

## **I. Introduction: Tamang Culture and Its Background**

Nepal is a multi-religious, multi-racial and multi-cultural country. In the nation, there is diversity of language, culture, ethnicity and religion. Tamang culture has special significance in glorifying Nepalese heritage in and beyond Nepal. The Tamangs are also the Mongoloid people. They speak their own Tamang language and the script is the Tibetan lama script. Their language is quite similar to the Tibetan. The Tamangs live in the hilly part of Nepal. They can speak and understand the Tibetan language very easily. They stay near the lower Himalayan region of Nepal and they are scattered in many part of Nepal these days. The main origin is Rasuwa, Dhading, Sindhupalchowk, Kavre, Nuwakot and Dolakha. They breed Yak and grow barley, wheat, buckwheat, millet, potato and radish because of snowy region; paddy does not grow there. Their dresses and Tibetan dresses are similar. But, the Tamang dwelling below snowy area put on Daura Suruwal and Patuka round the waist. They hang a Khukuri (knife) on the left side of the waist. Along with this, they put on their traditional woolen Bakkhu and Tamang hat in which they are identified easily.

The Tamang caste is divided into many sects like Pakhrin, Thokar, Waiwa, Jimba, Rumba, Lopchhan, Bomjan, Yonjan, Syanba, Thing, Ghising, Lama, Gyaba, Tamu, Nnarba and so on.

Though there are different customs among the Tamangs, there are some common practices which can be divided into three stages (1) A new born child is purified within 11 days in accordance with customs and activities are done by Lama who is the priest of the Tamang Community. He presides over the ritual by reading a holy book named 'Thi'. The Lama names the child. According to the findings in the book, this ritual is called 'Thapsang-Thui'. In this function, relatives are invited at the end and Lama sprays water on the head of each and in the house, too. Then the child

is accepted as a member of the family (2) After a few years, the child is fed rice on the celebration of 'Kankhawa' (rice feeding ceremony). Similarly on 'Tapchhe' the male child's hair is cut at first by his maternal uncle. (3) Talking about marriage, the side of the bride should start to propose when the Bridegrooms' father and mother accept the proposal, then matter will be proceeded. But some of the certain clans are not accepted to marry with certain clans. That restriction is among certain clans, which is called 'Swage' (blood relation). These clans consider each other as the member of the same family. But, in this caste, widow or widower can marry again if he or she is interested. Thus, the middle phase of life is celebrated with different functions. At the death of any member, the family invites Lama and certain ritual acts are done which is called 'Ghe-wa'. It is a very expensive function because all relatives and neighbors are invited in the function and heavy feast is arranged for the two 'Jaja Ghe-ba' and 'Khaba Ghe-ba'. These are some common rituals practiced by the Tamang ethnic group.

Similarly, Dor Bahadur Bista, the socialist has given the ethnographic view about Tamang people in this book. According to him, 'Tamangs are Tibeto-Burman speaking communities in Nepal, and maintain a belief that they originally come from Tibet (120)'. In this way, Bista identify Tamang people are the major communities who occupy various parts of Nepal. The Tamangs live on high hills in all regions-east, north and west of Kathmandu valley. They are commonly seen on the streets of the capital city carrying large basket loads of goods by head straps. The men and boys use to dress with long clothes and usually black tunic and in winter wearing short sleeved (sheaved), woolen jackets, always with Khukuri (knife) stuck in the waistband. Women are seen in lesser number, wear a simple cotton sari and blouse adorned with a few ornaments. He, moreover, describes the Tamang people are called 'Bhote', are

attached to them because they were horse traders. Bista introduce Tamang people that Tamang 'Ta' in 'Tibetan' horse and 'Mang' means 'trader'. Thus the word 'Tamang' has come into being and it is better because the term 'Bhote' is considered to be has come to be highly objectionable and derogatory term to (most) Nepalese . We do not know the exact number of Tamangs today, but the figures found in the official census statistics of 1961 AD has given us some idea of both population and geographical distribution. Out of total Tamang population almost half were registered in the eastern hills, i.e. east of the Kathmandu valley, about 20,000 in the eastern Terai and a little more than 23000 in Kathmandu valley. The western hills accounted for over 119,000 with a few scattered families in the central and western Terai. In the east the majority of Tamang inhabitants are found even in Bagmati zone, just outside of the hills surrounding the Kathmandu valley, and in the hill region of both Janakpur and Narayani zones. Some scattered settlements are found even in Far East Bengal in Darjeeling, India. In such distant and traditionally non-Tamang areas, they are found, close by various other people such as Magar, Gurung, Rai, Limbu, Brahmin, Chhetry and Newars. Two groups of people, known as Thami and Pahari, live in traditional Tamang areas of the eastern hills. Their number is only a few thousand and practice similar social, religious and economic customs to the Tamangs. Thamis have settled at the upper altitude than the Tamangs in the upper Tamang Koshi valley.

In Tamang society, they have many types of cultural norms and values. In Tamang territory, a strict Kipat land system was mentioned through the various clans division over many generations and it has only recently been abolished. In the Kipat system, a clan has exclusive inalienable communal rights over a large defined settlement and cultivation area .A few numbers of the particular clans could hold land or reclaim the uncultivated land within Kapat jurisdiction, which included the streams

and forests. At the time, the Kipats were abolished; however, there were in fact several clans represented in many single Kipats due to the great dispersion of clan numbers in the past. Today the Kipat system is legally intact in Nepal among the Limbu people only. Tamang ex-Kipat land is actually owned and formed by the same people who had held Kipats, but with slightly changed land tenure and taxing arrangements. The head of Tamang community is called 'Talugdar' and acts as an agent of the government for collecting land revenues. Formerly, under the Kipat system, each (kietyer) paid five rupees yearly irrespective of the size of his Land holdings. But, now that the Kipat system has abolished and each farmer pays according to the size of his holdings.

Similarly, according to the 'Tamang Smarika', "Tamang culture and tradition is advanced, prosperous and noble culture, moreover, it's the mixture of the Jhakrism, Lamaism, and Lambaism make it alive and effective" (127). Also this mixture is the identity of Tamang group. In each society, there are particular traditional organizations, which give emphasis and continuity to their own rituals and cultural affairs. The traditional organizations in Tamang Society are Bombo (Bombo, Lambu and Laptawa) Lamas (Lopan and Lowan) and Tamba .To manage the society, a Nangkhor (Ghedung) is made for completing the funeral process Barha Chhomba/Ghedung are managed. The Sedays Nangkhor and Barha chhomba are not so popular. Some Tamangs are declined to their traditions whereas some make an enormous and unwanted expenditure for the traditions. Both of them result in extinction of their culture.

To perform all the rituals from birth to death of Tamang societies' leaders i.e Lama, Ganwa, Tamba, Bombo, Chyamba, Syanba, Chhyuma, Konger, Mulmi, Hawa (by One Dorje), Katauke plays an important role. This structure of leadership is in

danger these days. That's why voices are raising in Tamang society to avoid orthodox practices and create a scientifically improved Tamang society to preserve, enhance and develop. The world is day by day getting globalized in communication, technology and business. In the same rate the encroachment by foreign cultural empires is terribly deteriorating our culture and there are no measures planned by the government to save Tamang culture.

In this way, the American socialist 'David Holmberger' writes in his book – "Tamangs are called Murmi, Lama, Bhote, Asheng and Sain. As a reference of hilly population in Nepal Groups is designed 'Tamang' along with other populations were known primarily as 'Bhote' and 'Murmi' from the middle part of 18<sup>th</sup> century through the 19<sup>th</sup> century. 'Sain' is probably deprived from the general Newari term for Tibetans" (Manandhar, 1986:253). Asheng or variant is a Sherpa referent. Therefore, Tamang constitutes the largest Tibeto-Burman speaking group in Nepal; the population was 555,056 and 522,461 speakers at the time of 1997 and 1984 censuses (HMG 1979, 1984) respectively. These figures probably underestimate their groups around the Kathmandu valley, south along the hills of the frontal range of the Himalayas, the Mahabharat lekh, north of the southern slopes of the high range of Himalayas sometimes to the borders of Tibet; rest as far as the BudhiGandaki River, east through the water shed of the Dudh Koshi river and continuing into far east of Nepal.

Table (1) Tamang speaking population in districts surrounding Kathmandu, 1971 census (HMG 1975)

District	Total Population
Kavre	130,261
Sindhupalchowk	94,679
Rasuwa	28,515
Ramechhap	43,669
Dhading	72,746
Dolakha	27,619
Total	397,489

Here 'Murmi' has a combination between 'Mur' means frontier and 'Mi' means people, making ' Murmi' "people of the frontier" (Macdonald 1975: 129). The shift from the 19<sup>th</sup> century to the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Tamang reflects a transformation of the population referred to by this team from the margins of Tibetan civilization to the margin of Nepalese Civilization, as a movement. Similarly, Asheng is derived from the term 'elshyang' or maternal uncle, which is often used as honorific within Tamang society. If we go through the ethnographic anomalies, we can find several myths about the Tamang society. Tamang exposes the problems of approaches to ethnicity that works from empirical criteria to define group affiliation. The word Tamang apparently did not come into general usage in Nepal until the 20<sup>th</sup> century. According to Hofer, "Older men in the village of Tamangs recount that about fifty years back a (journey) government official required all the adult men of the village to affix their thumb prints to a document affirming that they would no longer refer to themselves or be referred to as "Lama" or "Bhote" and Lama" (1979:147-48). The extension of the

application of the term Tamang prior to this time is unknown. Hofer notes that Tamang appears in texts in Tibetan language as early as the 13<sup>th</sup> century and variants (Tamang and Lama) are still used by the Thakali and Gurung to refer to themselves, suggesting a proto-group from which the contemporary Tamang/Gurung/Thakali historically diverge. Regarding the education, Tamang are forward in other sectors of development in Nepal like the Gurung, Magar and Newari indigenous people. They are very polite, innocent, and amicable. A long time back, they were not admitted to the army as well and they were given only the pot scrubbing jobs 'Pipa' in the army. Because of this, they were not promoted to high ranks in the army as well. But these days, they can admit to the army and police forces without any discrimination, so some of the Tamang has reached highest posts in the army and police forces. They have very low economic status. So professionally, they are laborers. While talking about the houses, they are made of wooden planks, weighty stones and the planks. Down in the cover part, they keep 'fire-wood', cow and buffaloes, which exposes the poor life style of Tamang community. In each village, they have the Buddhist Gumba for the prayers and some Lamas stay there permanently.

The religion does not give the full identity of different castes, but directs the society, too. The same religion can be found in different ways as per their favour in many countries. In addition to the identification of castes social institutions are the main factors of caste trend. Here, Tamba, Bombo and Lama use the leader institution of Tamang culture. Among them Tamba is the decision maker. He plays a supportive and decisive role in social and cultural aspects of Tamang society. As being the main institution, nothing can happen without him. For example, in a death ritual of Lama, which is completed by Lama and expenses of Tamang is informed to other Lama. In this way Tamba plays a great role during 'Chhewer', and 'Marriage' but it is only

supportive during 'Ghewa'. The importance of 'Bombo' is decreasing day by day and nowadays people do not care about it but there is no doubt, that he had the main role in the past. Due to the wide spreading of Buddhism, the role of Tamba, Bombo and Lama are essential part of Tamang rituals. Although Lama and Bombo are related to religion, Tamba is institution to play direct role with society and cultural trend. By coordinating all three institutions, it can enliven the Tamang culture. Therefore, with the collaboration of all three institutions, the social and cultural aspects are illustrated.

A Tamang man can marry any girl from any clan except his own and brother clan. Preferred marriage between cross cousins is to maternal uncle's daughter or paternal-aunt's daughter or mother's sister's daughter is not allowed to marry and sons and daughters of one's father's brother belong to the same clan as well. A widow can get married to her late husband's younger brother but not to elder brother. Polyandry system is absolutely forbidden but there are a few cases of Polyandry found among some aristocratic families. There is no stigma attached to a young man getting married to elderly widow, or to a divorced one and an unmarried girl's becoming pregnant. The love affairs of unmarried girls or boys are not considered prejudice for their future marriages. If the lover of an unmarried pregnant girl rejects to marry her, he can take the baby after paying some compensation to the girl. Then the mother is free to marry anyone she likes. But marriage or sexual relationship between members of the same clans is never tolerated. Offenders are expelled immediately and have no other choice but to go to new area and settled there. In case of abduction of other's wife new husband must pay sixty rupees as compensation to the former husband of the woman he has taken. Adultery is punishable by a fine of 40 rupees, which is given to the distressed husband as compensation. The husband can keep the wife with him if he desires after receiving the payment from an adulterous.



There are three types of marriages: arranged, capture and mutual agreement. Only the very rich persons can attempt the arranged marriages for their sons or daughters. Such arrangements are made when the couples are only fourteen or fifteen years old. When the arrangements are agreed upon it, the boy's father takes the boy and goes to the girl's parent's house accompanied by 40 or 50 people and brings the bridegroom back to his own house, where the actual wedding ceremony takes place. The wedding consists of putting the 'Tika' on the forehead of both, the boy and the girl by all senior members of the family and relatives. The neighbors and relatives are fed rice and meat (mutton or buff) and also given much wine/alcohol to drink. Similarly a capture marriage occurs when the boy selects a bridegroom to whom he can convince easily or when he wants to avoid the long procedure and expenditure of an arranged marriage. It is done even in the case of preferred cross cousin marriage to save trouble, time and expenses. If the captured girl persistently refuses to get married for three days, she is allowed to return to her parents. If she agrees, a proper wedding ceremony is organized, and friends and relatives including the girl's parents are invited. A girl may be captured from a fair and market if her parents take the offence too seriously, they approach the boy's family making demands for compensation. Once they are pacified, the rest of the procedure follows smoothly. Most Tamang young people get married by mutual agreement. When a boy and girl are in love and decide to get married, the boy asks his parents to approach her parents for their consent. One consent is transformed into the wedding, that can be organized in the same way as in the case of an arrange marriage. If boy's or girl's parents do not consent to the match, the only choice for them is to elope and remain hidden until their parents either agree or totally ignore them. In case of marriage by capturing and eloping, the bride and the groom go to the parent's house only when the parents give

them positive response. Usually a party of 20 to 30 people accompanies them on this visit, and their activities are known as Zendi. The new couple must take a bottle of wine as a gift to the girl's parents. Her parents give brass and copper and utensils, clothes, ornaments and sometimes cattle, while others give her two or even five rupees each. These gifts are called 'Gardwa' and the husband must return all of them to wife, if their relation turns into divorce. The amount of 'Gardwa' usually depends upon the amount how much her parents can spend on the feast for the guests. A Zendi is usually held within three days after the boy takes the girl. The entire community of Tamangs vertically divided into several subgroups, known as clans (Thars). Each clan has its own name. Bista has recorded twenty-five clans of Tamang. It can be suspected that there are more people staying in middle hills and valley regions.

<i>Baijyu</i>	<i>Goley</i>	<i>Moktan</i>
<i>Shyangbo</i>		
<i>Blon</i>	<i>Gomden</i>	<i>Ngarde</i>
<i>Shanden</i>		
<i>Bomjon</i>	<i>Ngarpa</i>	<i>Thing</i>
<i>Grandan</i>		
<i>Chyanwa</i>	<i>Lo</i>	<i>Pakhrin</i>
<i>Thokar</i>		
<i>Dong</i>	<i>Lopchan</i>	<i>Payen</i>
<i>Titung</i>		
<i>Ghising</i>	<i>Jimba</i>	<i>Rumba</i>
<i>Waiba</i>	<i>Yonjan</i>	

All of these clans are exogamous, but each clan's members can intermarry to any other clan's except in the case of the two clans Goley and Dong, who consider

themselves to be brother clans. Similarly, Thami like their Tamang neighbors are subdivided into several Thars-Rishmi-Angkami, Plorishmi, Dolakhe, Dumpali, Ishirishmi, Dangurushmi and Shrishm. All the members of one clan are regarded to be descended from the same ancestor. Theoretically all the clans are equal in social and ritual status. But the offspring of marriages between Tamangs and non –Tamang women are considered lower and are not allowed to share the common cup with other Tamangs despite the fact that they take the clan name of Their Tamang father. In some places the terms Bara Jat and Athara Jat are used to describe people of higher and lower status respectively. The terms mean literally twelve clans and eighteen clans according to “Northey Morris”- ‘The Bara Jat’ is regarded as higher status than Athara jat. And professor C von furer-Haimendr mentions the same thing. In any case inter marriage between these two decisions usually do not take place. This is the only horizontal division in the otherwise. It is completely vertically divided into exogamous and Patrilineal clans of the Tamangs. Northey and Morris also refer to a clan called Murmi. In some places the headman of a clan is called Murmi . In their each village, they have the Buddhist Gumba for the prayer and somewhere the Lamas stay there permanently. They do not give the postnatal separately for not to be touched by all, and purify it by calling Lama in 3,5 days and the Lama gives the child’s name which are similar to the Tibetan names, such as Dawa, Phurba, Mingmar, Lobsang, Tashi and etc. In the death time also the Lama comes to purify the ritual. Nwaran (Child’s purification), the Lama reads the religious book ‘Chhoi’. The male child’s rice feeding is done in six months and the female’s is done in five months. The cuckoo bird’s beak is brought to feed the rice on the rice feeding ceremony. Because it is believed that, the child starts to speak soon, if it is done by the bird’s beak. The feast is also arranged to the relatives at this time. Maternal uncle

does the 'Chhewar' in 12 years. The uncle shaves the child's hair. At this time, the married daughters bring parcels like bread, yogurt, local beer (wine), cock etc. and they are paid back donations later at the time of their departure. The invitees eat feast and do enjoy the programmes. The boy's mother receives the hair on a feast's plate, at the sharing time by not letting it drop on the ground, and it's either thrown in a place, where no man walks or shed in a river. The Maternal Uncle gives Tika and donations to the nephew boy. Similarly, the Tamang caste is divided into sects like Pakhrine, Waiwa, Zimba, Rumba, Lopchan, Bomjan, Yonjan, Thing, Ghising, Lama, Tuba, Marba and etc. They do 'Ghe-ba' to send the deceased in the heaven by Lama after death. They purify the last rite within 3 days and do not eat salt and oil. If the man is rich, the 'Ghe-ba' is done on the 13<sup>th</sup> day and if not then it can be done later too. But, they should do it on any cost. At this time, all the relatives are invited for feast and the Lama reads the religious books. Once in every year they light on fed lamps in the name of the deceased in Gumba by reading the exact date of the deed. The 'Ghe-ba' is celebrated three times-1) One morning 2) One night and the next one is 'Sho'. The morning celebration starts in the morning and finishes the evening, the second one starts in the morning and finishes in the next day morning and the third one is the Sho Dge-ba which is done by the person who does not have children, and it should be done before his death, at the time of living. Because the person who does not have the children, they only do this sort of Sho Dge-ba. At this time, the amusement items are arranged. A pair of man dance in ghost's garb. When the person dies, the lamps are lit near the man's head. The corpse is kept on a big bronze pot in a sitting position. The Lama comes and waits for an omen to take off the corpse. Sometimes, it takes even 2 or 3 days for an omen. The corpse is delivered on a cot or on big bronze pot for cremation. The lamas play 'Ghyalin' (religious instruments). Dhyangro (hand board

drum), Cymbal, conch and belt. The females also go to the Pyre. The Lama takes to the Tama Koshi, tributary of Sunkoshi at Benighat, Ramechhap district-length 90km. Cathment area: 2580 sq.km. Hydroelectric potential, Mongoloid people are inhabited between the foothills of the Himalayas and the midlands. They speak Tibeto-Burman Language. They constitute 35% of total population of Nepal. Major occupation: Trans Himalayan trade. Many people are engaged in agriculture that also observe Lamaist Buddhism. The chief of the Community is termed Murmi or Yoko. Observing tribal festivals Nura, Puja, and Ho. Major caste division include Barajat and Athrajat .The inscribe prayers and the name of deities on stone tablets and put them along the roadsides. Naming of the newly born child is held on the seventh day of its birth. They also observe Jhankrism. Moreover, Bombo do worship the deity called Lha that is similar to Hindu festival Dashain.

The Tamang settlement covers a wide expanse spreading from western Kathmandu to the east and from south to the north. They spread towards the east to south of the Mahabharat range as well as other places. But their original inhabitat lies on the southern Hank of Ganesh Himal.They are the pure Mongoloid featured Tamangs who are found in their primitive houses with low-pitched gabled roofs and wooden verandah. Like the Sherpas they, too, claim their origin to have come from Tibet with their features as evidence in this respect. The Tamang have eighteen clans, which again ramify into numerous sub-clans. There are altogether some 50 clans and sub-clans in this community among which some are Yonjan, Bomjan, Lopchan, Muktan etc.

## II. Social Rituals as Performance Theory

Performance means the act of performing a play, in concert or some other form of entertainment or the act of performing a task, action, etc. In other words, they reflect the patterns of behaviors, ways of speaking and manners of bodily component. That is to say, their repeated practice places the actors in the time and the space to the formation of individual and group identities. Performance is no doubt based upon the repetition, yet it is the generic medium that gives rise to the tradition.

In the view of Deborah A Kapchan, performance plays an important role “in the mediation and creation of social communities, whether organized around bonds of nationalism, ethnicity, class status or gender” (479). Moreover, performances give a counter response to the unconscious practices of everyday life, and it enters “as alternates, often ritualized or Indic, interpretive, ‘frame’, where a number of rules are at play (479). Similarly, performance studies have the task of comprehending the disparities between habitual practices and heightened performances; indicate the way and the reason behind the function of these differences in society. In a broader concept performance is to carry out something effectively, be it a story or identity, an artistic artifact, a historical memory or ethnography. It is a story to whatever is produced, or imitated, and whatever is created, which has been a matter of a significant concern in terms of the folklore. As for the development of performance theory, folklore has gained the vital role among the ethnography of speaking for the 1970s. It focuses on the relevance of context for interpretation in which verbal art was reevaluated as subject or study. It is also related to the way how language was included in a wave of inter subjective relations that determined and responded to linguistic structures. Furthermore, it also encapsulates the pragmatics of discourse in the interpretation of a speech event. Kapchan also extends his idea about preferment by the perspective of expressive culture. As for the scope of verbal art and large-scale cultural display events, there comes the phenomenology of performance linking both aspects of expressive culture. In a movement from the interpersonal involvement becomes formal and performer-oriented, depending on symbol, imagination and vicarious involvement of audience (481). Kapchan also highlights the idea of theater. He says that theater has developed its own concrete language of gesture and posture, a language of anarchy, which pushed the actor and audience to the questioning of object, relationships and jumble. Such sense of performance “denaturalized the world, splicing sings from their referents of art and ritual as active” (981). For scholars of verbal art, the theatrical definition of performance is problematic in two ways.

One is that performance cannot be rendered as a text and second, as spontaneity that never repeats the same gesture and meaning two times in a refusal to be fixed. The other problem is that it privileges gesture as a speech prior to words and makes nonverbal or affective communication a prerequisite for an active metaphysics.

To conclude, these assumptions create a threat for the ethnographer to reformulate methodologies and writing practices in which many semiotic systems are at work to construct performative reality.

Similarly, Jeffrey C. Alexander in his book "Cultural pragmatics: Social performance between ritual and strategy, defines the meaning of ritual as in:

Rituals are episodes of repeated and simplified cultural communication in which the direct partners to a social interaction, and those observing it, share a mutual belief. The descriptive and prescriptive validity of communications, symbolic contexts and accept the authenticity of one another's intentions. (332)

According to Victor Turner in his essay "Are there universals of performance in myth, ritual and drama?" (51-61), both ritual and theater have liminal events and processes, and have an important aspect of social metacommentary. Turner says that redressing actions are ritualized, and are likely to be carried out in the name of law or religion. Judicial processes prioritize ethical problems, hidden malice working through witchcraft or ancestral anger against breaches or taboo or the impiety of the living towards the dead. Most social drama includes some means of public reflexivity in their repressive process. Turner emphasizes ritual processes, stating: "The immense verity of theatrical subgenres drama not from imitation but, especially from redress as ritual process" (10-100).

Redressive rituals give an insight into the hidden causes of misfortunes, personal and social conflict, and illness. They are caused by invisible action of spirits, deities, witches and sorcerers. "Yet many of these rites that we call life-crisis ceremonies; particularly those of puberty, marriage, and death" mark a major customary system of group of life. Similarly, life-crisis rituals sketch and resolve archetypal conflicts in abstraction out of the social life that gives rise to conflict. Turner goes on to explain: "but ritual and its progeny, the performance arts among them, desire form the subjunctive, liminal, reflective and exploratory heart of social drama." (56). Moreover, ritualized forms of authority like litigation, feud, scarifies and prayer display any culture's articulate identity.

Similarly, Jeffrey C. Alexander in his book "Cultural Pragmatics: Social performance between Ritual and Strategy, defines the meaning of even though performance studies partly shares with dramatic theater. It arouses the ethnographic models of ritual and everyday life behavior so as to redefine performance in non-literary and non-theatrical terms.

Turners first stage, breach, a person or subgroup breaks rule deliberately or by inward compulsion, in a public setting. Similarly, the 2<sup>nd</sup> stage is called Crisis where we find the conflicts original breach. Moreover, it reveals the hidden clashes of character, interest and ambition. These mount towards a crisis of the group's unity and its very continuity unless sealed of by redressive public action, consensually undertaken by the groups of leader's elders or guardians. Redressive action is often ritualized and may be undertaken in the name of law or religion.

According to Richard Schechner, in his essay, "Toward a poetic of performance hunting circuits, centers, and theaters," the earliest human societies were hunting and gathering bands. These bands were neither primitive nor poor; the best evidences suggest an abundance of food, small families and an established range. The farming and hunting tribes of Highlands's new Guiney stage elaborate "payback" or exchange ceremonies of a regular basis (22). Moreover, Pilgrimages, family reunions marked by feasting and the exchange of gifts, Potlatches, and "going to" the theater are other verities on this same action of concentration, exchange or give away, and dispersal.

Schechner, moreover, focuses the entertainment aspects of gathering and hunting. He asserts that, "it is ritual that comes first historically and conceptually, with entertainment arising later as a derivation or even deterioration of ritual" (10). Ritual is serious but entertainment is shallow. Therefore, behavior during central joints and or alternative with prescribed flow in big public gatherings. In his essay, the pattern of gathering, performing and dispersing are a practical, theoretical pattern. He says that a theater is a king of performance activities inscription that redescribes the former in some other medium, and this work if the meaning performance is fixed in writing.

He, more importantly, focuses the relationship between ritual and performance. According to him "rituals are distinct because they are situated in particular places and times. However, they are not pure replications of previous performances or anticipation of future ones, re-enactments is always an innovation and improvisation and every act includes its own per formative hazards. Each act (vebers) to similar acts in previous performances, so, if ritual is a text, it is one rewritten every time it is



performed. As a performance goes ahead, it is inscribed in the very acts at the same, which make up the performance.

At the same time, since a performance is always unique and fleeting events, two qualifications are necessary, both of them substantiate that performance approach seems others, hunting that they are not connected to previous performance of the text.

The analysis of stage performance is motivated by a disciplinary interest in dramatic texts. Performance studies to some extent with a range of aims, methods and objects of inquiry that include ethnographies of performance; psychoanalytic and post colonial models of representation; institutional studies; studies of street performance; performance art; performance in everyday life; and theatrical investigation of identity performance.

Similarly, we can know about the performance theory in the book “from ritual to theater and back, ‘The efficacy entertainment brand’”. The main entertainments of the performance celebrations are the dance. Self-adornment is an exacting, precise and delicate process.” The performance changes combat techniques into entertainments. The dancing doesn’t only indicate an isolated activity, but it is a behavior developed in supportive actors. Drama doesn’t only include the written texts but it is on the “carefully scripted actions” (110). Moreover, he has given the historical development of performance. In this modern time, globalization poses a threat to distinct identity of very small cultural groups and their societies. More importantly, in the industrial societies, “workshop has been developed as a medium of re-creating, at least temporality, some have the security and intimacy of small, autonomous cultural groups” (110). In this sense, the workshop is a protested time/space where into group relations are likely to develop without a threat from the inter-group aggression.

The workshop isn’t only confined to theater; rather, it is, in living styles, the neighborhood, the commune, the collective. To warp up, the workshop aims at constructing an environment where rational, and irrational behaviors exist in a balancing way culminating in the expressive, symbolic, playful, ritualized, ‘scripted’ behavior. At the end, the workshop ambience is related to the ancient and decorated caves that encompass as a whole the way people sing, dance and celebrate fertility in risky, sexy, violent, collective and playful manners.

In the same way, W. B. Worthen, in his article “Drama, Performativity, and Performance;” explores the idea of history and it’s relation between performance and theater. In terms of the late 1960s experimental theater, performance was viewed at

odds with theater structures and conventions, revealing the theory writing on performance and post structuralism. Through, there has been a flood of performance discourses and it's newly developed companion performativity, this surge of interest clarifies the isolation of performance from the theatrical aspects and drama. At this point, it was the emergence of different disciplinary investments of performance studies and literary studies that created a rift between performance and theater.

The literary closeness with performance studies emphasizes the performative function of language included in literary texts and performance based criticism of drama. Thus, performance studies seem to have “developed a livid account of non-dramatic, non-theatrical, non-scripted, ceremonial, and everyday life performance. This is different from the authority of texts” (1093).

Both disciplinarians view drama as pieces of performance worked by texts. And, as a consequence, drama seems to be “an increasingly residual mode of performance” (1094). In the past two decades, the literary discussion of drama was somewhat associated with the relation between the scripted drama and the practices of stage performance.

In some conditions, the performance and everyday life are changing and arbitrary, “varying greatly from culture to culture and situation to situation” (70). Whatever boundaries are drawn, theater occurs in the wide region of performance, and at the same time, the script and sometimes drama stands to the core of the theater. That is to say, drama is considered as a particular kind of script while theater is taken as specific kind of performance.

Moreover, he presents the historical background of drama, script, theater and performance since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century; modern drama has privileged the written text to avoid theater performance as a whole. Drama script still dominates western performance in the avant-garde despite counter-emphasis on theater performs, not actors; their role playing is life style of playing not “characterization” as in drama.

Most western improvisatory theater isn't like, Asian theater but a means by which the performers function as dramatists, arriving at a very orthodox form that is repeated height after with a little or no immediate invention or permutation. At last, drama is what the writer writes while performance marks "the whole event, including audience and performers" (87). Moreover, the theater that includes ritual, sports, trials, dance, music and various performance in everyday life. The situations are dramatic because participants not only are doing or have done. These social interactions are accomplished as interactions and routines, the liminal phases of the rites of tribal, agrarian; hunting and traditional societies are similar to the art works and leisure activities of industrial and post-industrial societies. Performance is social and it is at the level of performance that aesthetic and social drama mix.

Rituals change participants into different persons. For examples, a young man is bachelor and through the ceremony of marriage, he becomes a husband. Drama is the domain of the author, the composer, sceneries, shaman and the teacher, guru, master is embedded in the domain of the script, and it is theater that includes the domain of performers. At last, the performance is the domain of the audiences.

Furthermore, in many situations, author stands as both as a guru and performer. In some conditions, the performer is also the audience in the line is the particular set of gestures performed by the performers in any given performance.

Thus, in many rural areas, especially in Asia and Africa, the performance is the most important thing. In other words, it is the whole display of events at the theater or a script. However, a performance is "something planned, designed for presentation, following a prescribed order" (88).

In this way, performance, sometimes, could create a theater or even a drama. For example, the dancing of a Kath Kali sequence by a professional troupe at an Indian wedding is a theatrical dance-drama embedded within a wedding performance. However, such a distinction is not valid for all. Therefore, the shift from a role of spectator to that of a performer is easy, which is one of the traits of performance in different forms of drama or theater.

Drama is tight, verbal narrative, allowing little improvisation and exists as a code free from any individual transmitter; it is easily transcribed into a written text. The theater is the visible or scenic set of events with well-known components. More importantly, performance is the broadest circle of events revolving around theater. It explains the inseparable link among drama, script, theater and performance to reveal the human behavior. In the same way, W. B. Worthen, explores the idea:

Drama, script, theater and performance need not all exist for any given events. However, when they do, they enclose one another, overlap, interpenetrate, simultaneously and redundantly arousing and using every channel of communication. This kind of behavior characterizes many human activities from ritual to art (94).

Another writer named Leo Howe, talks about the relationship between the ritual and performance. Though inscription is related to acts, skills, abilities, operations and procedures, it is equally closed to meaning. As for the report between performance and inscription, both are political process and are concerned with the ephemeral nature of social action. While showing a difference between them, it is the inscription that re-scribes the former in some other medium, and this work if the meaning of performance is fixed in writing.

He, more importantly, focuses the relationship between ritual and performance. According to him, “rituals are distinct because they are situated in particular places and times. However, they are not pure replications of previous performance for anticipations of future ones. Re-enactments are always an innovation and improvisation and every act include its own performative hazards. Each act refers to similar acts in previous performances, so, if ritual is a text, it is rewritten every time it is performed. As a performance goes ahead, it is inscribed in the very acts at the same time which make up the performance.

At the same time, since a performance is always a unique and fleeting events, two qualifications are necessary, both of them substantiates that performance approach that seems to treat specific rituals in isolation from others, hinting that they are not connected to previous performance. The text accentuates the generic nature of ritual. Performance seems to exaggerate its distinctness. Therefore, the first qualification indicates that they focus on the performative aspects slighter than the rule-governed nature of much ritual action. Actually, performance analogy has achieved its most convincing results in an application to shamanic curing ceremonies such participation demands much freedom of action. The result is reliant upon the way a shaman performs and the audience reacts.

To conclude, in many other rituals, when rules are precisely launched, it becomes successful, keeping performativity at an important position. Likewise, the second qualification focuses the effects caused by the ritual action. Moreover, it emphasizes upon a single performance indicates that its effect has a bearing on future performance. If the audience does not make sense of the shamans' performance, it will become fatal. So, their audience who construct a social consensus to follow them creates successful shamans. So, this makes performance fundamentally interactive and inherently risky; rather the shamans' role is to lead the audience to an active presence.

Moreover, he also talks about the ethnographic study of performance. Ethnography reads the culture of no literate societies as texts, and it prolongs the colonizing project, indicating the other in western terms. We can also realize that is also the critique of the colonizing and western ideas performance related ethnography changes the power dynamic of the research situation that mutes in an ethnographers movement from the detached observer to the close engagement of 'co-performance'

with distinct individuals. As a whole, the performance aspect creates an environment for the ethnographer to know the limitation of literary and criticize the textual prejudice of western civilization.

In this sense, Shakespearean drama is likely to be evaluated as an instance imperial educational project. As print is related to authority in ways like colonial, cultural and terms of the transmission, that practices of traditional or elite culture.

### **III. Tamang Culture and Cultural Performance**

#### **Birth Ritual**

Birth Ritual is one of the two most significant parts of ritual system in 'Tamang Community'. Religion not only gives the full identity of different castes, but it also directs the society. The same religion can be found following the different ways as per their favor in many countries. In addition to the identification of caste, social institutions are the main factors of caste trends, Tamba, Bombo and lama use the leader institutions of Tamang culture but 'Tamba' plays supportive and decision making roles in social and cultural aspects. As being a main institution, nothing can happen without it.

In this way, 'Tamba' plays great role during Pasni, chower and marriage but it is only supportive during Ghe-ba. The importance of Bamboo has been decreasing day by day and nowadays people do not care about it but there is no doubt that it had main role in the past. Due to the wide spreading effect of Buddhism the role of 'Tamba' is squeezing day by day. In this way, Tamba, Bombo, and Lama are essential to keep the culture of a caste alive in society. Although lama and Bombo are related to religion, Tamba is the institution to play direct role with the society and cultural trend. 'Tamba' needs positive support of 'Bombo' and 'lama' with the coordination of all three institutions; they can keep cultural aspects of all institutions, the social and cultural ritual alive.

#### **Pregnancy and Birth Ceremony**

Pregnancy in Tamang is called Piba. It is believed that pregnant women are not allowed to go to hilly areas, climbing trees, cross big rivers, cross the rope of cow, to see heating of gold and silver, cut Bamboo, to see scarification of animals, to see dead bodies. Fruits are served after pregnancy. It is regarded that she follows the above

mentioned not that rare allowed task then her baby and she will not have negative effect. In the places, where there is the influence of Buddhism, they read Domang Chhedup and Key Dharma. Home is the best place for childbirth for Tamang. But if women have gone to their parents' house then, she is taken to cottage. If there is delay and difficulties during the deliver by then Bombo, water, and oil is brought from the village and given to have to the women, as it is believed that it will ease to give birth. When women give birth, year, character, time and day are noted in the area. Where is the effect of Buddhism? After that baby is cleaned and with the help of clean weapon and the 'Nabhi' is cut and kept in warm place. The remaining part is kept in a leaf made plate and buried in a safe place. As per their economic status, they feed nutritious food to the woman till then name giving ceremony and the woman and baby are kept in a warm and clean place with a weapon below the pillow light is on. Tamba doesn't play a significant role during birth. Generally different friends can be seen as per the place and time.

Although, processing is different generally in civilized society, giving birth safely is given great attention to the society of both mother and child. Family support is essence during giving birth period a through there is own religious belief .Now a days CHWSANM are called during giving birth giving the attempt of the safety for mother and child, tasks are not allowed to do and that is matcher religious belief. This belief supports to mother is safety indirectly from the society and shown the sympathy towards the women. This is illustrated with the following pictures.

### **Naming of child and its process**

The process of giving name of a baby is called "Nwaran". If we follow "Tamba", It calls "Topsang" but ,the trend of following "Tamba" has been extinct so, it is called "Ninthaba". Identification and nationality are the main reasons to it. The



family or society gives name and caste of the baby. Thus, name is approved from family and caste is approved from family and caste i.e. sanction. Socialization begins from here. This is the phenomenon of purification of house, family mother and baby. Generally within 3 days this event is done with the flexibility of time and favor, it is organized from 3 to 11 days. If there is effect of other caste then within 11 days. It is happened; If there is son or daughter then it happens in 3,5,or7days. Out of three institutions "Choho" has lost its political status so instead of it, father has occupied this place.

Similarly, two 'Bombo' and lama, to decide; the family is responsible to decide in some places 'Bombo' does 'Sergen' and hand is cleaned; now lama is called to pray. In this way, all these three institutions are approved to do. These are equivalent to each other. It is also justified by this picture. During (Tamsang), at first the baby is taken for bath by father. Similarly, mother also takes bath to become pure. Then, the baby is taken to see sun rising early in the morning. After that, lama starts chanting and follows the ritual 'procedure'. Then, the name giving process is begins. It is done by 'bombo' then, he does Sausages, sili and calls god. In this way, 'Bombo' informs to regrinding god about the birth of baby and request to give blessing to the child. Generally, 'Bambo' begins informing from neigh becoming god followed by gods of Tibet, China and India. After proper situation and closing of having light of threads covered by hoos and ghees are lighted stone heated by fire (selyunga) is placed in Tile and causing Fanna is also kept. The fumer coming from 'Those' which is used to keep up dry the baby.

There is a belief that it protects the baby from skin related diseases. Then, they take the new water from 'Bambo' the baby is taken to bath and the baby is worshipped to 'Kul'. Generally, Tamang people worship the god to protect children and conserve gods too. 'Bombo', generally, conserves the god and during the 'Nwaran' Tamang people do perform certain function, is called 'Kola Chyalba'. They believed that child would get rid of different health related problems if perform this function. Then, the baby is brought back from the god to protest before the 'Chewor'. Naming depends upon the feature of the place. If the first baby has died, the name of the baby will be chosen from the Dalit community, a marginalized group of people from Kami, Damai, Sarki, Pode etc. As in Hindu religion, Dalit is supposed to be lower spreading the water of 'Bombo'.and untouchable caste. People, who are coming to participate, are purified by

नदब व There is another trend of giving the name depending on which day the baby is born. If the baby is born on Sunday, they will give his name as 'Nima', if on Monday then 'Dawa', if on Tuesday then 'Mingmar' if on Wednesday then it's 'Lakpa' if on Thursday it's 'Pasang' if on Friday it's 'Sukra' and if on Saturday, it depends upon gender, means if it is girl, it's called 'Dolma'. But, Lama takes care the character year of the baby during naming. They believe that character is the main factor to look and give the name. After that all the invitees spread the water to baby and give some money to the baby. Moreover, the given below detail description about the name giving process.

### **First Food Feeding to Baby (Kan-Khwaba)**

The second event to socialize the baby to society is called 'Kan-Khawaba'. An event in which the baby is given food to eat under the head of the family or lama feeds rice to the baby. If it is born baby girl, then this event is organized in five months and if it is boy, then it is organized in six months. In this very function, lama follows the 'Tibetan' 'Patro Chi' to decide which date is suitable and the uncle or the head of the family feeds the baby with rice.

On this very day, the baby is taken to bath and wear new clothes. Then, Lama prays different gods. Approximately, half kg of rice is cooked to feed the baby. This event is done by putting Tika to odd number of virgin by the uncle or mother of the baby. Lama gives the rice to god, Panchatawa. And Ghost. Nowadays, spoon and coin are used to do it so that the baby could speak perfectly. Similarly, Jewellery and money are given to nephew if uncle is doing anything. This is followed by other invitees to be followed by putting on Tika by all in the order of seniority. In this process, they bless for better future of the baby.

## **Marital Rituals of Tamang**

### **Marriage Tradition**

The Tamang settlement covers a wide expanse stretching from the west of Kathmandu to the east and south, too. They spread towards the east from number one to three and towards the south in the Mahabharat range as well as in other places. But, their original habitat lies on the southern flank of Ganesh-Himal where the pure mongoloid featured Tamangs are found in their primitive houses with low-pitched gabled roofs and wooden varendahs. Like the Sherpas they too claim that they have originally come from Tibet with their features as evidence in this respect. The Tamangs have eighteen clans which again rarity into numerous subclasses. There are altogether some fifty clans and sub-clans in this community among which some are Yonjan, Bomjan, Ghishing, Thokar, Moktan, Gaba, Bal, Yaba, Marp etc. Intermarriage between all these clans and sub-clans is a taboo. Some illustrated ideas can be crystallized in the mind by the following non-coherence of marriage among them. The Yonjan and Bomjan can't marriage. Clans like Thokar, Moktan, Pakhrin, and Syngdang don't have intermarriage between them. Gyaba, Rumba, Yaba, Lind Jumba clans don't enter into wedding contract among themselves on the same basis of their pedigree being common. In this way, there are other clans also who can't enter into marriage on that score. But, beyond the pale of the same genealogy, they can contract marriage with any other clans.

Moreover, the people necessarily involve a study of the influence of religion on their life at various stages. In some countries, religion has affected the course of political events in the form of holy war but in most of the countries, it has contributed to their ethnic, cultural and social development in a silent and subtle way. The two important religious groups of Hindus and Buddhists have lived in harmony for

centuries, often worshipping in the same temples celebrating the same festivals, observing identical regional vows and rituals bound by a common national and social consciousness and frequently entering into marital relationship between each other.

Similarly, according to Dor Bahadur Bista, in his book, *People of Nepal*:

All those clans are exogamous but each clan members can intermarry with other clans except in the case of the two clans Goley and Dong, who consider themselves or be brother clans, moreover all the members of one clan is said to be descended from the same ancestor. In the case of brother clans the common ancestors were brothers.

(290)

However, as among so many other people in Nepal, these theories are open to all sorts of questions and no one so far has made any attempt to prove common ancestry geographical. It could indeed be done. Theoretically, all the clans are equal in social and ritual status. But, the offspring of marriages between Tamangs and non-Tamangs women is considered lower and are not allowed to share the common cup with other Tamangs despite the fact that they take the clan name of their Tamang father. In some places the terms *Bara Jat* and *Athar Jat* is used to describe people of higher and lower status respectively. The terms mean literally "Twelve cans' and eighteen clans'. Intermarriage between these two divisions usually doesn't take place. This is the horizontal divisions. In the other-wise, completely vertically divided exogamous and patrilineal clans of the Tamangs. A Tamang can marry any girls from any clans except his own and his brother clan. Preferred marriage is between cross cousins that are to one's mother's brother's daughters or father's sister's daughters. Parallel cousin marriage of a man to his father's brother's daughter or mother's sister's daughter is not tolerated. Sons and daughters of one's father's brother belong to the same clan as younger brother but not the elder brother, Polyandry is absolutely forbidden but there

are a few cases of polygamy among some rich men. There is no stigma attached to a young man's marrying an elderly widow or to a divorcee or to an unmarried girl becoming pregnant. The love affairs of unmarried girls or boys do not prejudice their future marriage. If the lover of an unmarried pregnant girl refuses to marry her, he can take the baby after it is weaned and pay some compensation to the girl. Then, the mother is free to marry anyone she likes, but marriage or sexual relationships between members of the same clan are never tolerated. Offenders are exiled immediately and have no other choice but to go to an entirely new area and settle there. In case of wife, abduction the new husband must pay sixty rupees as compensation to the former husband of the woman he has taken. Adultery is punishable by a fine of 40 rupees which is given to the aggrieved husband as compensation. The husband can keep the wife with him if he so desires after receiving the payment from an adulterer. He defines the marriage by dividing it into three types. They are called (i) Arrange marriage (ii) Capture marriage and Mutual marriage. Wedding in Nepal is a multi-day event, which may engross an entire village. In its essence, it portrays the very strong social and communal values of the Nepali people. A few things in Nepali culture take precedence over a shedding and mount of the people treat the time as the opportunity of a lifetime and a time to hold back and celebrate with varieties of foods and dancing. However, my concern is to explore the marriage and the performance in the time of wedding ceremony in the Tamang community of Nepal. Tamangs are one of the major Tibeto-Burmese speaking communities in Nepal. They believe that they originally came from Tibet. Majority of Tamang people live in the hilly regions of Nepal, adjoining sides of Kathmandu valley, the capital city of Nepal. The historical and legendary accounts of the Tamang show that they originally came from Tibet. It

is believed that they were horse traders (Bista 1967). Marriage is an inevitable part of the culture. Therefore, it is performed under certain rules and regulation.

According to Richard Schechner:

Marriage tradition is a social drama where participants undergo permanent transformation unlike the aesthetic drama in which audience only feels a sort of transformation. Moreover, she says that Aesthetic form works on its transformation on the audience. Similarly, in aesthetic drama as the audience is separated both actually conceptually from the performing in social drama. All presents are participants though some are more decisively involved than others. (192-93)

As an instance, groom and bridegroom after marriage undergo life long transformation and even other participants like their parents also have permanent transformations.

Performance is taken as the most contested term. However, it is believed to be a product of cultural environment. Similarly, according to Victor Turner. He says that life is unsurprisingly dramatic performance, which is similar to theater. He, moreover, says the any of that social life involves the four different stages, Breach, Crisis, Redressive process and 'Reintegration or 'Recognition of irreparable schism. He focuses the ritual process like divinations, affliction rituals etc. and its importance in to the society, which is assumed to be the social drama. He finds similarity between social drama and theatrical drama because both share a unique stage such as liminal phase, which is a stage for unique structures of experience, in milieus detached from mundane life and characterized by the presence of ambiguous ideas, monstrous images, sacred symbols (12). However, he believes that sort of social life is universal phenomena. In his definition, liminal phase is the important feature of performance, which is present in the subjunctive mood of culture (12).

Similarly, another writer John Tuloch has given his view about performance performing culture is the whole way of life and he quotes singer's definition that cultural performances are the events of theatre religious festivals, wedding etc." (2). Performance related to the theatre is termed highly but it's significance has been broadened to various fields in recent times. It is not merely taken to be the activities, dance or films. It is performed in different activities. Moreover, it exposes the real nature of society. According to Mervin Carlson, a magazine like New York Times and Village Voice include a separate category of performance separate from theatre, dance or films (3). It reveals that performance is not simple as theatre or a dance. He also claims that 'and action carried out for someone' (6) is performance. He critically writes about Schechner who asserts that pretending to be someone other than oneself is a common example of a particular kind of human behavior; restored behavior is necessarily a concept which seeks a quality of performance which exposes a certain distance between self and behavior" (4). He further writes: "an action on stage is identical to one in real life and off stage merely done' (4): his conclusions is that consciousness of performance can move from the stage, from the ritual, or from the other special and clearly defined cultural situations into every daylife" (4). Therefore, performance is any of the activities that we do knowingly because as in Carlson's opinion it resembles to an action performed on the stage.

In this way, marriage ritual is a social process that has to follow and perform certain procedure. It doesn't go beyond the certain norms and cultural values which is already established in the society. In the society, we do have certain religious aspect of the society. There is the repetition of activities and mode of behaviors.

Our lives are structured according to repeated and socially sandboxed modes of behaviour which raise the possibility that all human activities could potentially be

considered as performance" (Carlson, 4). Therefore, marriage is a unique example of performance. The wedding procedure usually begins with an arrangement of a boy and a girl with comparable backgrounds; often with the help of a priest who are well known as a matchmaker. On this ceremony, the meeting takes place between the parents of the two families. In an arranged marriage, it is the parents who choose their children's partners. Moreover, in an arranged marriage, even though the parents choose the individuals, the children are commonly given a voice to accept or decline the match. In an arranged marriage even the grooms and the bridegrooms are not familiarized with each other on the day of the ceremony. On the other hand, in a love marriage, it is the boy and the girl who choose their mates. Nowadays, both types of marriages can be found throughout the country but it is the arranged marriage that has dominated among the types of marriage rituals.



*Bride and bride groom of arrange marriage in Tamang community*

Due to the influence of western culture, the love marriage has been gaining much acceptance over the years. It could be overlapped because of having the development in mass media. In some places eloping could occur between couples that are not thought to be a suitable match in case of different castes and tribes. In marital



ceremony when the initial marriage arrangement takes place, the wedding will begin with a gathering of the traveling party at the groom's house. Celebrations and rituals are performed with the local priest and the party then they travel to the bride's village as the procession. This party particularly consists of males only. Once the procession reaches the bride's village, the groom's family gamble, drinks and; the priest performs the ceremony followed by a big feast.

In Tamang community, one of the significant cultural traditions and norms is the marriage after **Chhewar**. In this caste, the trend of performing marriage through Bandh Pra is the pillar and large in number. It means that the Tamang people don't like to get married being far away from their own societies and relatives. In Tamang people, the age of the bridegroom will be more than that of the grooms in the place where there is the influence of Hindu tradition, at such places, there is trend of early marriage, but in general, the marriage is performed in between relatives and intimate friends in Tamang than that of the boy's side. Therefore, boys relatives should respect and be lowerd to the girl's side. In Tamang community especially in marriage ritual there is a prominent role of Tamba and without the role of Mama means maternal uncle, the marriage ceremony is impossible. In the marriage of his nephew there is the system of decorating him with the clothes brought by his maternal uncle. So, in the marriage of nephew, all the daughters of father's sister (Phupu), there is the system of maintaining the relation of 'Samdhi' fathers of bride and groom) and 'Samdhini (mothers of bride and groom). Unlike the arranged marriage, love marriage (Chori Bihaha) is highly prevalent in 'Tamang community. If the aged boys and girls are deeply in love with each other and their relation is not accepted by their family, then in such situation also, there is the system of getting married in Tamang culture which

is still prevalent. Theoretically, two are the differences between them in the practical life. Love marriage is a bit different from the traditional marriage system."

### **Love Marriage**

Though love marriage is not social accepted in Nepalese culture, such type of marriage is accepted in Tamang culture. If the aged boys and girls are deeply in love with each other and their relation is not accepted by their family, then at such situation even such marriage is excepted in Tamang community. Though, theoretically, there are the differences between them in the practical life. Thus, such type of marriage is a bit different from the traditional system.

Marriage is performed by taking away a girl without the consent of guardians. In Jatras, while taking away the girl they should reach their house at any cost. Since they believe that they shouldn't stay elsewhere so they reach their home at any cost. Things of decoration and presents are brought by Mamas, without Mama the marriage ritual becomes incomplete. To fix the date of the marriage, lama is called and after reading the Tibetan calendar, Lama fixes an auspicious the good time for marriage. In Tamang community Lama is supposed to be the priest. Tamang people always pay attention towards their cultural rules. Thus, lama describes the good time and the years of getting married in their own language. Generally, marriage is not perfumed in the month of Sharwan Kartik, Poush and Chaitra. In the even year and the year of their birth date, marriage ceremony is not performed.

Here are some types of marriage which are performed on the basis of the following strategies:

### **Magi Bibaha**

It is the most common type of marriage in Nepalese society. However, it is not valued and practiced much in Tamang community. In such types of marriages,

marriage is performed by a request much in Tamang under the acceptance of guardians. At the time of home getting married bride is generally, Seated within their own relatives and villagers which has got utmost priority. Although there is the relation of brother and sister between the son of Mama (Maternal Uncle) when they reach home then the boys' parents welcome them by lighting the oil lamp, rice and put the Tika of Yog hurt. On this day, if it is possible to invite all the persons of their brotherhood, which is called Gauba, Tamba and so on. They put Tika and bridegroom is welcomed to their house. For the day of entrance up to 3 days or 5 days all the honorable persons are paid chide justice, Ganba, Tamba and the main members of the brotherhood are indulged to send Sagun (pong). Thus, in this way the 'Ganba, Tamba and Kutumba are heartily welcome. And if they dislike the boy then, they do not allow him to enter the house. Therefore, the person who takes pong should have the distinct ability of convincing them in his talk. But, if the pong is not accepted then on the negotiation of the theft girls, all the gift items are returned and the girl is married to any other boy. But such situation is very rare.



### ***Wedding ceremony of Tamang communities***

At the time, when Gamba, and Tanba is taking Sagun or Pong then they inform that their daughter has been in the house of somebody. In this way, if the girls' parents agree, they welcome their son in law whole-heartedly. According to Tamang Rimthim it is the custom of welcoming their son in law and daughter in law is known

as **Ritbhat**. At the time of Ritbhat, they put Tika as the new married bride and groom and for the two parcels are taken.

### **Forced marriage**

It is a type of marriage by making the favorable situation. The girls are forcefully married by the boys especially in Jatras and while going to forest in search of grass and timber. From the legal point of view such types of marriage is similar to kidnapping in the sense that the boy comes to take the hand of the girl for the first time is supported by his group of his colleagues and they take her by carrying. As per the possibility, when the girl enters his groups of his colleagues and they take her by carrying, as per the possibility, when the girl enters the boy's house, the boy's parents perform the formal type of Tikatalo' accepting her as their daughter in law. But when the girl do as easily agree for Tikatalo, she is kept in the secret place for three days. And after three days also if she does not agree, then she is sent to her house with honor if she is ready to marry then both the boy and the girl are married to each other in accordance with their own culture and tradition. For this task, help of Ganba, Tamba are taken. After this, Sagun, which is believed to be a holy- thing, is taken by them to the girl's parents in order to notify them their daughter is in someones house in good condition. If they accept the Sagun they invite their son and daughter in law to participate in the Ritibhati. At such time Hyo Pong is given to the brides parents. "Hyopong is the gift presented by the boys for stealing their daughter. In Ritibhat, they do the Tikatalo' and perform the marriage. If they have economic crisis, they perform marriage in a cheaper way. Thus, this practice has been prioritized in Tamang culture. Though, such marriage has become simple because of the economic condition, it has created a negative impact in social behavior. Therefore, people have started discouraging such marriage system.

### **Jari Bibaha**

It is a popular kind of marriage in Tamang community. It is the process of marrying other's from anywhere i.e. from her house if the married women stay in her Maiti for a long time and if she marries another boy then the society accepts it and they donot interfere in such matter. Thus, the marriage performed by paying some amount of money to her previous husband is known as Jari Bibaha. The Jar pays the compensation to the Sandhu (Whose wife has been married) that is known as paying Jari. The cost of Jari is compensated according to the decision of Tamang people. As the Titibhat is performed earlier it is not necessary to repeat it. If Ritibhat has not been done then if to were done. As the compensation newly married bridegroom has to pay clothes and expenses incurred in feast.

In the marriage ritual, preparation for **Janti** is the most important aspect among Tamang people. In the day of **Janti** from the early morning, all the local Ganba, Tamba, relatives, bothers and other villagers get collected in a place. Similarly, with the leadership of Ganba, and Tamba, people get ready to welcome Mama (Maternal Uncle) who comes to decorate his nephew to take home to Deurali (A place of religious important) with Sagun (a holy thing which is believed to get fortune) then after Mama is welcomed with great honor and pleasure and the Sagun is brought from home is fed in that place. After that, the things are ready on the leadership of Ganba by the help of villagers. The person remaining at home also prepare for **Janti**. All the persons who participate in the **Janti** are fed feast. After having feast and before going to **Janti**, Tanba performs Sergam (a form of worshipping) and from the boys side they should put Sagun to Tamba, with this Sagun Tamba starts reading mantras in front of honorable persons, local people, scholars, chief justice, Ganba, gods and goddesses of all four directions. Then after Tamba

performs a form of worshipping lighting the scent producing sticks of omen (a type of plant). In the same time, the Jhankri (witch doctor) worships all the gods and goddess and asks for strength so that he can fight against flue and bad things in the marriage. In the mean time, mantras' of Kuldevata is chanted. In this process, Achheta (reddened rice) mixed with curd) is asked from the groom first, Mama decorates his nephew as the groom first; Mama decorates this nephew offering the Topi including the turben.

After this the groom with his father and mother and other relatives put Tika and feed the Sagun. The Groom's father put Tika by painting the flower of Totala (a type of plant). It puts to those people who are going as **Janti**. After getting blessing from Tamba and Ganba the mother from inside home feeds Sagun to her son standing outside. At this time, groom bows ... for three times and the gun is fired then after Ganba, Tanma Lama, Bambo and other honorable personalities go for **Janti** with the groom. One of the sisters also goes with him as an assistant, is called Mandauli. She stays with the groom carrying Bumba (kalash). In such type of Bumba, the pious water for Sang Sergam' (a form of worshipping), leaves of Mango, Peepal and Banyan tree are kept. The neck and Tuti of Bumba are tied with raw thread and a piece of brown cloth. However, Ganba stays with them carrying a sword. At the time of departure from home to the bride's house, two Ghadas (clay pots) with Sagun is kept. The groom putting some Bheti (coins) marches a head. Then the sisters also put such types of Sagun.

Dancing, singing and marching forward the **Janti** and lokanti (a group of people representing **Janti**) and reach near the house of bride 'Ganba and Tamba inform that the **Jantis** are present with gifts and Sagun. They also fire the gun as the symbol of their coming. The Ganba from the boy's side is known as Bote Katuwa. When Bhate Khawa comes then the Ganba from girl's side goes to welcome the groom and from the girl's side also the gun is fired as the symbol of felicity.

In the time of marriage ritual, many types of persons and social institutions are directly or indirectly involved in it. Thus, different people have different roles. The role of Maiti is very remarkable. Because of marriage within the Mama Phupu's (aunts), Chela/Cheli (Childrens) the role of Maiti is decisive. Whether it is the marriage of a son or a daughter, the marriage without the role of Maiti becomes incomplete. If the marriage of Mati Bhad/Bhadaini (cousins) is taking place, then the

role of Maiti doubles. As a role Mama has to prepare for the marriage of his son/daughter and join the other side, as he has to play the role of Mama. If there lacks Phupus' Chela/Cheli and Mama chela then at that situation also Maiti helps in deciding, the marriage. In order to decorate his nephew, Mama should give Topi, Feta and other necessary clothes. There is the tradition of giving copper pot, Khadkulo' (Metal Bucket) Tubes as the present to his Bhanjee' (girl's cousin) Because of direct role of Mama in Marriage; there is tradition of asking Teen Pustey (three dynasties). At the time of marriage ritual, the role of Tamba and Mama are very important and are valuable. In this way, marriage tradition is rooted among the Tamang community.

In the view of Daborah a Kapchan, marriage ritual plays an important role in the mediation and creation of societies. Moreover, it gives a counter response to the conscious practices of everyday life. He says that such types of marital practices is to be carried out effectively, be it a story. An identity of artistic artifacts, a historical memory or ethnography. He also highlights the idea of theater. He says that such types of theatrical performance has developed its own concrete language of gesture and posture, a language of anarchy which pushes the actor and audience to the question of object relationships and Jumbles.

Similarly, another critic Alexander defines that every ritual has got a significant role in the society. Such type of ritual always supports the cultural environment in the society. In the society, we find the varieties of ritual performance. By performing the ritual practice, people could establish their identity in the society especially, in marriage ceremony, and people do have the exchange program with each other. The girls go to their husbands' home for a long time. By this system, people get relation with each other in the society.

### **Death Rituals in Tamang Culture**

In Tamang the tradition of Tamang society, 'Bambo' or 'Jhankri' have a great importance and inalienable part of the culture. It is, moreover, systemized and performed under certain rules and regulations. 'Bombo' or 'Yaphawa', who does puja in people's death. If people die, then, their lama calls out to 'Bombo', 'Laphwa' for their 'Siksi' at their funeral and because in these tradition, we find Bon religion still existing in Tamang society. But as they are devotees of perform puja and because of this reason their funeral processes sre done through the Buddhist tradition of Tibetan and Himalayan region. We find the funeral is done in social system.

Besides this, death ritual is one function, which is performed on the basis of the 'Tibetan' and 'Himalayan' tradition. Death ritual among Tamang societies are done through one of the famous tradition followed in Himalayan region, which is called Jyangter utharri' tradition. However, some lama does their death ritual through 'kunjyo chhenjyo purbi pratinidhi tradition'. Though both the traditions are applied or followed by they mostly follow their 'Jyangter Dowakundol' for the death rituals and among this also, some of the Tamang and lama do their death ritual through 'Hoichhyog' tradition. As mostly 'Dhowa kundeol' is followed for their death rituals in mid western and eastern hills of Nepal, which is given more priority.

### **Death Ritual and Its Different Functions**

#### **After death**

#### **Dead body**

According to 'Jyangter Tibati Buddhist Tradition,' the dead body is to be kept at neat and clean places inside the house. At first, the dead body is kept on land without bending his/her hand, legs by keeping in between knees by bending the knees. Beside the dead body, a plate of rice with candle is to be lit. If the dead body is male, a 'Khukuri'(Knife) is kept aside the dead body. In "Tamang society, lama has a great importance. If the dead body is male, and then his last ritual is done by Lama. But, if the body is of married woman, her funeral is not done until her relatives from her home arrive. Therefore, her relatives are informed and if there is no one in her parents home the representatives could also be called.



*Dead body of Tamang woman*



Finally, the Lama of their choice, whom they trust, can do the funeral. If any woman has no any relatives, then, her funeral is done calling anyone of the same caste. If not so, then, 'Swange', brother can be made and finally, is done under his advice only. It can be made clear by above photograph.

### **Prayer Made before Body Being Carried to Grave**

#### **Fowa**

In this process, 'Fowa' is done before the dead body is taken to cremate. Thus, 'Fowa' means the process to acknowledging consciousness on dead body, according to Buddhist tradition. The Lama or Rimpochhe tries to help them to depart away the soul from and this trick to depart the soul from souls is called 'Fowa'. When the fowa is done in alive stage, the person himself does meditation by the help of his own inside meditating power. He is able to make hole by 'Amlishoko Chesko' (A kind of plant species) so that in a dying stage of his soul can go from this hole only and he does not need to be incarnated again after his death, according to the belief of Buddhist Lama tradition.



*Prayer is being made before carrying out dead body*

In Tamang society, it has occupied a traditional importance while performing a death ritual. It is not a normal process, and can be obtained after Lama performed it but it is very hard.

### **Cremate & Bury Process**

The funeral is done according to the religious tradition existing till now and has great importance in Tamang society. Thus, there are mainly two parts i) 'Jhankris' ii) 'Awatari' tradition.

They bury the dead body according to Tibetan tradition during the funeral. In this tradition, the dead bodies are buried beside the river and to give to the vulture to eat etc. However, some of these traditions have been changed according to time and the absence of such well-known Lama and for easy process. Dead bodies are buried under land. It is also displayed by this photograph.



### **Death Tradition and deeds of 'Ghe-Ba'**

As per the law of nature a man has to die one day after his birth. It is well known fact among us. If someone dies in the house of Tamang, then all the people gather in the house of the dead person at any cost whether near or far, they call Lama Guru and have him perform the 'Fowa'. After that the 'Lho' year of that person is determined and a good omen is also determined. And for the good omen, it could take 1, 2, 3 or 4 days. After the good omen is fixed as per the law of Buddhism, the dead body is not burnt on the bank of the river or in the lowlands. After watching the geographical condition of that place, the corpse must be taken to the highland and death rituals are performed there.

In Tamang community, one of the significant death rituals is the 'Ghe-ba'. After the death of the person, 'Ghe-ba' is done according to the financial condition of

the house. It could be done from 21-49 days. To accomplish it, 3 or 4 Lama Gurus are called. In this function, people are not allowed to use alcohol, cigarettes etc. Thus, they manage the group of three people to look after the deeds of 'Ghe-ba'. According to the tradition, they have to stay there till the deeds of 'Ghe-ba'. Moreover, Buddhist Law does not allow slaughtering the animals while performing 'Dge-ba'.



*Dead body kept ready to burn*

According to Tamang tradition, there are three types of 'Ghe-ba. They are one day, two days and three days. 'Ghe-ba is same as per the need and situation of Lama Guru; who instructs the type of 'Ghe-Ba ' which is done. While doing 'Dge-ba' they are not allowed to have salt, to cut eyebrow, to wear colorful clothes, to have cigarettes and meat .It is believed that if we do so, the departed soul will get peace in heaven. It is the duty of relatives, brothers and sisters to provide them economic help and ornaments used by the dead person, while doing 'Dowa'. The clothes, ornaments, things are put in 'Dailo and Ghar' after finishing the deeds of 'Ghe-ba'. This process is called 'Mane-Bhitryaune'. In this act, people stand the bamboo and cover it with the

clothes making the image of the dead person. In this way, the image, which is made by putting the clothes, ornaments, is very easy to identify for everyone whether it's male or female. This practice is not found in Lama Tradition but the Tamang people are still practicing it. The reason behind the process of making 'Ghoor' is to provide sympathy to bereaved family on the bereavement.

### **Thundasarba**

It is done before burying the dead body. In Tamang culture, the act of giving some money and rice as the heart felt condolence to the bereaved family or relatives, which is known as 'Thundasarba'. Though such tradition is not found in Lama Tradition 'Tamba' says that it is not the credit or burden but the expenses to sit in front of the 'ghoor' is met for the salvation of the dead person. The process of offering coins to the dead body by the relatives in Buddhist tradition is the dead person might have been involved in sinful acts either knowingly or unknowingly in his lifetime. So salvation act is necessary in Tamang community which is called Thundasarba.

Similarly, according to the Tamang culture, in the process of 'Ghe-ba' there are different traditions, which are also popular among the Tamangs of Nepal. 'Fowa' is done only after the arrival of Lama. In Tamang culture, the death rituals are done as per the system of Buddhism that is customary of in Tamang culture. So due to the effect of Tamba culture there is a difference in performing the 'Ghe-ba' in Tamang culture. The following things are done as per Lama Buddha tradition.



### **Ghoor Banaunay**

Although death ritual as per the Himali Buddha dharma Lama's tradition in Tamangs, there is still a practice of Ghoor Banaunay. It is also regarded as their own tradition. Moreover, it is made by the clothes after one night two days Ghe-ba. In such Ghe-Ba, Lama reads the ritual book through out the night and half of the day. It depends upon the methodology of Ghe-ba. It takes one night and two days of Ghe-ba if dowa type's methodology is used to worship it. Generally it takes 13-14 hours. Similarly, in 'Kunyayo Tehungaya' methodology, people spend 49 days instead of one and a half day. Then 'Dunchhe' also would be completed on the same day. This kind of Ghe-ba is called 24 hours Ghe-ba in which dead man's body is made. Rice, Money, Powa, sbyang, pong and Minjang are given. The way of Ghe-Ba act depends upon economic condition and time. In this way people have different types of Ghe-Ba.

### **Three Days 'Ghe-Ba'**

It takes three days to complete the Ghe-Ba, according to 'Dhowakundal' praying methodology. In this kind, one day is taken for Ghe-ba but, due to the methodology, it takes three days 'Hoe Chyong' is a short method and it takes only half of the day to do such dge-ba. In Tamang Community people generally, follow the 'Dhowa Kondo' methodology so that it takes only 13-14 hours. In this way, one day and one night Ghe-ba is also popular among Tamang people. They spend the day night having alcohol. Talking about the dark side of this ritual, generally, the Lama, who reads the ritual book, also drinks alcohol and he does not complete his task on time.

On the other hand, in 'Dhowa Kondol' pray, each person lights their own lamp which delays the time in three days Ghe-Ba, the methodology of 'Dhowa Kundol' is explained beside the cultural aspects of the Tamang caste. Due to the lack of

awareness, people think that spending huge amount of money is a very good idea. In the seven days time, the Lama spends whole 3-4 days by drinking alcohol.

Lama reads more than one, two and three times and spends five to seven days. Due to the lack of information in Tibetan rituals, lama doesnot read continuously and doesnot collect the required materials for 'Dhowa Kundol' is read three times and it takes three days. After burning the dead people, different dances of lama are performed in the 'Ghe-ba'.

There are different views regarding 'Ghe-ba' in Tamang people. Due to the influence of Tibetan culture, Tamang people do 49 days Ghe-ba. It is quite expensive; all the relatives come to participate in it.

In this way, in Tamang culture, the final process is called Syangpar. Here 'Sbyang' means purity and 'Par' means symbol. In this sense, Sbyangpar is the symbol of purity in the name of dead person. The Sbyangpar is put at first in the upper part of home and later it is buried with ash under soil, which is called Thikoro. Before the dead person is buried lama makes lotus in the buried area. Tamang people believe that the name, which is written in Sbyangpar has got the religious belief. It is belived that after death, he or she directly goes to heaven. The flag of Sbyangpar is directly offered to lama by dead family (dimba) whether he is unmarried man or unmarried women. But if the dead person is married female, the flag of Sbyangpar is offered to her parents by Dimba, to Tamba and Tamba also offers to lama with religious process. It can be illustrated by the photograph.

Similarly, the process of Ghe-ba 'ko ngopche' starts. In this procession, lama allows the dead family to have salt and oil by changing the "om barastwo hun". In this ceremony, all the Lama, Tamba and Ganba are present. In the presence of them, main

lama translates into Tamang language of birth, death, reincarnations from 'a religious book'. This process is called 'Mane Kulba or Mane Chhoppa' in Tamang.

After finishing the Ghe-ba, the process of Lama Bidai (farewell of Lama) is done. In this process, dimba (relatives of dead person) offers the Dakshina to lama as a gift or Sagun. Lama receives Tika from Dimba and the young ones exchange colours among themselves for entertainment. Dakshina and other materials are delivered to Lama's house by boys known as wizens. In the Bidai of Lama, the ladies who work in kitchen offer Sagun and money to Lama spraying Sagun 'chhyat' thus the process of Lama Bidai is finished. The social and cultural life is discussed in various ways.

Parshuram Tamang writes in his book 'Tamang Jati' that:

The Tamang society, culture, ritual and rites and economic aspects are widely discussed. Similarly, another writer writes in his book 'Tamang Rimthim'. The festivals and worshipping methods, which are celebrated within one year, are discussed widely and the process and the beliefs of worshipping of Tamang Lama and Bombos are also mentioned. (120)

There are some determined limitations while discussing Tamang culture and its microanalysis. The new social trends like revolution in this field of technology, communication, impact of globalizations obviously affect Tamang culture but here the more priority is given to its traditional cultural aspects. In this research, the different aspects of Tamang people are discussed widely minimizing the processional partialities.





#### IV. Conclusion

This dissertation has been taken from the books and articles, which are related with the Tamang culture and its ritual system among Tamang community. Moreover, pictures have been displayed to expose the core side of ritual system of Tamang community. In terms of Tamang culture and performance, birth ritual plays a vital role in a ritual system in which Tamba, Bombo and Lama are the leading persons but “Tamba” plays a supportive role and makes a decision in social and cultural aspects. He plays a great role in Pansy, Chewer and Marriage.

In Tamang culture, pregnancy is called “Piba”. There are some beliefs that the pregnant woman is not supposed to climb trees, cross big rivers, cut bamboos, to see dead bodies and so on, that assumes she and her baby will have no negative effects.

Here is the best place for pregnancy for the Tamang people after woman gives birth to a child, year, character, time and day are noted in the area. After the child is born, The name giving process is done. If we follow “Tamba” it is called “Topsang” identification and nationalities are the main reason to it. Name and the caste of the baby are given by the family or society, and then begin the purification of the baby. The baby is taken to see the sunrise early in the morning. After that, Lama starts chanting and follows the ritual procedure. Likewise, Bombo informs to the god about the childbirth and request him to bless.

Tamang people perform the ritual is called “Kolachyalba” under the belief that child would get rid of different health related problems if they did it. Naming of the child depends on the feature of the place. If the first baby dies, the name of the baby will be chosen from the dalit community. The second event to socialize the baby is called “Kan\_Knawba” in which the baby is fed under this culture the baby is offered Tika on his/her forehead by the Lama and other family members blessing for the

better future. A Tamang can marry any girl from any clans except his own brother clan. . Then the mother is free to marry anyone she likes but marriage relation of the same clan is not tolerated.

In Tamang community, one of the important culture traditions and norms is the marriage after “Chhewar”. They do not like to marry far away from society and expect from the bride sides. Tamba and Mama (bridegroom’s maternal uncle) play a vital role in marriage. “Thundasarba” is done before burying the dead body. It is the act of donating some money and rice to the bearved family, which (They believe) frees the dead soul from the sinful activities “Ghoor making” is done by the clothes after one night two Ghe-ba. In seven days, the Lama sleeps for 3 or 4 days, drinking alcohol that is known as “Dhowa Kundol”. After burning the dead body, different dances of Lama are performed in the “Ghe-ba” the in all process is here “Sbyang” means purity and “Par” means symbol. It is the symbol of purity in the name of the dead person. The Sbyangpar is put at first in the upper part of home, and later it is buried with ash into main Lama translates into Tamang language birth, death, reincarnation from a religious book, which is called “Mane Kulba or Mane Chhoppa” at last “Lama Bidai” is done by offerings Sagun.

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**Appendix**  
**Summary of Photos**



*Picture: 1, Bride and bridegroom of arrange marriage in Tamang community*



*Picture: 2, Wedding ceremony of Tamang community*



*Picture: 3, Dead body of Tamang woman*



*Picture: 4, Prayer is being made before carrying out dead body*



*Picture: 5, Dead body taken for cremation.*



*Picture: 6, Dead body kept ready to burn*





*Picture: 7, Lamas chanting mantra during the 'Ghe-ba'*



*Picture: 8, Lamas in procession of Ghe-Ba*