greatest oblation and first pae in Gurung history. So the first pae was pae of Karje Kyahala. It was Roho Pae (Death body Arghoun) or pae conducted immediately after death together with funeral (Tamu, 2064).

b. Rihi Pae

Panauri Kyahala died falling from bridge. His remaining was found in later. Without remainings (Astu) pae could not be conducted. So, from that time, there is the practice of the Rihi Pae (bringing) Astu (remain). On second day of Pae, Pachyu, Ghepren and Lama dance in open place (ground) and they take Rihi (Astu) from hand of Mho. This is also a tradition developed in Gurung history. The remaining of Panauri Kyahala was found by his Mho. In prevalent culture, there is also taken Rihi from son-in-law (Pignede, 1966).

c. Plah Pae (Making image pae)

Preheta Kyahala expired by flooding and landscape. When villagers went to search for him later many time. There were grown seven kind of flora from his body. Uses from these plants make plah (image of death person) for conducting Pae. So, there is prevalent the culture of making plah in second day of Pae. After taking Rihi or also before Rihi, plah is decorated. It is also made by Mho uses of grown plants of dead body of Preheta Kyahala (Tamu, 2064).

d. Chyuhu Pae (Basi pae or conduct pae after long time)

Chyuhu Pae was practiced from the Pae of Chimi Uinto of Kohla. His Pae was conducted in first without Ashoun and many time later again conducted Pae with sonapa and Ashoun Koin (Pae and cloths given by mawali) because he could not reach heaven without the presence of Ashyon from first Pae. So, nowadays, chyuhu Pae is also more practiced in Gurung society (Tamu, 2064).

From these gradual development of Pae (Arghoun) history, Gurungs practice Pae in mixed form with Rihi Pae, Plah Pae, Chyuhu Pae and also Roho Pae (Tamu, 2064).

Types of Arghoun

There are three types of pae of Gurungs. Lar Parba, Rho Pae and Khui pae. 'Lar Parba' is done in very poor family or in the very low economic condition. In this type of pae, priests work only to show the path of heaven for dead soul from morning to evening. Specially, more prevalent Pae are Rho Pae and Khui Pae (Tamu-2067).

a. Rho Pae (Three nights argoun)

This is the largest pae. This is continued for three days. On the first day, 'Anla' make Perpendicular, on second day takes 'Rhi' and on the third day is done funeral filling the Anla (Pignede, 1966).

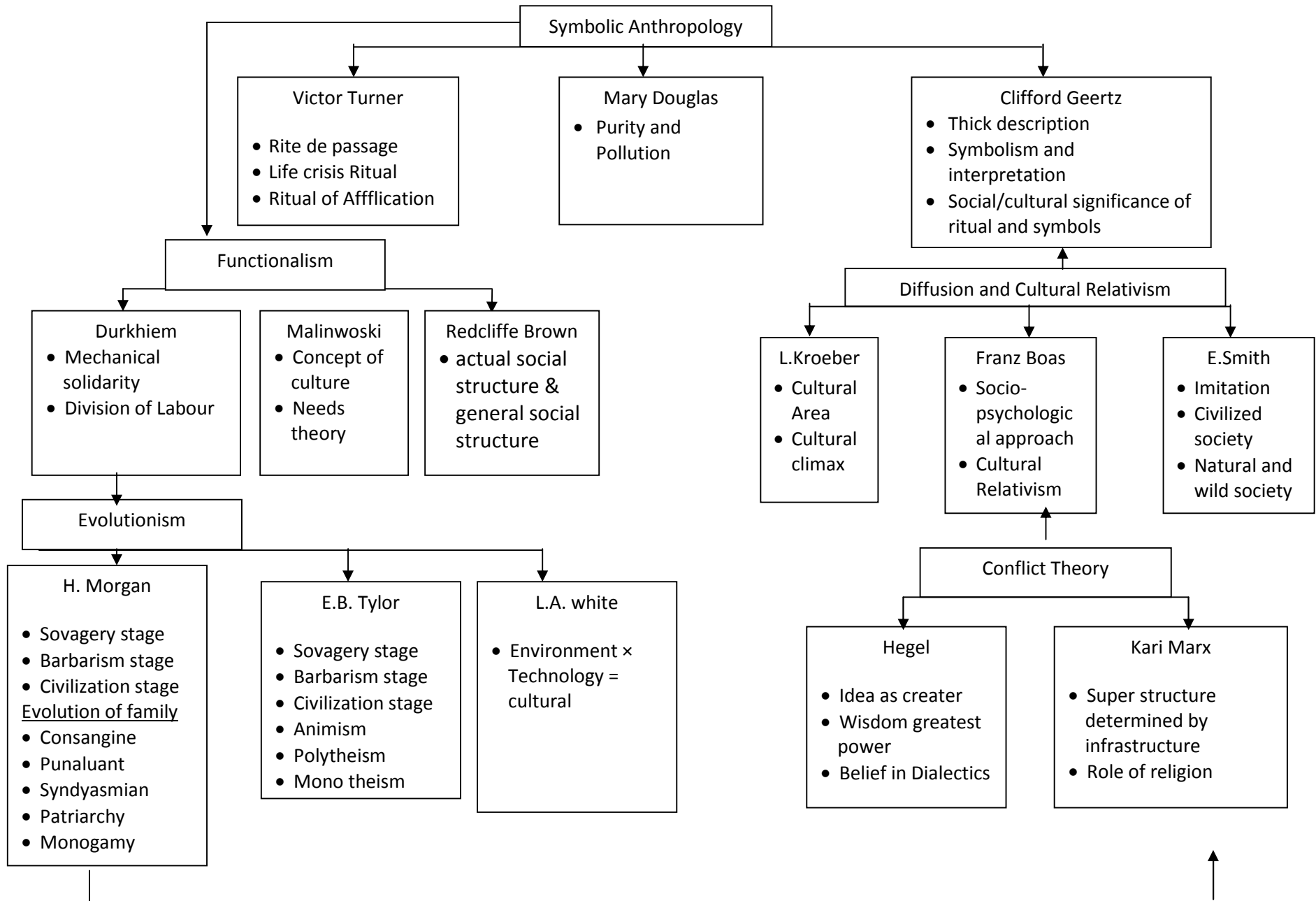
b. Khui Pae (One night pae)

This Pae continues for two days and conducted by only Lama Ghepren, Pachyu don't do it. Ghepren Pachyu conducts Tin Rate Pae (Tamu, 2067).

2.6 Theoretical Frame

This study is framed with the theoretical frames of symbolic anthropology (symbolism) with focus on works of Victor Turner. Theory of diffusionism and cultural relativism has also prepared the ground in explaining the process of cultural influences/changes and the fast process of migration and settlement of Gurungs. Functionalist perspective stresses on realizing the vitality of functional prerequisites and need based perspective. The conflict perspective is embedded with the change situations and the alternations occurring due to migration, economic gaps etc. The framework follows:

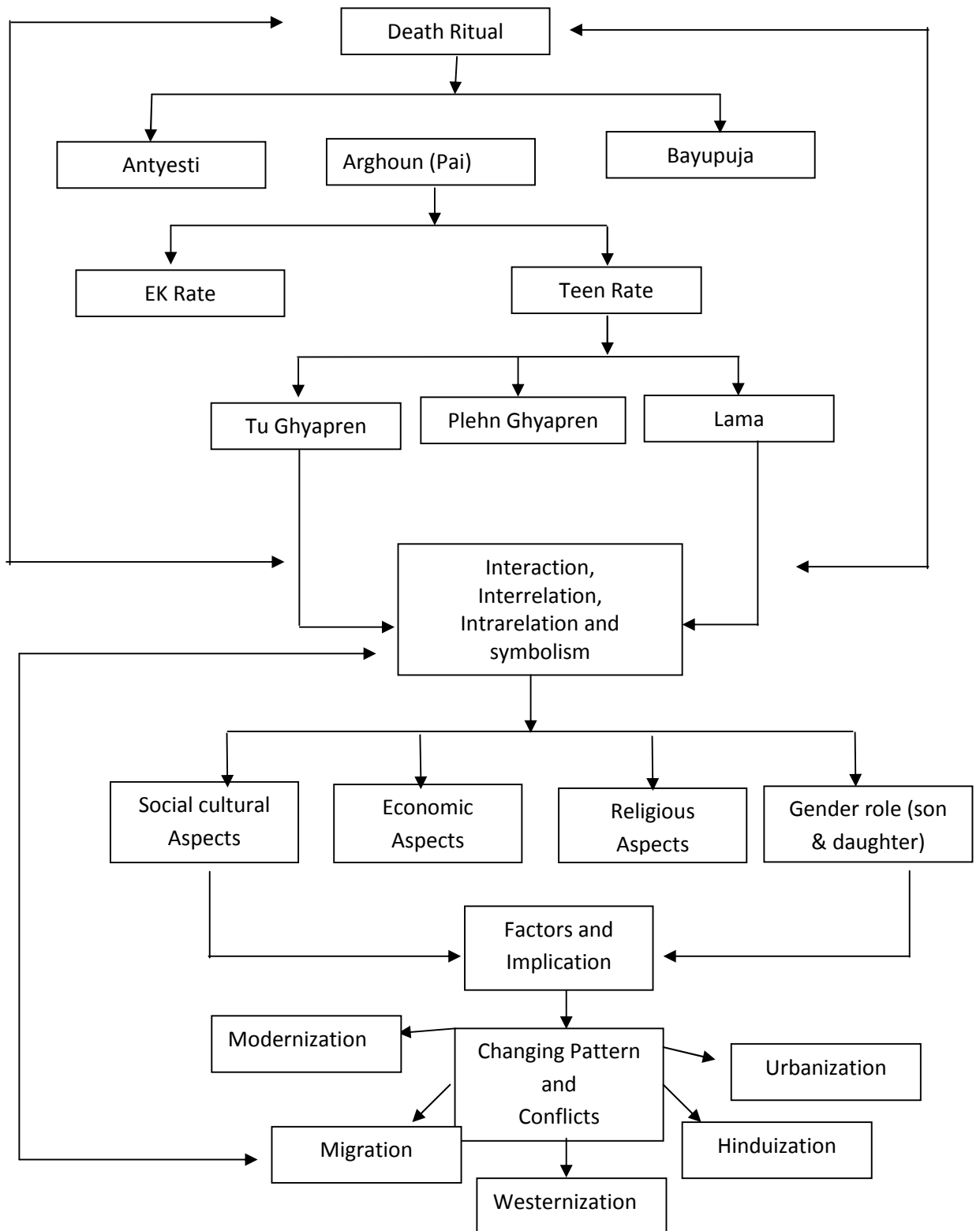
Figure 1 : Theoretical Framework of the Study



2.7 Conceptual Frame

Death Ritual is compulsory in Gurung culture and it is their identity. There is the hidden history of Gurungs. When the Pachyu, Ghepren describes the *pye (shastra)*, there's the mentioning of the origin and migration of Gurungs, importance of relations and creation of cultures and rituals. This kind of cultures and rituals are not be found in any other ethnic/castes groups. In this study, death ritual has been discoursed into three parts as *Antesti*, *Arghoun (pae)* and *Bayupuja*. This study has observed, described and explored about these three organs. More concentration has been in Arghoun. There are prevailing Arghoun as *Ek Rate* and *Teen Rate*. *Ek Rate pae* is conducted by Lamas only. The Gurungs of Rupakot V.D.C. take three kinds of priests like Tu Ghepren of Marchikot, Plehn Ghepren of Syaklung and Lama. The study has been connected with interaction and intrarelation between three priest's functions, objectives and also has seen interrelation with cultures (death ritual) of other caste/ethnic groups. The factors in death ritual are multiaspects incorporating social, cultural, economic, religious and gender roles. And changing pattern in the death ritual is the implication of above factors. Rituals changing pattern is the dependent variable affected by modernization, Hinduization, Sanskritization, migration, westernization, urbanization which are the independent variables. Conceptual frame follows.

Figure 2 : Conceptual Framework



CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Any research should run with well plan and careful selection of most appropriate research methods. This study has followed the methods as mentioned below.

3.1 Study Site and Rationale of Selection of the Study Site

The migrated Gurung people in Pokhara from Rupakot V.D.C. are settled in different places of Pokhara like Kajipokari, Rambazar, Audhogik Chhetra, Amarsing Chowk, Lalgurash Tole, Rani Pauwa, Matepani, Mahendrapool, Chipledhunga, Bagar, Lakeside etc. The Gurungs of Rupakot migrated not only in Pokhara, they are also settled in another places i.e. Lekhnath etc. This study has concentrated on the migrated Gurungs of Rupakot V.D.C. in Pokhara. They are organized in 'Rupa Samaj'. Even in Rupa Samaj, there are sub-societies as Chisapani Samaj and Virchok Samaj. But this study was concerned with Rupa Samaj which is the mixture of all Gurung people of Rupakot V.D.C. They observe many functions and rituals together. In death ritual, they take responsibilities from management to every thing. They gather voluntary for help. There are collaborations with harmony among them in their society.

3.2 Research Design

Research design is the well research plan structure, strategy which provides guidelines to a researcher to get the answers remaining in the circle of research objectives. It also controls error variances of a particular research problem. So research design is the process of making decisions before the situation arises and arrangement of condition for collection and analysis of data in a manner.

The aim of this study is to gain informations of Gurung death ritual hence the Research design was concerned in exploratory, descriptive, experimental research. These designs help to find out interrelated causes and symbolic value of Gurung's death ritual at micro level. This study explored the hidden elements which are remained in death ritual among Gurungs. It represents the earlier stage of death ritual.

The study has attempted to see what is there rather than to predict the relationship that was found. So, exploratory research is designed. This study was concentrated to describe about relation of variables and implication in changing pattern in death ritual among Gurung community. It was concerned with existing social problems and it's basic nature and causes. And the final research design is experimental. Research study was experimented by observing the effect on a dependent variable by the manipulation of independent variables.

3.3 Sampling

The people are involved directly in death ritual. They have more or less knowledge with each about death rituals. There are enlisted 60 Gurung households in Rupa Samaj. They have migrated from Rupakot V.D.C. They are associated with well combination. 60 households have been selected for research study. The sampling is based on census with the selection of all 60 households of Rupa Samaj.

Table 3.1 : Location wise Distributions of Household

S.N.	Location	Number of household
1	Chiplehunga	5
2	Mahendrapool	3
3	Bagar	6
4	Ranipauwa	3
5	Matepani	7
6	Laligurashtole	8
7	Amarshing Chowk	5
8	Rambazar	6
9	Kaji Pokhari	8
10	Lakeside	4
11	Audhyogikchhetra	2
12	New Road	3
	Total	60

Source: Field Survey, 2011.

3.4 Nature and Sources of Data

As per the need of the study, primary and secondary data have been collected. Priorities have been given for both data but primary data has been given more emphasis which are qualitative as well as quantitative. Primary data have been

collected by observation, key-informant interview, group interview, household interview. The observations recorded by this research are also the sources of primary data. Researcher's observations have yielded more qualitative. Similarly, key-informants interview also has yielded more qualitative data.

Secondary data has also been collected from published and unpublished sources. Secondary data has also played important role in this study.

3.5 Primary Data Collection Techniques

On the basis of research objectives, questions and the type of data required for the study the following techniques were adopted to collect primary data:

3.5.1 Observation

Participatory observation is the fundamental of anthropological researches. Observation technique was adopted in various steps in order to study various areas in research area. Researcher observed funeral of death body, during Pae period conducted by Ghepren / Pachyu and Lama separately. And also observed Ek Rate Pae in Gumba. Observation had been done regarding activities of death ritual when, what, how and who have done as rite.

Observation eliminates subjective bias in research if done accurately. This method is independent of respondents' willingness to respond and as such is relatively less demanding of active cooperation on the part of respondents as happens to be the case in interview and questionnaire method. Observation was supplemented by case study method.

3.5.2 Interview

Interview is one of the main sources of primary data. It is a piece of social interaction with one person which is systematic method. In this study, researcher has adopted formal interview, informal interview, personal interview, group interview with household heads which had been suitable for research situation.

3.5.3 Schedule

This Technique has been the main basis of collection of primary data for the help of interview. The questions were prepared with both open and closed to collect required data. Interview schedule was structured carefully while making questions. Questions included in the schedule were formed in such a way that they were able to generate both qualitative and quantitative data. The questions in the schedule were structured and the researcher herself collected all informations.

3.5.4 Key-informant Interview

Key-informant interview was conducted to gain general knowledge of death ritual for research with matured persons. 13 key-informants were chosen for key informant interview who had got good knowledge of rituals. 3 Gheprens, 2 Pachyus, 2 Lamas, 2 Pandits and 4 senior household head (3 males and a female) were chosen on the basis of their experience and age. It helped getting special insights on certain aspects and collecting more important qualitative data. And also made easier for research work. This interview was totally unstructured.

3.5.5 Case Study

In this study, case study has also been included by observing Antesty and Pae of Gurung death rituals.

3.6 Secondary Data Collection Techniques

Secondary source is the most important for every research study. It gives to make a clear framework to be easy the research work secondary data has been collected from previous research study works by different authours which were available from books, articles, magazines net etc. These are related with theoretical perspective and conceptual perspective.

3.7 Data Analysis and Presentation

Collected data have been analyzed both qualitatively as well as quantitatively. Quantitative raw data have been analyzed by using computer software program SPSS for windows. While presenting data simple statistical tools like frequency and percentange have been used. Likewise, tabulations and graphical representation have also been made.

Qualitative data have been managed manually and analyzed descriptively. In this study, researcher has admitted to maintain the objectivity of the data and to avoid data error by comparing them with different data collected from other places when deemed essential. Most importantly, efforts have been made to interpret data as anthropologically as far as possible.

CHAPTER FOUR

PROFILE OF MIGRATED GURUNGS

This chapter consists of general profile of Pokhara and Rupakot including cultural, social and physical setting and migrated Gurung and migration trends.

4.1 Physical, Cultural and Social Setting of Pokhara

Pokhara is the second biggest city of Nepal. It lies on the lap of Annapurna Himalaya range of the Western development Region. It is also yard of Fewa Lake. It is the regional headquarter of Western development and zonal headquarter of Gandaki and also headquarter of Kaski district as well. It lies about 200 KM away from Kathmandu, the capital of Nepal and at the altitude of about 900 m. from the sea level. Pokhara is a valley where Seti river flows by making several deeps. There are many causes, amazing scene of David fall etc. which look quite mysterious and beautiful.

Pokhara is the place where many people have migrated from neighbouring villages and other districts. Gurungs are supposed to be the native people of Gandaki region. Except Gurungs, there are caste/ethnic, group people like Brahmans, Chetri, Newar, Thakali, Magar, Tamang, Damai, Kami, Sarki, Thakuri, Muslim etc. People have migrated for education and search of employment. The people of other districts like Dhading, Kavre, Sindhupalchowk, etc. also come in Pokhara for employment. In Pokhara, we can find different religions such Hindu, Buddhism, Islam, Christianity as well as various cultures and castes. There are various religious places, temples church, stupas and Mosques.

4.2 Physical and Cultural Setting of Rupakot V.D.C.

Gandaki region is the main inhabitation of Gurungs. Lamjung, Gorkha, Kaski, Tanahun, Syangja districts are the places of Gurungs' majority. Rupakot V.D.C. is an area of Gurungs inhabitation in Kaski. Rupakot V.D.C. is in the head of 'Rupatal'. It is also the border of Lekhnath Municipality. In the north of Rupakot is Hamsapur V.D.C., in the south Deurali V.D.C., in the east Thumki V.D.C. and in west Lekhnath

municipality are situated. It lies about 25 KM away from Pokhara and at altitude of about 1300 m from the sea level.

There are Brahmin, Chhetri, Gurung, Magar, Kami, Damai, Sunar, Muslim etc in Rupakot. There is majority of Gurungs. Most of Gurung inhabit in wards no 1, 3, 9 and 7 and few of them live in other wards. Total population of this V.D.C. is 5,450. Among them, the total number of Gurung population is 3,015. And total household of this V.D.C. are 880. There are 85 households of Gurungs in ward no 2 and 3. There is a temple of goddess named Chisapani Devi which is believed by many people. People worship in Mangsir Purnima and Baishakh Purnima twice a year. Many tourists visit Rupakot every year. They can view so beautiful scene of Mt. Annapurna Range, Sun rise, Sun set and Rupa, Begnas and Fewa lakes and also have a view of Pokhara valley and Lekhnath municipality.

Most of Gurung people serve in military of India, Britain and other foreign countries for employment. Most of people have migrated to urban areas especially for education and other causes. It is becoming a trend. As a result, they are separated from their family and clan group. The migrated people of Rupakot V.D.C. spread from Kathmandu, Pokhara, Lekhnath and Tanahun (Khairani, Dulegaunda) etc. The researcher has studied the migrated Gurung people in Pokhara from Rupakot V.D.C.

Historical Background of Rupakot V.D.C.

Rupakot V.D.C. is a beautiful village. It has also interesting historical background. According to elder informant Til Maya Gurung's (Key informant) oral tale, there was a palace at the peak of hill Chasapani. Before some years, there was built a Gumba. When people dug the base for Gumba, they found some utensils and other materials but villagers got it and lost it.

Likewise, in 2036 B.S there was visited by Royal prince of British with Dhirendra Shah and participated in the marriage ceremony of Constituent Assembly Member Krishna Bahadur Gurung of Kaski chhetra no. 1. From that time, there has become the trekking route for tourists to visit through Begnash Lake, Syaklung, Rupakot Chisapani, Pokhara. And many tourists began to visit this area.

The Gurungs of Rupakot V.D.C. entered there from different places. The key informant Nar Bahadur Gurung said that some Gurungs (Kohlme) of Rupakot came from Kohla, some (Pachyu/Fewali) came from Fewa Lake, Kromje came from Siklesh etc. There are many clan groups of Gurungs. They have settled from many years ago at Rupakot.

4.3 The Migrated People from Rupakot in Pokhara

The flow of migration is increasing speedily. The Lahure rooted Gurung Society can not remain untouched from this trend in Rupakot. Most of Lahure families have migrated to urban area. Some migrated for getting better facilities, some for education and employment. They settled spreading in different places i.e. Bagar, Mahendrapul, Chipledhunga, Matepani, Laliguransh Tole, Amarsing chowk, Ram Bagar, Kaji Pokhari, Lakeside, and Prithvi Chowk. They have associated a society named 'Rupa Samaj'. They have joined in a chain for conducting several rituals, customs and functions. There are enlisted 60 households in Rupa Samaj. The members enlisting process in Rupa Samaj is increasing.

4.4 Characteristics of Respondents

The characteristics of respondents are separated according to occupation, age, religion, sex, family size and duration migration in years.

a. Occupation

Human beings get involved in any profession for their livelihood. They achieve their social status, prestige from occupation. The Gurungs of Rupa Samaj have embraced as an occupation like trade/business, private service, foreign service etc. The most of respondents of this study are housewives and ex-armies. Till at present, in Gurung community, they take very high prestige for military services. The occupation distribution of respondents of Rupa Samaj is in table 4.1.

Table: 4.1 : Occupation Distribution

Occupation	Frequency	Percent
Trade/Business	7	11.7
Teacher	2	3.3
Private Service	4	6.7
House wife	26	43.3
Foreign employment	2	3.3
Others	18	30.0
Total	59	98.3
No response	1	1.7
Total	60	100

Source: Field Study, 2011.

The total numbers of respondents were 60 in this study. Among them, the majority (43.3 percent respondents) in occupation were house wives 30 percent respondents were others (retired from Army). Likewise, 11.7 percent respondents were involved in trade/ business. Similarly, 6.7 percent, 3.3 percent, 3.3 percent respondents were involved respectively in private service, teacher and foreign employment. And 1.7 percent respondents haven't response about their occupation. The majority of housewives have participated in this study.

b. Age

Death ritual, is seen mostly above 40/50 years. Young people cannot be seen in majority to involve in Gurung death ritual. This study has been attempted to take different age groups respondents from above 25 years. It is an attempt to involve young generation too. The distribution of respondents by age groups is as below:

Table: 4.2 : Distribution of Respondents by Age Group

	Frequency	Percent
Below 25	7	11.7
25-35	11	18.3
35-45	18	30.0
45-55	6	10.0
above 55	18	30.0
Total	60	100.0

Source: Field Study, 2011.

The age of the respondents categorized below is 25 years, 25-35, 35-45, 45-55 and above 55 years. Among total respondents, 11.7 percent respondents were below 25 years who were very young, 18.3 percent respondent's age was 25-35, 30 percent respondents age were 35-45 years, 10 percent respondents were 45-55 years and 30 percent respondents were 55 years above. Generally, above 55 years age groups had more knowledge about death ritual.

c. Religion

Religion means belief in or recognition or an awakened sense of higher unseen controlling power or powers with the emotion and morality connected with rites or worship on any system of such belief or worship, devoted fidelity, monastic life, etc. Religion is also conceived as having reference to certain characteristic types of beliefs, practices, feeling, moods, attitude etc. There is no absolute difference between religion and morality (Majupuria, 2008).

According to Durkheim, (1893), "A religion is a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say things that set apart forbidden beliefs and practices and which unite all those who adhere to them in to one single moral community."

Tylor (1865) defines religion, "belief in spiritual beings". This belief arises from the imagined nature of these beings and is roofed in its validity for every individual.

Religion is a belief upon god and super power. Religion makes human disciplined and cultured. Among the sampled respondents, the distribution of respondents by religion is as follows.

Table 4.3 : Distribution of Respondents by Religion

Religion	Frequency	Percent
Hindu	21	35.0
Buddhist	24	40.0
Hindu/Buddist	13	21.7
Bon	2	3.3
Total	60	100.0

Source: Field Study, 2011.

The migrated Gurung people in Pokhara from Rupakot V.D.C. believe in different religions. Among total respondents, 35 percent respondents believe in Hindu, 40 percent respondents believe in Buddhist, 21.7 percent respondents believe in both of Hindu/ Buddhist and 3.3 percent respondents believe in Bon. Very few number of respondents know about Bon religion despite close involvements with Bon rituals.

a. Sex, Family Size and Duration Migration in Years

In this study male and female respondents are involved. But many respondents are females. Maximum females are housewives. They stay at home. The researcher met female respondents. The distribution of respondents according to sex can be seen from following table.

Table 4.4 : Distribution of Respondents by Sex

Sex	Frequency	Percent
Male	26	43.3
Female	34	56.7
Total	60	100.0

Source: Field Study, 2011.

There were 43.3 percent male respondents and 56.7 percent females. This data clarifies that due to Lahure culture, migrations of males which are working outside and hence females are dominant- a kind of matriarchical society seems developing.

d. Family Size

Gurungs of Rupakot V.D.C. are affected by Modernization. The result is migration of people to urban area. The family size is becoming nuclear gradually. The family with seven members is found (maximum). It has been separated grouping in upto 4 and 5-7 members in family.

Table 4.5 : Family Size

Family Size	Frequency	Percent
Upto 4	34	56.7
5-7	26	43.3
Total	60	100.0

Source: Field Study, 2011.

Above table shows that 56.7 percent respondents have upto four members in family and 43.3 percent respondents have members between the number 5-7. It is clear that family size is to be of medium size.

e. Duration of Migration in Years

Gurung people of Rupakot V.D.C. started to migrate from many years in Pokhara. The duration of migration years ranges from 1 to 52 years.

Table 4.6 : Duration of Migration in Years

Duration	Frequency	Percent
Below 1 year	2	3.3
1 year	1	1.7
2 years	2	3.3
3 years	2	3.3
4 years	1	1.7
5 years	3	5.0
7 years	1	1.7
8 years	5	8.3
10 years	2	3.3
11 years	5	8.3
12 years	1	1.7
13 years	1	1.7
14 years	1	1.7
15 years	2	3.3
18 years	5	8.3
19 years	1	1.7
20 years	5	8.3
21 years	1	1.7
23 years	2	3.3
25 years	3	5.0
26 years	1	1.7
27 years	2	3.3
28 years	1	1.7
30 years	1	1.7
31 years	1	1.7
32 years	1	1.7
34 years	1	1.7
35 years	2	3.3
40 years	1	1.7
45 years	1	1.7
48 years	1	1.7
52 years	1	1.7
Total	60	100.0

Table 4.7 : Reasons for Migration

Reasons for Migration ^a	Responses		Percent of Cases
	Number	percent	
For education	25	39.7%	43.1%
For employment	10	15.9%	17.2%
For better facilities	23	36.5%	39.7%
Others	5	7.9%	8.6%
Total (Multiple responses)	63	100.0%	108.6%

Source: Field Study, 2011.

Above table shows that 39.7 percent respondents have responded reason for migration as education. Likewise, 15.9 percent respondents migrated for employment, 36.5 percents for better facilities and 7.9 percent respondents said for others. More people have migrated for education and better facilities. It shows the changing trend of Gurung people giving priority to the value of education rather than the military career. Some respondents have responded the multiple answers for the reason of the migration like for education and for better facilities. So the table has shown more than total number and percent of cases.

CHAPTER - FIVE

CULTURAL ASPECTS IN GURUNG'S DEATH RITUAL

In Gurungs Death Ritual, there are many cultures, customs and traditions. There is also a long history of Gurungs which is explained in *Pye-Tan Lhu-Tan (Shastra)*. Gurungs follow the customs and traditions according to Pye-Tan Lhu- Tan. In this chapter, researcher has attempted to explain about cultural aspects and beliefs among Gurung people focusing on the death rituals. The death rituals of Gurungs are divided into three parts: Antesty, Bayupuja and Arghun (Pae).

There are rules for doing any function or rites or have certain customs. Pae is a great rite of Gurungs. All the Gurungs have accepted from heart to Pae. When any person dies, and his/her family members decide to do Pae and propose their kith groups. Key informant Gamar Sing Gurung informed me, some people start Pae from burial place, some raise Pae within three days/seven days/thirteen days or after some months/years. The tradition of worshipping in Bayuthan is given the name of 'Nark' (hell) of ancestor. Gurungs have a religious belief, Pae is conducted to send toward the path of heaven from hell. According to their kith's discussion, they decide how much expenditure raise, how much to spend etc. After this, they go to see the day with paindi taking not properly full bottle of alcohol. After fixing the day by paindi, Ashyon Koiba (invitation mawali/maiti), Mho, purohit Koiba (calling son-in- low and priests), Chahamerime uiba (calling daughters) etc is done. When going to call Ashyon, priests, they take not properly filled bottle of alcohol. They inform to society after dicision doing pae for needs of help. In the village, society manages firewood, water etc. And in urban area, all the house hold gives some money as the offering of small help or encourage. Kiths also raise money from all household. And Kartas should accept other more expenditure. But some where all raise equal amount. And somewhere raise only have ancestor for conducting pae.

In the previous day than the beginning day of Pae, Paindi conducts a Tehe (oblation) "Simifulaba" (Invite to death soul). Paindi Nar Bahadur Gurung says, in this Tehe, ancestors are requested muttering their name for invitation to come at pae. On same day, "Tihijipreba" (take out good time for doing all rite in pae) is conducted by paindi.

After 'Tihijipreba, there is impurity for Kartas directed function when is done and by whom (Lho). There is done good or ill luck any one has to do according to Lho (barga) in Gurung caste. Thus, family members get good fortune conducting the works determined person and within time. But if they become unable to take correct time there could be ill – luck, is believed. Generally, Gurungs also believe on it because there had happened like this events and incidents. E.g. at one pae, there was direction of paindi to throw Anla within 4 PM. if it is not, will affect to Tahavai. But Lamas unable to throw it at the correct time. A son of Tahavai was dead within 24 hours. Thus, at one pae, Anla fell down itself, then there was oracle, this kind of ill symbol may be attracted to Mho (son-in-law). According to oracle of priests, a Mho of that kith dead. So Gurungs have a tradition to take importance of good time of Pae for protection from such incidents.

Pachyu Guru Hira Singh Gurung (Key informant) has said, specially, the beginning of pae is done by Pachyu. Pae is a formless plane/medium to reach to pitri to heaven/pitrilok. For flying this plane there should have needed its engines. As the form of engines, Ghepren and Pachyu are like pair of oxen and the paindi is like catching person of handle of plough or hali. It means paindi shows direction and Ghepren Pachyu move on it. So, here paindi is a director of direction. Bayuthan is hell. Beda is like letter. It helps taking out the dead soul from trap of monsters and send to heaven or pitrilok. Other engines are believed Nemme (Karta), Chahamarime (Daughters), Tahavai (Jehta vai/ some clan group but no need of mourning), Ashyon (mawali), hui (Bhanja Bhanji), Ngetuhu (samdi), Mho (son-in-law) are very important. Like this, Khainchi (leader), Godeme (store keeper), Vanchhe (cook), Technical manager (person for management of electronic, water etc) etc are also more important engines of this great oblation pae/plane. It is not only difficult, it is impossible in the absence of any part of above to accomplish pae or for landing plane carrying dead soul in heaven. When there begins the pae, according to Pe-Tan-Lhu-Tan there, should not be quarrel during Pae. If some body happens to quarrel, abstain from them. Otherwise dead soul becomes sad. It is believed. All the present persons help self desire to success this rite Pae on the belief or to trust each other, combination, help kind feeling and fortune should be needed. Gurungs believe pitri karma as the biggest Dharma.

Paindi Guru Tika Gurung (Key informant) informed, the beginning of Arghoun (Pae) is done from the works La-si-Lapa (joining leaves), Soyan Sonpa (grain spread out to dry), Kune Tonpa (hasking rice by wooden machine) Pa-chhonpa (make alcohol) with woman (whose should has been death father or mother) who directed by Paindi. Pachyu begin Pae. Pachyu conduct 'Mhusi Tehen' (the oblation to confort to pitris) on the basis of time table given by paindi. It is also done to cut and inter Mhosi Kila by man (Lho) who directed by Paindi. That male also should have been dead his father or mother. Generally, those male and female have been out of their clan group.

Pachyu read to comfort to dead soul saying Syagi Chaba, Koji Chaba, Proji Chapa, Koji yaba. Chhonji Chaba (death from accident, death falling from steep slope, death by bleeding specially females, death having hanging), "you are dead". However please "your soul have to come here", they pray. Necessary things for this Tehen are dalo, Pathi, Tauli, Aduwa (ginger), Prama (medicine to make pa/alcohol). Lawa (purchd rice) egg, proila (Fachyang), Tahalen (bamboo bow), ashes, Thupo (Brance of Katus), five paiyun wood of three fingers, Ek mama Jand, pot, grain, chhorma (a pot to make/select jand). Mhosi kila inter into soil and kept chyanla (kept foods on tip of reed), fish, cow dung, syaku and covered with dalo keeping ashes in copper pot.

Mhosin Tehen is moved from morning to night continuously. Pachyu Guru Hira Singh Gurung (Key informant) had told that, there are 34 chapters. Where it is explained all the used materials in this Tehen or in our daily life. Those chapters are like below. Linkopa (protection of body), black tika of coal at forehead is taken. All the present relatives take it. Thus it is taken, there is a belief, if living soul deviates, it could return or could be protected. Other chapters are explained about Tendo (about syakhu), Charda (about reed), Kroda (about dalo), Kolda (about copper), Krohonda (about bow), Silchyon (Jhyali), Prehemeti (the beak of hyonrati bird), Kushain fu (snafu/a pot make jand), fruba (four faces bird or Brahama of Pachyu), Kaharbo (Gods/nine brothers), Nudapruda (condition of Marcha/hurbs), Fonda (hunting), Lhakyadanda (remember to Guru), Faida Mida (condition of fire), Choda (condition of odan), Sildu (offer gods of all directions), Chhoda (purification), Krolu (Pachyu Guru), Prakralu (Pachyu Guru), Chyarla (condition soul), Luyaplochhe (gods), Prochemroche (Baniya/Bahun/vote), Proichawochye chaba (matter eaten brother by tiger), Mhoda (Nag Nagini), Tutomo (brother and sisters), Syon Koiba (remember of

god), Mo koiba (calling death soul), Chailhiba (kal bikal), Nari ghyorba. Thus by explaining and these all conditions, there occur the work calling of dead soul. There is sacrifice of a cock. After finishing this Tehen, sato is taken and burnt in fire on bypath at night.

He also informed, anla (a lingo of bamboo) is believed as the throne of ancestors. There is a religious belief that the soul of pitri sits coming here. It is done according to direction of Paindi. First of all, daughter spreads purched rice. Anla turning is kept to east crosswise on the mat. Then daughter puts mustard oil on five places on it. At that kept oil places, the male person who is given Lho by Paindi breaks the Anla si (wood/bamboo). A white clothe like flag is kept there. There are kept by hanging purched rice, ginger, pa (alcohol), prahama (marcha), fish, cotton, fruits, clothes, milk, chhikuta (a kind of flora), putta (flora), trident etc. Chhikuta is taken as hair of pitri. Then daughters do krachha (taking oil) turn by turn. On this first day, krachha is done up to down. It means calling soul of pitri at the pae. Mho makes Anla upright and there is burning lamp. This lamp should burn continuously for three days. There is sacrificed goat or he-goat.

On the first day, after the end of Mhosi Tehen from morning to half night, then Gheprens start ken-ken Tehen/Simi failu-Tehen (crossing). Ghepren Guru Karna Gurung (Key informant) had informed, this Tehen move whole night. Ghepren make Kaidu. Nine hand rice in nine duna (cup made by leaves), nine ruppee (as the dept of boat for death person), Fui (Pure food), Chyu (grain), rice, dubo, pati, flower, Rerupehe (a kind of plant),sesamum seed and barley in angkhara (jug) etc are kept rubbing gold and coin. In this Tehen, all the relatives Nemme (Karta), daughters, mawali (Angyon), Mho (son-in-law), Ngetuhu (samdi), Tahavai (Jetha vai), Hui (Bhanja/Bhanji) tell the name of their dead ancestors of three generation. Ghepren request with old ancestors (had been pae) to come for taking new ancestors of now (ancestors happening pae). Chahamerime do Krachha (taking oil) up to down at Anla. Thus Tehen is done during whole night.

On second day morning, Pachyus starts Tehen, which is called 'Sinamoru Tehen' (meet ancestors). Pachyu Guru Khushi Man Gurung is emphasized, necessary materials are Chalnu, Chansi, rice, ginger, fish, marcha water in nine duna, nine hand rice, nine rupee (for dept), heart of goat, lever, cock not cutting neck (believed body),

white clothe (believed skin), Pa, fire, grain etc. Pachyus tell good luck and ill luck looking that lever. Specically, the important rite on second day is 'Rihiteba'. Pachyu, Ghepren dance in any open place. All the participant relatives sit at the side of plain putting foods on plate or tray. Sons sit taking water in jug (angkhara), rice and Catton in pathi. 'Rihiteba' means to go to take astu (remains). Mho has taken remains and Pachyu, Ghepren try to take with dancing that remains. Mho has dancing not giving remains with teasing. In this time, somebody is made joker and present comic. Those remains are kept in 'Pla' (image) with bonding after have taken from hana of Mho. If there are not any remains of death person, they make 'Kauda' as astu (remains). Then chhetto dance is danced. Daughters decorate 'pla' (image). Then, cow dung smear, spread banana's leaves and offer foods. Chhetto dance is danced on the happiness of getting remains (astu),

The night of second day, there is conducted Mo-Tonba Tehen (oblation of calling soul) by pachyu. After taking 'Rhi' there is conducted rites same as funeral of dead body. The essential materials for Mo- Tonba Tehen are cow dung, dubo, stem and leaves of banana, katus with branch/muna, chhikuta, hen, pa, marcha etc. In this night Gheprens conduct 'Balakatra Tehen'. Where offer foods, water, doing krachha etc. There is the important rite 'Syodara neba' (give ashyon/mawali cloth). It is very important and emotional rite. Hen/chicken keep into pla for giving living form to dead soul. It is done for living form of dead soul, said Ghepren Guru Mekh Gurung. There are offered foods/prasad or doing other rites to be continued turn Nemme, Tahavai, chahamerime, Ngetuhu, hui ... and at the last Asyon. After offering Asyon, there is not allowed to do something for others. Mawali have done end of any Tehen or rites in death ritual.

On third day or the last day of pae, there happens a Tehen named 'Rihil Kaiba'. This is also called "Simi Chyalaba" (recognition new and old ancestors). The next important rite of the last day is 'Kyu chhaba' (grazing sheep). Priests listen charm to sheep washing legs and tieing with thread at 'pla' (image). Ghepren Guru Gum Bahadur Gurung (Key informant) tells, it is done for transfer soul of sheep in to dead soul or make the form of ancestor. Then go in an open place and sits around taking Tuhuglu (foods) all the relatives. Those sheep taking form of ancestors are left to eat Tuhunglu. There is other sheep as a poter compulsorily. In previous days, there were tied sheep for per chyuhu (death person) but now a days, it is also done less sheep. The sheep

formed pitri eat foods then give unwilling. People put fur on their hair by tearing up of sheep. The cause of doing this is not to go good willing will be having prosperity for living persons, wish.

The next important rite of last day is 'Syarko' (reaching/sending ancestors by melodious). There is hidden history of Gurungs. Pachyu Guru Hira Singh Gurung focuses, it is cleared the historical background of Gurungs. We can hear the explanation of Gurungs historical places in time of singing syarko. This is conducted by Pachyu. All the presented relatives Ghepren, Pachyu, son, daughter, son-in-law, mawali, Khaischy, cooks, Tahavai, other relatives, other managing and working people (filling water, washing utensils etc), all participate on it. They take any things in hand (rice, coin, food etc and related materials water pot, Spatula etc) and have round shape. Pachyu reads shastra and according to Shastra, they came back sending ancestors.

After 'Syerko' there occur, the ending function to fall Anla and pla. Immediately of falling pla (image), Mho goes running at path and digs a little bit. Which is called 'Kya Chhayaba' (clearing way). Then Kai Dalla wapa (Fol hanne), throughing arrow from bow, Tar hanne (opening door), then goes to ghrough anla. (This rite should be happened in the correct time given by paindi. First of all, Tahavai hit tar because of open way for well and son hits it. If one son is unable to break this Tar (Small wooden plank) another son hits it turn by turn and takes Anla toward burial Place.

On this day, knock down logding. Gamar Sing Gurung (Key informant) says, if not all, little bit knock down for warning custom), oven and make pure kitchen. After throughing Anla, Pachyu and Ghepren both conduct the Tehen "Thaso prahangi Kon Priba" (oblation for purification). After it, Ashyon purify all kartas. Nemme, Mho, Tahavai, chahamerime doing syaisyai by rupa (yellow thread), taking tika of sandal wood, flower, clothes, food, pa and they become free from sorrow.

In the observation of Pae is seen, after purification by Ashyon, Nemme (kartas) respect Ashyon, Khegi (priests), Chahomerime and Mho doing syaisyai and giving foods and pa. Chahamarimes also respects kartas and Mhos. In this time, they do joke make different materials (mala, feta etc by polithin, rubbish, leaves etc) wearing to Mhos.

The most important function on this day is "Pahailu Bujhepa" (Subscription). This is the last formal rite of Arghoun. In this time, the members of participation in pae are given opportunity to say their matter of desire. Then, there is subscription program for priests Mhoes, Tahavai, Ashyon, Khainchi, woman doing la- sin, a man broke Anla sin etc. Subscription taking or not by Ashyon depends on their desire but their right is to take commission (Nehega) is 'Chhokre' (rib having two sides with back bone of sheep or goat). Ghepren Guru Mekh Gurung tells, this is the right of Ashyon.

Finishing this work there is tradition to dance and sing during the whole night. Doing dancing and singing is developed to encourage power of finishing pitri karma for the persons who are sat in sorrow. And they give company to kartas by singing and dancing because kartas have to awake during whole night.

Pae Conducted by Lamas

Specially, according to Gurungs ritual and culture, Bon Lamas are the priest of death ritual of Gurungs. But this day, Bon Lamas are disappearing in the influence of Budha Mahayani. Lamas conduct Pae according to time and situation like Ghepa (expaned form), Dihimpa (middle form) and Duipa (Short form) Lama Guru Aaita Bahadur Gurung (Key informant) said.

This Pae was conducted on the dead soul of Devi Maya and observed by researcher on Magh 14-16, 2068. The first day of Pae starts from doing La-Sin-Lapa, Soya soba, Kuni Tonba. Because this is the beginning condition of Pae of Gurungs. Upright Anla also is done in the correct time which is given by Paindi. In this uprighting Anla, there have done spreading purched rice, doing kraccha etc. After uprighting Anla, there is done chhep lamu /Ke krim (invitation for ancestors). They summon their Guru 'Guru Rhimaksha' for the successful of work; Lamas describe six Loks/universe (Aasulok, Debalok, Manusyalok, Pashulok, Pretlok; and Naraklok). Lama Guru Naina Sing Gurung says, they worship Sitho (less on of peace and revolution), lesson of sens (Dharma palak) of there six Loks. In the second day, there is done Rihiteba. Pla (image) is decorated and offered foods (Pla Tohonsi Garnu). The important function doing in third/last day is 'Khemanasi'. This is like Simichyalaba doing by Ghepren Pachyu. Lamas are believed making Pla (image of pitri) only culture of Gurung caste. Specially, they have made as compulsorily the image of soil. They believe it is the special image (pla). They hang a paper writing the names of ancestors. Lama Gurus give flower to take at hand to all the presence relatives for the wishing of ancestors will born from flower and also will sit on flower. After finishing this explanation, Lamas request to offer flower. The meaning of this is wished to inter mix in refuse of God. And after raining of flower, the paper is fired, which is written the names of ancestors or dead soul is flied from this universe. Then falls down Anla and goes for funeral of Pae. Kartas (actors), Tahavai hit Tar round three

times to Anla and Pla from right side. Before this fol Lhiba (thoughing round of rice), hit bow is done and over.

Conducting rites by Lama Gurus are seen more attractive decoration of oblation. There is kept different statues of Budha, Kaidus (status made by powder), feather of peacock (it is believed the symbol of peace and pitiful), fruits, karuwa, pathi, flower, rice in ordering for chhir and Nang or in out of covering and drinking water, bathing water, pushpe (Dhup), Aalaya (lamp), Amritjal, Nepte (mitho mitho prasad), septe (instruments) etc. are used. There are fired 108 lamps in morning and evening. There is kept big lamp in middle and other, small in around, Lamas say that it is fired for the prevention of five sins (angry, proud, greed....). There is different rule to do salutation. It is found /done according to Buddha religion.

The instruments used Lamas for requiems are Gheling (like sahana), Jhyali, drum, bell (Dhorje), Damaru, Kangling (bone of human), Furba, Serngen etc. Lama Gurus also talk about creation. In reality creation is happened from four kinds –from egg, from flower, from heat and from vagina. Creation from flower is gods, creation from egg is birds, fish creation from heat is insects and creation/birth from vagina is human, animals. So that, in Lamaism Pae, they wish, dead persons will get born in flower and also will get seat on flower- Lamas don't read at night.

EK rate Pae is conducted by only Lamas. The rites done during three days are done within two days (to be one night in between). This is the EK Rate Pae. Even these Lamas done Pae in the mixed form of Bon Lamas has not been in Gurung culture can be seen gone toward Mahayani Lamaism. Still done Ek Rate Pae in Gumba (Stupa), Lamas only read and other people haven't to do any thing, also have seen. Some people manage catering service for fooding not to take help of society. But the migrated people of Rupakot village are found not to leave their own ritual and culture till some boundary.

As a whole conducting Pae, on first day calling to dead soul, second day feeding and the last day sending is done. Even accomplished pae from own different way Lamas, Pachyu and Gheprens, the objectives is same to make peace of death soul and wishing will not give trouble and pain for living person. Lama Gurus don't use any animals and birds doing death ritual but Ghepren and Pachyu Gurus use and sacrifice animals and birds according to Tehen (oblation) and explained in Pye (shastra). Gurungs doing Pae or in death ritual, there are remained many seen and useen hidden elements in it. Obey nature; the natural rule is the superior, called to do believe this caste. In which manner, the creating of universe is a form of nature, similarly, all the existences and plants remained on earth are also product of natural rule and our creations (father/mother/ancestors) are also natural rule. Birth and death are also natural. Even more influence of Mahayani Buddha religion coming present, the fundamental own religion or ritual of Gurung caste is 'Bon' religion.

Case Study 5.1: Case Study on Antesty

This case study is based on the observation of Subedar Hasta Bir Gurung which was conducted in his home at Matepani on Kartik 12-14, 2068 B.S. All the constructions and living existences remained in earth have fixed end. Death has been brought with birth. That's why; life is the journey from birth to death. Human beings have created several rituals in this journey of life. These several rituals make people civilized, good cultured, and responsible. From this study it is deduced that Gurungs are



seen to have given still more importance and validity to death ritual than live rituals. They consider their religion and duty/ responsibility to worship of nature and ancestor according to their local religion 'Bon'. They think, their responsibility is to do worship of their ancestors. Seen activities of death ritual, there is a beautiful society even in the society where we can see clearly combination, co-operation, courtesy, responsibility, dutifulness, love, good feeling for each other. There can be seen one is incomplete without another. This is a real and wonderful society. The field observation prepared the grand for illustrating the three vital parts of Gurung death ritual which are as follows as in the case of Hasta Bir Gurung.

When Hasta Bir Gurung died, all his relatives of death persons (Son, daughter, son-in-law, mawali or maity (Asyon), Jetha Bhai/Tahabhai) were present compulsorily. Asyon (mawali), chahame (daughter), Mho (son-in-law), Tahavai (Jetha vai), priests etc are very necessary persons. There is the custom; two persons go to take them. Thus, the meaning of going two people is not to be any kind of fear (sain Ahendiya). After they go for any one, it is noticed ill – luck work (happened death any one).

Wick and incense were burned toward head of dead person in funeral. The piuri (rice) given Ashugn is kept below the pillow of dead body and covered by clothes. When priests (Ghepren or Lama) come, they are welcomed (Tohosy Laba) by alcohol then play on their instruments. At least, priest should be two. But in Rupakot, it is seen Ghepren come two and Lama one. If dead body had on cot, it is kept on the floor by spreading out mat oppositely. Priests start their work after turned. The head of dead body faces door. After it, chahame (daughter) do Krachha (put oil on hair). Conducting funeral by Ghepren, they need a 'tho' (animal for sacrifice, he- goat for male and goat for female). Syaklunge plehen Ghepren sacrifice immediately but Marchikote Tu Gheprens keep with charming and sacrifice later. The cause of sacrificing 'tho' is called to send form of friend with dead person. In this time Ghepren mutter charm, Sya Pina Sya Chadu, ko pina ko chadu...tou pimu chai chadu ...(If give meat

you eat it, if give blood you eat it ...what give you eat it ...) heard saying this. Mho (son-in-law) prepares all materials needed for priests. How much commission given for priests, exact half of it is presented for Mho. After ending of inside work, dead body of Hasta Bir Gurung kept on cot of bamboo and brought out. Dead body was kept crosswise exact before the door. That's why, there is telling a custom not to spread mat crosswise before the door in other condition. Chhikuta (a kind of flora) is kept on the chest of death body by perpendicularly as the form of hair. Priest brings down the mat, which is kept to make dead body opposite, by kicking and muttering charm.

Daughter needs compulsorily in death ritual. If dead person has not daughter, his brother's daughter should come. Similarly, the condition of son and son-in-law also do same, Daughter disperses parched rice and puts oil (krachha laba) on the chhikuta kept on chest of dead body as the form of hair. Hasta Bir's son purified the dead body by giving pure water-course. When the son round giving water, he should be rounds from right hand side or anticlock wise. All the relatives purify the dead body by putting sprinkling water receive with coin which is said 'Name pahale Khuruba' (Washing legs of wooden bird of Ghepren). Where is used the leaf of Jhankri (a kind of flora), beads and Jama of Ghepren, then given Garud Dhara. In this function giving garud dhara (watering, offering rice etc) all the clan group (Especially males) were present. Then throw 'fol' (round of rice) in four directions. Mho cook a mana of rice and made round it for 'Fol'. Throw this 'fol' showing to east and through to west, similarly show and throw all directions. Similarly, like 'fol', son throws bow showing one direction to opposite direction. This bow is also prepared by Mho which is made by bamboo. The meaning of doing this rite is to remove the negative elements make blockade on the path of dead soul, is believed. After this, Tahagra (Jetha bhai) hit a small wooden plank with no touching by arrow rounding dead body for three times. Then the son of dead person hits it for open the door for dead soul. When round for dead person, they round from right hand side or anti clock wise. The plank is taken as the door or path going dead soul. If elder son is unable to break this plank, other sons hit it turn by turn. Then dead body is carried to burial place. Priest put black tika to all the malami (person's/ mourners at funeral).

On the way with death body, a branch of thron covered by stone is kept and all the mourners have to trample that when cameing back. In the right of funeral, there has done an oblation named Mo- Toba (calling death soul). This Tehen (oblation) is done specially by Pachyu but Gheprens also conduct it. The main necessary materials for this Tohen are cow-dung, leaf and stem of banana, branch of katus (chest nut), dubo, chhikuta, hen, pa (alcohol). The branches of katus stab and keep a firewood horizontaly in middle. Hen is tied by thread. All relatives offer Tuhunglu (foods). Khegi (priests) read Pye. When hen sits by flying on that

kept horizontally firewood, dead soul came or after flying hen is believed come dead soul. Then, Mho is pointed by any weapon to the stem of banana. According to Pye (Shashtra), that stem of banana should be cut at a time (Chwatta). Mho through all the things of that oblation taking at the bypath. Mho is believed bail of priests. There is the tradition to stay kiriya, specially, for three days but some stay 13 days too.

Pae (Arghun) is believed as the most important ritual in Gurungs. Arghun is conducted after death of any person. This is the last ritual of death ritual. Gurungs have given the most importance to this death ritual. Because, their religion is to do worship of nature and ancestor or believe in creation. Thus, belief on Pitri Dharma has developed of emotion like responsibility, discipline, civilization, dutifulness etc. in human beings. As a result, emotional sympathy like combination, courtesy, helpful (personal, collective), love, respect etc will develop in each other. They become dutiful to each other. Arghoun is a great oblation. Which oblation is seen deeply there can see a wonderful society in this society. Where we can see and feel all the evolution development process from the period of creation.

After having the decision to conduct pae, all the relatives of Hasta Bir were present necessarily. Specially, Taha vai (Jetha vai), Nemme (vai Khalak/ Karta), Chahamerime (chhoricheli), Mho (Jawain), Ashyon (mawali/maiti), Hui (vanjavanji), Ngetuhu (samdi) etc were present essentially. The members of society were present necessarily for work of management, respect and to welcome the guests etc. And without priests (Khegi) it is impossible to accomplish Arghoun.

Conducting Arghoun, generally the last dead person is made 'Nari' (leader) in clan if that dead person becomes not to be Nari, by counting Lho (year), next dead person is chosen to make Nari by counting Lho. There is necessary to be odd day /month/year to conduct pae. So, there is a practice to see good time with paindi (Gurungs Astrologer) available day or not to do pae. These field observed deductions on Hasta Bir's death rituals prepares the ground for the comprehension of Gurung culture which is prone to change. There are different beliefs and reasons for conducting death rituals. This case study has deduced the different beliefs and reasons.

5.1 Belief and Reasons for Conducting Death Rituals in Gurung Community

People conduct any ritual on the belief of their culture. In any ritual, there are scientific causes. Our ancestors had made ritual and cultures with kind of belief and protection of society. Society is running on the basis of these matters. Rituals create in human to be discipline, interact with each others to be co-operative, to be helpful, for sympathy etc. Gurungs believe and celebrate death ritual as a sorrow rite and relatives come to support and sympathize. And they also believe death ritual to respect for their creators on father/ mother or ancestors. Gurungs believe on it their religion and responsibility.

Table 5.1 : Believe on Gurung's Death Rituals

Believe	Frequency	Percent
Yes	59	98.3
No	1	1.7
Total	60	100.0

Source: Field Study-2011.

The above table explains that out of that 60 household heads 98.3 percent respondents believe in their death rituals and 1.7 percent respondents do not believe on it. From this it can be said that most of Gurungs believe in their culture, death ritual.

Behind belief of any ritual or matter, there has been some kind of reasons. Gurungs believe their death ritual and embrace it by soul or heart. Their fundamental religion is Bonism (Thakali-2067). But they follow all the traditions and customs knowingly or unknowingly. Pitri Pooja is the important aspect of Bonism. Gurungs respect their ancestors and worship. They conduct death ritual by putting priests (Lama, Ghepren, Pachyu, Paindi) on the belief for the peace of soul and salvation of dead one and for the betterment of both dead and alive people. Some people follow it for being a part of traditional Gurung culture and some conduct it for self-satisfaction. Anyway, believing on death ritual by Gurungs is a sympathy and faith toward their creators or ancestors and also natural process or nature. Because birth and death are also natural rule, there is a symbolic meaning of life for living.

Table 5.2 : Reason for Conducting Death Rituals in Gurung Community

Reason for Conducting Death Rituals	Frequency	Percent
For the peace of soul and salvation of dead one.	46	76.7
For being a part of traditional Gurung culture	8	13.3
For self-satisfaction.	1	1.7
For the betterment of both dead and alive people.	4	6.7
No response	1	1.7
Total	60	100.0

Source: Field Study, 2011.

According to the above table, It is cleared that 76.7 percent respondents believe death ritual for the peace of soul and salvation of dead one, 13.3 percent respondents believe it for being a part of traditional Gurung culture, 1.7 percent respondents answer for self-satisfaction to believe it, 6.7 percent respondents believe it for the betterment of both dead and alive people and 1.7 percent respondents are not responded about it. The above table elaborates reason for conducting death ritual in Gurung community is, more people conduct for the peace of soul and salvation of dead one. It is a cultural process that leads to bring death spirit to heaven. It is a custom of Gurung community.

5.2 Death Ritual Influenced in Gurung Society

Society is a web of interaction. People of society depend on one another. They can not fulfill their needs alone. Gopal Sing Nepali has written in his book "The Newars" (1965), in Newar community different kins have particular/specific role to play during the celebration of a particular ritual not only kins but also different clan group member have to play some specific role without which the ritual would not have been successfully completed. Hence, through the description of ritual prof. Nepali describes the inter-ethnic, intra-ethnic and intercaste and intra-caste group relation and interdependence between them and the unity of Newars maintained.

People create and embrace any rituals and cultures. Cultures and Ritual influence from any way of from any kind of process. Gurungs' death ritual is also influenced Socially, Culturally, Economically and Religiously.

Table 5.3 : Death Ritual Influenced in Gurung Society

Death Ritual	Frequency	Percent
Yes	59	98.3
No	1	1.7
Total	60	100.0

Source: Field Study, 2011.

From above table, it is cleared that 98.3 percent respondents assume Gurung death ritual has been influenced in Gurung community and 1.7 percent respondents have kept their view that death ritual has not influenced. However, Gurung death ritual has influenced strongly in Gurung society. It is elaborated from above table.

Death ritual is compulsory after each death. It is compulsory to be present in death ritual regardless of immediate family. Especially in pae (Arghaun), certain amount of levy accumulates from each household. After death, they should perform death ritual to rest their soul in heaven. That is the custom value of Gurung society. In death Ritual, relatives are gathered for any function, which is determined for them. Gurungs follow this ritual as a traditional value. They believe that it is their duty to continue this traditional value. Gurungs conduct death ritual seriously for the departed soul tortures family members if the ritual is not done. Even they spend a large amount of money in death ritual. By seeing these statements, it can be said that Gurung society is interrelated, interacted and interdependent. There is homogeneity and harmony in their society. But, death Ritual has been influenced in Gurung society in different ways that follows:

Table 5.4 : The Way of Influence

The way of Influence	Frequency	Percent
Gatherings of relatives	17	28.3
Traditional value	4	6.7
The departed soul tortures family members if the ritual is not done properly	25	41.7
People are engaged in complete wastage of money.	2	3.3
No response	12	20.0
Total	60	100.0

Source: Field Study, 2011.

The table has explained, 28.3 percent respondents told about the way of influence in society by the gathering of relatives. Likewise, 6.7 percent respondents have told that it is influenced from traditional value. 41.7 percent respondents have explained about influence of it by claiming that the departed soul tortures family members if the ritual is not done properly. And 3.3 percent respondents have explained it as people are engaged in complete wastage of money. And 20 percent respondents have not responded about it. This table shows that the large number of respondents is assumed, the way of influence in society by Gurung death ritual is the departed soul tortures family member if the ritual is not done.

5.3 Priest Belief

Gurungs have their own priest for conducting their rituals and functions. The priests of Gurungs are Ghepren, Pachyu, Lama and Painsi. Any people going to conduct pae go to painsi to find out luck time table. Ghepren and Pachyu do work with together in pae. And next priest of Gurung is Lama. Nowadays, Lamaism has influenced Gurung community slowly. The painsi gives preliminary information when, where and how the death ritual should take place and whom are responsible. Ghepren and Pachyu need to be present to complete the ritual rites. They are complementary to each other. Pachyu starts the function of death ritual (pae) and Gheprens follow the different stages of function like to relieve the death spirit in the form of plan (image) worshipping the death spirit by the concerned and make the spirit happy in following the way to heaven. The responses of the sampled respondents on the priest belief are as follows:

Table 5.5 Priest having More Role

Priest	Frequency	Percent
Ghepren/Pachyu	27	45.0
Lama	4	6.7
Pandit	3	5.0
Equal	26	43.3
Total	60	100.0

Source: Field Study, 2011.

According to the above table, 45 percent respondents have said Ghepren and Pachyu have more roles, 6.7 percent respondents believe Lama more, 5 percent respondents

have believed paindi has more role and 43.3 percent respondents have believed that all priests have equal role. By evaluating this table Gurungs believe all priests but more people, still believe Ghepren and Pachyu do have more role.

Among Gurungs, some people believe more on Ghepren/Pachyu. Some on Lama and some believe equally to all Gurungs believe, their priest on the basis of the function performed in death ritual. The following table clarifies:

Table 5.6 : Priest Believed More

Priest	Frequency	Percent
Ghepren/Pachyu	41	68.3
Lama	15	25.0
Equal	4	6.7
Total	60	100.0

Source: Field Study, 2011.

Above table explains 68.3 percent respondents believe on Ghepren and Pachyu, 25 percent on Lama and 6.7 percent equal believe in all. More Gurungs believe in Ghepren and Pachyu is above in the table.

The person having more belief in their priests are many Some people have high belief, Ghepren Pachyu are being main priest, old priest, reads clearly in Gurung language, on the basis of their working pattern etc. Specially believing Buddhism means people believe in Lama. Lamaism do not favour sacrificing any animals and birds. Hence, some people believe in Lama.

Table 5.7 : Reason for Having More Belief

	Frequency	Percent
Because of being the main priest	19	31.7
Follow all rituals well and reads clearly	28	46.7
As it has been the age old tradition.	8	13.3
No response	5	8.3
Total	60	100.0

Source: Field Study, 2011.

This above table explains, 31.7 percent respondents believe their priests on the basis of being the main priests. 46.7 percent respondents believe on the basis that the priests perform all ritual well and read clearly. 13.3 percent respondents believe on as it has been the age old tradition. 8.3 percent respondents have no response about it. Thus, 46.7 percent respondents believe their priest (especially Ghepren/Pachyu) for the reason of the major performing all rituals well and read clearly. So it can be argued that more Gurungs believe and follow priests on the basis of their clear language (Gurungs Language). Ghepren/Pachyu performs the rites more confidently and their way of doing more functions make people believing upon them.

5.4 Disappearance of Gurung Culture

According to Mishra (2067), the important sources to build up carrer for young people are land, education, capital, and hereditary enterprising and skills and social resources. These elements need for youth to make their future and livelihood. Therefore, on the series of adaptation, they change their life style. There is the disappearance of traditional culture of the Gurungs.

Gurungs have their common cultures. Their ancestors had created rituals for fulfillment of basic needs and for co-operation among each other. From following these rituals, there had been the creation of cultures. The cultures of handing over generation to generation is becoming a tradition. There is the issue of disappearing Gurung culture or not, the Researcher has enquired about this.

Table 5.8 : Gurung Culture is Disappearing

Disappearing	Frequency	Percent
Agreed	33	55.0
Not agreed	27	45.0
Total	60	100.0

Source: Field Study, 2011.

On the question about disappearing Gurung culture, 55 percent respondents felt disappearing aspects of culture and 45 percent respondents did not agree about disappearing. 45 percent respondents have felt about that people are looking for their own culture these days. Previous days, cultures were disappearing, dresses were not

worn but now a days, Gurungs' dresses are put on in special kind of functions and rituals. Many Gurungs are becoming aware about own culture. But 55 percent respondents responded that their original cultures are going to be disappearing because of lack of Language, ignorance of new generation toward their culture, entry of foreign cultures, limitation of known people about their ritual etc. The causes of disappearing culture have been influenced due to adaptation of Hinduization, Westernization, Modernization etc. The following table clarifies the situation explicitly where only 40 respondents responded on the reasons for disappearance of culture.

Table 5.9 : Reasons for Dissappearance of Culture

Reasons for Dissappearance	Responses		Percent of Cases
	N	percent	
Lack of Language	7	17.5	22.6
Ignorance of Own Culture by Young Generation	15	37.5	48.4
Influence of Foreign Culture	10	25.0	32.3
Limitation of Experts	7	17.5	22.6
Others	1	2.5	3.2
Total	40	100.0	129.0

Source: Field Study, 2011.

The most of Gurungs think to preserve their cultures. They talk about culture as the identity of their ethnic group. If culture disappears, the identity of caste also falls down. No one can get with his/her real identification. Young people's ignorance of their culture is the main reason followed by influence of foreign culture and lack of language. The table shows more than 100 percent on the percent of the cases and less than 60 the total number of frequency. The remaining other respondents do not responded about it. On this question, some respondents have responded multiple answers. In the case of multiple answer have also responded more view on ignorance of own culture by young generation.

Table 5.10 : Gurung Culture Should be Preserved

Preserve	Frequency	Percent
Yes	58	96.7
No response	2	3.3
Total	60	100.0

Source: Field Study, 2011.

96.7 percent respondents think to preserve their culture and 3.3 percent respondents have not responded about preserving culture. So, most of Gurung people, like to preserve their culture. Culture is very important for them and for all.

On the column of suggestion for preserving culture, they have diverse views. Some people think all should work together for preserving culture, own culture and custom should be encouraged for its language should be preserve and practised to talk. Even Endogamy (cross-cousin marriage), should be practiced for keeping pure culture. Emphasis should be on ritual function not on extraneous. Most effective measures to be adopted, compliance for both rich and poor to follow the tradition, they put suggestions.

Table: 5.11 : Suggestions for Preserving

Suggestions	Frequency	Percent
All should work together	14	23.3
Own culture and custom shouldnot be forgotten	24	40.0
New generation should be encouraged for it	10	16.7
Language should be preserved first	10	16.7
Endogamy should be practiced.	2	3.3
Total	60	100.0

Source: Field Study, 2011.

23.3 percent respondents suggested for preserving culture and that all should work together. 40 percent respondents have given suggestion that own culture and custom shouldn't be forgotten. 16.7 percent respondents have suggested new generation should be encouraged for it 16.7 percent respondents have said that language should be preserved first and 3.3 percent respondents think, Endogamy should be practiced for preserving their culture. The large number of respondents has suggested own

culture and custom should not be forgotten. Researcher thinks that all suggestions are very useful and suitable to preserve culture.

5.5 Aspect to be Modified During Gurung Death Ritual

Society is dynamic. It is changing day by day. People have also changed their behaviours, attitudes on effect of education, technology etc. Our rituals are made from traditional concepts. So, on the motion of time and age rituals, cultures are also to be modified with depending on time. Chhetries of Tanahun have reduced Kriya to seven days from 13 days. In Gurung death ritual also, there should be modification to some unnecessary practice and customs which is required by time. Some Gurung people like to modify their death ritual and some people don't like to modify. The researcher elaborates about this from table.

Table 5.12 : Feels Need of Modifying Gurung Death Rituals

Feels Need of Modifying	Frequency	Percent
Yes	26	43.3
No	34	56.7
Total	60	100.0

Source: Field Study, 2011.

The table explains that 43.3 percent respondents feel the need of modifying Gurung death rituals. And 56.7 percent respondents feel it not to modify. It should be as usual. By seeing this result, the large number of people feel the death ritual suitable and should not be modified. Because it is the pure and fundamental ritual of Gurungs. It shows the strong dichotomy between younger and older generations.

43.3 percent respondents have felt that different aspects to be modified related to Gurung death ritual. They felt they are affected by many unnecessary factors. There is increasement over showiness, adopting external cultures, other religious effects etc. Gurung people think to modify at issues as expenditure which should be strongly reduced, preists should be well learnt one, rituals should be custom oriented, sacrificing animals should be stopped. It should be shortened to make more convenient.

Table 5.13: Aspects to be Modified

Aspects to be Modified	Frequency	Percent
Over expenditure should be strongly reduced	7	11.7
Priests should be well learnt	1	1.7
Rituals should be custom oriented.	7	11.7
Sacrificing animals should be stopped.	6	10.0
It should be shortened to make more convenient.	3	5.0
No response	36	60.0
Total	60	100.0

Source: Field Study, 2011.

According to above table, 11.7 percent respondents think about modifying on over expenditure, should be strongly reduced, 1.7 percent respondents kept their concept on that priests should be well learnt one, 11.7 percent respondents want to keep rituals should be custom oriented. 10 percent respondents like to modify that sacrificing animals should be stopped. And 5 percent respondents want that it should be shortened to make more convenient. But 60 percent respondents have not done any kind of response they kept silent about this. Except these, in modifying factors time boundary is required, stop provision of alcohol, rate should be fixed for syaisyai, discouragement for other money making activities, should be less expensive, no more donation. Animal's sacrifices should be stopped and this will be the best modification.

CHAPTER - SIX

ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF GURUNG DEATH RITUAL

This chapter describes the economic aspect of Gurungs' death rituals. Economic aspect is a more important factor of any kind of rituals and cultures. It makes a superstructure in society. So, in this chapter, these have been explored about the extent of expensiveness in Gurung death Ritual and its aspects of expensiveness or parts of expensiveness.

6.1 Extents of Expensiveness

Human beings are not only social beings they are also economic beings. They involve different types of economic activities. These can be diversified and complex. According to Karl Marx, on the basis of economic system, the inequality between members of society creates conflict between them. Economic status is determined of people on the basis of type of production, organization of production, distribution of production and system of exchange (Marx, 1848).

More (43.3%) respondents of this study are housewives and 30 percent respondents are others (ex-army). As a whole the economic status of migrated Gurungs of Rupakot are basis on foreign employment. Mode of production is not land based agriculture. But some are involved in trade and private services.

Gurung people feel that death ritual is becoming more expensive day by day. In the past, there was maximum use of manual power and hence less money spent but now a days there are influences of so many elements like Urbanization, Modernization, Westernization etc. Nowadays, there are vehicles for transportation but in past, people used to carry loads and everything was simple hence there was less use of money.

Table 6.1 : Death Ritual Getting More Expensive

Death Ritual Getting	Frequency	Percent
Yes	56	93.3
No	4	6.7
Total	60	100.0

Source: Field Study, 2011.

Above given table shows that 93.3 percent respondents accept Gurung death Ritual is getting more expensive and 6.7 percent respondents do not accept it. They think duration of time between past and present (during 10-15 years) also is changeable. They did not get money and earn money at huge amount in past. But present people earn large money and the costs of everything has also increased. The time of past was cheap. So they think, in the comparison of past (15 years ago) and present, it is not so expensive. But the result of this research depicts that most of people feel death ritual is getting more expensive among the Gurungs of Rupakot Living in Pokhara.

The frequency and percent of extent of expensiveness are as follows:

Table 6.2 : Extent of Expensiveness

Extent of Expensiveness	Frequency	Percent
Expensive	14	23.3
More Expensive	31	51.7
Most Expensive	10	16.7
Less Expensive	3	5.0
No response	2	3.3
Total	60	100.0

Source: Field Study, 2011.

According to this table, 23.3 percent respondents accept that it has been expensive. 51.7 percent respondents have accepted more expensiveness. 16.7 percent respondents' keep their view of most expensiveness has been in death ritual. 5 percent respondents keep their concept that it is less expensive. 3.3 percent respondents have no response about expensiveness. The large number of frequency is shown in this table on more expensive. So in reality, Gurung death ritual has become more expensive compared to the past.

The total expenditure of a death ritual in Gurung community to accomplish needs of lakhs of rupees. It is attempted to depict in below table:

Table 6.3 : Total Expenditure per Death Ritual

Total Expenditure	Frequency	Percent
1-2 lakhs	23	38.3
2-3 lakhs	22	36.7
3-4 lakhs	12	20.0
4-5 lakhs	2	3.3
No response	1	1.7
Total	60	100.0

Source: Field Study, 2011.

According to above table, 38.3 percent respondents think the whole expenditure per death ritual is 1-2 lakhs. Likewise, 36.7 percent respondents say 2-3 Lakhs spend for a death ritual. Thus, 20 percent respondents talked about whole expenditure per death ritual become 3-4 lakhs and 3.3 percent respondents responded about 4-5 lakhs. 1.7 percent respondents have no response about it. By this table, it can be said that the large no of frequency has been in 1-2 lakhs expenditure. But in average 2-3 lakhs expenditure may be enough. As a result, it is becoming expensive. Expenditure depends upon Ghepren or Lama. Comparatively conducting Pae by Ghapren is expensive than by Lama.

There are some intensive parts of expenditure i.e. syaisyai, chhettu, Dan Dakshina and Khanpin (food). Syaisyai is a part of Pae (death Ritual) which is not an expenditure for actors (karta). It is done by relatives. It is expenditure for another people or relatives. Chhettu is a fondamental dance of Gurung which is danced in shape of circle after taking 'Rhihi. There are many groups of neighbours and societies to dance chhettu. They come for entertainment, to give condolence and to support and encourage to family of dead person. And there is a tradition to give or to donate something on the belief of ancestors which is given as a dan. And also believe any coming people will not be returned without empty hand. Dhan Dakshina (Subscription) is done for priests at each tehen (oblation) and at last of pae also has to give 'Pahainlu' (Dan Dakshina) for Priests, Mho, Ashyon, working community etc. There is a trend of dancing and singing from own village or society and external

society too. They also have to give dakshina for them it is also the part of huge expenditure. The next important part of having huge expenditure is Khanpin (food, drinks). There may be many people or relatives. And they should be given to eat for all of them. Not only it, there is the use of much alcohol and meat for fooding and drinking. Among these parts, the respondents have told their feelings for more expensive in the table.

Table 6.4 : More Expensive Rituals

More Expensive	Frequency	Percent
Syaisyai	4	6.7
Chhettu	3	5.0
Dan, Dakshina, Khanpin	53	88.3
Total	60	100.0

Source: Field Study, 2011.

The above table explains about more expensive, rituals. 6.7 percent respondents have felt that more expensive is in syaisyai. Likewise, 5.0 percent respondents have felt that more expensive part is chhettu. And 88.3 percent respondents have felt about more expensive part is in Dan Dakshina, Khanpin. According to above table, the huge number of respondents have expressed about more expensive in death ritual of Gurungs is in Dandakshina and Khanpin. Specially, unnecessary expenditure is in drinks. Many Rich people use wine beside local domestic alcohol (pa). It is becoming showy and has become difficult to celebrate death ritual for poor people. It is also creating conflict in the family, between rich and poor, old and young.

6.2 Attitude towards Creation of Economy in Syaisyai and Syaisyai as an Institution

Syaisyai is quite different and unique ritual of Gurung. It is not found in any other group. Especially in death ritual people go to do syaisyai for condolence and maintaining good relation between relatives. Some people take it as an economic help. But now days, it is going to be showy and ostentious. Now a day, it is seen that people do syaisyai for rich people by giving more money and poor give less. It is transformed into exchange, a reciprocal relationship. From this trend, there is increasing deformities in society in the place of good culture. Some people feel doing syaisyai by more money for rich and less for poor is right on the basis of ability to return back.

But money is not everything then relation with relatives and rituals, cultures. More people are affected by the feeling of money which is more important. Some people think that it is absolutely wrong. They prefer, there should be equal and very limited amount to be fixed. Neither it was compelled nor does it maintain compensation. Thus, it is voluntary hence it should not be a burden. The following table illustrates about it.

Table 6.5 : Attitude Towards Creation of Economic Classes in Syaisyai

	Frequency	Percent
It is right	8	13.3
It is wrong	52	86.7
Total	60	100.0

Source: Field Study, 2011.

According to above table it has been illustrated that 13.3 percent respondents have accepted that it is right to do syaisyai for more money for rich people and less for poor. And 86.7 percent respondents have not accepted this. By looking this table, the large number of respondents doesn't like to do syaisyai as an exchange or more money for rich and less for poor. They accept culture should not be deformed in the place of rituals. Open register to keep record is the feature as a system of exchange in syaisyai. From this, people go to do syaisyai by more money than mentioned in record register. e.g. if there is record of syaisyai Rs. 1000, she/her do more than this 1050, 1100, 1500 ... like interest bearing. This trend has brought exchange tradition in the place of good custom and people are getting selfish and discriminating to view toward relationship. They think that all relatives are believed equally. It brings discrimination in society like classification, superior and inferior, rich and poor in the same family. So relation is the most important thing.

Table 6.6 : Reasons for Doing Syaisyai

Reasons	Responses		Percent of Cases
	N	percent	
For Condolence	39	53.4	66.1
For showingness	7	9.6	11.9
For Exchange	12	16.4	20.3
For Maintaining Good Relationship	12	16.4	20.3
For Economic Help	3	4.1	5.1
Total	73	100.0	123.7

Source: Field Study, 2011.

According to this multiple response table, 53.4 percent respondents have accepted doing syaisyai in death ritual is for condolence. Likewise, 9.6 percent respondents have felt it for showyness, 16.4 percent respondents have kept their view on exchange, 16.4 percent respondents have felt it for maintaining good relationship with their relations. And 4.1 percent respondents have kept their view to do syaisyai for economic help. The large number of respondents has accepted to do syaisyai for condolence in death ritual. So, still this day more Gurungs have been adopting this as co-operation system or an institution for building co-operation. This is comparable to the "Kula" institution of people as mentioned by Malinowski in 1920. This table has also shown more than 100 percent because of multiple answers of 13 respondents. So, it has become 73 frequency number instead of 60 total number of respondents.

Mauss (2002) explains in 'Gift Theory' as a reciprocal exchange among Polynesians. Moreover, what they exchange is not solely property and wealth, movable and immovable goods and things economically useful. Similarly, Gurung Community has also alived Syaisyai custom like an exchange as a symbolic value of sharing sorrow. It helps to buid up a mutual relationship among Gurung between their kins that has supported the solidarity of Gurung kins in the social system.

Case Study 6.1 : Case Study of Syaisyai on Devi Maya Gurung

This case study is based on the after death ceremony of Devi Maya Gurung whose syaiyai was conducted on the second day of her Arghun on Magh 15, 2068 B.S. Syaisyai is a quite traditional custom of Gurungs which is not found in other castes. The word meaning of 'Syai' in Gurung language is to catch up with' or to meet. It means to meet spirit. Syaisyai is a widespread culture among Gurungs. This is the completely distinct culture than another caste.



Specially doing syaisyai in this community is done for anyone getting success for giving 'bravo' and giving still encourage. If any body become unsuccess or ill, to give consolation and courage. And the main cause for doing syaisyai in death ritual is to express condolence and to call Sain Aahendiya (not to be weak heart or sad).

From the observation of Syaisyai of late Devi Maya and it is deduced that there is historical background of Syaisyai custom. A named Kirpa Rehen king had got married with a female named Sasornli Fe. They had a son and a daughter. They became young. One day, they discussed to go for hunting to Lek (high land) taking bow. Both brother and sister made bow and arrow and walked for searching of deer. They were unable to get deer during whole day and killed by trapping a bird Langai Lingai. They could not fulfill their food by flesh of bird and they hunted a deer. They stopped at a cottage that night because of having too late to return back. They promised not to look their face during night and sister slept turning to east and brother slept turning to west. Sister waked up after raising sun and looked at her brother but her brother was not there. She looked here and there and found pile of bone, his cloths and bow-arrow. He was eaten by tiger. She got angry and put on brother's clothes, took bow and arrow and pursued looking footprint of tiger. She saw the tiger sleeping in den. She shouted that tiger come to attack like her brother. Tiger waked up and attracted to her, she killed tiger by hunting. She took out skin of tiger cutting with her brother's Khukuri, cut flesh, and took out bone. She got happy because of getting a substitute of her brother. She threw the head and skin of tiger at the bypath. Seeing this, all negative spirits (Vute, Pichash) were frightened. She came back to home and told all events. Her father, mother became mournful on the death of their son. Their daughter requested not to be mournful because she had substituted and revenged with that tiger. Thus, her father and mother did Syaisyai by giving a new cloth as well-wishing not to lose her sense (Sato). From that time, Pachyu of Gurungs have a tradition to chase Mo (Vutpret) through the Khral (skin) of head of he-goat and also developed the custom of Syaisyai in Gurung community (Tamu, 2064).

Syaisyai is done by wearing ripa (yellow thread) at neck. And also given some money and clothes with ripa. In death ritual, relatives are invited for syaisyai. Relatives also go themselves after getting information. In past days, after ending pae, Ashyon purified taking tika and then relatives do syaisyai. But nowadays, there is open register and sit to write record for syaisyai, all the records of money, clothes, address (old new), name are kept. There is seen the influence of modernization or be having more importance of money.

This case study of Syaisyai ritual of Devi Maya signifies the importance of this ritual in Gurung community which is a part of pae ritual. In her case it was observed that all her relatives contributed in cash for syaisyai. The symbolic value of syaisyai stands vital in Gurung community.

6.3 The Extent of Necessity to Give Subscriptions for People Who Come for Chhettu

'Chhettu' is the fundamental traditional dance of Gurungs. It is danced in a shape of circle. Generally, males dance in circle, females stay in centre of circle with fire. Somewhere females also dance with males in circle. The people dance making noise of 'chhyanla' and 'Tahaundu' (Jhyali and Drum). The sound of 'chhyanla' makes 'Chhyan' and 'Tahaundu' makes 'Tuhu'. Thus the combined sound of Chhyan and Tuhu has been given the name chhettu. Somewhere, it is called chhettu, chhyandu, serga etc. This dance is related to Panauri Kyahala. There is tradition to give subscription to chhettu groups. Previously people gave for chhettu groups the foods as subscription as a form of guest but nowadays, people give money for them. Due to expenses it also makes some deforms and creates complexes in society for the people. To give subscription to them is necessary or not will be illustrated by following table.

Table 6.7 : The Extent of Necessity to Give Subscriptions for People Who Come for Chhettu

Necessity	Frequency	Percent
Not Necessary	9	15.0
Necessary	42	70.0
Strongly Necessary	9	15.0
Total	60	100.0

Source: Field Study, 2011.

This table illustrates that 15.0 percent respondents believe it is not necessary. 70 percent respondents believe that it is necessary and 15 percent respondents believe it is strongly necessary. The large number of respondents believes to give subscription for chhettu groups. So it can be said, it is necessary to give subscription to chhettu groups. But it should be on the basis of their capacity or economic condition. More or less, subscription is the most important. Chhettu groups should be happy by getting more or less dan and Dakshina. It should be preserved as a beautiful ritual of Gurung culture.

Case Study 6.2 : Case Study on Chheto

This case study on Chheto was conducted on Chhetu Ritual on late Mohan Gurung of British Army. The Chheto was organized on Baisakh 5, 2068 B.S. at Laligurans Tole. 'Chhettu' is known as somewhere 'Chhettu', 'Chhyandu', 'Serga' etc in different places. Chhettu masters said that the name chhettu is kept from the mixed sound of 'chhanla' (Jhyali) and 'Tohundu' (Big drum) 'chhyan – Tohun. Specially, it is danced together with young men and young women. But generally, it is seen that people above 40 years age have participated in Chhettu dance.

L. Indra Bahadur Gurung explains, Chhettu dance is related with history of Panauri Kyahala. Panauri Kyahala was the person managed business one of brother among three brothers of Karu Kyahala. He was not to stay so much at home. One day, his wife requested not to go when he was going out from house for business. But Panauri Kyahala said that he has to promise to return back within nine days. Otherwise his wife will be cursed. Unfortunately, he was unable to return home. His wife got angry and cut down the bridge path coming toward their village. Day after this, Panauri Kyahala fell down from bridge and died. His death body could not be found within many times. After many years, his Mho (son-in-law) got his remaining (bone/Rihi/astu). Then he put his remaining at bybath and called all villagers. They danced with happiness going round the remains by making sound of chhyanla and Tahudu (Jhyali and big drum), saying 'Paro re Payo re'. Then finally they had got to do pae of Panauri Kyanhala. From that time, in pae, there are practiced dance of 'chhettu'. Villagers come to pae house making sound and dancing chhettu after taking pla or astu. From that time, the trend started to conduct (taking remains). Specially, it is danced for happiness of bringing Rihi or astu. Villagers come to dance chhettu. They come to dance chhuttu to give encourage and consolation to mourners who are becoming sorrow and wishing peace for death soul. In the last day, impure fire of pae is put out with dancing chhettu. Generally, this work is done by own society or villagers. The chhettu dance groups are donated by money nowadays. But in previous days, people gave some rice and meat and they cooked themselves and their daughters provided selroti and pa (alcohol) as the breakfast. They danced whole night. Females also participate in this dance. Fire is burnt in centre of round of chhettu dance. But it is going deformed in society with ostentations. The big money subscription is becoming burden more than ritual. Chhettu masters said that there are 32 rhythms in this dance. But distress, only 10-12 rhythm could make in this dance at present as observed from the case study on chhetu ritual on late Mohon Gurung. It is deduced that symbolism attached to the significance of chheto is very crucial in providing solidarity to Gurung culture.

6.4 Accessibility for Poor People to Conduct Pae

It is elaborated that Gurung death rituals has been increasing expensive from above tables and statements. As the result of expensiveness, poor people who have no income source has more difficulty, to conduct the *pae*. On the question, how access is there for poor people to conduct *pae*? Different respondents responded differently about it. Some respondents say easy, some say difficult, more difficult, and most difficult. The following table has made illustration of accessibility for poor people to conduct *pae*.

Table 6.8 : Accessibility for Poor People to Conduct Pae

Accessability	Frequency	Percent
Easy	6	10.0
Difficult	20	33.3
More Difficult	25	41.7
Most Difficult	9	15.0
Total	60	100.0

Source: Field Study, 2011.

According to above table, it is explained that 10 percent respondents response easy to conduct *pae*. 33.3 percent respondents have responded it is difficult to conduct *pae* for poor people. Likewise, 41.7 percent respondents have kept their view that it is on more difficult to conduct for poor people. And 15 percent respondents have kept their view on most difficult about it. From this, it can be said that poor people are in difficulties to conduct *Pae*. But where there is problems there is solutions. It has also some solutions to reduce for accessibility for poor people to conduct *Pae*. On this question of about reduction expenditure to conduct *pae* for poor people, the respondents have accepted to reduce. According to them, poor people can also conduct *Pae* by some solutions by spending less. The expense of death rituals reduction view of respondent has been depicted in the table 6.9.

Table 6.9 : Expense of Death Rituals Can be Reduced

Reduce	Frequency	Percent
Yes	58	96.7
No	2	3.3
Total	60	100.0

Source: Field Study, 2011.

The table explains that 96.7 percent respondents have forwarded the view of reduction. Similarly, 3.3 percent respondents feel that it cannot be reduced easily. But most of people think that it is possible to reduce. So people have also responsibility to modify, to create access to rituals for all kind of people in different categories and classes.

The respondents have given some solutions for it i.e. by syaisyai. The relatives go to do syaisyai for kiriya Putries. They do syaisyai by money. In this situation, it can be taken as an economic help for syaisyai if relatives do syaisyai by more money to poor people, they could pick up the amount which have been spent in pae. And they will be relifed from debt and burden. The next important and effective solution is help by kith (Bhaikhalak). Support from the Kith is very effective to reduce it. Somewhere kith accumulates levy in equal rate and somewhere kith accumulates the less for poor one. But somewhere it is also seen, Kith do not help in any aspect. Some Gurungs of Rupakot VDC migrated in Pokhara practice equal levy for Kith and more for Kiriya Putries (mourners), likewise, avoid cultural programs, limit the Dan Dakshina, avoid alcohol, do not sacrifice animals, do not donate more money, do one night pae etc for them. Expensive drinks (wine, bear, coke) are also unnecessary expenditure. It should be avoided respondents argued. Many cultural programs also have become over expensive.

These aspects are the parts to be reduced of expenditure. It is not only for poors. It is useful for all. Culture and Rituals are created for sympathy, co-ordination, co-operation, good relation for each other, and distribution of love. So rituals should not be difficult and burden for relatives and themselves (people). It should be easy and convenient. People should follow tradition. They should not adopt any unnecessary external culture and should not accept of any deformity. e.g. Showy nature should be discouraged.

CHAPTER SEVEN

IMPORTANCE OF SOCIAL RELATION IN GURUNG DEATH RITUAL

This chapter is concerned with relation, role, and importance of social relation in death ritual of the Gurungs.

7.1 Role of Son and Daughter

The concept of 'Kinship' is vitally important in Anthropology. In simple societies, the kinship relations are so extensive, fundamental and influential that in effect they in themselves constitute the 'Social system'. But in more complex societies kinship normally forms a fairly small part of the totality of the social relation which makes up the social system. Anthropologists, on the contrary, give more importance to this concept because kinship and family constitute the major points in anthropological studies (Rao, 2000).

Human beings are social beings. They live in society. They interact and interdepend on each other. They cannot fulfill their needs alone. So, they help each other and depend on each other in any kind of rituals and cultures, which human is unable to conduct alone. People come to help and especially relatives come to help in any functions. In death ritual of Gurungs, there are certain roles for each relations or relatives. In the access of son and daughter, they have very important role with both. There should be participation of son and daughter compulsorily when their parents have been dead. There is no any work in the absence of son or daughter. They wait for son and daughter until when they come. Dead body is not moved in absence of them. If dead person has no son or daughter, his nearest son and daughter should be called. So, in Gurung Death ritual son and daughter have most important role. Daughter does *Krachha* (taking oil), disperse purchrice and son throws arrow from bow, fol (round or rice), breaks wooden plank (*Tar Lhiba*) by japling (*Vaala*). Researcher has raised the question about role of son and daughter. The responses about this of respondents can be clear from following table 7.1.

Table 7.1 : Role of Son and Daughter in Death Ritual

Response	Frequency	Percent
Son's More	8	13.3
Equal	52	86.7
Total	60	100.0

Source: Field Study, 2011.

The above table illustrates that 13.3 percent respondents view is that son has more role and 86.7 percent respondents have believed both have equal role. According to this table, the role of son and daughter (Gender role) in death ritual of Gurung community has been equal. The common duty of son/ daughter is to make dead spirit happy and send the spirit to heaven. It can be on the basis of rite de passages. To some extent financial burden comes under son's liability but daughter also is no exception and keeps always alert throughout the pae. It is also found that daughter also support financial burden. Specially, in the basis of rite de passage, son and daughter both have most important role in Gurung death Ritual.

In death Ritual of Gurung Community, there should be the presence of another kinships i.e. *Ashyon*, (*mawali or Maiti*), *Mho* (son-in-law), *Toha vai*, *Hui* (*Banja Bhanji*) etc. They have certain role. They have also important role in this death ritual. Following table elaborates about important role of kinships.

Table: 7.2 : Importance of Other Kins in Death Rituals

Importance of Other Kins	Frequency	Percent
More important	20	33.3
Most important	36	60.0
Important	3	5.0
No response	1	1.7
Total	60	100.0

Source: Field Study, 2011.

According to above table, it is elaborated that 33.3 percent respondents' view shows more important role of other kinships in death ritual. 60 percent respondents view show most important role of them. Likewise, 5 percent respondent's views have seen in important role of them. And 1.7 percent respondents have no response about it. By seeing this above table, the huge number of respondents believes most important role of other kinships. They apply their role and responsibility honestly and voluntarily.

Among them, Ashyon (Mawali / Maiti) have to be uterine. Ashyon is the first who provides a piece of cloth and necessities for proceeding the death ritual. In *plah* (image), the researcher saw a sack and asked with pachyu Guru Hira Sing Gurung, why do you put it? Pachyu Guru narrated a myth about it. A woman of Gurung was married with king. She honoured *Ashyon (Maiti)* to a very wealthy man because her uterine Ashyon was very poor. After her death, her rich Ashyon offered her so many expensive clothes, ornaments, gold coins etc. And all thought she reached heaven. But one day when some people were walking in the path of jungle, there heard a unique sound. They searched what was the noise. And they found an existence of not a human, not any animal too, and not a bird too. They asked who you are. It replied that she was a wicked who had done wrong in her life rejecting her uterine Ashyon. It said that she could not get way to go to heaven. So it requested to do pae again with *sonapa* (foods) and *Ashyon koin* (cloths) for her real Ashyon.

Mho (son-in-law) is also very important relation in Gurung community. In death ritual the role of Mho has been very important. Mhos do all works collection, bringing, fulfilling every needs to priests. Mho is believed as a eyewitness of priests in death ritual. Likewise, *Tahavai (Jetha vai)* has also more important role. He works to worship the dead spirit as sons do. *Ngetuhu and Hui (Samdi and Bhanja banji)* are also presented in death ritual. Specially, all relatives have the role in the function of '*Simi Chyalaba*' (recognizing old and new ancestors). They have to give name of their three generation ancestors. So, all relation plays more important roles. Gurungs mention good relation in their living life with all kinships. They believe that without good relation with them, they cannot spend life and conduct death ritual or any kind of rituals cultures and functions in their life. The view of respondent's can be elaborated in the most important role of kins in death ritual from the table below.

Table 7.3 : Most Important Kins in Death Ritual

Response	Frequency	Percent
Ashyon (Mawali)	20	33.3
Mho (Son-in-law)	1	1.7
All Equal	39	65.0
Total	60	100.0

Source: Field Study, 2011.

According to this table, 33.3 percent respondents have believed most important Kin is Ashyon. Similarly, 1.7 percent respondent's view is that Mho has more important role in death ritual. And 65 percent respondents believe that all are equal. All play most important role. According to result, this has been elaborated that all kins have equal position in death ritual. All have most vital role. But Ashyon is the most important economically, culturally and socially.

7.2 Importance of other People of Society in Gurung Death Ritual

Human beings live in society because of social existence. Death ritual is a social function. Social member of society help each others to conduct and make success the death ritual functions. The members of Pae house or Karta and kins become busy in rite. So members of society manage all works by division of labour like store keeper (*Godame*), *Khainchi* (like director or leader), *Vanchhe* (members in Kitchen), Technical manager etc. Thus, they help to welcome guests and to care in eating, drinking for guests. Likewise, they help to make tent, manage blankets etc. So, there is importance of social members. Regarding this idea the following table clears it.

Table 7.4 : Importance of Other People of the Society in Rituals

Response	Frequency	Percent
More important	46	76.7
Important	13	21.7
Less Important	1	1.7
Total	60	100.0

Source: Field Study, 2011.

The above table explains that 76.7 percent respondents believe there is more important role of other social members. Likewise, 21.7 percent respondents believe that the role of other social members have important role and 1.7 percent respondents have believed less important role of them. However, all respondents accept that they have important role in death ritual to get successes. But the large number of respondents view is seen clearly in more important role of other social members. It is an example of the well functioning society. Society is run with harmony with the active cooperation and participation of all and everyone based on cultural relativism.

Any kind of ritual cannot accomplish without any members of society. Similarly, ritual also could not be sustainable without them. Without other members of society and relatives, it cannot be complete. The views of respondents are illustrated below.

Table 7.5 : Death Rituals Incomplete Without Relatives

Incomplete	Frequency	Percent
Yes	56	93.3
No	3	5.0
Total	59	98.3
No response	1	1.7
Total	60	100.0

Source: Field Study, 2011.

This table illustrate that 93.3 percent of respondents' view is that rituals are incomplete without other social members and relatives. Similarly, 5 percent respondents' response, it can be completed without them and 1.7 percent respondents have no response about it. It has also been that there are seen, catering services for fooding for guests. Perhaps, they think, economy plays a vital role for everything. But the large no of respondents' response is that it is incomplete without any relatives social members and Kinship network.

From the social and cultural point of view, there is more important role of all relatives in Gurung community. All have determined certain role in rituals in Gurung community. On the basis of culture, there are equal role and position in son and daughter. Son has one fixed role and daughter has also fixed role. In death ritual both have to be present. Gurungs obey *Ashyon (Mawali)* with most respect. The meaning of obeying *Ashyon* is obeying or respecting the mother. Respecting mother means obeying female. So, in Gurung community female have respectful and high position. In all rituals, female have to participate. Similarly, importance of *Thaha Vai*, *Nge Tuhi* means also having a fine relation with all relatives. *Mhos* do very much work in death ritual likewise member of society also help too much. It shows interconnection among them. The better position of women signifies their decisive roles in decision making roles in all aspects of Gurung rituals.

CHAPTER -EIGHT

CHANGING PROCESS IN GURUNG DEATH RITUAL

Human beings make Norms and Values to maintain discipline in society. They make different rules and regulations. It helps to control and civilize. According to Morgan (1877), society is changed from savagery stage to Barbarism and finally reaches civilization stage. Likewise, Ward (1997) keeps his view in social and cultural change; human mind is the power of change. They have desire, thought and feeling to change. It is changed from simple to complex (Aryal-2068). Karl Marx's view in social and cultural change is economic which is based on mode of production. The factors of changes in social and cultural change affect the traditional norms and values as depicted below.

8.1 Traditional Norms and Values

Norm is a standard or rule regulating behavior in a social setting. The idea that social life as an ordered and continuous process is dependent upon shared expectations and obligations, is commonly found in sociological approaches, although some place emphasize more on it than others (Collins dictionary, 2000). It is moral or professional standards of behavior, principles. There are many kinds of traditional cultural norms and values, restrictions, practices in Gurung community for death Rituals. After death, two persons should go to take his/her (death person) relatives, all relatives should come as a rule in death ritual. Conducting Pae, should be obeyed by priest, Ashyon, Taha Vai, Mho etc. Bottle of Pa (alcohol) is used for calling (invitation). Likewise, there are some values, i.e. daughters should untie hair, mat should spread out crosswise, and priests raise the mat by kicking on which lies the death person. They buy eight feet white clothes for *kyan koi* (showing path) etc. There are so many rules in death ritual which are restricted to do in daily life. Who has done exogamy marriage in family; there is restriction to touch death body especially daughter and daughter-in-law. It is done for keeping purity to culture and encourage to do marriage in own community. These are some rules and regulations.

It can be said easily that more and more Gurungs believe and accept their cultures which is being passing from generation to generation. Human beings make and invent new rules and materials which is needed for their life. Likewise, in primitive age, human beings made and created cultures, rituals. They should be followed having some moral rules and values. They made these rituals for celebrating happiness, sharing sorrow, expressing sympathy, courtesy, having co-operation and co-ordination. Not only these, there are also found scientific meaning in the process of rituals. So Gurungs have reasons for belief of their cultures. They think if they avoid or do not follow their traditional norms and values, they will lose their identity. Tradition is identity of all caste and groups. Functionalism claims that tradition is not wrong in itself. The right use of tradition enriches culture and identities the respondent argues. Respondents illustrated their views regarding the reasons for their beliefs on their culture and traditions.

Table 8.1: Reasons for Belief

Reasons for Belief	Frequency	Percent
Traditional culture is realistic and influence human life	39	65.0
Self satisfaction	13	21.7
Elders have made believe this.	2	3.3
Total	54	90.0
No response	6	10.0
Total	60	100.0

Source: Field Study, 2011.

The above table, explains that 65 percent respondents have the reason for belief on their culture. Traditional culture is realistic and influence human life. Similarly, 21.7 percent respondents have the reason for it as self satisfaction, 3.3 percent respondents feel that their elders have made them believe this. And 10 percent respondents have no any kind of response about reasons for believing their traditional culture. More people have believed their traditional culture.

8.2 Kind of Culture in Village at the Time of Migration

The Gurung people of Rupakot have migrated from village to urban areas for education, employment and some to get better facilities. Among them more Gurungs

have gone foreign countries to serve in army. According to their feelings, there are many similarities in village and urban areas. In village there were sacrificed buffaloes, goats for meat in food for during pae. And sheep used for each Plaha (image). Villagers help managing things, collecting firewood, making *tapari* (Plate of leaves). There was more difficulties to carry materials as they did not have the facilities of transportation. But had been more co-operativeness among villagers. At that time people used to gather in pae to do it more meaningful and to continue their culture but now it seems a bit commercialized. In the village, they were true though poor. People were happy and satisfied with their culture. In this aspect, the following table tries to show some views of respondents.

Table: 8.2 : Kind of Culture in Village at the Time of Migration

Kind of Culture	Frequency	Percent
Similar to now	7	11.7
Different than now	42	70.0
Total	49	81.7
No response	11	18.3
Total	60	100.0

Source: Field Study, 2011.

Above table speaks itself that 11.7 percent respondents' views have similar culture in village at the time of migration and now. Likewise 70 percent respondents feel differences have occurred in culture than in village. And 18.3 percent respondents have no response about kind of culture at the time of migration. More respondents feel that there was different culture in the past. So, it can be said that there have being changes in cultures of Gurungs' death rituals.

There are some differences between urban and rural culture. In village they are crude, not modified. Still they are thinking they are natural. Before, pae was conducted more at village not in urban area due to the lack of resources and participation but nowadays it has become reciprocal. It can be organized both in urban as well as village. The people of kith groups, (some are) in village and (some are) in urban areas. So, they have become near with the improvement of transportation and development of communication. Generally, nowadays, Pae is performed in urban area because there can be available more resources, facilities easily. They have modified to use

meat on the first and second day of Pae. On last day, meat used in food likewise, the number of sheep have reduced for grazing. Nowadays, there are arrangement of a male sheep and a female sheep for all chyuhu (death spirits) and a portersheep. There was a tradition to sacrifice goat at dead body funeral. Tu Ghepren of Marchikot modified this tradition. At the village the feeding for *Malami* (mourner at a funeral) was done same day of burial dead body but nowadays, it is done on purification day. Different views of respondents about differences that have occurred in culture after Migration are depicted in the table.

Table: 8.3 : Differences that have occurred in Culture after Migration

	Frequency	Percent
Similar	8	13.3
Different	45	75.0
No response	7	11.7
Total	60	100.0

Source: Field Study, 2011.

According to above table, 13.3 percent respondents keep their view in similar culture in before and after migration. Priests have done similar rituals as usual. 75 percent respondents accept that there have been differences cultures before and now. But 11.7 percent respondents have not responded. According to this table, it can be said that there are differences before and now.

8.3 Changes in Death Rituals in the Last 10 Years

Globalization has made the world a small place. People of any country visit other countries easily for education, employment visiting conducting different kind of seminars etc. It has been possible by technology, i.e. transportation, telephone, television, etc. So, not only here but also many societies, there have been some changes in their cultures. Culture has been influenced by globalization because of man made technologies and migrating people from one place to another. Gurung society has also seen some changes in their rituals. People have got some changes death ritual during the years. It is illustrated in the given table.

Table 8.4 : Changes in Death Rituals in the Last 10 Years

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	35	58.3
No	25	41.7
Total	60	100.0

Source: Field Study, 2011.

Above table speaks itself, 58.3 percent respondents accept that there are having some changes and 41.7 percent respondents feel that it has not been changed. According to this table, there are not so vast differences between numbers of respondents in accepting or rejecting the change. But 58.3 percent respondents feel there have been some changes in death rituals. Likewise, the respondents perceive changes in death ritual as showy, expensive, increase in one night long pae. It can be elaborated from the table below.

Table: 8.5 : Changes Perceived

Changes Perceive	Frequency	Percent
It has become showier.	16	26.7
It has become more expensive.	12	20.0
Increase in one night long Pae.	4	6.7
Total	32	53.3
No response	28	46.7
Total	60	100.0

Source: Field Study, 2011.

According to this table 26.7 percent respondents keep their view that it has become more showy and change perceived. Similarly, 20.0 percent respondents have kept their view that it is becoming more expensive. Likewise 6.7 percent respondents have felt that one night long pae has been elongated. And 46.7 percent respondents have no responses about it. The large numbers of respondents have been neutral to say any thing about changes perceived.

8.4 Changes in Traditional Cultures

According to E.B. Tylor (1865), "Culture or civilization taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, arts, beliefs, morals, laws, customs and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society". He also emphasised the changes in society through three stages like savages, Barbarism and civilization.

Gurung traditional culture also is going to change gradually from simple to complex. Culture is an identity of any caste or group. Gurungs have their own unique traditional but existing cultures. But they are influenced to traditional culture by several elements. In their culture, there are norms and values, rules and regulations. Without any norms and values, society cannot run smoothly. But the rule and regulations or culture is also changed according to time and space. The table below illustrates.

Table 8.6 : Changes in Traditional Culture

Changes in Traditional Culture	Frequency	Percent
Yes	45	75.0
No	15	25.0
Total	60	100.0

Source: Field Study, 2011.

75 percent respondents feel there is changing traditional culture in society. And 25 percent respondents have felt it is not changing. The large number of respondents feel it has been changed and changing. So, it can be said, definitely, it is changing in some parts.

There have been some reasons to happen any thing. So, there are also some reasons for changing traditional culture in Gurung death rituals. There can be the elements like economic, social, religious and other aspects. Different respondents have kept their views in different aspects. It is elaborated by following multiple response table.

Table 8.7: Cause of Changes

Cause of Changes	Frequency	Percent
Economic	20	33.3
Social	16	26.7
Religious	6	10.0
Other Reasons	2	3.3
Total	44	73.3
No response	16	26.7
Total	60	100.0

Source: Field Study, 2011.

The above table speaks that 33.3 percent respondents feel it has been by reason of economic condition. Likewise, 26.7 percent respondents feel that it has been socially. 10.0 percent and 3.3 percent respondents feel respectively that the reason of it is religious and can be other reasons. But 26.7 percent respondents have given no response about it. But 73.3 percent respondents feel it has been changed by any reasons. And more respondents feel it has been changed by any reasons. And more respondents feel (33.3%) it is changing economically it is also reality. People emphasise more on economic aspect. Nowadays, economy has been more important. This multiple response table depicts more than one response of respondents.

8.5 Preserving Traditional Culture

Preservation is most important concern for all beings. Culture is still more important for preservation because it is the identification of any caste, group, and ethnic. So it should be transferred from generation to generation. It should be practiced continuously. Following cultures and ritual make disciplinary to human beings. Generally most of people like to preserve culture. Even on this, traditional culture which is continuing from old age is the most important. If it is preserved purely, traditions can be enriched. But some waste cultures should be modified depending on time. Concerning about this matter, the respondents' views are as below.

Table 8.8 : Think of Preserving Traditional Culture

Preserving Traditional Culture	Frequency	Percent
Yes	57	95.0
No	1	1.7
No. response	2	3.3
Total	60	100.0

Source: Field Study, 2011.

From above table, it is seen that 95 percent respondents say traditional culture should be preserved. Likewise 1.7 percent respondents think not necessary to preserve traditional culture. Perhaps, they think that people should not be bounded with any kind of culture and should be like foreign people. And 3.3 percent respondents have been neutral or no response about it. The largest numbers of respondents have thought it should be preserved.

There are so many reasons for disappearing culture and so many ways for preserving culture. Globalization is the most important element for disappearing culture. Human beings have a trend to imitate each other. So, traditional culture can be in shadow. The respondents have kept their own view for ways of preservation of culture.

Table 8.9 : Ways of Preservation

Ways of Preservation	Frequency	Percent
By continuing it	22	36.7
By encouraging the young generations	22	36.7
By the unity of all	11	18.3
No response	5	8.3
Total	60	100.0

Source: Field Study, 2011.

This table elaborates that 36.7 percent respondents have kept their view for way of preservation of culture, in continuing it. Likewise, 36.7 percent respondents emphasis that by encouraging the young generation for preserving traditional culture and 18.3 percent respondents keep their view in by the unity of all for it. 8.3 percent respondents have no response for it. All the above ways of preservation of traditional

culture are very sensitive. Besides these, old people or matured people should hand over their knowledge, skill and ideas. New generation should also be interested to follow traditional culture. Language is the most important identity for all so own language should be spoken. There should be some seminars for recognizing their religion culture and traditions, their need co-ordination between Pachyu, Ghepren, Pandit, Lama and other stakeholders how this can be performed more comprehensively with limited expresses.

8.6 Changes in Conducting Ek Rate Pae

Ghepren and Pachyus do not conduct EK Rate Pae. Bon Lamas also conduct death ceremony similarly to Ghepren and Pachyu. But after settlement of Tibetan refugees, Gurungs are influenced by them or they are influenced by Buddhism. They started to take the help of Tibetan Lamas. Then Bon Lamas are gradually disappearing. EK Rate Pae is also a changing pattern of Gurung culture which is conducted by Tibetan Lama (Thakali-2067).

Ek Rate Pae is conducted by only Lama. According to them, it is the function Dihimpa (middle form) of pae. Gurungs are going to be attracted to Tibetan Lamaism. Lamas do all in it which is done in teen Rate pae. Ek Rate pae is going to be more practiced in Gurung community who keep Lama as priest. Regarding the question about the reasons for conducting *Ek Rate pae* respondents have given different views. Some feel, it is conducted for saving time. Some respondents feel to minimize expenditure. Some feel it is a traditional culture of Gurungs which is practicing from many times ago. Some body feels about it to change traditional custom. Multiple views of respondents about it can be helpful that has been depicted in the table.

Table: 8.10: Reasons for Conducting Ek Rate Pae

Reasons	Responses		Percent of Cases
	N	percent	
To save time.	18	24.0	31.6
To minimize expenditure.	39	52.0	68.4
It's a traditional culture.	8	10.7	14.0
To change traditional custom	10	13.3	17.5
Total	75	100.0	131.6

Source: Field Study, 2011.

This multiple response table shows that 24 percent respondents' view is seen to save time, 52 percent respondents kept their view about conducting Ek Rate Pae because of traditional culture. And 13.3 percent respondents assumed that it is conducted to change traditional custom. In the table, there is seen that the large number of respondents believed Ek Rate Pae is conducted for minimizing expenditure. Definitely one day less makes more or less minimization in expenditure. But it is done by only Lama. And 2nd large number of respondents believes that it is conducted to save time. Here there have been more than the sampled 60 respondents because of the multiple answers of 15 respondents.

There are seen some internal changes in death ritual. The feeling of community building in another is positive outcome. It has helped united the migrated people at place for different functions. Furthermore, the space, utensils, and work division communication everything has become easy and accessible. There has also been easy to conduct pae in *Kohoinbo*, *Samaj Ghar*, and *Gumba* on the scarcity of place. Because in the name of Urbanization, people migrate and they live on rent or they buy a piece of land by more money. There is no place at house to conduct any ritual and ceremony.

When doing the Pae, there are many important emotional, scientific events in death ritual which is explained in Pye-Tan-Lhu- Tan. Pye-Tan-Lhu- Tan is the holy book of Gurungs. This is followed by Pachyu and Ghepren. In death ritual, they turn round from right hand side or anticlockwise to dead body. It is the rule of turning round by earth to sun. The rule of Gurungs rituals are moved from natural rules. They offer the foods for dead spirit by opposite hand. Everything has to do end for each creation. So offering food by opposite hand may be the end of life. So Gurungs have to preserve the knowledge of Pachyu and Ghepren. It should be followed by generation to generation. They have to try to encourage for learning priesthood to new generation. There is a problem, only by priesthood, they could not be managed by their family life. So, it has become a secondary profession for those because Gurungs shouldn't keep priests in only the boundary of death ritual. They must be mobilized for their living life too. Because the culture and ritual which is the identity of Gurungs is depending on only Pye-Tan-Lhu-Tan which is existing in the knowledge of Pachyu and Ghepren. Lamas perform Pae without sacrificing any animals. It is good because

animals also have right for living. But they also take meat in their meal. There is respect for endogamy marriage system. The exogamy married daughter and daughter-in-law however are not allowed to touch and participate in death ritual. It is a restriction for keeping purity in their culture. But nowadays, some people become flexible in this case. In this study it is deduced that the offspring's of exogamy married suffer from a big problem of not to get *Ashuon (Mawali)*. In this case they invite *Budha Mawali* (Ashyon of father or grandfather) as tentative. Anyway, death ritual is the medium for making chain for relatives of Gurungs. It has been the best medium of integration and interaction in Gurung society as claimed by the functionalist perspective.

8.7 Intra Relation between Priests in Death Ritual

Ghepren, Pachyu, Lama and Paindi are known as priests of Gurungs. They have determined their role. All of them are involved in death ritual. First of all people go to paindi to look good future (*singara*) for conducting pae. Paindi gives well Singara (time) for pae. He also gives time table to make different *tehen* (oblation) other priests move according to time directed by paindi. So, paindi is recognized as director or hali who shows direction for oxen Pachyu and Ghepren known as hal goru (two oxen) or as nail and fleshor they work together in death ritual. They are divided in death ritual (*pae*). Lamas also work according to direction of pandi. But they don't work with pachyu. After seeing these, there is managed division of labour and human resource management.

Ghepren, Pachyu mobilize more all the kins (*nemme, chahamerime, Mho, Ashyon, Taha Vai, Nge tuhu, Hui*). Bon lamas also mobilize them but lamas influenced by Tibetan Mahayami do not do much it. Ghepren and Pachyu read in Gurung language but lamas read in Tibetan language. The pae conducting by Ghepren Pachyu sacrifice and use animals and birds. Lamas don't sacrifice and use any animals and birds. They use Torma (kaindu/image), fruits etc. They have certain different musical instruments and dresses for each. The Gurung People of Rupakot and migrated Gurungs from Rupakot in Pokhara keep priests Syaklunghe Ghepren, Marchikote Ghepren and Lama. Nowadays, Lamas are influenced mostly from tibetion culture by leaving their own Bon lama culture gradually. Tu Gheprens of Marchikot are very flexible. They obey

requirement and wants of people by not sacrificing goat on the day of death, reducing number of sheep for grazing etc. But Suaklunge plehen Ghepren don't obey these matters. They don't want to change any kind of rites and customs, traditions. They say which is natural and which is learnt from their master should be continued. The priests believe that the big oblation conducting for dead soul sending to heaven is their duty and religion. They think to look for request and comfortable is the greatest sin (especially Ghepren and Pachyu).

Anyway, as a whole, Rupakot VDC migrated Gurung perform the pae for the meaning of giving peace and relief for dead spirit and to send to heaven. All of priests call dead spirit on first day of the pae. They care and a rare for death spirit by offering foods and clothes on 2nd day of the pae. And they send to heaven to dead spirit on last day of pae with chanting and reading pae. So, it can be said, priests have close relationship with people in Gurung community. There is also the close relationship between Gurung priests. Gurungs believe them much. The ritual conducting process and language is different but meaning is similar.

8.8 Interrelation between Other Castes/Ethnic Groups

All the existences of earth have been fixed by their death. Death is brought with birth. Human beings are intelligent. So they create and innovate different kind of rituals during their life. There are different process as to conduct rituals in different caste and religious groups. In our society, Hindus Brahman and Chhetries have their own culture for death ritual. Similarly Magar, Newar etc have differentes in death ritual.

Specially, researcher would like to emphasis in involvement of kinships in death ritual among different groups and castes. According to Hindu Religion in Brahman and Chhetri, they have own Priest and their important person in death ritual is son. Son gives dagbatti and all rites of Dead Ritual. There is no need of daughter for any religious rite in death ritual. Hindus celebrate *shradda* annually and also *sora shradda* before Dashain for dead ancestors. It is also done on the date of male ancestor death. Relatives go to dead person's house to deliver gift. Other kins go for other help. It can be said that it is human behavior too. But there is not necessary of other kins and female (Daughter) for religious rite and function in death ritual. Likewise in Magar community, they keep priest Bahun and nowadays, somewhere their own priest

(Magar) is also kept in death ritual. There is also seen the important role of son-in-law in death ritual in Magar community. Daughter's role is not compulsory in this community too. But the role of son-in-law is found important in death ritual. The mobilization of son-in-law can be taken as the well status of female because son-in-law is the husband of female with other family. Magars are mostly adapted to Hindu cultures. They are influenced from Hinduization or they are assimilated with Hindu.

In Gurung community, there are important role for each kins. Son and daughter are Kiriya Putri. Son and daughter is not enough for death ritual for religious rites. *Ashyon* is the most important. Without *Ashyon koin* and *sonapa*, dead body is not allowed to pickup for burial and *pae* cannot be completed. Likewise, son-in-law is main functioner of death rituals. All materials needed for this ritual receiving, removing etc. is done with Mho (son-in-law). In that way, Taha vai has also very important role equal to *vai khalak*. And all *vai Khalak* (kith) have also very important role to perform rite (i.e. Garud Dhara piba etc). Bhanja, Bhanji and Samdi have also important role in *pae* for offering their ancestors to meet now and old dead spirits. Others, nearest and relatively near relatives go to do *syaisyai* for encouraging. Not only these, there are so many people and members who get involved in death ritual. The females also go to burial place as *malami* (mourner at a funeral) in Gurung community. *Pae* is the biggest oblation (*Mahayagya*) of Gurungs.

Thus, there are many differences in death ritual between Gurungs and others in process, performances involvement of kins, instruments (requiem) etc are the factors of differences in rituals. There are mobilized all kinship and equal participation of male and female for religious rite de passage. But in other caste (especially Hindus), there are not equal participation of son and daughter for religious rite or Karmakanda. Gurungs obey and respect too much for *Ashyon*. Respecting *Ashyon* means respect of mother and respecting mother respect of female. But some Gurung community influenced by Hinduism is found with some domination for female. It is not Gurungs culture and belief. It is adaption of other's culture. Equal participation in all the rituals of human life first, then females will get other rights and authorities like economic, health, education, cultural, social political. People may get happiness in the birth of daughter as the son.

8.9 The Factors of Changes in Gurung Death Ritual

Cultures are the human creation and there are the use of symbols and artifacts. Culture may be taken as constituting the way of life of an entire society. And this will include codes of manners, dress, language, rituals, norms of behavior and system of belief (Collins dictionary, 2000). Death Ritual is also a part of culture. Having changes in these cultures is called cultural change. There are many causes or factors of culture to be changed. Gurung death ritual has also been changed by many causes as in many aspects as discussed earlier.

8.9.1 Changes in Gurung Death Rituals by Urbanization, Modernization and Westernization

Qualitative researches in anthropology are usually normative in many contexts. They focus on social-cultural processes. Westernization is a process where by societies come under or adopt western culture in such matters as industry, technology, law, politics, economic, lifestyle, diet, language, alphabet, religion, philosophy and values etc.

Urbanization is the physical growth of urban area as a result of migration and suburban concentrations in to cities, particularly the very largest ones. Urbanization can describe a specific condition at a set time, i.e. towns. It can be increasing. Unless, but a rapid and historic transformations of human social roots in the Global scale, where, by pre-dominantly Village Culture rapidly has been replaced by predominantly by urban culture.

Modernization refers to a model of an evolutionary transition from a 'pre-modern' or 'traditional' to a 'modern' society. Religious beliefs and cultural traits usually become less important as modernization takes hold.

Many people are migrated to urban area for the search of employment education and to get more facilities in their life. This process makes people to be organized, in society or Samaj i.e. Rupa Samaj. The people of Rupakot accomplish Pae mostly in Urban because their kiths are only in urban (Pokhara). More facilities in Urban are the main cause for it. And the means of transportation and communication have made easier for lodging, gathering, informing etc. There is a rule and custom to obey and

invite Ashyon, priests etc. Now days, they are contacted by phone. Some customs has been modified and going to be lost. The Syaisyai culture is also going to be the form of exchange keeping records in register. There is modification on some customs for reduction of high expenditure eg. Only on last day of Pae they provide meat only three ritual sheep used for grazing etc. There are changes in the uses of wine, bear, whiskey etc. mostly except of domestic wine (*pa*) which is the original culture and essential for Gurungs for every ritual. It makes difficult to conduct Pae for poor ones because of high economic burden. It is affected by the showingness of Lahure culture. Lahure culture is prevalent in Gurung community. They spend very large amount in any function, which is more than needs. Now a days, dead body and Plah is covered by garland of money instead of garland of flower. Somewhere, mourners use white dress during impure time esp mourning and in doing kriya.

8.9.1.1 Influence of Modernization and Urbanization

More Gurungs (youth) go to foreign countries for the employment some in British Army, some in Indian Army and many youth Gurungs in Arabian countries, Japan, Korea, Hongkong etc. So Gurung people have become more capricious. Modernization and Urbanization is influencing Gurung society. Even their culture and rituals are also affected by Modernization and Urbanization. The use of technology (mobiles, vehivles, T.V. etc.) make easy for gathering, passing informations, transportation of materials etc.

Table 8.11 : Influence of Modernization and Urbanization

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	58	96.7
No	2	3.3
Total	60	100.0

Source: Field Study, 2011.

96.7 percent respondents believe that modernization and urbanization influence in death ritual and 3.3 percent respondents belive that there is no influence. In brief, it can be said that, Modernization and Urbanization align to facilities for conducting any rituals, rites and functions.

Death ritual is really influenced by education, well economic life, growth of population, other societies, migrating etc. Death ritual has become cost intensive, more showy (decorative, competitive), adaptation of modern means (vehicle, sound system, alcohol, etc). People practice, to spend more, expenditure, showy nature by wearing many ornaments, doing syaisyai by offering more money etc.

Table: 8.12: Main Influences

Main Influences	Frequency	Percent
Alignment to facilities	51	85.0
Showy nature has increased	4	6.7
Expenditure has increased	2	3.3
No response	3	5.0
Total	60	100.0

Source: Field Study, 2011.

The above table explains that 85 percent respondents believe main influences in alignment to facilities by Modernization and Urbanization, 6.7 percent respondents believe in showy nature has been increasing day by day by Modernization and Urbanization. 3.3 percent respondents think main influences in expenditure have increased. And 5 percent respondents have no response about this matter. Young generations watch T.V. and know different programs and cultures which they like. Education has also brought disappearing belief upon old age matters and rituals. But Death Ritual of Gurung is very emotional and effective in human life. They have been attracted toward foreign cultures by watching T.V. and migration of inter country and external. People have to drink alcohol except of domestic wine (pa). It is direct influence of Modernization. From this, fundamental culture has become internal pain and other people, also fall in difficulties. Doing more expenditure and showy nature, some people take satisfaction for their so called social prestige.

Anyway, from influence of Modernization and Urbanization make easy, facilities for conducting any kind of functions or rituals. Because in the past time, there were less spends due to manual power to carry loads, to help etc. Now a day, if people are able to spent money, every thing is available immediately and easily. It is the positive part of Modernization and Urbanization, but it is burdensome.

In brief, it can be said that expenses are increasing in Gurung death Ritual. Some people are going selfish in the care of economic activities like doing *syaisyai* by donating more money for rich and less for poor. Somewhere it is also seen that performing *pae* by Lama in Gumba is not needed of more relatives for conducting rite and also help of society members. But the migrated people of Rupakot in Pokhara are following their customs as well as possible.

8.9.2 Changes in Gurung Death Ritual by Migration and Religion

Pokhara is the place where much kind of people are inhabited. They are influenced by each other directly or indirectly. The fundamental local religion of Gurungs is Bonism. Gurung people perform many cultures and rituals on the basis of Bonism. They are worshiper of nature and ancestors. Their own priests are Pachyu, Ghepren and Bon Lama who perform all Karmakanda as a naturalist which is being followed from Stone Age. But when the Tibetan refugees migrated in Pokhara, there is influence of Mahayani Lamism culture in Gurung death Ritual. Many Gurung people are attracted to Tibetan Lamaism by leaving own original culture and priests. The main cause of it may be no sacrifice of any animals and birds in death ritual. The influence of Hindu culture in death ritual is not seen so much. But many Gurung people say their religion 'Hindu'. It can be said that it is the influence of Hinduization. Many Gurungs are unknown about their religion Bon. They think that Buddhism is their religion. So it can be said, there are heavy influences of Tibetan Lamaism or Buddhism. There is also, who kept Ghepren/Pachyu and Lama, also keep Ghepren/Pachyu. Thus, Death ritual is changing religiously and because of migration of Tibetan refuses.

Table 8.13: Aspects of Changing Process

Aspects of Changing Process	Frequency	Percent
Economic	20	33.3
Social	16	26.7
Religious	6	10.0
Other Reasons	2	3.3
Total	44	73.3
No response	16	26.7
Total	60	100.0

Source: Field Study, 2011.

According to above table, only 10 percent respondents accepted influences of religion in Gurung death Ritual among migrated Gurung people of Rupakot in Pokhara. They try to follow the custom for keeping purity in ritual. According to this data, there is slight change by religious in death ritual.

8.10 Implication

Pignede (1966) has explored various aspects of Gurungs of Mohoriya. He explored the concept of Gurungs about sin; "good" and "bad" soul go to different places after death (Sorga-heaven, Norga-hell). While there is clearly a concept of 'sin', which needs to be washed away.

Durkheim (1893) has explained Mechanical Solidarity and Organic Solidarity of ideal society. In Gurung community it is seen going to be changed from Mechanical to Organic Solidarity in which the Mechanical Unity of a culture is transforming to loosely united Organic Solidarity of body.

Clifford Geertz (1972) has interpreted 'cock fight' among Balinese people Symbol of masculinity/ strong males. It is a game related to power, politics. Likewise, Victor Turner has described about Ndembu Tribe. He has interpreted, in death ceremony; Musoli has taken as symbol of progress. They put animal's horns, hanging the meat of animals. There would be blood and would come fly. Fly is believed as ancestor. The symbolic meaning is expert hunter.

In the death ritual of Gurungs, priests use the cock. In the primitive period there was no time to watch. So people wake up according to crawl of cock and they started to work of their daily life. So uses of cock means, they take as the symbol of time. Similarly, in the 'Mo Tonba Tehen' (oblation of calling soul), they use hen. Symbolic meaning of it is productive power or reproduction. Human life is moved smoothly becoming interrelated with other existences to.

There is maximum use of banana branches and leaves, Katus, bamboo, etc. Banana and Katus (chest nut) are the food providing plants which were used for living and bamboo, reed were used for making baskets, syakhu, bow etc. Fish, murcha are also very compulsory thing for all the oblations of pae. It is seen clearly that Gurungs were

hunter in past. They made pa (domestic wine) from murcha. It is made by herbs. Gurungs take it as medicine which was created by Chainli Guru. As a whole it can be said that these used materials in Pae have the symbolic meaning of primitive Gurungs civilization. These activities and things are practiced in daily life. The implications of all activities are that Gurungs believe good and bad about sin or heaven and hell. They have union and we feelings as community and to some extent "ethnocentrism" in anthropological language.

Death ritual of Gurungs is influenced by many elements as modernization, westernization etc and has also been slightly changed. Globalisation has made the world narrow society. In *Pye-Tan Lhu Tan* (Gurungs holy book/Dharma Shastra), there are many methods and creations of culture. And most important implication of Death ritual in Gurung community is solidarity which is based on the notion of functionalism. Harmony, sympathy, interdependency, interrelation among Gurung people member of society are the results. The influences of many elements (Urbanization, modernization, westernization, religiously etc) have brought some changes and modifications in death ritual too. There also has become competition among people and hidden conflict (manifest) has been felt between priest and people about process, between old and new generation about knowledge of ritual, culture *Pye-Tan Lhu-Tan*. It has become economically, religiously, and culturally burden some despite its role in creating harmony and solidarity in Gurung Community under "Rupa Samaj".

CHAPTER -NINE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

9.1 Summary

To sum up, this study is an attempt to describe and explore the cultural pattern of Gurung death ritual among the migrated people in Pokhara from Rupakot V.D.C. The broad objectives of this study is to gain informations of Gurung death ritual and to study it's different aspects specially, the specific objectives are

- To find out the cultural and economic aspects of death ritual in Gurung culture.
- To explore the importance of social relations in Gurungs' death ritual.
- To trace out the changing process and to describe the general role (son and daughter) in death ritual in Gurung society.

This study was conducted among Migrated Gurungs of Rupakot in Pokhara within the Rupa Samaj. They are settled in Pokhara extently at Rambajar, Kajipokhari, Amarsingchowk, Laligurash Tole, Chipledhunga, Bagar, Matepani, Ranipauwa etc. There are 60 household in Rupa Samaj. There are other societies like Virchowk Samaj, Chisapani Samaj in Rupa Samaj. But this study was concentrated with Rupa Samaj where, whole Rupakot migrated people has been taken. So Sampling design had been conducted as census research design.

Researcher has followed the techniques as interview, observation, case studies key information for this study. Observation in Pae performance by Lama and Pachyu /Ghepren was done. Separately, some qualitative data has been interpreted on the basis of describing and other collected data were analyzed by SPSS program. Cultural relativism is the deduction of this study.

- The migrated Gurung people in Pokhara from Rupakot V.D.C are in confusion about their religion. Some respondents said Hindu and some Buddhist. They follow their cultures and Rituals according to Bonism. That's why Gurungs original religion is 'Bon'. Other matters are affected or adopted by other religions.

- Doing worship of sildo Naldo, Devi Deurali, Bhayar etc are the respect to nature and existences. They sacrifice animals and birds (hen/ cocks etc) when they worship. This is the way of getting nutrition for human body.
- Only Pachyu, Ghepren, Paindi and Bon Lama are Gurungs' Priests. They perform according to Pye-Tan-Lhu- Tan of Bonism/ Gurung.
- There are origin and creation of *Pae (Arghun)* as Rho Pae (related with Karje Kyahala), Plan Pae (related with Preheta Kyahala), *Rihi Pae* (related with Panauri Kyahala) and *Chayuhu Pae* (related with Chimi Uintu). At present, pae are conducted by mixing of these all during three days.
- The rounds of rice and Dhindo made by priests are the symbol of earth or planets.
- Chhetto dance is the traditional Gurung dance which is danced only in death ritual (pae).
- Syaisyai is done for encouragement by the yellow thread (*Ripa/Rupa*) making nine knot and nine roll for male and seven knot and seven roll for female as the symbolic meaning of nine fathers (*Khen Ku*) and seven mothers (*Ma Ngi*) in Gurung society.
- Urbanization and Modernization, has been made, easy in transportation and communication for death Ritual. But the rules of some rituals are extinct by showingness. Internal competition has been increasing.
- 98.3 percent respondents believe in their death rituals. Among them 78 percent respondents believe it on the reason for the peace of soul and salvation of dead one.
- Gurung people believe on their priests very much. Among total respondents 45 percent respondents believe that Pachyu/Ghepren have more role, 43.3 percent respondents believe all have equal role, 6.7 percent respondents believe Lama has more role and 5 percent respondents accept Paindi has stronger role in death ritual on the propose of giving time tableto contuct rites.. But 68.3 percent respondents believed more to Pachyu/Ghepren because of following all rituals well.
- 93.3 percent respondents feel that death ritual is getting more expensive. The part of having more expensive is in feeding and Dan Daksina.
- Accessibility for poor people to conduct Pae is difficult. But they also conduct Pae by the help of kiths and their relatives.
- Son and daughter have equal role in death ritual on the basis of rite de passage.

- Other kinships' role has also been very important because they are also determined by the role for rite in death ritual.
- 81.7 percent respondents felt culture in village at the time of migration is different specially, economically then socially and religiously.
- The traditional cultural norms values are changing socially or it is modified in limitation. 95 percent respondents felt the traditional cultures should be preserved by continuing, encouraging the young generation, the unity of all.
- There is seen some conflict between priests and people for doing methods specially uses of animals. And there is a vast gap about knowledge of traditional customs between new generation and old generation. Hence a conflicting situation.
- Gurungs have been affected from Mahayani Lamaism by diffusion of Tibetan Buddhism after migration in Pokhara of Tibetan refugees.
- Pa is the most important for each ritual of Gurung. Because Gurungs cultivate millet in more quantity because of living high land.
- There is harmony and unity among them.
- Syaisyai custom is going to be the form of exchange. Hence based on the notion of moral economy supporting solidarity.
- Chhetto dance is also being deformed in society as the competition of collecting more money for the fund of society.
- When Pachyu begins the pae, they use syakudalo, pit, bow etc. It is the symbolic meaning of Neolithic period or invention of agriculture age.
- In Gurungs death ritual, there is use of fish, bow compulsorily. So the symbolic meaning is that Gurungs were inveloved in hunting and fishing in primitive period for subsistence.
- Never the less the Gurung death ritual is changing due to various reasons - Viz. urbanization, modernization, migration, high expenses. etc.

9.2 Conclusion

Gurungs follow their cultures and ritual as the worshiper of nature and ancestors. It is the culture according to Bonism. So their fundamental religion is the Bon. There is explained about round earth and universe in Pye-Tan-Lhu-Tan which was thousand years ago. Some times before their cultures, dresses etc. was supposed to be lost but at

present, they are searching and trying to preserve their cultures. They have become conscious toward cultures for their identity. Gurungs organize any function and rituals looking their Lho (barga). Even in death ritual, many rites are accomplished by the person who is running in good fortune with Lho. Many kins mobilize in death ritual in Gurung community. The status of female can also be seen equal with male in all rituals on the basis of rite de passage. Among mobilized kins, Ashyon is the most important actor in death ritual.

Gurungs of Rupakot V.D.C. conduct pae more in Pokhara or Urban because the kith of them are living spreadingly in urban and village. The accessibility can get in urban easily. The method of pae doing by Pachyu/ Ghepren is not changed greatly but some rules and regulations are modified by villagers or society, eg. meat in feeding is reduced. It is mentioned on only the last day of Pae. Number of sheep for grazing has also reduced. It has less in the expenditure. Gurungs population is endogamous. Gurungs emphasise endogamy marriage system to keep purity of culture but there is seen flexibility on it. Some people allow exogamy. Tibetan Lamaism is influenced in Gurung community. Mostly, there is also found generation gap between old and young people about knowledge and practice culture. Behind this, young people are busy in their work of income. Syaisyai process has been changed. Likewise the style of giving Dan for Chhettu groups has also changed.

There are change internally in the practices which are influenced by migration modernization and other elements. There are both positive and negative impacts on Death ritual of Gurung community. On death ritual, each kinship plays vital role which is done voluntary from their heart. They don't take it as imposition. There is seen very good solidarity among them. They have very good relation with each another. There is unity and interrelation among them.

This study of Gurung death ritual can be concluded as:

Solidarity among them is alive but new generation has lack of knowledge on it. Their culture is conducted according to Bonism but with a mix of Buddhism. Hence Gurungs are not bonafide Hindus. Death ritual has been changed in religion, economic, social and culture by the influence of Modernization, Urbanization, Migration, Westernization etc.

9.3 Recommendation

Rituals are the identity of any ethnic or caste. It recognizes their identity in society. Death ritual is the quite unique culture of Gurungs in Nepal. They have to preserve and continue it for their reorganization and also for country. Researcher attempts to suggest some points for them.

- Since its implementation pae is one of cost consuming configuration. Though there is substitution and more alternatives, its cost should be significantly reduced. It will be better to modify unnecessary matters which have been burden for them. Stop provision of alcohol (wine, whiskey, rum, beer etc). Discourage for other money making activities.
- Gurungs should keep regularity all their customs, traditions, cultures like death ritual which has been done by their ancestors since the Stone Age.
- They need to sort out the major aspects of pae which they need to do at any rate or not avoidable. There comes the secondary aspects which is not necessarily to be addressed in due course of pae. If they give more emphasis upon major things and less importance to the arbitrary aspects, they can make some effort or relief on imposing burden.
- The young people of Gurungs are unknown about their traditional rituals what and who need for when and what. So old people must hand over the knowledge to young generation and young people should also be interested for it. They should also focus more on seeking jobs in Nepal hence contributing national development.
- Chhettu groups should not go for desire of getting more money.
- Syaisyai custom should be continued as the form of relativism in culture. They should think that all relatives are equal and do syaisyai which is their capacity, not to be taken as exchange. And the rate should be fixed for syaisyai.
- Gurungs should attempt to encourage for changing Lama Priests from Mahayani Lamism to Bon Lama.
- Even others ethnic/caste group should learn from syaisyai and should thank about developing an institution as Syaisyai so that to help and encourage the needy one.

Gurung institutions like Pye- Lhu-Sangh, Tamu Dhin etc should play a vital role in keeping intact the Gurung culture as well as should think about modifications in practices with time.

9.4 Direction to Further Researchers

This study has attempted to explore the hidden elements of Death ritual of Gurungs, among some information of Gurung death ritual, customs, traditions, norms and values. This study is also concentrated with cultural religious, social and economic (expenditure) aspects of Gurung death ritual. It has also attempted to study and customs in changing pattern of traditional cultures, its symbols, social structure importance of kinships.

It is ethnographic study of migrated Gurungs of Rupakot V.D.C. So, it is very limited. This study has been unable to explore many other grey aspects like ecological adaptation, educational status of priests, political influences, economic responsibility of daughter in death ritual, leadership power in function of female in death ritual. So further researchers may study in other aspects which researcher could not be studied in this research.

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Appendix – I

Questionnaire

Date:

1. Name of Respondent/Household head:
2. Occupation:
3. Religion:.....
4. Family details:

S.N.	Age/Sex	Occupation	Education	Relation of Respondent
1.				
2.				
3.				
4.				
5.				
6.				

5. When did you migrate?
Ans.
6. Why did you migrate?
 - i. For education
 - ii. For employment
 - iii. For getting better facilities
 - iv. Other

Questions Regarding Cultural Aspects:

7. Do you believe in death ritual of Gurungs?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
8. Why does death ritual conduct in Gurung Community?
Ans.
9. Is death ritual influenced in Gurung Society?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
10. If yes, how?
Ans.
11. Which priest do you take in death ritual?
 - i. Ghepren/Pachyu
 - ii. Lama
 - iii. Pandit
12. What is the role of Pandit?
Ans.

13. What are the role of Ghepren. Pachyu and Lama?
Ans.
14. Which priest has more role?
i. Ghepren ii. Lama iii. Pachyu vi. Pandit v. equal
15. Which priest do you believe more?
i. Ghepren/Pachyu ii. Lama
16. Why?
Ans.
17. What are the norms for conducting death ritual in Gurung Society?
Ans.
.....
18. Is there something influenced by modernization and urbanization?
a. Yes b. No
19. What are they?
Ans.
.....
20. Is Gurung culture disappearing?
a. Yes b. No
21. If yes, why is it?
i. Lack of language
ii. Ignorance of new generation toward own culture
iii. inter of foreign culture
iv. Limitation of known people about ritual
v. Others causes
22. Do you think, Gurung culture should be preserved?
a. Yes b. No
23. If yes, What is your suggestion for it?
Ans.
.....
24. In your opinion, death ritual of Gurung culture, does something need to modify?
a. Yes b. No

25. If yes, in which aspect should be modified?

Ans.

.....

Question Regarding Economic Aspect:

26. Is death ritual getting more expensive?

- a. Yes b. No

27. If yes, how expensive?

- i. expensive ii. More expensive
iii. Most expensive v. Less expensive

28. Generally, What is the whole expenditure to conduct for death ritual (specially pai)?

Ans.

29. In which parts do you get more expensive?

- i. Chhettu ii. Khanpin iii. Dhandaskina iv. others

30. Why does syaisyai do in death ritual?

- i. For condolence ii. For showing ness iii. For exchange
iv. For maintaing good relation between relative v. for economic help

31. Now adays, it is seen, people do syaisyai for rich people by more money and poor by less. What do you think about it? Is it right?

Yes/No, why?

.....

.....

.....

32. How is necessary to donate/give subscription for people who come to chhettu?

- i. No necessary ii. Necessary
iii. Strongly necessary iv. Not so necessary

33. How access is there for poor people to conduct pai?

- i. easy ii. Easier iii. Easiest iv. Difficult
v. More difficult vi. Most difficult vii. Less difficult

34. If easy, what are causes?

Ans.

.....

.....

35. Can it reduce?

a. Yes

b. No

36. If yes, how?

Ans.

.....

.....

Questions regarding Social Relation

37. What is the condition of role of son and daughter?

i. Son's more

ii. Daughter's more iii. Equal

iii. Equal

38. How it say or in which base can we say it?

Ans.

39. How important is other kinship's role in death ritual?

i. more important

- ii. Most important

iii. Important

iv. Less important

40. Which relation is the most important in death ritual?

i. Ashyon (mawali) ii. Mho (Son-in-law) iii. Tahha bhai (Jetha bhai)

iv. Samdi/bhanja bhanji v. all equal

41. If any one more, why?

Ans.

42. How important is the role of other social members of society in death ritual?

i. more important

- ii. important

- iii. Less important

iv. Not important

43. How?

Ans.

44. Do death ritual incomplete without any members of above?

a. Yes

b. No

Question Regarding Changing Process:

45. Do you believe in traditional culture?

a. Yes

b. No

46. If yes, why?
Ans.
.....
47. What kind of culture was there in village before your migration?
Ans.
.....
48. What are the differences in culture between village and urban after your migration?
Ans.
.....
49. Do you get some changes in death ritual during 10 years?
a. Yes b. No
50. If yes, what kind of change do you get?
Ans.
51. Is there changing the traditional culture?
a. Yes b. No
52. If yes, why is it changing?
i. Economically ii. Socially
iii. Religiously iv. Others reason
53. Do you think about preservation it?
a. Yes b. No
54. How can it preserve/
Ans.
.....
55. Why do yek Rate Pai conduct?
i. to save time ii. To minimize expenditure
iii. It's a traditional culture iv. To change tradition custom
56. Any other change, which you have felt?
Ans.
.....
- At last, do you want to tell your own opinion on it?
Ans.
.....
.....

Appendix – II

Key informants

S.N.	Name of informants
-------------	---------------------------

- | | |
|-----|---------------------------------|
| 1. | L. Indra Bahadur Gurung |
| 2. | Ghepren Guru Karna Gurung |
| 3. | Ghepren Guru Mekh Gurung |
| 4. | Ghepren Guru Gum Bahadur Gurung |
| 5. | Pachyu Guru Khushi Man Gurung |
| 6. | Pachyu Guru Hira Sing Gurung |
| 7. | Paindi Guru Nar Bahadur Gurung |
| 8. | Lama Guru Aaita Bahadur Gurung |
| 9. | Lama Guru Naina Sing Gurung |
| 10. | Gamar Sing Gurung |
| 11. | Paindi Guru Tika Gurung |
| 12. | Til Maya Gurung |
| 13. | Jham Gurung |

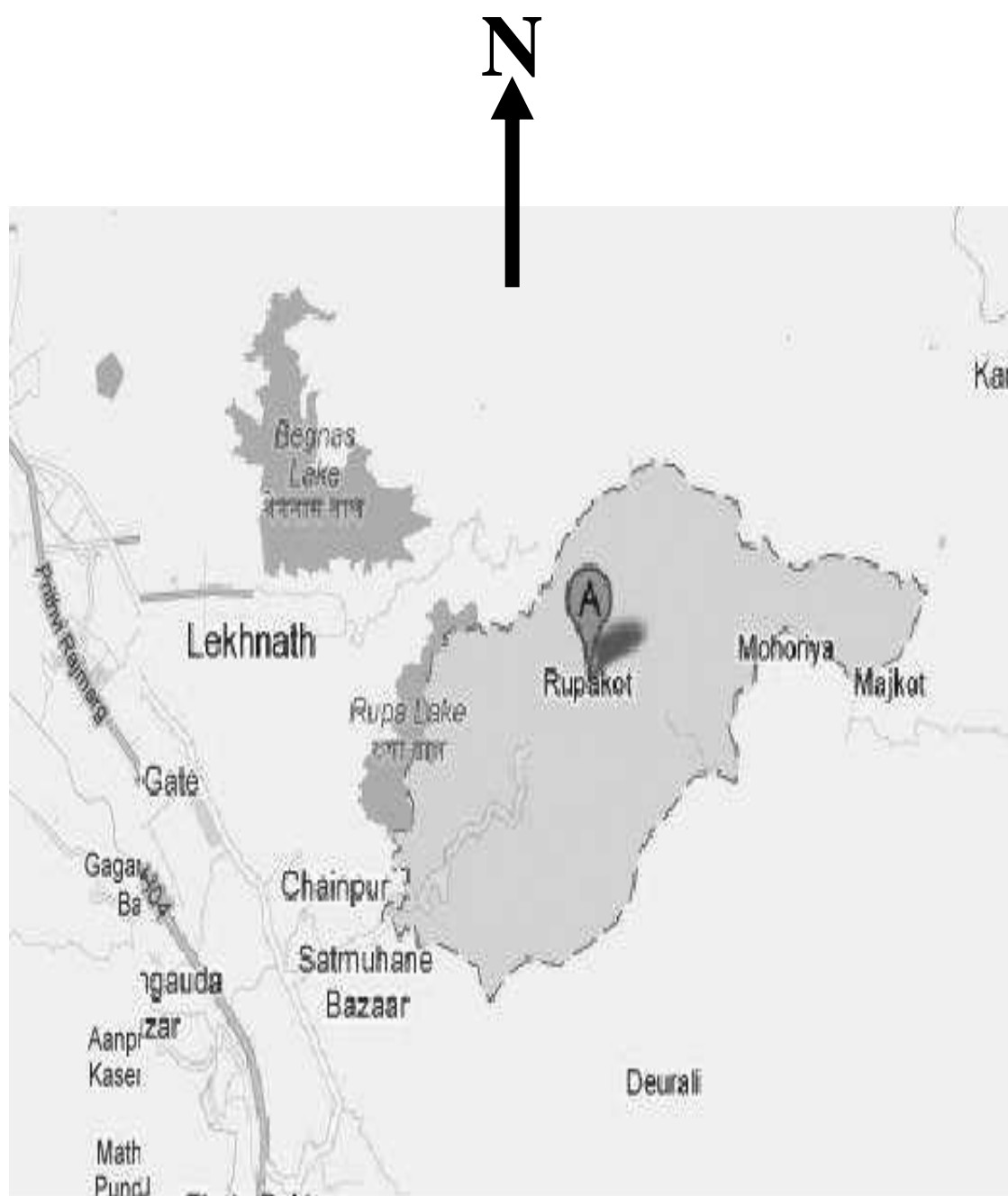
Appendix - III
Map of Kaski District



Rupakot VDC of Kaski District

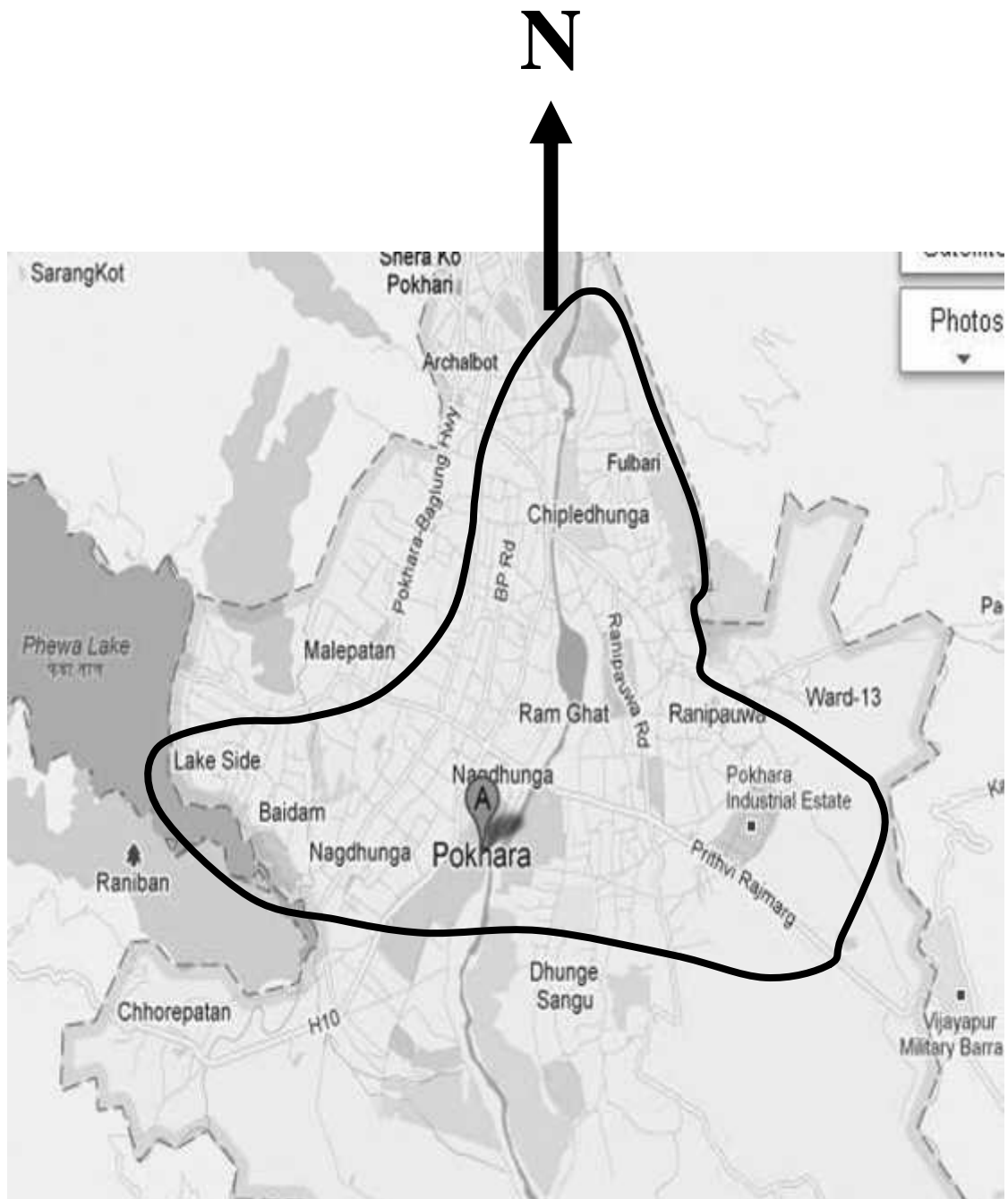
Appendix-IV

Map of Rupakot VDC in Kaski District



Appendix V

Study Area



Appendix -VI

Photo Gallery



Kept Chhikuta on the Chest of Death Person as Hair



Doing Crachha (Taking Oil on Hair)



Enchanting Ghepren



Going to funeral



Mhusi Tehen (Calling Spirit)



Upright Anla (A Bamboo Which is Hanged Foods, Clothes etc at the Tip)



To Take Away Secretly Spirit by Pachyu



Materials Which are Used by Priests (Pachyu)



Pachyu With their Dress



Chhetu Dance



Decorated Plah (Image)



Kyan Chaba tehen (calling soul)



Given Aashyon Koin (Cloth)



Decorated Plah with Photo of Death Person



Grazing Sheep



Enchanting sheep by Priest



Enchanting



Going to funeral in Pae



Doing SyaiSyai



Doing Syaisyai



Dancing Chhetu after Rihiteba



Needs Materials in Pae while Conduct Oblation



Conduction Pae by Lama



Wheel of Lho