

Tribhuvan University

Dramaturgy and Catharsis of *Pai*: A Gurung Death Ritual

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By

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Abstract

The present research work explores dramaturgy of one of the significant ritual performance of Gurung community known as Pai ritual and deals with aesthetic taste, catharsis and religion. It attempts to explore communal way of life, cultural integrity ,myth, oral history and belief of the Gurungs.

Pai, the Gurung terminology is derived from the word 'Pe' which means mantra in Gurung language. 'Pai' is a process to send the soul of death passage to the heavenly world with the help of 'Pe'. Pai can be defined as a ritual performance to purify family, home ,society after the death procession. In Gurung community, Pai is performed after the completion of carnival of a death person within three days to years according the ease of the family members. It gives solace to the bereaved family members of the decease person. The research is based on the documentary of Pai ritual performed at Lamndanda Village Arjunchaupari VDC 8 Syangja, Nepal.

While analyzing the Pai ritual, it is found that the Pai ritual does not only show the continuity of ritual but also shows the dramaturgy of whole life of Gurung community exploring their aesthetic taste, communal way of life ,myth beliefs entertainment and grief. This explanation goes against logical way of life that construct the system of a community. The research work, in this regard, attempts to clarify the essence of dramaturgy death passage to convince the heartbroken family of the deceased person through catharsis with active involvement of family members, relatives, neighbors and members of the whole community.

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Appendix 1

I. Dramaturgy and Catharsis of *Pai*: A Gurung Death Ritual

Salient Identity of Gurung Community

This research aims at exploring the performing dimensions of Gurung's *Pai* ritual and its significance. *Pai* does not only show the continuity of the ritual but also shows history of Gurung community. It demonstrates collective belief of Gurung, communal way of life, cultural integrity, agricultural dedication and sense of sympathizing in the time of mourning. In multilingual and multicultural country Nepal, among the different caste and ethnic groups, Gurung is one of the major ethnic groups. According to Donald A. Messerschmidt, "The Gurungs of Nepal have been generally considered as an ethnic group known for its internal cohesion and unity as well as for ability to work well together in a variety of chores despite of having differences in the economic and political conditions between persons". They have a glorious military career in Nepal, India, and British armies and hence possess a unique *Lahure* culture (Culture of going abroad for a career in foreign armies). The data of census of Nepal 2011 shows that the total population of Gurung in Nepal is 325622 of which 1.1 million speak the Gurung language.

Himalayan range of central Nepal in Gandaki region is highly populated by the Gurung people. B. Pngel clarifies the values and history of Gurung community as, "The historical areas of Gurung are Lamjung and Kaski. They have their own language, cultures, rituals, and dresses, with *Rodhi* as a major social institution". There is a long history of Gurung which is explained in Gurung traditional religious text called *Pye Tan Lhu Tan*. The Gurungs follow their costumes, ritual and tradition as prescribed in it. According to *Pye tan Lhu Tan* the word *Gurung* refers to the inhabitants of Gandaki region of Nepal who have been settled there in the very beginning of civilization, more than eight and nine thousand years ago. It contains

different types of passage (rite of passage) which Gurung need to tag alone.

All rituals are very important but among these rituals, death rite passage is very vital and compulsory. The death rite of passage of Gurung is divided into three parts; *Antesty Kriya (Kyan Chaba)* , *Bayupooja* , and *Pai (Arghaun)*. Gurung mourn for three days to thirteen days according to their culture of place (region) and their desire. It is called *Antesti Kriya*. *Bayupooja* (Pitripooja or ancestor worship) is performed in *Mangshir Purnima* or *Baishakh Purnima* or *Panchami*. Some people do *Bayupooja* after the death of their kins because they believe that they suffer because of death person's soul. The priests *Clebrey* and *Pachyu* declare the day of *Bayupooja* and it is performed in any suitable time. The final death ritual of the Gurungs is called *Pai* ritual. The *Pai* or final death ritual conducted after a certain period of demise of a person at the comfort of deceased person's family. As the third and final mortuary rite *Pai* or *Arghaun* is observed either on the last day of the death or on the 45th day of the dead, and sometimes more than a year depending upon the economic stimulation of the family. On the occasion great offerings are made by the relatives to the deceased *Pai (Arghaun)* is conducted with a religious belief to bestow salvation of the soul discussion, they decide how to manage expenditure for conducting *Pai (Arghaun)* , what amount to spend etc. In the village areas, Kith and Kin manage fire wood, water etc for *Pai*. In the urban areas, kins are assisted by neighbors by donating money as the offering of small help.

On the first day of *Pai (Arghaun)* , there occurs the function of hanging clothes , foods etc in a lingo (erected bamboo pole) at a tip of known as Alan in Gurung lexis . On the second day , they Perform “*Rheteba*” (*Klepri* and *Pachyu* dance by making effigy of dead person) and *Pai (Arghaun)* ends in the third day with “*Kyan Chaba* “ (grazing sheep) ceremony and descending down *Aalan* afterwards

the relatives do *Syaisya* which is a special tribute of support by offering money or clothes to the person involved with performing last Rite of deceased. The *Syaisya* ceremony is performed to encourage and to give consolation and condolence to the relatives of the deceased. *Syaisyai* is a benevolent ceremony involved with great money and gift giving tradition.

Gurung Ethnic Community

The Gurungs, one of the pre-eminent ethnic tribes living on the lap of Dhaulagiri, Machhapuchhre, Annapurna and Manasalu mountains peaks since aeons back possessing their own rites and rituals, feasts and festivals are renowned for their gallantry throughout the world who fought in two world wars. According to Murari Prasad Regni, “In the Gurung language, they call themselves *Tamu*. “*Ta* means ‘up’ and *Mhi* means the ‘man’ refers to the people who dwell in upper Himalayan Region” (15). So, *Tamus* are the people living in the northern part of Nepal. Ganesh Man Gurung clarifies that in the distance past, during the period of tribal states, “there existed nine Gurung States in the Gandak Region which were said to be *Kurkho*” (90). Here, ‘*Ku*’ means nine and *Krhon* means head. Later *Ku* got changed into *Gu* and *Krohn* into Rong” (16). It is therefore, calculated that the words *Gurong* or *Gurung* is derived from The original word *Kukrohon*. Murari Prasad Sharma also defines *Tamu* as “*Ta* means thunder and *Mu* symbolizes sky *Tamu* People were [...] heroes in two world wars who exhibited overwhelming energy (thunder) in Nepal –China War (V.S 1949) and Nepal Tibet war (V.S 1911)” (63). Dr Regmi, however, seems to be delimiting, the personality of Gurungs as his definition is analogous to the stereotypical nationalist ideology defining Gurung merely as the *Lahure* culture.

Gurungs are historically known as *Tamu* in their language (*tamu kye*) which is cognate of Tibetan word. According to Jagman Gurung, “The origin of the Gurungs is

linked to Tibet . *Gya-rong* was drawn from the name of Tibetan federation, where Gurung cavalry served the Tibetan king Srogken Gampo. *Gya-rong* became Gurung and referred to the inhabitant Gurung. The Gurungs are the “descendants of the Hun family of the China” (10). Whereas Regmi argues that Gurungs are well known as *tamu ta* means “thunder” and “mu” means “sky” (15). Although Bhojraj, a royal priest and Shikar Nath Subedi, two writers have ridiculously attempted to prove that Gurungs are off springs of Thakuri but Ganesh Man Gurung discards their arguments as :

The physical features, dress, language, costumes, food habits, believes, and practices, and their homeland and history show that the Gurungs are the descendants of Tibetan ancestors who migrated to central Nepal in search for better opportunities for their socio-economic improvements. It is assured that the Gurungs migrated to Nepal in the seventh century as a cavalry when Srangetsen Gampo, the first historical king of Tibet, visited Nepal. (98)

Taking these afore mentioned definition into consideration, a difference interpretation on the origin of the word *Tamu* can be put forward. The word *tamu* is derived from the original word ‘*Tamu*’ where *Ta* means ‘up’ or northern part, *mru* means ‘ruler’, meaning ruler of the northern part of the country. This definition is closer to the origin of the word *Tamu* since Gurungs were one ruler in the distant past.

Honesty, laborious and chunky physical structure are the hallmark of the Gurungs. They possess their own language, costume, religion, rites, rituals, fests and festivals. The inhabitants of upper Himalayan region have now migrated to urban areas. And some Gurungs have been settled in abroad. As Gandaki zone and its nearby districts are densely populated by the Gurungs, it is also known as Tamuwan Region.

Language

Gurungs speak their own language *Tumu Kui* originated from Tibeto-Berman family. However, there is variation in lexical items for a particular semantics within the language from place to place. For instance, the Gurungs of Lamndanda village of Arjunchaupari VDC of Syangja call *kuli* to cap where as Gurungs of the Gurungs of Dhapak Simal Vangyang VDC of same district call it *pule*.

The Gurung language has not yet been written in its own script which is really a desperate state for any existing language not possessing its own script. Most of the Gurungs, at present are bilingual since they speak Gurung cum Nepali language simultaneously. As Murari Prasad Regmi's view, "All native Gurungs are bilingual but eastern Gurungs of Rumjatar are monolinguals, can speak only Nepali language" (120). It shows that migrant Eastern Gurungs have assimilated with other culture. Although Gurung community is quite rich in its large collection of folklore and folk songs they are not well documented due to lack of its own script. However, attempts have been made to find out new scripts but the language could not be developed due to high priority and recognition to Nepali by language as lingua-franca of the country. Bhim Gurung in Rupandehi has started a Gurung school with Gurung script called *Khema lipi* and Jagan Lal Gurung has recently published a book *Gurung Khe Pri Barnamala* with new script. Gurung language has similarity with Tamang and Thakali language as the all are originated from same Tibeto-Berman family. It is difficult to other other's language for it's the era cultural assimilation.

Costume

Gurungs possess their own unique costumes. Gurung women put on, *Gunyo*, *Cholo*, *phogi* (waistband), *Tolma* (a small square of velvet), *Kramu* (cotton cloth worn over the head), *Ghalek* etc. As they inhabitate in cold region, they dress

themselves up as per the cold climate. *Tolma*, for an example, is a kind of warm cloth which is put on the backside by a Gurung female so far as to be prevented the cold. So do Thakali, Magar and Tamng women.

A Gurung male dresses up with *Bhoto* (like *cholo*), *Kas* (a long rectangular white cloth), *Phugi* (a belt keeping the *Kas* in place), *Khahda* and *Rhenga* (a big mouthed cloth for keeping objects which is usually carried around the soulders) etc. *Bhangra* is a spacious to be filled with different goods.

Religion

Religion is a set of ritual, rationalized by myth which symbolizes supernatural power for the purpose of archiving or preventing transformation of state in man and nature. The definition of religion is widely and closely defined in human nature, way of living and believe which shows that the co-operation of human being and nature and their belief in different kind of worship and power which is community of primitive period. The religion is the belief in spiritual beings, which are unseen, impenetrable, but emotion and experiences by human. The human beings are fully supported by the nature, where they gained a lot of opportunity. A belief in ancestral spirits is consistent with the widespread nation that human beings are made up of two parts, a body and some kind of vital spirit.

These beliefs and concept refer '*Shinto*' in Japan which is called '*way of divine*', and the Shinto is the state religion in Japan. The Tibetan way of life and concept is also similar with Japanese Shanto, which they call '*Pon*' in Tibet. In the Tibetan language, '*Pon*' means '*way of life*'. *Pon* religion is concerned with creation of universe and of the Tibetan people in such a way as to concentrate the existence, the country, the costumes and the habits of the Tibetan people. The spirituality of *Pon* is found on a cosmological reality. Nine gods created a world in which birth, death,

marriage and sickness all have their place. Some ethnic groups of Nepal including some Gurungs, also practice this kind of belief and worship which is called 'Bon' religion. This belief and concept is also devoted with their ancestral, supernatural power and their local deities. The *Bons* do not believe in worship of any statue, when they perform any rituals and cultural ceremonies, then they make up efficacy for short time. The effigy represents symbolic meanings of their ancestral, gods, ghost, and other natural powers but the effigy and meaning is destroyed with finishing the ritual and cultural ceremonies. So, the belief of Japanese *Shinto*, Tibetan *Pon* and Nepalese *Bon* are same way of living which has been in practice from primitive period of human community.

So far as religion is concerned, they follow Buddhism but equally worship natural resources such as rivers, ponds, jungles, mountains etc. which they call *Sildu Naldu* by which it can be presumed that Gurungs are followers of Bonism as well. They simultaneously believe in ancient Tibetan Bonism and modern Lamanism. However, Bonism is their major religion. Hordes of influence *Lamas* entered into Nepal along with exile of Dalai lama during 1960s. So, Lamanism is dominant over Gurungs as well. However, many Gurungs have adopted Hindu and other religion as well.

Profession/Occupation

Gurungs traditional occupation is marked by farming. As they are inhabitants of northern Himalayan cold region, sheep rearing is their major occupation. They descend down to southern parts during the winter seasons. The Gurung of mid-Himalayan region are involved in farming. They grow millet, rice, maize, wheat etc. in their land. Despite the profession, most of the Gurung males prioritize to be admitted in the British army and the Indian army. The provision of admitting the

British army and Indian army was made as quid pro quo for displaying their courage in two world wars. Some Gurungs however, engaged in their own business in urban areas while few joined bureaucracy as well.

Pye Tan Lhu Tan

Pye Tan Lhu Tan is the Bon based religion where the nature and ancestors are worshipped and animism is practiced through oral interpretation. It is the main source of *Tamu* religion and culture. Therefore, the Gurung scholars say,

Pe, mhasya chhya mhamu

Chhya mhaisya , Lhu Mhamu

Lhau mhasya, mhi mhamu

Meaning: If tradition is lost knowledge will be lost,

If knowledge is lost culture will be lost,

If culture is lost ethnicity will be lost. (Ganeshman Gurung, 5)

Pye Tan Lhu Tan is an originally preserved holy scripture of the ancient history, myth, tradition, and culture of Gurung from one generation to the next. *Pye Tan Lhu Tan* is cultural and historical document which includes Gurung's origin of rites and rituals, costumes and culture. As *Klepri* and *Pachyu* are the resource persons of *Pye Tan Lhu Tan*, they can well depict and can recite it by heart. Further, they perform different ritualistic activities of Gurung community as well. The priestly groups of Gurungs are *Pachyu*, *klebri*, and *Lam*.

Klepri

Klepri is main priest among the Gurung community. Specially, the *Klepri* are related for funeral and *Pai* ritual and offering and worship with *Simi Bhumi* (local deities). The *Klepries* chant the ancestral history of Gurungs.

The *Klepries* are scholarly priest group of Gurung community. They are

called *Ghyabri*, *Kyabri*, *Lebri* or *Lhourri* from place to place. They are much related with *Khely* since the time immemorial. This is why; they may be called *Lebhri* Or “*Klepri*”. The *Klepries* are specialists for death or *pai* ritual. They use *Cho'n* and Gurung language when they perform any rituals. The *klepries* respect *Lubra* and *Labru* very much where their ancestors had established their own *Koehn'bo* (Gurung Temole). Now they call, *Lbru mharsorbai Paen'mu* or *The Kleprie of Labru Mharso*. The *kleprie* also wear *Rhalbu* on their head they put on *urugyan* (like crown) on their head, which has paintings of five Bon Deities' photos that is called *urugyan Paeh'mu*. They respect and devote to the *urugyan* which are their ancestors and guru. They wear *Papi Thar* (a long black gown) and tie a wooden black bird on their waist. The long black gown specially is worn in traditional dance for *Pai* ritual. The *Kleprie* plays a one sided *Nga* but *Nga* is slightly bigger in size than *Pachyu's Nga*. The *Klepries* do not use buff and chicken in their food . The *Klepries* are related for controlling and managing *Tha Ku* (nine ghosts) .In Gurung Villages, *Klepries* perform ritualistic festivals.

Pachyu

The *pachyus* are very ancient priests of Gurung community. They play vital role for conducting the Gurung culture and rituals. The *Pachyu* recite all texts orally. They are animists and believe in their ancestors and supernatural power. They study about the Gurung and their own ancestral history when they perform the Gurung culture and rituals. They are used for healing practices when some feel sick in the village. The *Pachyus* are very respectful to their ancestors and *Sildu Naldu* and *Simi Bhumi* (local deities), and the ancestor's soul or power would come and stay in healing *Pachyu's* soul. However, this kind of healing practice is very rare. They start conversation with their ancestors but the language could not be understood by the

laymen, therefore, after some times, the healing *Pachyu* has translated in common language as suggested by the *Gurus*.

There is a myth about *Pachyu*. While asked in an interview with *Pachyu* Priest Ram *Pachyu*, he stated that a woman gave birth to a child daughter, the daughter's untimely demise made the mother very sad. She desired for accompanying her dead child. People requested the *Pachyu* to stop the woman. The *Pachyu* ordered that the child be buried in and the mother to her next by covering with small branches, and the child's right hand touched with mother and joined the mother's breast. Next evening, he said, there will be movement or some activities. At early morning of next day, the mother removed those covering branches and saw *Halk* (the plant venus). She became very happy when she saw *Halki* in the east direction for the second time, because she was conformed that her child was not dead. The story signifies that only the out of child had lost from her body when he was sick very seriously like a dead. Then the *Pachyu* bought the child's soul from the burial ground and substituted in the child's body then the child was recovered. The people said, "*pla chyuehba ke laba*" (the work which is very respectful), so the word *Pachyu* was converted from such respected word *pla-chyuba*. Even today, this kind of ritual is performed when someone loses her/his *plah* (soul) following a serious accident or any mishappen. Instantly *Lhu* (call of collect) is done by a *Pachyu* priest, which is known as *Plah -Khu Laba*.

The *Pachyus* believe that *Wuicho Chi'nru* is the ancient place of their ancestors and they respect *Wuicho Cho'nru* very much. The *Pachyus* use their traditional dresses when they perform cultural and ritual ceremonies. They wear *Rhalbu* (a kind of cap) on their head , *Pahrkhu* (ghalek) and tie the *lahde* (pheasant farmers) on the head. By this dressing, they symbolizes the primitive age when the human beings were based on nature.

Lam

Lams are also another priestly group of Gurung community. The Gurung rituals are performed by ancient *Bon Lamas* following *Bon* philosophy. However, nowadays there appear different Lamas in Gurung community who perform Gurung ritual and culture. When the Gurungs has beend migrate fromNnorthern side of Nepal, they encouraged *Pancha Lam* somewhere in Mustang. They began to respect the *Klepri* and *Pachyu* where they learnt the Gurung rituals and culture by *Klepri*.

Affinity anong Gurung ,Tamang, and Thakali

Gurung, Tamang and Thakali have some consanguine in terms of costumes rites and ritual etc. *Chayakrhon* along with “his army and three sons came to Mustang there was scarcity of food, shelter and other due to growing population. After demise of *Chayakrohon*, his three sons the place leading a left separate group to separate direction” (Dillijung Gurung 112).The three brothers “ led their group to Mustang, Kerung and Thakkhola who are ancestors of present Gurung, Tamang and Thakali respectively” (68).

Semblance in their language, religion, rites and ritual feasts and festivals etc. hintthat Gurung, Tamang and Thakali area three different branches originates from the same root. Moreover, surnames prevalent as *Nochan*, *Maichan*, of Gurung; *Sherchan*, *Hirachan*, *Jiwarchan* of Thakali further clarifies the linguistic resemblance in their surnames.

Similarly, their similar physical structure and traits, life style, custom, costumes are more or less similar. For an instance, Tamang and Thakali hugely celebrate *Lhoshar* and worship the nature as the Gurungs do.

Kyola Sonthar or Sopre Thyo : The Ancestral Land Of Gurung

It is located in the northern part of Kaski district which was capital of *Tamuwan* region in the past. A holy place and ancestral land of the Gurungs, is situated at the top of 3100 meter height in the Namarjung Deurali VDC of Kaski district close to Western part of Lamjung district. As observed by the study team of *Tanmu Hyula Chonj Dihin (Gurung Rastriya Pairisad)* there are remains of some of three settlements, consisting of ruins of old buildings, daily used clothes, utensils, gaining stones (*jaoto*) and so on. It is assumed that the Gurungs live there in 500 A.D. and it is well mentioned in *Pye Tan Lhua Tan* as well. In this regard Bed Bahadur Gurung states:

Khyola Sonthar is situated at the north-east part of Namajung V.D. C. of Kaski district. It is two and half years foot distance from Pokhara sub-metropolitan city.[...] It was capital of Gurungs in the past which considered altogether three villages known as *Sothar* Gurung were later migrated to different places such as Siklesh, Tanting, and different places of Nepal. (my Translation¹²³)

Kyola Sonthar or *Kyhlo Sopre Tyho* is the origin part of Gurungs which lies in the lap of Lamjung Himal. After the inclusion of “six village of Lamjung into Kaski, *Kyola*, at present lies in Tanting Village, Namarjung Deurali V.D. C. of Kaski” (12). In Gurung language, *Kyola* stands for business point which is derived from Nepali word *Gola*, meaning a market or bazaar etc. ‘*Son*’ means three and ‘*Thar*’ or ‘*Tyhon*’ means village (inhabitants). ‘*Khyola Sonthar*’ Or ‘*Sopre Tyhon*’, therefore, suggests being three Gurung villages with business point. Jagman Gurung sheds light on “*Kyola Sonthar* is a historical place of Gurungs. *Khyola* is said to be *Gola* in Nepali language, Habitances named *Khyola* are located even in Manang and Dolpa districts. Likewise, the old name of previous district headquarter of Sankhuwashava is

Golbazaar” (2).

Similarly, Ram Pachyu, resource person of *Pe Tan Lhu Tan*, clarifies about the primitive history of the Gurungs in interview with me as,

There exist dense population of Gurungs in present Manang district. In search of prey, two Gurung hunters ran after a deer and found it in a place. Seeing the beautiful scenery, they sowed seed of *uwa* whether it be habitable or inhabitable place. To their great surprise, when they came back to place after a year the sowed seed turned out to be bearing plants. Since then the Gurung migrated into *Kyholo*.

Genealogical study of Gurungs claims that the different six Ghale kings reigned in Kyola, namely they are : Hirakyla , Chhurikyala , Polikyala, Termokyala, Shreesyumukyala and Dowakyala. Sterility of Dowakyala compelled him to declare Rilde Ghale, an outsider as his heir. No sooner had the king Dowokyala died, some of the Gurungs revolted against newly enthroned king and began to live separately in *Karbu* hillock. Meanwhile Jagati Khan after conquering Kaskikot was planning to invade in *Karbu* hillock. His envoys cunningly stated that they had been here for assisting Ghale King. Between two options either to fight with soldiers of Jagati Khan or to surrender with him and accept as King, the Gurungs of *Karbu* admitted the second option. *Subsequently*, rebellion gurungs of *Karbu* settled down in Taprang of Kaski to Yulung of Lamjung. Even the newly enthroned king, Rilde Ghale, due to his weak belligerency capacity vis-à-vis Jagati Khan was compelled to abdicate the throne.

Tamuwan Region

The Gurungs who are ancient inhabitants of the Southern part of Annapurna Himalaya Range are densely populated in different districts of Gandaki Zone and its

nearby districts namely Lamjung, Gorkha, Kaski, Syangja, Tanahun, Parbat, Manang. This Gandak region is, therefore, named as *Tamuwan* Region. In this regard professor Jagman Gurung claims:

Geographically, the part of the land or the Southern part of Himalayas stretching between Budhi Gandaki River in East and Kali Gandaki River in the west is what is known as Gandak or Tamuwan Region. It includes almost all districts of Gandaki and Dhaulagiri zones such as Lamjung, Kaski, Gorkha, Syangja, Tanahun, Parbat, Manang, Mustang (My Translation 65).

However, some Gurung villages are spread over the eastern part of Nepal between the Tanor and Arun, Rumjatar of Okaldhunga is well-known Gurung village. Similarly, migration of Gurung is maximum in Chitawan district and they have settled in various places of the country which is the outcome of modernization and immigration.

Tamuwan region, the buzz terminology at present should not be misunderstood as the Gandak Region to be possessed by only the Gurungs. The fact is that Gandak Region said to be the Tmuwan not dominance of population in the region but because of their ancestral land.

In the present socio-political context of Nepal to implement the constitution and reformation of structure of state, issue of ethnicity is crucial issue. Having observed the different issues on Gurung community through the eyes of different scholars, we can see the dynamic of Gurung culture ritual and aesthetic values. However, many rituals are still there to be explored its cultural and performative significance in the community. On such context, this thesis tries to explore the performative and dramatic significance of *Pai* Ritual, its aesthetic and cathartic value, logic, politics and history behind the performance.

In order to prove the above mentioned hypothesis, the present work has been

divided into four chapters. The first chapter presents introduction to the research elaborated in the subsequent chapters, it gives a brief outline of the hypothesis, statement of problem, critical review of literature and why it is researchable. The second, chapter briefly explains 'Ritual, performance and social drama' are. It mainly highlights the Ritual, social drama and poetics of performance. On the basis of the theoretical modality developed in second chapter, the third chapter presents textual analysis to prove the hypothesis. The fourth chapter is the conclusion of this work. It concludes the explanation and arguments put forward in the preceding chapters.

II. Role and Function of Ritual in Performance Theory

Performance studies have been growing as an academic genre since 1970's. Indeed, it has produced a wide variety of perspective and it is now integrated into a number of social sciences and is growing discipline in and of itself. While diverse theories have adopted theatre discourse and metaphors, the connection between theatre and performance is commonly misunderstood. Some performance theories are concerned with the manner in which individual perform aspects of everyday life. For example, Judith Butler uses term 'performative' to describe the material presence. For Butler, a subject is never performing himself or herself but rather enacting certain discourse.

Performance is an inclusive term, meaning the activities of actors, dancers, musicians and their spectators and audiences. Performances say actors and audiences are must for any kinds of performances .They display some sort of dance or bodily movement on the rhythm of some music. So, musicians are also indispensable for any performances. Spectators and audiences are another important body. The term performance become widely popular in present era in different range of activities in arts, literature and social sciences .Performance in fact is a kind of "human activity" (42).

However, the activity is not done by ordinary unskilled people but by skilled and trained ones. As Richard Schechner argues,

What makes performing arts, performative, I imagine the answer would somehow suggest that these arts require the physical presence of trained or skilled human beings whose demonstration of their skill is performance. (77)

For Richard Schechner, performance is related with their physical presence of trained people with their particular gestures.

Performance is always performed for someone else .The performers present to be someone other than oneself .So, it is “a restored behavior in which the groups consciously separate them from the other” (51). This very activity of othering the self is performance. Performance has occurred among the entire world’s people from the dawn of human culture. The earliest human societies were hunting and gathering bands.

Dancing, singing, wearing masks and costumes impersonally other people, animals or supernatural, outing stories, retelling the hunt , rehearsing and preparing; these are all coexistent with the human condition to concentrate archeological evidence of preference that at least from Paleolithic times. Whether categorize this first performance as ritual or entertainment is an unanswerable problem.

To perform any sort of performance, two or more group meet on a “seasonal schedule” at a particular “ceremonial centre”. Every performance follows certain system from rehearsal to dispersal leaving gather on a particular ceremonial center. Performance begins after rehearsal takes place .Gathering, playing out an action, and dispersing occur in a certain pattern. People gather in a certain place or ceremonial centre, perform the performance and again disperse in a system. “People [come] to a special place [do] something [...] and [go] on their way. According to Richard Schechner, “The pattern of gathering, performing and dispersing is specifically theatrical pattern” (133). So, performance of any performing art tends to follow some pattern while gathering, performing and dispersing i.e. every movement or gesture is systematic.

After the accomplishment of performance, the crowd of performers and audiences either disperse abruptly or in a certain process. The abrupt dispersal is said to be eruption where as a well planned dispersal is processing .The former takes place

in stress and the latter in ritual performance.

All rituals by nature are performance but all the performance are necessarily not the ritual. Ritual is a set of repeated actions of the thought to have symbolic value, the performance which is usually prescribed by a religion or by the tradition of community. A ritual may be performed at regular intervals or in a specific season or at the decision of individuals or communities. It may be performed by a single individual or by a group or by entire community in arbitrary places before specific people.

Performance is an art in which the action of an individual or a group at a particular place and in a particular time constitute the work. It can happen anywhere at any time or for any length of time. Victor Turner says “Performance art can be any situation that involves four basic elements; time, space, the performer’s body and relation between performers and audience” (48). In performance art, usually one or more people perform in front of audience. The performance may be scripted, unscripted or improvisational. It may incorporate music, dance, song, or complete science. The audience may buy tickets for the performance, it may be free or the performers may pay the audience to watch. The performance and theatre has connection though the performance is broad spectrum and theatre presentation is well organized and specific. To understand the performance, Bharat Muni’s *Natyasastra* and Aristotle’s *poetics* should be clarified.

According to Manmohan Ghosh, “Bharat Muni’s *Natyasastra* and Aristotle’s *poetics* are both the most significant, popular and comprehensive drama theories of their own civilizations” (5). They are ancient texts which have been extensively discussed, commented upon and interpreted throughout centuries and seemed to be quite often referred to even in the present day. Being written more or less in the same

centuries but in distinguishably 'distant' civilizations- both physically and Aristotle's Poetics and Bharat Muni's *Natyasastra* share a lot of similarities in terms of various aspects. The purpose of theatre as both the text theorize also revival the particular world view and philosophical background that they were part of drama. Similarly, Ghosh connects the objective of Bharat muni's *Natyasastra* and Aristotle's Poetics as following;

The purpose of theatre as both the text theorize also revival the particular world view and philosophical background that they were part of. *Natyasastra* suggests that the function of drama is to provide religious education and entertainment at the same time. Therefore, the reason why the priest should be the actors is justified when we consider the function of theatre to be religious education. Whereas, Aristotle addresses the function of drama in the light of his notion of catharsis while defining tragedy. Aristotle stresses in a few other parts of *poetics* that a tragedy must arouse fear and pity in the audience by the purification (*catharsis*) of these emotions to be able to accomplish the imitation (*mimesis*). (15)

So, the Aristotelian notion of *catharsis* can be compared and related to the *rasa* theory of Bharata Muni as represented in *Natyasastra*. Although the understanding of ultimate goal of theatre are different, they are both concerned about the reception of theatre by the audience and arousal of certain emotions at the minds of spectators.

Bharat Muni explains the *Rasa* theory as a components of aesthetic drama in his work *Natyasastra*. *Rasa* Really means "taste" in Sanskrit; however it has come to mean "aesthetics" since it is used in *Natyasastra*. Aesthetics is a sub-topic of philosophy which primarily deals with the theory of art production and reception. Aesthetics of *Natyasastra* emphasizes that all the dramatic actions target to evoke some kind of

emotional experience in the audience or spectators and this experience given to the audience by actors is called rasa. As the theatre is the re-enactment of life, the audience can re-live and take pleasure in the emotion of the character (played by the actor) only if rasa is achieved. The primary aim of a dramatic performance should be the accomplishment of rasa, evoking in the audience the same emotion that the actor stage. The message of the theatre or performance, which is often religious, is conveyed through only when the audience goes through aesthetic experience, the rasa. Bharat Muni explains rasa and compares it to the taste of the food. Manmohan Ghosh clarifies rasa theory of Bharat Muni as following;

It is said that as taste (rasa) result from a combination of various spices, vegetables and other articles, and as six tastes (rasa) are produced by articles such as raw sugar or spices or vegetables, so the Dominant States, when they come together with various other States (bhava) attain the quality of the Sentiment (rasa). Now one enquires, “What is the meaning of rasa?” It is said in reply to this [that rasa is so called] because it is capable of being tasted. How is rasa tested? [In reply] it is said that just as well-disposed persons while eating food cooked with many kinds of spices enjoy its tastes (rasa) and attain pleasure and satisfaction, so the cultured people taste the Dominant States (sthyibhava) while they see them represented by an expression of the various states with Words, Gestures, and the Temperament and derive pleasure and satisfaction. (14)

As the quotation also explains, the aesthetic taste can be gained from the dramatic performance when the various elements to theatre represent certain States (bhavas) which would evoke certain Sentiments (rasas). Only when all these elements of the theatre are combined together in a meaningful way, the audience can appreciate and

find satisfaction in the theatre that they separate in order to be educated and entertained at the same time. The theatre reception, therefore, is based on the concepts of bhavas and rasas in *Natyasastra*.

The Sentiments (rasas) and the States (bhavas) are listed and explicitly explained, and how the relation between the two should be is addressed in *Natyasastra*. Siddhartha Sawant explains Bharata Muni's *Rasa* and *Bhava* Theory in "Classical Sanskrit Drama: Growth and Development" as "A well-functioning drama piece should largely accommodate at least one of the rasas, which are eight in total, and be supported by a few other rasas" (131-134). The eight rasas are as follows:

1. Sringara: Erotic Sentiment
2. Hasya: Comic Sentiment
3. Raudra: Furious Sentiment
4. Karunya: Pathetic Sentiment
5. Vira: Heroic Sentiment
6. Adbhutam: Marvellous Sentiments
7. Bibhatsa: Odious Sentiment
8. Bhayanaka: Terrible Sentiment

Bharata Muni argues that a successful theatre performance is where one of these sentiments is dominantly aroused in the mind of the audience while it is supported by a few others of them.

For example, the main sentiment of a play cannot be comic (hasya) and Terrible (bhayanaka) at the same time; but it can be dominantly Comic and containing terrible sentiment and other limited amount. Similarly, a play dominated with Heroic Sentiment (vira), which often tells of wars of gods etc., should not include a lot of Erotic Sentiment (sringara) or Pathetic Sentiment (karunya).

After explaining each of the Sentiments (*rasa*) in a detailed way, the text moves on to explaining the states (*bhavas*), which evoke them in the mind of audience. States (*bhavas*) can be defined as the emotions that the actors attempt to stage or imitate in the theatre; “ Through words, Gestures and Representation of the Temperament, they infuse the meaning of the play [into the spectators]. The states (*bhavas*) are the imitations of the real life emotions and they work as an intermediary in order to arouse the Sentiment (*rasa*) in the audience in order to serve the function of the theatre. In this respect, Bharata Muni also acknowledges the significance of imitation (*mimesis* in Aristotle) of human emotions, or human nature as Aristotle put it, in the theatre theory. *Natyasastra* categorizes the states, which are to be limited, into three: Dominant, Transitory and Temperament. Dominant states are eight in number, the transitory states are three and Temperamental states are in also eight in number. The most important States are the Dominant States which are in the same number as the Sentiments. These states can be listed as Love (*rati*), Laughter (*hasya*), sorrow (*soka*), Anger (*krodha*), Energy (*utshah*), Disgust (*jugupsa*), Astonishment (*bismaya*).

Community and Communitas

A community is commonly considered a social unit (a group of people) which has something in common such as general norms, values, and in a village town and neighbourhood. But, Victor Turner Differentiates the concept of community into two layers on the basis of specificity as ‘community’ and ‘communitas’. ‘Community’ comprises general common value of group of people but ‘communitas’ comprises specific and core value of the group of people. Victor Turner distinguishes the two concept of society as following:

I prefer the Latin term ‘Communitas’ to ‘community’ to distinguish the modality of social relationship from “an area of common living”. This

distinction between structure and *communitas* is not simply the familiar between “secular” and “sacred” or that for example politics and religion. (28)

In the above mentioned lines Turner clarifies the distinction between community and *communitas* as difference between secular and sacred. Secular is a common concept of the community or nation but sacred is core value, belief, identity of the certain group of people.

Turner connects the sacred value with ritual of specific group of people and he gives the example of rite passage as following to clarify the concept of sacred:

Certain fixed offices in tribal societies have many sacred attributes; indeed every social position has some sacred characteristics. But this “sacred” components is acquired by the incumbents of position during the “*rite de passage*”, though they change positions. (90)

In the view of Turner, something of the sacredness of transient humility and modeless goes over, and tempers the pride of the incumbent of higher position or office. Here the word ‘office’ refers to the norms of *communitas*.

Roy A Rapport tries to analyze the nexus among nature, ritual and religion in essay, “*Ritual and Religion in the Making of Humanity*”. Rapport begins his argument as, “We have to enlarge our concept understanding of the nature of religion and of religion in nature”. Rapport says, “[...] it is about the nature of humanity, a species that lives, and can only live, in terms of meaning it must construct in a world devoid of intrinsic meaning but subject to physical law” (3).

Rappaport also clarifies the relation between ritual and sacred as following:

Ritual is centrally concerned with religion’s most general and universal elements, “The sacred”, “The Numinous”, “The Occult”, and “The Divine” and with their fusion into “The Holy” in ritual. It will also be concerned, both

at and ultimately, with the evolution of humanity and humanities place in the evolution of the world. (1)

The main idea of Rappoport's essay is that religion's major conceptual and experimental constituents, the sacred, the numinous, the occult, and their integration into the Holy, are creation of ritual. To put the matter into the logical rather than logical terms, these constituents are entailments of the 'form' which constituents ritual. As a form of structure it possesses certain logical properties, but its properties are not only logical. In as much as performance is one of its general features, it possesses the properties the properties of practice as well. Rappoport says, "In ritual, logic becomes enacted and embodied –is realized – in unique ways.

A poetics of Performance

The earliest human societies were hunting and gathering bands. These bands were neither primitive nor poor; the best evidence suggests an abundance of food, small families and an established range. Human did not live not live on one spot, neither did they wonder aimlessly. Each band had its own circuit; a more or less fixed route through time and space.

Repetitious beyond modern calculations; evidence shows that certain decorated caves were to construct use for more than 10000 years. Human bands did not number more than 42 to 70 individuals and more than one band used adjacent and overlapping ranges. For most of the year bands probably met only occasionally by chance or perhaps to exchange information and goods. May be relation between some bands were hostile. But indications are that at special times when games was assembled in one area, when certain edible fruits and nuts were ripe for gathering a concentration of bands took place. Pilgrims, family reunions marked by feasting and the exchange of gifts, potlatches and going to the theatre are other variations on this

same action concentration exchange or give away or dispersal.

V. and F. Reynolds report a strikingly similar phenomena among the chimpanzees of the Bundong Forest in Uganda. They state;

The carnivals considered of prolonged noise for periods of hours, where as ordinary outburst of calling and drumming lasted a few minutes only.

Although it was not possible to know the reason for this usual behavior, twice it seemed to be associated with the meeting at a common food source of bands that may have been relatively unfamiliar to each other. (208)

The Reynolds is not sure where the carnivals were for – they think it may signal a move from one food source to another: it occurs when certain edible fruits are ripe. The nineteenth century report indicating some kind of entertainment (dancing, singing, and drumming) apparently romanticized and anthropomorphized the gathering of chimpanzees. But, Reynolds confirmed the nineteenth-century report of mood of excitement and well being permeating the meeting of animals from different bands who are on friendly terms to each other.

The art in cave of south –West Europe and stories of aboriginals about the landmarks in their range are means of transforming natural spaces into cultural spaces: ways of making theaters. A theatre is a place or which only or main use is or enacts performances and that kind of space, a theatre place, did not arrive late in human cultures but was there from beginning is itself one of the characteristics of our species. The first theatres were ceremonial centers – part of system of hunting, following food sources according to a seasonal schedule, meeting other bands, celebrating by some kind of writing on a space: the interaction of geography, calendar, social integration, and productivity of people to transform nature into culture.

The functions of the ceremonies – at the ceremonial centers, and the exact procedures, cannot be known precisely. Heel-marks left in the clay in at least one of the caves indicate dancing; authorities generally agree the performances of some kind took place. But, more often than not the reconstruction suits the taste of the reconstruct or: fertility rites, initiation, and shamanist –curing and so on. According to Roy A. Rappaport, performances which regulates economic, political and religious interaction among neighboring group whose relation with each other is ambivalently collaborative and hostile. He further says

Ritual particularly in the context of a ritual cycle operates as a regulating mechanism in a system or set of interlocking system, in which such variables as the area of variable land, necessary length as fallow periods, size and composition of both human and pig populations. (49)

Rappaport is writing about a contemporary New Guenia people. The performance at the ceremonial centre occurring where hunting bands meet for the purpose of maintaining friendly relations, exchanging goods , techniques , performing dances and songs . In other words, people come to a special place, did something that can be called theatre and went to their way .The pattern of gathering, performing and dispersing is an especially theatrical pattern.

Theatres everywhere are scenographic models of sociometric process.

Suresh Awsthi goes on to say:

They are presented in fields after the harvest streets, open space, outside town, fairs and markets and especially for the Ramayana and the Krishna legend shows –temple gardens, river banks, markets squares and courtyards [...]. The performances are social events not separated from the community activity.

(36)

Traditional Indian theatre is very like Western medieval theatre – and modern avant-garde or experimental theater. The performer often has a second or third occupation but this does not mean that his skills as a performer are amateurish; far from it, a connection to a community may deepen all aspects of his art.

Ritual and Performance

Ritual tends to prefer presentational actions, telling stories, dancing, drumming, singing and other forms of communications that maintain some distance between performer and subject. The purpose of rituals has variations. They include compliance with religious obligation or ideas satisfaction of respect or submission, obtaining social bonds, demonstration of respect or submission, obtaining social acceptance or approval for some event or some event or some times, just for the pleasure of the ritual itself . However, ritual may have entering consequence but entertainment is not its necessary goal.

Ritual feature of various kinds are almost all known human societies, past or present. They include not only the various worship rites and cults. The primary purpose of ritual is not entertaining rather it is social action aimed at a particular goal. It makes us various troops and it is not fictional. Wole Soyinka hereby argues ritual as:

Whatever performance troops are used, ritual is always effacious [...] the community and enacted for a particular audience to preserve the order and meaning of anything from harvest to marriage birth and death [...] unlike drama, which is mostly a reenactment ritual is never fiction. Rather it is devotion and dedication of performers. (123)

In a less neo- classical context, Ossie Eneke finds that ritual can easily be transformed into theatre and vice versa-in a number of ways: “A ritual rite becomes

entertainment, once it is outside its original context or when the belief that sustains it has lost its potency” (155). This apparently easy transformation from a ritual to drama the of the ritual .The distinction between ritual and theatre must be acknowledged if either is to have agency .Andrew Horn rightly maintains that ritual:

May in some ways be theatre, (but) ritual is not drama [...] which has developed in a divergent direction, towards magical communication between man and the natural forces rather than worldly communication among men. It would generally facilitate the understanding of both ritual and drama- religion and art – if generic distinction between them is kept distinct. (197)

Certainly, ritual and drama can intersect when each has particular locations, actions and implementations that can apply to the other.

Ritual and Body

Many of the requirements for ritual are similar to those of drama: actor, audience, costume, space, language and a specific span of time .When ritual takes place in drama, its codes concrete traditional signification as part of both the theatrical and the ritual spectacle .Ritual can, however, impose restriction on these performative signifiers or otherwise highlights certain characteristics not normally part of their system of representation. J. M. Adedeji notes that ritual and non- ritual characterization differ in significant ways:

In spiritual drama, the dramatic element is manifest when the individual or group in ecstasy aimed at communication with the metaphysical or divine power displays a pronounced character. There is a kind of awareness which drives the individual to search out in order to attain this close communication or by working himself up, steps outside him and portrays a character which reflects his emotional state. (88)

In naturalistic theatre, the body undergoes a conscious and voluntary transformation so that person becomes a completely different likely – fictional character. This process is signifier which can be trained to convey the desired characteristics through facial expression, posture, movement and so on.

Ritual and Costume

If ritual is sacred, it is associated with costumes paraphernalia are also sacred and not to be used randomly at non ritual times and places. Like the uniform of Christian Clergy, a military officer or a prison warden, non-western ritual clothing carries with it various unspoken authorities and can be read, therefore, as a potential powerful tool for post-colonial cultures. While it may serve as a body covering, it signified meanings extend far beyond the utilitarian. Because ritual costumes are symbolic as well as functional stripping or denuding is a significant act. The connotation of particular costumes or mask is of course a specific to the context and culture in which they are used but there are numbers of common practices. Masks are mostly used to create archetype and to help establish ancestral links; thus in ritual transformation, the masked performer is animated by the spirit or god he or she depicts.

Ritual and Music

The ritual sound scope, often composed of music, verse, chants or other effective forms of communication propels the activity from naturalistic presentation to ritualistic manifestation. Such tradition and transitional languages reserved for ritual occasions heighten the sacredness and specificity of the particular event. In many African and Afro-Caribbean rituals, the rhythm of the drum- the most significant musical instrument – is no more accompaniment but one of the principal forces guiding the action: it shapes the dance, song and helps common spiritual power.

Verbal languages tend to be less significant for their liberal meanings than for their ritual function: songs of invocation and dismissal, for example, affect the appearance and exist of god while dirges ensure the safe passage of a dead person's spirit into the ancestor's realm. The process of naming takes on special significant in ritual because it is seen to confer indisputable identity and status. This is related to a belief in the magic power of words but it is also depends on the proper completion of ritual procedure, basic oral sounds or phonetic elements are frequently stressed, producing an incantatory or mesmeric effect.

Carnival Ritual

The carnival ritual of a society's secular festivals, like those of its religious or sacred rituals, provides an important archive for a post- colonial theatre praxis which aims to articulate the specificities of local experience. Typically, such festivals are derived from pre-colonial traditions which have been altered in response to changing circumstances and context.

The traditional carnival is a pragmatic example of a secular which has exerted a strong influence on the drama of its region. John Davies put forward his views about carnival as "Although the common commercialization of its festival has undoubtedly diluted its protest against the inequalities of social system founded on class and race based hierarchies, Carnival remain an important source of inspiration for theatre practioners in the Caribbean"(342). Although Carnival in Thiland began as a pre-Latin festival observed by the French French settler elite class in the eighteenth century, it was subsequently appropriated to the masse, shaped by various African – based costumes (especially those associated with harvest festivals), and thus transformed into an expression of black culture. As Hill notes, celebrations commemorating freedom from slavery formed the ritual beginnings of an indigenized

Carnival and often accounted for the serious elements that decades after emancipation, Carnival connected with candles, a flaming torches through the streets accompanied by drumming, dancing, and singing.

Once it had been fully appropriated by the black lower class, Carnival became vehicle for rebellion against colonial theory .For poor urban blacks in norms; it embodied an ongoing struggle against inequity and oppression. The spirit of protest was evident not only in the traditional calypso lyrics and the various masquerades which satirized white society, but also in a pattern of ordinary behavior that culminated in riots during the 1881 and 1884 Carnivals. Not surprisingly, such eruption of violence fuelled ruling class hostilities towards what was deemed a ‘vulgar’ festival but authorization efforts to suppress the event remained ineffectual and were often observed into the content of masquerades through parody and satire.

Ritual as Social Drama

Ritual integrates music, dance and theatre .They use colorful and evocative masks and costumes. The procession, circumambulations, singing, dancing, storytelling, food-sharing, fire-burning, incensing, drumming and bell-ringing along with the body heat and active participation of the crowd create an overwhelming synaesthetic environment and experience. Richard Schechner clarifies the relation between ritual and drama as following;

At the same time, rituals embody value that instruct and mobilize participants. These embodied values are rhythmic and cognitive, spatial and conceptual, sensuous and ideological. In terms of brain function, ritual excites both the right and left hemispheres of the certain cortex, releasing pleasure giving endorphins into the blood. Marx’s aphorism “religion is the opium of the people” is literally true. People are religious that ‘suspectable’ to rituals of all

kinds – religious, political, sportive, aesthetic; they need the kind of satisfaction only ritual performance can provide, a powerful kind of total theatre. (615)

Sacrifice carries great value in ritual performance that works as catalyst to purify the violence drive of human mind through escape goat. The violence balances creative and destructive nature of human mind. Schechner highlights the essence of violence in myth, history and ritual as following;

Dramatic narratives, theatrical actions, and religious myths and enactments are so often, and in so many diverse cultures, explicitly violence. The Christianity, is founded on the torture of crucifixion and propagated by the stories of many martyr saints. Hindu Mythology is full of wars and bloodthirsty demons. Even Buddhism – in its Tibetan and Srilankan versions – include the most horrific demons and violent exorcisms. The core drama of Shamanism in Asia and America is perilous journey exclaiming in a life- and-death struggle of the shamanism against powerful adversaries. (62)

Similarly, Jurgen Gerhards believes that ritual sublimate violence and clarifies as “The function of ritual is to ‘Purify’ violence; that is to ‘trick’ violence into spending itself on victims whose death will provoke no reprisals” (36). All this sounds very much like theatre –especially a theatre whose function is cathartic, theatre that ‘redirects’ violent and erotic energies. Cathartic or not, theater always manufactures substitute, specializing in multiplying alternatives. It is accidental that so many of these alternatives combine the violent with erotic. This ‘sacrificial crisis’, as Girard sees it, lies in the dissolution of distinctions within a society- from erasure of the reciprocal rights and responsibilities of parents towards their children, to the elision of hierarchy. Incests and genocide are lacking violence threatens. The enactment of

ritual death – whether the victim is actually or theatrically killed restores distinctions by emphasizing the difference between the victim and the rest of society. Girard clarifies the concept of victim as;

The surrogate victim plays the same role on the collective level as the objects the shamans claim to extract from their patients play on the individual level – objects that are then identified as the cause of the illness. At the place where the actors meet the audience – that is, in the theatre - society faces the sacrificed victim thrice- removed. (83)

The audience itself is once – removed from the society which it is part of and responsibilities. Individuals ‘leave’ society and ‘go to’ theatre where they respond to the performance more as a group than as discrete individuals. The social role that spectators play is analogous to the character’s role that actors play. At least one of the characters stands in for a sacrificial victim. Thus an actor playing such a character is performing a representation of representation. In such ritual performances two representations are stripped away: There is neither character nor audience. In ritual, there is encounter with society. Or, if a ritual sacrifice is performed, the encounter occurs as victim with society. The ‘actor : : audience’ interface is looser, more given to playfulness, change, and individual creativity than the ‘actor’ society interface. When a victim faces society directly, the actual sacrifice that takes place is usually not of a life. It may be a cutting or scarring or tattooing or an immersion, the exchange of signs, the giving of a thread or some other painless but irrevocable act.

Efficacy and Entertainment

The relationship of ritual and theatre takes in the form of the interplay between efficacy and entertainment. This relationship is both thematic and historical. The main objective of theatre is fun whereas ritual has results. Richard Schechner clarifies the

relation between ritual and theatre as following;

Performance displays learned skills for the present audiences with their individual creativity in the theatre. But, in ritual, performers project their possessed qualities for a divine other with their collective creativity in a specific venue. Theatre aspects audience's wants and appreciations. Ritual aspects audience's beliefs and participation. Criticism flourishes in theatre, criticism is discouraged in ritual. (617)

Whether a specific performance is 'ritual' or 'theatre' depends mostly on context and function. A performance is called theatre or ritual because of where it is performed, by whom, and under what circumstance, if the performer's purposes is to effect transformation, to heal, or to appease or to appeal to transcendent others (gods, ancestors, divine, royalty etc.)-to get 'results' – then the qualities listed under the heading 'efficacy' will most probably prevail and the performance may be regarded as a ritual. Conversely, if the qualities listed under 'entertainment' prevail, it may be regarded as theatre. No, performance, however, is pure efficacy or pure entertainment.

Turner says "In 1960s and 1970s (in the West and in Western-influenced theatre) efficacy usurped the once dominant position of entertainment. Although the 1980s and 1990s has been an apparent return to the dominance of entertainment, this is no so in reality (632)". First, creation procedure advanced in the 1960s have become commonplace: performance events are routinely staged in 'untheatre', the pattern and process phases of performance are displayed, very personal material is integral into – or shown side by side with – public or fictional materials, and so forth. Second, many performance artists, as well as practitioners of 'third' or 'alternative' or 'new age' theatre, draw directly on shamanic techniques while involving themselves in creating theatre in community celebrations or other ritually efficacious events. Para

-theatrical events dissolves the audience – performers-dichotomy, while a whole branch of performance aims at eliminating the dichotomy between ‘art’ and ‘life’. Finally, there has been a sea- change in the participation of what is personal and the ‘social and drama’ levels, role playing in everyday life, job training using acting exercises and theatrical stimulations all attest to the increasingly complicated interactions between, and continuing convergence of theatre and ritual. The history of western theatre can be given over all shape as a fluctuating relation between efficacy– ritual and entertainment-theatre. This model can be applied to any culture. During each historical period in every culture either entertainment or efficacy is dominant. But, the situation is never static; one rises when other declines. The changes in the relationship between entertainment and efficacy are part of the overall pattern of social-change, however, it participates in the complex process that creates change.

Relation between Social Drama and Aesthetic Drama

Victor turner tries to equate between social drama and aesthetic drama. Both dramas constitute the similar components in deeper level. Turner claims the four major components of social drama that constitutes the following phases of public action. They are as; (1) breach, (2) crisis, (3) redressive action and, (4) reintegration and schism. A breach is a violation of ‘non-governed social relations’ with in a family, work group, village, nation, or a set of nations. A crisis is a widening of the breach until it becomes extensive with some dominant cleavage in the widest set of relevant social relations to which the conflicting or antagonistic parties belong. It is now fashionable to speak of this sort of things as the ‘escalation’ of crisis. A crisis is a situation that cannot be overlooked, that must be dealt with here and now. The third process of ‘social drama’ is Redressive action. Turner clarifies Rdressive action of ‘social drama’ as following.

Redressive action is what is done to resolve crisis, to end the crisis. This many range from personal advice and information mediation or arbitration to formal juridical and legal machinery, and, to resolve certain kinds of crises or legitimate other modes of resolution, to the preference of public ritual. (626)

Redressive action connects the breach and crisis, at the same time it tries to resolve the complication of crisis and unfolds the complexity of the crisis in a systematic way. The fourth step of 'social drama' is Reintegration. It is the elimination of the breach that engendered the crisis. If, however, reintegration is not possible, either the problem will fester or there will be a schism. This schism can be creative, as when dissident group or individuals set out for themselves- whether physically or conceptually – to found new settlements, religions, arts, movements, or whatever. Turner's model can be applied just as well to two classes of event sequences: social happenings and aesthetic dramas. This comes as no surprise, for Turner derived his processual or dramaturgical model from what he knew about an aesthetic drama.

Social dramas are always happening. They occur in humdrum ordinary life - divorces, tensions between parents and children and dozens of other quotidian crisis – and they occur as highly publicized, 'historical moments' splashed all over the media to be relished by reader spectator. Victor Turner clarifies the dramatic event of social action as, "A historical moment that also figured as social drama was the firing in November 1975 of several cabinet members by U. S. President Gerald Ford in the aftermath of the Watergate scandal" (632).

In Turner's four-phase scheme, while the breach may fester for a long time, the critical action can erupt suddenly, unpredictable, because a precipitating event is often the 'straw that broke the camel's back' for a long time and reintegration is not certain. But once a social drama is over, analysis can look back and see what happened,

detecting an orderly development of events congruent with Turner's scheme – for, as Satire once noted, death transforms every things appear to happen suddenly .

The visible actions of a social dram are informed, shaped, conditioned, and guided by the aesthetic principles and specific theatrical- cum – rhetorical devices of the culture depicted. Reciprocally, a culture's visible aesthetic theatre is informed, shaped, conditioned, and guided by that culture's process of social interaction. This is an interactive theory, not a mimetic of Politicians , lobbyists, militants ,terrorists , doctors, lawyers, teachers, whether acting individually or in a group, use theatrical techniques (staging, characterization, scenography, manipulation of reception) to create [...] and manage social events – actions that are consequential or maintain the status quo , to change a person's life or maintain it . The theatre artist uses the consequential actions of social life as the underlying theme frames, and rhythms of his or her art. Ritual performance , occupying as it does the middle ground between aesthetic drama and social drama ,specially powerful because it equivocates , refusing to be solely aesthetic (for looking only) or social(wholly committed to action now) ; ritual participate both in the aesthetic or the social , drawing their power from both on operating within both. Ritual performance, aesthetic performances and social performances are closely related to each other. Ritual is part of the warp and woof of every kind of performance, sacred and secular.

In the light of above performance and traditional enactment of ritual and carnival, the researcher tries to explore how *Pai* ritual is performed in Gurung community and what is its performative effect on its host, audience and performers. For this, the idea of performance theorist Richard Schechner and Ritual theorist Victor Turner have been applied. The Researcher has further shown the nexus between performance and post-modernism, performance and ritual, social drama and aesthetic drama, ritual and music, ritual and body in this research work.

III. *Pai* as a Gurung Ritual Performance and it's Cultural Significance

According Marc C. Taylor, "Religion is a belief of spiritual beings. This belief arises from imagined nature of this beings and its rooted in validity for every individual" (865). Similarly, Emile Durkhem defines religion as a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say things that set apart forbidden beliefs and practices which unite all these who adhere to them in to Dharma, which also means duty, ethics, morality, rule, merit and pious acts (83). Therefore, Dor Bahadur Bista says, "Where Nepalese people discuss about religion they understand it with a broader meaning than is usually applied in the West. Many native and foreign scholars rather than concept, ideas and foundation emphasize on implication" (91). Religion in Nepal is principally thought in terms of ritual practice. Rituals practices are different form one locality to others and from one group to others within or among the Hindu Nepalese. Ihab Hassan says, "The lack of one religious code, unlike in Islam and Catholism, is largely because of legacy to join up of traditionally non Hindu groups into Hindu Folds but relating their own cultural identity and traditional practices (20). Jagman Gurung clarifies, "Many Gurungs having a faith on Hindu creed, although they follow *Pye Tan Lhu Tan*. Gurungs family practice ancient *Bon* religion (Pre-Buddhist religion in Tibet), which is Shamanistic and animistic in nature. On the other hand, the religion of the Gurungs is almost similar to the Shinto religion of Japan" (201).

The Gurungs have their own traditional values and norms. Their own religion, culture, rituals and rationalism are guided by myths which symbolize spiritual power of the purpose of achieving or preventing transformation of stale in man and nature. The definition of religion is widely defined in human natural way of living of human beings and nature and their belief indifferent kind of worship and power which is

continually of primitive period. The religion is belief in spiritual beings, which are unseen and impenetrable, but emotion and experience of human.

These belief and concept refer *Shinto* in Japan which is called “ Way of divine” .The Tibetan way of life and concept is also similar to ‘Way of life’ and is traditionally interpreted in the sense of ‘basic law’. The spirituality of *Pon* is founded on a cosmological reality in some ethnic group of Nepal including cum Gurung also practice this kind of belief and worship which they called *Pon* religion. The belief and concept is also devoted with the ancestral, supernatural power and local deities, when they make up effigy for short time. The effigy represents symbolic meaning of their ancestral god, ghost and their natural power.

The Gurung community can be taken as ‘*communitas*’ which shares very core common values, norms, roots, geography, ethnicity, language, faith in religion and belief among the Gurung people. They share sacred concept on the basis of ritual. Being members of the same single *communitas*, they share some sacred concept of core common norms of the Gurung community. In ritual, logic is enacted and embodied and it is realized in unique ways. Ritual process does not have logic and should not be questioned about it. Concept of *communitas* among the Gurung people is explained below with example of *Pai* ritual of them.

The Gurungs believe that the spirits are able to feel hot, cold, pain, pleasure, sadness during in any activities like living men. The Gurungs think that the spirit of their dead kin roams around them as their own living member of family until the death person’s *Pai* is not performed. The local deities and natural power is called *Simi-bhumi* and *Sildu naldu* where as soul of dead person is called ‘*baiyo*’ and it is kept as god/goddess making temple near by a village .To transform The *Baiyo* is into god/goddess is only means to heaven after the procession of *Pai* ritual . According to

Kil Byung , on such system in shamanism , which especially in Korea has imbedded the religious ideas of declension and the accession of heavenly deities , return of the dead to their original birth place blessing of the deities for good people . In Gurung community, there is the healing practice which is also a kind of shamanism but the priest uses different language.

Thus, festivals and death procession are a kind of culture and ritual which have identified human nature, control the societal unity and meanings. Therefore, it is not only celebration of human willing but also get together. In Gurung community, there are many rituals which are linked with their historical and cultural-values and norms. *Pai* is one of the major rituals in the Gurung community.

Definition of *Pai* Ritual

Pai ritual has been defined in different places and in different ways. People define it according to their areas, community, and clubs and may other related organizations. But everyone believes in its essence. Many Gurung experts have given definition in their own diverse and varied manner on *Pai* ritual. The word '*Pai*' is derived from the word '*Pe*' which means mantra in Gurung language. According to *Kyorlo*, the holy religious book of Gurungs, '*Pai*' is a process to send the soul of death people to the heavenly world with the help of '*Pe*'. Devijung Gurung insists " *Pai* can be defined as a ritual performance to purify family, home and society after the death of a person" (25). However, Ganesh Man Gurung has slightly different view to define *Pai* as he states, "According to our religious book, a man has to go through many rituals in our life as birth, baptism, marriage and death procession (67). *Pai* is the last one among them which is performed after the carnival procession to send the soul of a death person to the heaven. So, soul of death person would stay in the heaven and never returns to the human world after *Pai* ritual.

In the analysis of both Deviraj Gurung and Ganesh Man Gurung, this ritual is performed to eliminate evil forces away from the village premises. Ram Pachyu (researcher of *Kyirlo* and *Pai* ritual specialist) clarifies, “A ritual process of sending a dead persons soul to the heaven where his dead kith and kin live there that had already been died and the *pai* ritual had been performed for them. If a family does not organize *Pai* ritual formally, his soul wonder around our earth in the form of *Ringe* ,*Singe* (Demon).The form of demon can be transformed into god (*pitri*) through *Pai* ritual otherwise dead soul should remain departing his ancestors .Therefore, *Pai* ritual is compulsory for the Dead soul to meet his heavenly place after his heath. Soul of dead man remains in the form of ‘*Khe*’ and soul of women remain in the form of ‘*Ma*’ in heaven after performing *Pai* ritual. The dead soul remains as *Mo* (*bayo*) until his *Pai* is performed. *Khe* and *Ma* are worshiped as God or Goddess of their clans in Dashain and Moo is worshipped in Full moon day of Baishakh and Mangshir. *Kyorlyo* defines importance of *Pai* as

“*So mhimai si mhillai sikya mi kyan alamisyia si mhimai thyu kyu hyanimo*”

(90). [My translation: If the family members of dead person do not perform the dead procession properly, the dead soul has to face the world of hell.]

Similarly *Kyorlo* Says:

“*Si mhimai pakura aachyomisya so mhimai doka nga nga thtu thtu*

tanimu.”(90) [My translation: If soul of dead ones is not rescued, his kins and kiths become poor, sick due to the curse of the soul of the dead].

Again *Kyorlyo* says:

“*So mhimai jyuri chyamisya si mhima ngelawa kho prisi taryao tha chyosi*

rusi kyonila runila khamo, chason mhi nga nga , thtu thtu aatasi sibai lisyora

chyosi rusi syunila khamo” .[My translation : If the living family members of

a dead person performs *Pai* ritual for the dead ones, the dead one moves to the heaven and living family members becomes healthy, prosperous and they get happiness and fame in the world.

In short, a clan perform a ritual to send their soul of dead kin to heaven is called *Pai* .

Preparation of *Pai* Ritual

Celebration of *Pai* ritual has its own procedure which is guided by Gurung religious book, *Kyorlo*. The program has been divided into five days to make it more systematic and organized .The death person's family members informs their kin, kiths, neighbor and Tamu Priests about the program of death procession and announce about *Pai* .If the funeral procession and *Pai* both are performed simultaneously one after another it is called Rho *Pai* .For rho *Pai* they should not consult about the beginning day of *Pai* ritual .Similarly, the family members should not consult about the beginning day of *Pai* ritual with The priests with in twenty nine days. After twenty-nine days, the family members of the dead person should consult with the Priests about the good and bad omen of the *Pai* ritual. Even day, even month, even year is prohibited in *Kyorlo* to take as the first day of *Pai* ritual. If one begins *Pai* ritual in these days the good luck does not remain in his house. *Kyorlo* says “*Tyi chya Thu Khora*” (84)[my translation : If the *Pai* is started on the sixth day, it hampers Priest] (85). “ *Ngima thu kora,sip son ni bi chhaipa thhu aasyo pirimo*” (85). [Third and sixth day after full Moon day and third day after black moon day hampers family of maternal uncle. My Translation]

Fixation process of discussion about the beginning day of the *Pai* ritul [*Chin Tin Ngyoba*]

The day is fixed consulting with priests for two times. The first time discussion about the beginning day of *Pai* is called *Fin Din Ngyoba*. The family

members, kin, kiths, neighbors and priests discuss about tentative day. The second time discussion about the beginning day of *Pai* is called *Nho Din Ngyoba*. On the second time discussion to fix the date of the *Pai* the priest clarifies the date consulting Tamulendar and solar calendar. The main son and daughter are selected to perform *Pai* ritual, they are selected according to the rule of *Kyrlo*. After the fixation of the *Pai* ritual the selected main son and daughter should follow the rules of the ritual and should maintain purity in behavior and in daily activities. The following materials are needed for the son of the demise person;

- i) Mat of wool - (to put all kinds of materials which are required to perform Ritual),
- ii) Unprepared rope (*kancho dhago / syu ru-* to prepare *Rupa* (prepared by priests spelling with sacred mantra) which protects people from the harm of evil souls),
- iii) Mat of straw- to stay
- iv) *Nauli/Nanglo-* to prepare grains,
- v) *Prahma* (Medicine prepared from special kind of herb to use for preparing alcohol),
- vi) *Ghaito* (water vessel)- (to use as instrument to prepare alcohol),
- vii) Vessels and pots to cook foods,
- viii) *Mlan* (paddy)- a *Pathi* to prepare raw alcohol,
- ix) *Mann/Nigalo* (a small kind of bamboo)- to prepare spire,
- x) *Jhir* –a kind of instrument to kill prey in stone age which was used by Gurung women,
- xi) *Teer* (Arrow)- A kind of weapon used by male for hunting and to fight with enemies specially used by Gurung males (*khee*),
- xii) *Men Tanen* (bow)- a kind of weapon ,
- xiii) *Pala* (a kind of bowl shaped pot to lit oil lamp),
- xiv) Fresh water,
- xv) Fruits – (It has been using since stone age),
- xvi) *Sidra* (Dried fish was one of the major food stuff to survive so it has great importance in *Pai* ritual),
- xvii) *Kuli Kyen* (Baked bread),
- xviii) *Kroma*,
- xix) *Punki pon*,
- xx) *Ansi* (sickle).

Ram Gurung (*Scholar of Kyorlyo*-Tha Gurungs holy book) explains the importance of

above mentioned materials needed for *Pai* rituals as following;

- i) The woolen mat is taken as pure cloth which has been used in the pre-historical age by Gurungs. The woolen mat saves from common cold and frost bite in winter season., ii) Kaancho dhago is used to prepare *rupa*. *Rupa* is offered to the son and daughters who organize *Pai ritual* after spelling sacred mantra by Klepri Priest. The Priests, kin and kith and relatives offers *Pupa* to assure them, “We are with you in the hard days and you should not lose your heart in demise of beloved family members”.iii) *The* mat of straw is needed to stay to perform ritual. iv)*Nauli* (Nanglo) is needed to prepare grains. v) *Prahma* (Medicine prepared from special kind of herb to use for preparing alcohol), According to *Kyorlo Prama* is a medicine prepared from a special kind of herb which is necessary to prepare alcohol. *Kyorlo* clarifies that home-made alcohol is ambrosia and poison. It has the capacity to revive the dead one and can kill the alive one. So, *Prama* and alcohol is part of life and rituals of the Gurung Community.
- vi) Ghaito (water vessel) – (The earthen-vessel used as instrument to prepare alcohol. It is known as typical instrument for alcohol production. Gurungs worship earth (mud) as the goddess mother earth and it shows their affinity with the earth.vii) Vessels and pots to cook foods,- the guests should be served food stuffs so special vessels are needed. Special kinds of eutintials are used serve pure food stuffs to the guests. viii) Mlan (paddy) - A pathi to prepare raw alcohol to offer diseased beloved family members. ix) Mann/ Nigalo (A small kind of bamboo is used to tie effigy and bamboo has been used to prepare weapon and to make shelter in pre-historic time. With the use of bamboo Gurung civilization has been emerged.x) Jhir- A kind of instrument to

kill prey in stone-age which was used by Gurung women., xi) Teer (arrow) A kind of weapon, xii) Mein Tanen (bow) - The bow is a cultural weapon used by the Gurung community. It has been used in hunting prey in the hunting period. It is also in practice to use by hunting bands in hilly areas of Gandaki region of Nepal.

xiii) Pala (a kind of bowl shaped pot to lit oil lamp): The earthen oil lamp is sign of good luck for the Gurung people. In ancient time people has used this kind of lamp in night. ,xiv) Fresh water: Fresh spring water is used in the ritual., xv) Fruits – (It has been using since stone-age, wild and domestic fruits are decorated in the altar of *pai ritual*), xvi) Sidra (Dried fish was one of the major food stuff to survive so it has great importance in *Pai ritual*.), xvii) *Kuli Kyen* (Baked bread is served to the guests after performing ritual), xviii) *Kroma* (Bamboo Handloom: It was the first machine which was used to knit clothes. It is a kind of simple machine to knit clothes, mats and sweaters. With the invention of *Kroma* Gurung people gradually enters into the new mode of civilization) xix) *Punki pho* (Leaves of chest nuts) – to use as plate to offer foods to the gos and goddesses., xx) *Aansi* (sickle) – to cut things. (84)

All the above mentioned materials are the almost everyday materials but it is adopted as ritual materials in present days.

Selection of Main Daughter [Lasipa Lawai Chhami –The Daughter In *Pai* Ritual]

The concept of sacred and pure is the crux of ritual. So, the daughter has to perform as a performer in the ritual. She has to follow the certain norms and values of ritual.

The selected daughter as the Main daughter in *Pai* Ritual is called *Lasipa Chhai* in Gurung language. She has to perform all her activities in reverse way [*Ulto Dhiki kutne* , *Ulto Nifanne* , *Ulto Jhato pinne*]. *Thonsi Lawa-* [Invitation Program] – *Klepi Pachyu* (Priests), *Aasnyo* (Maternal Uncles), *Takrali* (Nearest relative out his their clan) are invited offering eight breads and a bottle alcohol to each. As the they accept the proposal , the family or clan who organize *Pai* Ritual invite their relatives, other daughters and sons , people of neighboring villages and towns to assist in Ritual.[...]. *Aasyo* [the maternal uncle of dead ones] should bring the following goods according to *Kyorlyo*.

- i) Cooked rice ii) raw alcohol of millet iii) fruits iv) *Pyuri* – cotton and its seed (Gurungs believe that dead one should take *pyuri* from *Aasyon* to survive in the haven). According to Gurung tradition one should not pinch the family of Maternal uncle, if one does so , he would not get *pyuri* after death and should remain as *chilbung* and should go to hell.
- ii) *Ghalpa Koseli* – The married daughter should bring two bottle alcohol and five peace bread as *kosheli*, the very nearest daughters of kin also should bring *kosheli*.
- iii) Unmarried daughters are taken as equal as sons (123).

Through the above mentioned, we become clear the each and every family members and relatives are given proper role in *Pai* Ritual. The ritual brings all the relatives together. From the perspective of ritual performance, the performer becomes audience and audience become performer.

Arrangements of Venue of *Pai* Ritual

The performance, a fixed venue is needed and supervisors are needed to supervise. So both are arranged as following, according to the *Kyorlyo*:

- i) *Tha Tein* : *Tha Tein* refers to space for sons .It remain near *Pla Tin* .
- ii) *Pla Tein* : *Pla Tein* refers to the place where the effigies are kept .
- iii) *Aasyon Tein* : It refers to the place where the maternal uncles are Kept.
- iv) *Chame Rhimai Tein* : If the daughters have effigy they remain in sins place , If they do not have effigy (*rho*) they are live in *Chhai Rhimai Tein*.
- vi) Store Keeper / Manager: The selected person from the community is kept as , he manages the requirements
- vii) *Chokai Kle*: A social worker of the community who manages the security of the program.

Procedures of Function of *Pai* Rituals

Before the beginning of the *Pai* ritual, the priests (*Klepri* and *pachyus*), daughters, brother in laws, sisters, sisters in laws, maternal uncles, kin brothers are welcomed by the organizers of the rituals on the way to the venue of the Ritual offering bread, fruits, alcohol and flowers. If some death persons' funeral procession has not been conducted, the common funeral procession is conducted first . Then the program proceeds ahead as following schedules. The very first day is "*Mo Lhaba*" day, the second day is "*Alan Kyba day*", the third day is "*Hri teba*" day, the fourth day is "*Seli diwa day*" and the fifth day is "*Prangi*" day.

Gurungs belief that spirit of death person dwells in the mortal world before their *Pai* ritual is performed. So, family members of the death person keep the evil spirit building a temple in the village premises. The very first day of *Pai* ritual is called "*Mo Lhawa*" day. *Mo* stands for evil spirit and *Lhawa* stands for chase away. So, on that very first day, *Klepri*, *Pachyu*, *Dhami* and other people go to the temple of evil spirit playing *dhyango*, *jhyali*, *shankha* and demolish the temple of evil spirit and the evil spirit is chased away. The function is called *Mloshi Thein*. The Gurungs

believe that the attainer of the *Pai* ritual are protected from the evil spirits like *Mo*, *Ringe*, *Singe*. On this day the Mantra of *Karbu* (*Karbu Pe* is chanted). The significance of mantra is described latter.

The second day of *Pai* is called *Alan Kyoba* day. *Alan* means statue and *Kyoba* means establishment. Therefore, *Alan Kyoba* means establishment of statue of a death person. On that day, statue of death person is stabled in the form of bamboo stick. The bamboo stick is decorated with flower, wreath, color and bread, fruits alcohol are hanged at the top of the bamboo statue. The symbolic statue of the death person which is erected at the roof of the death person's original home.

The third day is called "*Hri Teba*" day. *Hri* means disease or bad omen or bad luck and *Teba* means throw away. So, *Heri Teba* means throw the disease and bad omen away. The process of chasing away the evil spirit has its own rules. On that day, relatives, neighbors, and people of neighboring villages gather to watch or celebrate the *Hri Teba* procession. The process has been presented in the documentary as:

The groups of performers are divided into two groups; One group is group of *Klepri* and *Pachun*; and another group is group of sons in laws of death persons. The group of *Klebri-pachun* wear *daura-surwal*, *kachad*, wear the *rudrakshya* and dances in the music of *dhyangro*, *jhyali* and *shankha* where as the group sons in law tease the group of *Klepri* (1:05).

The two groups become rivals to each other. The eldest son in law becomes the leader of his group and he takes bone of death corpse putting it in the pipe of bamboo which is called '*Hri*'. As the group of *Klapri* starts to dance, the group of sons in law start to tease them using vulgar words or social taboos. To watch the performance thousands of audiences gather in the ground. The group of sons in law annoys their rival team singing a song as "*Klepe-pachyu khesen mon, Freme Chhame vesen mo*" that means

as our priest is chanting holy words, youths are having sex. Similarly, a member of sons in laws side hang artificial penis of banana and decorates himself as dandy. The situation has been presented in documentary as:

On the other hand, another member decorates him as an woman and fixes artificial vagina of pumpkin below his belly. Both of them acts as they are having sex. Thousands of audience clap, whistle, shout in joy to them to create ecstasy that makes programme more joyful and interesting (0.48).

To clarify this performance Raj Karj Gurung says, "According to holy religious book of Gurung, the human being of mortal world are dirty, greedy, shameless and erotic; so the spirits say it's better to go to the heaven than to stay in this mean world." And then evil spirits move toward the heaven. As the *Klepri* touches the leader of group of sons in law, the performance of that day ends.

The fourth day is called Selidiwa day. On that day, the statue of death person is burnt down in cemetery it's called selidiwa in gurung language. At the night of the fourth day Klabre and *pachyu* recites '*Pe*' (mantra) which describes the role of sons and daughters to take the soul of death person towards the heaven "*Simi Nasha*".

According to the holy book of Gurung, Kyorlo, the spirit should walk a long journey to reach to the heaven. The spirit climbs hills and mountain hanging on the lock of hair of daughter. The spirit gets wet as it walk through the desert with the help of tears of daughter. Similarly, the role of son is to break the closed door of heaven with the help of arrow. The son should shout the arrow at last. This act is symbolic opening of door of heaven. Finally Klapre and pachu announce that the spirit enters into the heaven and the programme of fourth day ends.

The fifth day is called "*Prangi*". *Prangi* means purification in Gurung language, and is the final day of *Pai* ritual. On that day, head of the family member

purify their house throwing pure water. A feast is celebrated on the final day. Family members, relatives, neighbours celebrate feast eating food, drinking, singing. It implicitly indicates that it the social bond created by *Pai* ritual.

Historical Aspects of *Pai* Ritual

Pe Tan Lhu Tan means a religious science in Gurung language. It is the own identity of Gurung community which is related birth to death and vice-versa. It is mentioned in *Pema religious* book of Gurungs. So, *Pai* ritual is a kind of ritual community community which has been compulsory in among them. Today, Gurungs are migrated from their original inhabitants of different places . So, Performing the *Pai* ritual is changed from rural areas to urban areas but its core essence is same. The performance of *Pai* ritual does not only show the continuity of ritual but also show the primitive social history and way of life of Gurung community that has been practicing till present.

In the past, the Gurung formulated *ritithiti* (indigenous) rules and regulations, agricultural and ritual practices related to the farming system and resource management, the sane idea has been described in the myth of the Gurungs.

***Pai* and its relation with Local and Natural Gods and Goddess**

The Gurungs have various concepts and beliefs in regard to the supreme power and natural deities. They are more related with nature and natural god for maintaining their production and natural resource management. *Kyorlyo* says, *Kauhra, Makuthaku, Ringesinge, Mo, Apakarbu* are main main natural deities of Gurungs (312). These local and natural deities are called ‘*Simibhumi*’ and ‘*sildunald*’ in their language. On the other hand, the Gurungs belief that their ancestors live in heavenly world named *Simi-Nasha* i.e. immortal world. As their family members dies they should perform *Pai* ritual to assimilate soul of decease person

with their ancestors in the heaven. The Gurungs do have strong belief that this sort of performance gives them security from ghost, dead spirits, witch and other evils it can also save their natural resources, ecological system, agricultural system etc.

***Pai* : A performing ritual**

Every performance follows certain system from rehearsal to dispersal on a particular seasonal schedule at a particular ceremonial centre. So does *Pai* ritual performance. All the performers and gather either on the (ceremonial centre) to perform the ritual. However, the performers use special venue specified by the leaders of society. Seasonal schedule whether it is in the village or city is the same that is fixed according to the suggestion of Gurung priest, *Klepri*. "People [come] to a special place [do] something and [go] on their way. Richard Schechter says, "The pattern of gathering performing and dispersing is especially in theoretical pattern" (133). First of all, the gathering of performers is systematic. According to the invitation of the organizer his relatives, neighbors and priests gather in a very first day of the *Pay*. Then, *Pay* ritual is conducted according to the guideline of the priest and concludes the *Pay* ritual according to him. The *Pay* ritual as concluded as the evil spirit is sent to the heaven.

***Pay* and Music**

Music plays significant role in performance. The early human societies were hunting and gathering bands. Naturally, the ritual sounds came, often composed of music, verse, chants" and other effective forms of communication, prophets the activity from naturalistic representation to ritualistic manifestation.

Undoubtedly, musicality has a vital role in performing *Pai* ritual. Performers specially Clabber (Gurung priests) beat *Dhyangro* (drum made up of animals skin) and *Chhyali* beat rhythm of *Dainda*, *Damdham*, *Da*, *Dadam*, *Dam*. There is bodily

movement of performers in accordance with rhythm of music. On the other hand, from the other side of performers specially group of son's in law of the death person have performative actions.

***Pai* and Costume**

Ritualistic performance is associated with costumes and paraphernalia which are not used randomly at non-ritual times and places. Performance costumes are symbolic cum functional. The connotations of particular costumes are masks are of course, specific to the context. Performers of *Pai* use mask on their face and raggy clothes around their body to create humor. Female audience put on *Gunyo*, *cholo*, *phogi* (wasteband) *Tolma* (a small square of velvet), *Kramu* (cotton clothe worn over the head), *Ghalek* etc. Those of male performers or audience too are in their traditional costumes such as *Bhoto* (like cholo), *Kaas* (a long rectangular white cloth), *phogi* (a belt keeping the *kaas* in proper place), *Khahda* or *Rhenga*, (a big mouthed cloth for keeping objects which is usually carried around the shoulders) ditional works .ceremonial centre seasonal schedule refers to the particular day on which performance is performed. So far as *Pai* is concerned, it is performed after a death of a person by his family members consulting with the neighbor and the priest. The schedule is fixed by *Kyorlo* (the religious book) which continues for five days regularly. The ritual performance goes smoothly for five days. The days are categories to perform certain rituals according to process of performing "*Pai*". The villagers fixes the venue for performance constructing temporary residential rooms with help of tent or venue could be building of Gurung organization.

Pai, the ritual performance of Gurung follows certain pattern as performance does. It is celebrated in 'certain ceremonial' centre particular 'seasonal schedule'. It is performed worshipping natural deities, so as to chase enemies away from the village

premises.

Myth and *Pai* Ritual

Ritual is a set of repeated actions of the thought to have symbolic value; which usually performed by a religion or tradition of community. The symbolic value carries beliefs, myth, tradition, social history of a specific community. The main priest of the ritual clarifies the importance of *Pai* ritual in the fourth day of the performance as he tries to transform the soul of deceased into the effigy (*pla*): a cone shaped bamboo cage one meter high. The stick frame represents the bones of the deceased and the white cloth covering it is the outer flesh. After the soul is called into the effigy, relatives and friends gather around the venue (stage) where the *Pai* ritual is performed. The bird is kept in front of the *Klepri* priest. The *klepri* beats his drum, on which there is a carving of *Klenyima*, his tutelary bird deity. In front of him stands the '*Pla*' effigy of the deceased. He begins the chant: The bird came down from above and settled in the land, like the blessing of rain, falling from the sky. Four birds come, each on one of the four paths. The bird of the *Klu* and *Sa-bdag* is yellow the path going North. The bird of *IIJa* is white, in the path going west. The white bird shows the path. Its head is gold, its body is turquoise, its waist is silver, its tail is copper, and its feet are iron. The documentary projects that;

This bird is central in this *Klepri's* ritual discourse, and represents the tutelary deity of the divine *Kle* (god) ancestors, descending from the upper world of the gods. The tree that grows out of the sacred grove below Lamndanda village, connecting the three worlds of the cosmos, becomes the home of the bird. (1:25)

As the *Klapri* chants, he brings the bird out of the cage and ties a long string to its neck, with the other end tied to the *pai* effigy so that the soul of the deceased can pass

into the bird. The *Klepri* chant provides a legendary model (*pe*) for the loss of wealth that would result if harmony between the living and the dead is broken. The deceased is represented as one of the parents in the legend. It is the story of dying parent who are neglected by their son, who spends his days dancing and singing in the *Rodi*, the Gurung youth club. The dying parents curse their son into poverty. [CURSE] The chant continues, The Father warned: If we die and you do not do the rites to receive our blessing, you will become poor. You will become small as a needle, thin as paper and weak as water. The chant goes on to say that the parents die and enter the underworld, *Kro-nasa*. They enter through golden and silver doors, and descend down nine ladders. On their way down they meet people going up. They are people of *Kro-nasa*, ascending to visit the human world above, for the legend occurs during the "first era" when everyone was able to cross over between worlds. The parents ask the *Khronasa* party to warn their son of the poverty that is in store for him. Unless he finds a way to transfer offerings down complete the process of re-harmonization, the *Khro-nasa* people are asked to give their own daughter to the son in marriage. The parents then enter the "four colored lakes" (*Syo-taal*) of the underworld and wait for their son to send the offerings, while the *Khro-nasa* people go up into the human world. They find that the son is already hungry and sick from the curse. They promise to give their daughter in marriage. First, however, he must send offerings down to his parents to receive their blessing. This is accomplished earlier in the *Pai* rite when the *Klepri* shaman receives plates of food from relatives and friends of the family. As bits of food are put into a burnt offering, the *Klepri* calls out the name of each donor. In the *Klepri's* chant this action is thus portrayed: In the manner of a nobleman he gathered meat, rice, grains, like a king and offered it to his parents in *Khro-nasa*. The *Klepri* now travels in his mind to the underworld, as if he were the son in the

legend going down to deliver the food. The deceased parents receive it and relinquish any claims on the wealth of their surviving kin. He returns with the bird which the soul of the deceased has entered. The bird represents a return gift of great wealth, given as if it were the inheritance received by the surviving kin, but also as if it had come from the marriage alliance with the daughter of the *Khro-nasa* underworld: The son returned to the human world with the wealth-bearing bird of gold, turquoise, silver, copper and iron. It was the blessing of the inheritance. Then he married the daughter of the *Khro-nasa*. Rain came down from above. Crops grew up from below into the human world. Animals increased. There was great wealth.

It is at this time that the bird moves around the circle of relatives and jumps on their laps. The *Klepri* continues the chant: You have died so please do not take the fortune of your family with you. If you are willing to leave the fortune here, please shake your body. The bird shakes its body, a sign that reconciliation between the deceased and the living relatives has been achieved.

The bird shakes its body and the daughters, sons, and relatives find deceased persons' soul in the form of birds soul i.e. quite symbolic. They can't subdue their grief and burst tears feeling that their departed members soul really transformed into the bird and think that his soul has not been died. Through this dramaturgy, they feel solace and purified through weeping.

The *Klepri* picks up the bird and, going around the circle, plucks out small bits of feathers from its body, giving a bit to each person. It is the distribution of animal, which would have given if it had been sacrificed. But it is not, and instead is released. The "sending of the bird" assures that the fortune of the part line will not be taken by the deceased and "release" the soul to proceed to the land of the dead. The chant thus provides a mythical character for restoring harmonious relation on

three levels : 1) the ancestral cut of exchange between the living and the dead , assures that wealth remaining in the family will continue as an inheritance. 2) The marriage alliance between the (*Kle*) *Simi-Nasha* people “ from heaven” and the “ *Kro*” clan from below is the basis for social harmony in the community , symbolized by the giving of the white cloth by affinal relatives .3) This alliance in turn interlinked with the annual harmony between the different worlds of the cosmos. It brings good omen, prosperity, abundance food in life of the family, relatives and neighbors of the host of *Pai* ritual.

If the bird does not shake it can be encouraged to do so by pouring water over it, a common practice in Nepal used to get acceptance from the animal and the spirit that the sacrificial offering has been accepted mutual harmony and social interdependence are thus inextricably linked to one's after-death destiny. The entire sense of guilt towards the deceased as a theme that is prominent in the Gurung culture. The *Klepri's* death rite now arrives at a new and final stage: the journey up the trail to the dome and the land of the dead. The *Klepri* dances slowly around the *Pla* (effigy), beating his drum and chanting his guiding instructions.

Ritual performance is a drama which has been developed in divergent direction, towards magical communication between man and natural forces rather than worldly communication among men. The people should believe it and criticism of the ritual is prohibited in their specific community and they believe it .So the *Klepri* priest convinces their family members and kith and kin as saying: First, he lures the soul away from its former home attachments: Don't stay here! Don't stay in the beer storage room. You no longer have the right to remain at the hearth. Your place is different now. Only alive ones can stay here. You are dead now, go! (203). The *Klepri* convinces the soul to stay in the heaven it is better to live than in the normal world.

The chant is repeated by a chorus of local spirits at each stage of the journey, the first chorus being the spirits of the doorstep, then those of the porch, and so on. The *Klapri* guides the soul up the trail toward Khilung village. Again there is a chorus of local spirits of the stream, soil, rocks, that warn the soul not to remain there, that its home is further up the trail. The chant continues on, naming the local villages of Chhahare, Salani, Rapkot, Sirukharka, Dhapuk. They arrive at Do Kyasa, a place of huge boulders, and come to the mid-way point: called the "Black Water," regarded as one of the doors to the underworld. Here the *Klepri* has the soul "lie down on its stomach" and drink the water. It refuses. The *Klepri* urges it again. Finally it drinks and suddenly realizes fully that it has died and that there is no turning back. The Ghyabre now offers a libation of grain to "spirits of the four directions and eight regions," requesting that they "release the way "for the deceased:

When he walks, don't hit him on the leg with a stone! When he talks, don't cut off his tongue! After passing through the meadows and cliffs of Drag Thing, they cross the Set River on a bridge, arriving at the base of a massive dome called "able". Able dome is a gigantic rock dome near Pisang, three day's walk up the trail from Lamndanda village. At the top is the Gurung land of the dead, called "*Goipo*" (earth temple), which in turn is connected by a series of nine ladders to the "*Simoi Nasha*" of the gods able dome, they encounter a barking dog tied to a "hitching post" that is seen from the trail below, a classic shamanic image. At the top they enter the "earth temple," and distribute food offerings to the ancestors who come to greet them. Before the *Klepri* returns back to Lamndanda village, he has two instructions. The first regards further destiny: the deceased can either remain in the land of the dead, or take another human rebirth, according to preference. Your place is now here, but you can take another birth if you choose. If you do take rebirth you should choose to be an

important, wealthy, skillful, or religious person. But you do not have to return, you can stay here and remain with your ancestors. There is no mention of good or bad deeds, or a weighing on karmic scales to determine destiny as found in the Tibetan system. Suffering and death are no longer necessary once the land of the dead is entered. His second advice warns against premature return to the land of the living, “Don’t put your mind on your property or your relatives. They will die later and come here to meet you. Don't return home to see a show in your village. You are dead and must remain here” (205). Through this process *Pachyu* and *Klepri* takes the soul of deceased into the heaven and all the performers, participants and audiences believe it and get solace thinking their deceased member gets salvation.

Throughout the process of performance of *Pai* ritual the participants specially the organizer of *Pai* ritual (who has lost their beloved family members) go through the different Rasas and Bhavas as described in *Natyasastra*. On the other hand, they (ritual organizer) go through the dramatic condition of ritual procedure explained by Aristotle in poetics as artist and viewers both. In this situation, the audience feels the pathetic situation faced by their deceased beloved family members in front of the almighty god of death that arouse pity and fear in the audience. At last, the audiences are led to the catharsis. Similarly, the audience are convinced by the performance as the word is like a drama and they are attracted towards spirituality.

Now the *Klepri* adroitly avoids being followed back down the trail. He tricks the soul that he has delivered with a distraction. Pointing to a show going on he says, "look there at how those cats and snakes are playing together!" While the deceased turns to watch, the *Klepri* turns himself into a vulture and flies down above the dome, returning to the Gurung village of Tapje. Then he and the community pick up the *pia* effigy and carry it out of the village, where it is thrown into the river.

In the above ritual sequence I have emphasized the prominence of the spirit-possessed bird as well as soul-guidance leading up toward the upper world where the bird originated. What significance does the bird have for the Klepri shaman? Snellgrove and Richardson have argued that Gurungs may well be the carriers in Nepal of the pre-Buddhist traditions once found in Tibet (201). In Gyasumdo the Ghyabre shaman's legends and cosmology are indeed analogous to the Bon model of Tibetan kingship. The *Klepri* repeatedly tells the legend of sky or "mu- origin of *Ghale* nobility as the land of the gods from which the earliest kings descended, similar to Bon legends of descent down the Tibetan "dmu" rope (9). The *Klepri's* death rite reflects the hegemony of the *Klepri* nobility in Gyasumdo, focusing attention on the ancestral land "above," reached through able dome, after removing the deceased from the underworld. The *Klepri's* emphasis on spirit possession of the bird gives importance to descent from the land of the gods as a tutelary deity of the *Klepri* clan.

Reformation of *Pai* Ritual

However, the symbolic sacrifice of the bird at the end of the possession is a substitute for the previous custom of sacrificing a sheep. The father and grandfather of the *Klepri* had used a sheep, sacrificing the animal by hurling it from the roof of the house, and distributing the meat among daffiness. The shift of emphasis from sheep to bird in the Gerung death rite may be partly due to cost-cutting reforms that have occurred among ethnic groups in Nepal. Gerung's in Gismo, however, bitterly disagree among themselves regarding this reform. The *Pachyu* shamans argue that the Gurung death has been compromised, accusing *Klepri* of being influenced by "the Tibetan Lamas." Influence by the Tibetan Lamas is precisely the *Klepri's* own interpretation of his change of mind. The *Klepri* related to me his excruciating

experience of two decades previous. A great incarnational lama from Tibet, Chog Lingpa, has passed through this area still going on in the region, declaring that all those participating in the "red offering" would jeopardize their after-life destiny. The *Klepri* describes his own reform as a personal change of conviction after hearing the lama. The rite of animal sacrifice which he still performs each spring is a collective rite that does not affect individual destiny, but he has accepted the lama's retribution logic with regard to his death rite. Hence he has substituted the bird which can be "released" into the air without being killed. This emphasis differs from that of the Gerung *Pachyu* shamans, who argue that *Khronasa* "below" is also a valid afterlife destiny. The *Pachyu's* underworld destiny is the model found in Palij's study of southwestern Gurungs. Strickland, however, also studying Gurungs south of the Annapurna range, notes that "the souls are taken by narrative chanting to the land of the souls of men....situated to the North of the mountains and across the Marsyandi River" (25). It clearly refers to the able Dome tradition. Sacrifice of a sheep appears to have been fundamental in the Tibetan Bon funeral. Marcell Lalou's similar to the first part of the Gurung *Pai* rite described here. There are food offerings and services given by affinal relatives. There is a "soul canopy" called *thugs-gur* (soul-tent); there are "auspicious dances," just as among Gurungs, and there are weapons and food given "for the journey" that is guided by "sheep," and so on.

The *Klepri* changed his death rite with the approval of the *Ghale* lords, but then found that other Gurungs were saying he had betrayed his own father's tradition. He now finds that the Tibetan Lamas in Gyasumdo continue to criticize him for having nothing in his Gurung death rite that has "merit making" significance. Gurung destiny has no merited fate: there are no ethical criteria that select those who would deserve better or worse destinies. Even Tibetan lay persons are quick to point out that

the Gurung death rite "makes no distinction between sin (*sdig-pa*) and virtue (*dge-ba*)." The *Klepri* is highly aware of the Tibetan critique. He continues to emphasize the bird, but remains highly ambivalent. He sometimes notes that even though he does other animal sacrifices, his practice is gradually becoming "white," saying that he is becoming a *bon-kar* ("white Bon"), a process of reform analogous to what occurred in Tibet (720).

As the *Klepri* defends himself against the opposition of the *Pachyu* shamans in his own tradition, and also from the critique of the Tibetan lamas, his death rite becomes increasingly unbounded. Its meaning continually emerges, however, in a highly reflexive Nepalese context in which all claims to ethical superiority are being questioned, whether Buddhist, Hindu, or claims emanating from the West. It is as if, alongside the spirit penetrations into the bird and into the *Klepri* himself, intercultural penetrations are now occurring, involving a host of new voices. In the same village of Tapje one finds the school teacher reading the latest Bulletin from Amnesty International. The old *Klepri* feels caught between this multitudes of voices. "Perhaps," he told me one day, "each of these different death rites and viewpoints is partly right. The way to find the path would be through harmonious collaboration of them all. It shows that myth maintains social harmony."

IV. Ritual and Cultural Significance of *Pai* in Gurung Community

Pai has the great ritual significance for Gurung community. It has been observed since the time of immemorial. The Gurung terminology *Pai* is derived from the word *Pe* which means mantra in Gurung language. *Pai* is the process to send the soul of death person to the heaven with the help of *Pe*. So it is a ritual performance to purify home and society after the death of a person. *Pai* is performed within the three days to years after the passage of a person.

The organizer or family members of dead persons, kin and kiths, relatives, neighbors at the venue where the *Pai* ritual is performed. The *pai* ritual is performed for five days following its certain procedures according to the norms of ritual. As most of the Gurungs have migrated to urban, there is slight difference in performance of the ritual at present but the essence of the ritual is same.

The ritual is performed in every Gurung people's home whenever it has to be performed. All most all the members of society assemble in the venue of *Pai* ritual performance (ceremonial centres) on the date fixed (schedule) fixed by *Kelpri* (Gurung priest). Each members is given fixed roles. The sons, the daughters, the priests, the maternal uncles, kin and kiths, relatives and audiences have to play the role according to the rules and norms of *Pai* ritual. The sons should perform heroic deeds, daughters should weep, priest should chant *Pe* (Mantra), relatives should manage the accommodation in the program and audience should observe the ritual seriously.

The major role is given to the sons and daughters and they should go through the process of ritual as worshipping gods, chanting mantras, weeping in the grief, laughing at vulgarity, enjoying in feast and being scared. *Pai* ritual procedure has mechanism or frame like the aesthetic drama though it has broad spectrum. Proper

place, proper time ,proper action make the complete drama in the *Pai* ritual including proper characters and plot of the ritual itself. Ritual does not have compact plot but plot contains similar to the aesthetic drama, so it is social drama. Therefore, it gives cathartic effects as aesthetic drama has.

The researcher has come into the conclusion that ritual comprises cathartic effects in the performers and audiences. The researcher points that in the ritual dramaturgy of *Pai* the sons and the daughters realize the reality of the life through chanting mantras and get catharsis and they gradually come out of grief. At last the ritual heals the trauma of heartbroken people who have lost their parents believing that their demise parents live in the heaven with god and goddesses i.e. eternal world. The performance of *Pai* does not only have the power to heal grief through catharsis but also shows the aesthetic taste, cultural integrity. Similarly, it comprises myth, belief, folk history of the Gurung community. The researcher claims that the *Pai* ritual is compulsory to each Gurungs because it comprises all the proceeding qualities though it is very expensive to perform.

At last, the Gurungs have their cultural identity different from other communities. The research work entails introduction of Gurungs with their rites rituals and concept of ritual performance and dramaturgy in the first chapter followed analysis of *Pai* ritual. The third chapter, conclusion deals with significance and essence of the *Pai* ritual.

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Appendix 1

Gurung Word	English word
Ta	Up
Mhi	Man
Ku	Nine
Kye	Language
Phogi	Waistband
Kas	A long rectangular white cloth worn by Gurung males
Khahda	A big mouth cloth for keeping objects
Sildu Naldu	Local deities
Khyebri Pachyu, Lam	Priestly group of Gurungs
Pye Tafn Lhyu Tan	Orally preserved Holy Scripture
Kyhola	Origin point of Gurungs
Ghantu	Typical Gurung dance
<i>Pai</i>	Ritual of Gurungs organized after carnival
Aasyon	Maternal kin
Plah	Soul
Lahde	Belt worn by Priestly Gurungs
Tolma	Warm clothes put on the back of Gurung female
Mru	King
Kle	Master
Krohon	Chief
Alan	indicator of venue in Pai ritual of Gurungs
Pla	effigy of death person
Nho	inner

Fi	general /outer
Chilibung	name of an insect
Puki	chest nut
La	leaf
Prama	herbal medicine ti use to prepare homemade alcohol
Tin	house