

I. A Glimpse on Tharu in Nepal

Nepal is a country with diverse culture, language as well as geography.

Culture is highly affected by the geographical location of that place where the cultures bloom. Nepal is divided in three parts according to its geography as they are the Mountain, the Hills and the Terai. The Terai that is the place to bloom the various cultural varieties within the single culture of Tharu.

By the deep observation of the area, the Terai, the Tharus are the largest indigenous ethnic group of Nepal, and are found even in the bordering districts of India, specially in Gorakhpur, Champaran, Bengal, Gonda, Nainital and Kheri Districts of Uttar Pradesh. About the statistical data of Tharu in Nepal Subodh Kumar Singh states, "According to 2001 census of Nepal's Central Bureau of statistics (CBS), there are 15,33,879 ethnic Tharu, which is 6.7% of Nepal's total population. But the Tharus, questioning the credibility of the 2001 census, opine that there are over 2.5 million Tharus residing in the lowland Terai from Mechi to Mahakali" (117).

Going back to the history of Nepal, we get the point of time when there was the Rana regime and that rule had tried to deny the diversity of Nepalese culture to make Nepal one homogenous countries in terms of language, religion, culture and ethnic groups. But that has become absolutely wrong in the modern area with the facilities of modern tools and technology. So, various ethnic groups and ethnic cultures are there in the Terai, where we get diverse communities living solidarity and harmony. The diversity within the harmony is because of the migration of people from different parts of the country to Terai. Tharus are also affected from other cultures. But some people argue that there is no origin of Tharus people as they are

hybrid. To talk about the origin of Tharus in Terai it dates or early as Lord Buddha's time as Subodh Kumar Singh has stated:

Some of the Rana Tharu elites of were determined to connect themselves with the Rajputs of Rajasthan because of their Rana title. Some even visited Rajasthan to trace their Rajput origin, but completely failed in their endeavour. It would be definitely wrong to state that they came from Rajasthan, because even to this day they worship a mound that is found at the main entrance of the house and also inside the chapel, which is nothing but a miniature form of Stupa of Thupa (Pali). This is clearly a manifestation of Theravadin culture of the Buddha's time. *The Great Sons of the Tharus: Sakyamuni Buddha and Asoka the Great..* (3)

As the Terai was the place of danger because of malaria, very few people were living in the Terai, Tharus being the only people living there in the time of Shakyamuni. They were daring people to live in the place which was covered with jungle and infected by dangerous diseases. Others were not daring enough even to point out towards Terai with their fingers because there was the saying that if we point towards Terai using our fingers, the finger will fall down decaying.

The Tharus, as a matter of fact, have a long history. Padmasambhava, the then professor of Yoga in Nalanda University in the eighth century BC has mentioned in his travelogue that he had visited the country of the Tharus. He travelled through Tharu villages while going to Tibet via Kathmandu valley. Biran Hodgson in his book, "Bodo, Dhima and Koche Tribes" has stated that it takes three thousand years to get

immunity from malaria. This indicates that they must have lived in the malaria infested jungle of the Terai since the time of Sakyamuni Buddha. He further says:

Historical facts show that the Tharus cannot be branded as the descendants of Rajput women and their servants. In addition, there is yet another piece of evidence to contradict the “Tharu desert Theory”. Dhanvajra Bajracharya in his “Lichhavi kalko Abhilekh” has mentioned about the inscription of Shiva dev I (590 – 604 A.D) found in Chapagaone, Lalitpur, where it is inscribed “Stharudrang” meaning the village of the Tharu. The villages administratively grouped in to larger units were called dranga in the Lichhavi period. At present the place is known as Tharo Dhunga. (10)

Various myth about origin of Tharu are found in Nepal like *Panjiar*, states that the first doctrine propounded by the Buddha is called Theravad and in pali it is known as Theragatha which means Tharu ko Katha. History shows that Tharus were Buddhist because many more references of Tharu are found in Buddha’s story and in Tripitak. Later Tharus were envaded by Brahmins. It is said that Tharu is in the first of his origin, the son of a Bragmanin woman and a slave. So Tharu was originated as one decendend caste. Other some scholars argue that Tharu was originated from Indian Brahamins who were migrated from Indu river to Nepal. When they came in Nepal, they made themselves to their identity of Thorena which means “throw out”. Later the same word Thorena became Tharu and they were known as Tharu.

Some historical facts are not there to accept the origin of Tharu from India as they were in tribal community of Indian continent Subodh K. Singh in 'The Great Sons of Tharus' states:

If we are to go through the pages of ancient history we come across number of Rajyas in the Gangetic plains of northern India and Nepal's Terai. Even in the medieval period we come across the 'Sen kingdom' of the low land Terai.

These historical facts leave no ground table of Tharus as a tribal community of the Indian Sub-continent. (13)

The historians of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have stated that the Tharus were the primitive hunter-gathered by merely observing the socio-economic condition of that period. In ancient time, the Terai was the location of several significant kingdoms and must have supported a sizeable population.

Following socio-political upheavals, including Islamic invasions in the eleventh, fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, the whole Terai suffered from major population declines which was followed by the extensive natural reforestation of the area. (13)

Tharu is the ethnic cultural group which has become center of study. Some scholars have said that they were Brahminic Hindu and some others have said that they were Mongolian. In this context Baburam Acharya in his article, "Tharu Jatiko Mulghar Khan?" maintains that they were Mongolian stock because of their color and facial features but that does not mean they came from Mongolia as the time passes and the Himalayas opened only at the end of sixth century. The Tharus in the early period of history were to use the language of Tibeto-Burman and only in later period they adopted the language of Aryans after mixing with them. It shows that Tharus were Mongolian by their root. Only by the cultural effect they have become like Aryan.

Great effect of Buddhism and Hinduism is seen in Tharus after the muslim invasion in the Indian Sub-continent at the end of twelfth to sixteenth century when

Buddhists and Hindus fled from India to Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim, Tibet, Burma and other South Asian countries. Especially in Nepal they settled down in the Terai, the land of the Tharus because Terai was the similar land in geography, climate and environment with the Indian land. By this way, it will be clear that Tharus were not from India, they were originated from the same land of the Terai because Indian migrated to the land of Tharu in the Terai. The land of Tharu means the Terai.

Analyzing the very long history of Tharus we get Tharus in two categories by the point of religious belief either Hindus or Buddhist. Either they were from India or from the same land Terai, they were not living in the Mountain or in the Hills of Nepal. As an exception, some Tharu called “Danuwar Tharu” live in “Dun Pradesh” or 'Bhitri Madesh' which is between Hill and Chure parbat. The Bhitri madesh area is not totally plain and that is covered with hills also. After the invasion of Muslims in India, Buddhists were also affected and also their institute were destroyed. Then the influence of the Brahmins appeared upon Tharus and they titled to become Hindus. In the stratification Hindu caste system of Tharus proclaim that they are the Kshatriya. We can understand how the Rana's level the Tharus as the classical Kshatriyas of the ancient world as a low caste Hindus in the civil court of 1855 AD.

Most of the scholars have stated that the Tharus are the pre-Aryan race of the Mongolian origin. Tharus have Mongolian features with hardly and doubt. Their eyes are more or less oblique, their complexion mostly brown or yellow brown, the hair on the body and face scanty and straight, their noses are thin and of medium size while other features affiliate more with the Nepalese than with the Austrolid or pre Dravidian tribes or castes. In the same ground about Tharu's origin then Prime

Minister Matrika Prasad Koirala had written a letter to R.P. Singh. In the letter he has written:

I have read with interest a discourse on the Tharu community of Nepal by Sri Ramananda Prasad Sing, who himself belongs to the same community. I am impressed by his arguments and do agree on almost all points, propounded by him, except the Austric or Austroloids (*The Great Sons of Tharus: Sakyamuni Buddha and Asoka The Great* (3))

Whatever the history of Tharu's origin is there they are living in various parts of the Terai in Nepal since the ancient times either they were Hindu, Buddhist, Brahmin, Mongolian or Kshatriya. They are living from Mechi to Mahakali of Nepal in the Terai belt namely Jhapa, Morang, Sunsari, Saptari, Udayapur, Bara, Rautahot, Chitwan, Nawalparasi, Dang, Bardiya and so where. Including the Tharus in Kirants or in Mongolian tribes, Yogi Narahari Nath in his "Itihas Prakashma sandhipatra Sangraha" has cited Kirants Hang genealogy where it is mentioned that the legal title for Tharu king as Dang, Magar king as Bang, Gurung king as Ghale and Kirant king as Hang. These historical evidences excepticity explain why the Tharus are the Mongoloid stock like the Kirants of the hills.

History portrais that the entire Terai region was dominated by indigenous people like the Tharu until quite recently when the hills people in began to move down. Having the influence of different castes and culture, Tharus are able to preserve their own customs and traditions. Their areas spread in different parts of Nepal. A little dimension in different ages as Malla, Lichhavi, Rana, Shaha, is also notable in the culture that it influenced by environment and society. Therefore, we get the varieties of culture in them according to their living places.

II. Variety of Culture : A Consequence of Hybridization, Transculturation and Acculturation

The term culture refers to the set of rules and norms of a life to be adopted in one ethnic people which comes either from ancestors or from the pass of time with hybridization, transculturation, acculturation etc. Culture is the identity of people and always they like to preserve. Modernism and tradition are the two main sources of culture. Culture is supposed to get from our tradition and from the impact of modernism; Culture by tradition is to get in pure form and by modernism is to get in the form of hybridization, multiculturalization, Transculturation and acculturation. "That complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any another capabilities and habits acquired by man as member of society"(Tylor 49).

"All the historically created design for living, explicit and implicit, rational, irrational and non-rational, which exist at any given time as potential guides for the behavior of men" (Kluckhohn and Kelly 78). Cultural variety is from the long course of time in which people move from one phase to another, one place to another, one as to another. According to Fernando Ortiz, culture is one living thing like the life of man where we get various change, never in static form. As the variety of people in diverse community so in the variety of culture in different communities. Even in a single community we get cultural variety because of the migration, hybridization, adoption, etc. Transculturation is a term coined by Fernando Ortiz in 1947 to describe the phenomenon of merging and conserving culture. In simple terms it reflects the natural tendency of people to resolve conflicts over time, rather than exacerbating them in the modern context. Both conflicts and resolutions are amplified by communication and transportation technology.

The ancient tendency of cultures drifting or remaining a parts has been replaced by stronger forces for bringing societies together where transculturation impacts ethnicity and ethnic issues. The term 'ethno-convergence' is sometimes used for transculturation. As one broad concept transculturation covers or ethnic conflict, racism, multiculturalism, interracial, marriage and other of the number context that deal with more than one culture . In other sense transculturation is the positive aspect of global phenomenon and human events where resolution to conflicts are inevitable.

It is observed that even in monolingual, industrial societies like urban north America, some individuals do cling to modernized, "Primordial identity, a part from others. Some intellectuals such as Michael ignatieff argues," convergence of a general cultural doesn't directly entail a similar convergence in ethnic identities. This can become evident in social situations where people divided into separate groups; despite being of an identical nationality" (3).

Life of people is just like the drama to be performed on the stage. The performance is by means of cultures and vice-versa. Ceremonies and rituals are the most effective means of performance when it comes to mass display cultural variations can be studied through the observation of multicultural situation of a society. That multicultural or diverse situation can be through various means as colonization, diaspora, migration, modernization, post modernization, hybridization, adoption etc.

Multiculturalism

In the 1490s, under the pressure of reaction to the gulf war and the prevalence of debates over post-modernism and modernity, issue relating to cultural diversity and multiculturalism emerged which further challenged a still entrenched

monoculturalism. Pluralists such as Henry Louis Gates and Edward Said embrace the idea that, in modernity, culture is hybrid and interactive and is therefore never contained clearly in the form of ethnic groups but travels between groups multiplying and continually mutating.

R. Radhakrishnan in his book *The Use and Abuse of Multiculturalism* defines multiculturalism as an eccentric field where the spirit of self-conscientization founds all social process. He writes:

Multiculturalism has to be thought as an eccentric and exotopic field that is not to be mastered by the will to dominance of any one subject. The only way to honour and enter the multicultural field is in a spirit of self-reflexivity self-conscientization, and submission to that radical alterity that founds all social process in opposition to egocentric ideas of self and other. (34)

Multiculturalism is an ideology advocating the society should consist of or at least allow and include, distinct cultural groups with equal status. Multiculturalism contrasts with the monoculturalism implies a normative culture unity, 'monocultural' can be a descriptive term for pre-existing homogeneity. The term multiculturalism is almost always used and applied to distinct cultures of immigrant groups in developed countries.

Multiculturalism began as an official policy in English speaking countries starting in Canada 1971. It was quickly adopted by most member states in European union as official policy and as a social consensus among the elites. Multiculturalism has its supporters and critics alike. They often assume that it will lead to interculturalism, beneficial cultural exchange, where cultures learn about each other's

music fashion and cuisine. Its opponents often see it as something which has been imposed on them without their consent.

The meaning of multiculturalism is far from transparent. It is indeed a contradictory coded term that, depending upon how and from what point of view it is articulated, stands in for a range of contradictory social phenomena.

Multiculturalism promotes the insidious belief that all the different groups occupy an even playing field, encourages historical amnesia and by creating immanent spectacle conceals the actual center of power that remains external to the constitution of the college and thereby controls and directs the representational politics. It is only by rigorously insisting to the politics of representation that we can steer the multiculturalists debate towards such dire social issues as equality distributive justice and reparation and compensation for crimes and injustices of the past and the on going influence of the past on the present. For it will not be enough to say that a college style deterritorialization has already enabled the 'Multi' to speak and to believe that such speaking has rendered absolute relationship that each different culture has to itself representatively and representationally.

Radhakrishnan thinks, "the multiculturalists form as college misreads both the egalitarian ideas that underlies distributive justice and the recognition politics undertaken in the name of differences" (42). He further advocates:

If the college model of multiculturalism is erroneous, what indeed is the right model? I would like to advance the thesis that multiculturalism cannot be in a complicity with business as usual, and that there are something to be thought and learned here, and something to be corrected and rectified. Rather than run away in fear from the

very term 'correctness' radical theorist of multiculturalism need to align 'correction' with 'persuasion' ethnical as well as epistemological, historically and contingently, with the idea of realizing "common ground" among identities, groups and constituencies by reformulating the very nature of 'interest' and it's inherence in the politics of perspectivism. (42)

Multiculturalism needs correction with persuasion ethnical as well as epistemological with the realization of common ground among groups identities be recreating the very nature of 'interest'.

Multiculturalism is a small domain with in postcolonialismtion. Reaction of western grand narratives bringing marginal and emigrant in to equality in the motto of postcolonialism. And multiculturalism is the outcome of above post colonial condition. Generally we can define multiculturalism as coming together of more than one cultures.

Lois Tyson's definition of multiculturalism in his book *Literary Theory Today* is as; Multiculturalism is a reductive like term postmodernism and belies the plurality of disciplines, practices themes, debates and approaches that have come to articulate the field both in USA and Britain (377). Thus, when we go to observe culture in any society, then we get the multicultural situation in a society and variation within the same cultural community.

Modernity and Tradition

Modernity and tradition are mutually inclusive: there is no modernity without the legacy of tradition and no culture can exist without the impacts of modernity.

Tradition and culture are interrelated in some extend but in case of culture, it is the

best to say that culture is to be developed with the course of change if it is from tradition and the automatic outcome by a certain way of development in the life of people. Culture is not a static but it is a dynamic so, in some communities it is almost in a static form. Change in culture is because of the impacts from modernity. What is from tradition in a culture to remain in static form in a society is to show the pure form and what is not from tradition is to show the impact of modernity. So modernity and tradition are closely related with culture. Culture gets variation by the cause of modernity and tradition.

In the course of defining modernity all we can do is rely on its dictionary meaning that it is a state of being modern. Otherwise it is not obvious what we mean by the word modernity. Its meanings are chasive and changing. The modern is, by its nature transitory "contemporary" is a quality that vanishes as soon as we name it. There are as many modernities and traditions as there are epochs and societies: the Renaissance age was modern compared to the medieval. Modernity engendered an aesthetics of experimentation, fragmentation, ambiguity and nihilism. Modernism was built on a sense of lost community and civilization. It embodied a series of contradiction and paradoxes. Since it had no stable centre it could embrace a multiplicity of features of the modern sensibility which might have appeared, in a logical sense, mutually exclusive, The loss of a sense of tradition is the state of culture in change which is the best way to get the situation of change. The change is not in balance in all places and communities in the same time.

Diaspora

The term 'diaspora' derives from the Greek, and combines the words 'sperio' which means 'to show' and 'dis' which means 'over'. In ancient Greek, 'diaspora' was

conceived as migration and colonization. Diaspora signified a collective trauma, a banishment, where one dreamed of home but lived in exile the conventions is to use the term to refer to the dispersion of the Jewish peoples in the period following the distraction of Jerusalem in 586 BC and their force remove the Babylon and to the existence there after or Jewish population outside Palestine. Now diaspora has become a broad term to show the cultural trauma for some ethnic people who are living in minority which helps to create a cultural variation within a country or a certain area such as zone, district, village etc.

R. Radhakrishnan's in *Diasporic Mediations* defines Diaspora as the space of hyphen that tries to co-ordinate with the identity which is related to the place of origin with that of present home. He writes, "the diasporic location is the space of the hyphen that tries to co-ordinate within an evolving relationship, the identity politics of one's place of origin with that of one's present home" (xiii). The diasporic location tries to co ordinate between the home culture and the culture of the diasporic place evolving the good relationship among the all types of people. The diasporic people can never be the first class people in the alien world. The hyphen between them always create we and other. Thus, the migrated people feel themselves alienated and search for their identity which leads the community towards the diversity in culture.

The problem of definition aries when ever a new field of academic study is developed. For a number of reasons the need for a clear definition is particularly evident in the case of ethnic diaspora. As Gabriel defines, "Ethnic diaspora are created either by voluntary migration as a result of expulsion from the homelands and settlement in one or more host countries. In these host countries the diasporas remain

minority groups. In their host countries diasporas preserve their ethnic or ethnic religious identity and communal solidarity" (9).

On the one hand remains the sense of identity and communal solidarity and on the other they are in minority to get the pressure from majority. So, that traumatic conflicts creates the situation of hybridity and when they migrate from the place then there develops other more and double hybrid situation. Hybridity revolves the society into variety.

Trans-Culturation

About trans culturation Fernando Ortiz opines, "Ethnic pride are boasted and hierarchy is created" 'center' culture versus 'Periphery' but on the other hand, they will still share a common culture, and common language and behaviours" (21). Often the elderly, more conservative in association of a clan, tend to reject cross-cultural associations and participate in ethnically similar community oriented activities.

III. A Study on Multiple Tharu Cultures

Culture is a system of people to live in a community or society. Living in the community of course people have their own system, either for doing marriage ceremony or giving name to their new born baby or wearing things or celebrating festivals, etc. which are all incorporated within the culture. To have a cleared light in understanding culture, we can take the support of the definition as "That complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and another capabilities and habits acquired by man as member of society" (Tylor 18).

From above definition we come to know that culture is complex whole which incorporates knowledge, belief, custom, art, moral, law and other capabilities of men who are living in a community of human being in this earth. Behaviours and capabilities of men are influenced by the surrounding environment, knowledge, art, culture, etc. to be learned from the area where men are living. Going out from one's own the surroundings, no animal can live and it is the stupidity on human to live escaping away from the surrounding. Therefore, my desertation takes concern on a particular caste Tharu of Jhapa district who have a lot of influence from other and their custom and culture. It is the matter of discussion that from which side, either majority to minority or vice-versa, culture influences the life of people. The power of cultural influences as proved by various scholars and researchers, generally goes to minority people from the side of majority. It is applicable for the ethnic groups of Tharus in Jhapa who are scattered in different parts of the district to live in minority. In Jhapa, Tharus are in minority where they have been living since long past, though they are the largest ethnic people of Terai of the Nepal. It is obvious in Subodh Kumar where he states :

According to 2001 census of Nepal Central Bureau of statistics (CBS), there are 15,33,879 ethnic Tharus, which is 67% of Nepal's total population but the Tharus have been questioning the credibility of the 2001 census, and opines that there are over 2.5 million Tharus residing in the lowland Terai from Mechi to Mahakali. (1)

Humans have the capabilities to learn and imitate looking at other and getting impact from them. Namely, Tharus are to imitate or copy other's culture and the way of living from them who they are in their surrounding being neighbours, friends or relatives in majority or high class people. Any how we look Tharus of Jhapa to welcome other's culture in their old and traditional culture to make one impure and hybrid.

Kroeber states as " The mass of learned and transmitted motor reactions, habits, techniques and ideas has valued the behavior which are induced by them" (20). Embrassing the Krober's idea we get the Tharus of Jhapa. Jhapa District of eastern Terai of Nepal is to give the shelter for so many kinds of cultural communities. Varities of people are living in Jhapa who they are migrated from different parts of Nepal, India, Bhutan, Bangladesh and Burma. Among such migrated people, Tharus are also of a kind though they have single origin, they had scattered in the southern Asia and some of them had come in Nepal to make their one best dwelling place in the world. For a long time they couldn't stay in a place due to the lack of food or unappropriate/unsuitable environment for them and they were scattered to live in various parts of Nepal developing their own culture and identity in their respective places. While there were in great jungle with rare living of people in Terai, it was the place of danger because of Malaria and other dangerous diseases, so people from other caste except Tharu, were not living in a great number as they are now.

In the field visit, I have come to know from the story of Bir Narayan Chaudhary, an old Tharu that Tharus were more courageous to live on such jungles of Terai where was the danger of Malaria. According to them, other caste people were not to dare even to point out towards Terai with their finger thinking that the pointed finger would decay to fall down. According to medical and scientific proofs, it is the time period of 3,000 years for species to be able to fight building strong resistance power with the virus of Malaria disease. From it we can say that Tharus are living in Terai since more than 3000 years ago. For the next proof we can take from the biographical book of Padma Sambhava, he mentioned in his travelogue that he had visited the country of Tharus while he went through Tharu villages to go to Tibet via Kathmandu valley.

Biran Hodson in his book *Bodo Dhimial and Koche*, has stated that it takes three thousand years to get immunity from Malaria. By all of them above it indicates that they must have lived in the Malaria infected jungle of the Terai since the time of Sakyamuni Buddha as Subodh kumar Chaudhary say in his book *Original Root of Tharus*. At first, they choosed the plain and fertile land of Terai to live which had been seen easy to live hunting animals in the densh forest of Terai and cultivating land to grow crops like rice, maize, millet, mustard, etc from one point of place, they dispersed in different places of Terai and they had singular culture up to the time. When they had come in Nepal, there were very few people who were living developing their own culture, life style and rite and ritual so, Tharus also developed the fitable culture. As the history of human development from their origin, they developed their arts making clay pots and doing painting on the walls of their house. Following the trend Tharus also developed pottery culture coming in the Terai where

they could get smooth and appropriate clay to make pottery. In this second richest country in water resources they had made their fishing occupation as one along with hunting, gathering and cultivating the land for growing crops. Some Tharus up to now making one culture are following the traditional fishing occupation which can be seen among the Tharus of Bangdanda in Jhapa as shown in the photograph below.



Tharus of Bangdanda fishing in the Kankai mai river

We can take the continuity of this fishing occupation among Tharus of Jhapa as one environmental influence because they are living near the big and holy Kankaimai river exchanging the life way of Rajbanshi people of Jhapa .

Jumping to the history of Tharus in Nepal, I came to know that Tharus were scattered in different districts in modern Nepal and they were called after the name of their place: those who lived in Bara were called "Bargilia Tharu", those in Mahottari called "Mahottariya Tharu", those in Saptari were called "Saptariya Tharu", etc. We may have the curiosity to know that why did they scattered, migrated ? They migrated due to their needs and wants to get fulfilled going in new places where could get

ample food and easy dwelling. In the history of them, Jhapa was not the place to get Tharus on its bosom to keep as the first dweller in Nepal. It had not been fallen on the sight of Tharus who had come to Nepal to live from other parts of the world. It means, Jhapa was not the place to provide shelter to Tharus in the past and their longest history in Jhapa is 170 years back from now as I come know while. I ask Karandash Chaudhary the another of *Chaudhary Dance*.

After the development of science and technology, means of transportation, Tharus thought Jhapa district as their best place to be migrated from different parts of Nepal and India. Therefore, Jhapali Tharus are from different parts like Saptari, Siraha, Dang, West Bengal, Morang, Sunsari, Mahottari, etc. they were living developing particular culture since long in their previous places before their migration and when they migrated towards Jhapa embracing their own culture by heart then they automatically from the multiple culture in Jhapa as a whole though they all were Tharus from their origin.

When Tharus started to live in Jhapa, it has no clear cut point which has been left until unbound by any historian and researchers but in Jhapa, Tharus were living before the time of Rana Regime in Nepal and Ranas had tried to maintain singular culture all over Nepal showing their Aryan Hindu cultural superiority and they pressurized also to Tharu and they became obliged to copy the culture of them, so that Dashain entered into their culture making variation on them because of their acceptance of such cultures in different level. Such entry of cultures in their pure culture had helped them to make their culture hybrid or mixed one. That attempt of Ranas to deny the diverse culture of Nepalese can be realized from the writing of Suboth Kumar chaudhary. He writes :

Rana rule had tried to deny the diversity of Nepalese culture trying to make Nepal as one homogenous country in terms of language, religion, culture and ethnic caste. But that has become absolutely wrong in the modern area with the facilities of modern tools and technology. So, various ethnic caste and ethnic cultures are in Nepal particularly to talk about Terai, there are so diverse communities though, they are in complex solidarity and harmony after the thread of all Nepalese people. There were single cultural group of people in the past. The diversity within the harmony is because of the migration of people from different parts of Terai or from mountain, hill and bordering parts of India. Then, Tharus had become to be influenced mostly by them because of their naive, straight kind and generous behavior due to their illiteracy and stupidity. (105)

As described in this excerpt, Tharus were illiterate, naïve, straight, kind and stupid so that they had the great influence of environmental culture. As a result, they entered into either in hybridity or in variation within their own culture.

The term 'diaspora' signifies a collective trauma, a banishment where one dreams of home but lives in exile. The convention is to use the term to refer to the dispersion of the Jewish peoples in the period following the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 BC. and their forced remove to Babylon and to the existence, thereafter of Jewish population outside Palestine. Now diaspora has become a broad term to show the culture as trauma for some ethnic people who are living in minority which helps to create a cultural variation within a community or country or a certain area, such as zone, district, village, etc. The problem of definition arises whenever a new field of

academic study is developed for a number of reasons. The need for a clear definition is particularly evident in the case of ethnic diasporas. Gobriel defines it as.

Ethnic diasporas are created either by voluntary migration as a number of expulsion from the homelands and settlement in one or more host countries. In these host countries the diasporas remain minority groups. In their host countries diasporas preserve their ethnic or ethnic religious identity and communal solidarity. (9)

To talk about cultural variation in Tharu community of Jhapa in the case of diasporas to form the variation, I have found them in minority to dwell in the mass of other cultural people who are in majority to dominate those minority. The easterners who are in the western world are dominated and pressurized to seek their home culture and community. Tharus of Jhapa who are in minority are also in the same situation and they did and are doing their best to adjust in the surrounding environment and society copying the culture of majority. All of them are migrated in Jhapa from various parts of India, Bangladesh and Nepal, so they are living in different parts of Jhapa and their surrounding people are not same in all parts of Jhapa. So that Tharus from the cultural variation copying their culture like the culture of Rai, Limbu, Magar, Brahmin, Kshetri, Tamang, Rajbanshi, etc. living on such area where is the majority of other people, Tharus got diasporic trauma and got a pressure to copy and imitate other culture but they were not accepted by them because Tharus were Tharus and also they could not stay in pure cultural form without the imitation of the culture of majority. Tharus of Jhapa are living as one diasporic people getting domination and suppression. In school, bus park, society and other part Tharus are seen in minority group. They try to adjust in other cultures but they cannot do so and also they cannot

stay purely in their own culture. So, they have pain to seek their existence firmly. By above causes, it can be proved that Tharus of Jhapa are in diasporic condition to live their lives in the crowd of second cultural people somehow imitating their culture and somehow preserving their own in pure or hybrid form which has contributed to form the cultural variation in their ethnic community in Jhapa because different group of people do not imitate other culture and preserve their own in the same way, rate and style.

Stretching back to the history of Tharus to find out the point, when they had variation and hybridity on their culture, I get Tharus in two categories in the matter of their religion, either Hindu or Buddhist. Though they had different religious beliefs young lovers would have love relation and they change it into marriage. The old people also would not restrict strongly but elder Tharus would gather in a place to take a decision to permit or restrict in their culture if new issue or matter would come on them. It shows their elasticity and flexibility of Tharus either from Hinduism or Buddhism in the long past. Their flexibility of rules and decision would contribute to living in variation and hybridity. Subodh Kumar Singh writes about Gadi (the assembly of the Tharu elders) in his book *the great sons of The Tharus : Sakyamuni Buddha and Asoka the Great* as :

Gadi is the assembly of the Tharu elders. Who assembled intermittently to discuss about important and new issues ranging from development issue to political, legal, cultural, religious and social issues. The Gadi of the Tharus could be said without doubt that it was the replica of Santhagar of the Buddha's time. Basham states that though in later legend the Buddha's father Suddhodan, is depicted as a

mighty king living in great pomp, he was in fact a tribal chief, depending on the support of a large assembly to discuss tribal politics in a meeting hall. Every little village was a self governing community it was autonomous to take any decision about the culture or ethnic. Hindu or Buddhist Tharus had no strong border line in their reciprocal relationship such as in marriage, friendship, neighborhood, help living in a community. (80)

From this excerpt, it is clear that Tharus were so strict in rules of culture and rituals. They were autonomous since the ancient past and now also they are found autonomous in Jhapa who are living in small group in different parts to develop their culture which helps them to stand in cultururation variation and hybridity.

If I found the system of Gadi, only in the Tharus of Laljhoda and Goldhap but not in others. It also contributed showing them in variation. I had known about the system of 'Gadi' in the Tharus of Laljhoda asking with Devi Lal Chaudhary on 85 year old 'Gaule Budho' (Muli/Mukhiya) of the community who said, "We have the culture to assemble all elders on my yard to discuss on the important and newly arrived any matter and on which culture takes concern. For example we can take the matter of marriage, adoption of new festival, dresses of newly bride and bride-groom, etc. Likewise the system is until preserved by the Tharus of Goldhap which I had known asking with Khagendra man Singh of 65 years. He said, "Gadi is our strong body, equal to parliament in democracy that would take any serious decision since our memorable time in this unity of Tharus (80)." Whereas, Tharus of Bangdanda, Ghailadubba, Buttabari, Biran, Gauradha and Mahavara have no the system of 'Gadi'.

The use of language since long back also is one vital issue to show the multiplicity and hybridity of Tharu culture in Jhapa. Tharu is the ethnic cultural group which has become center of study and about them various scholars have said that they were Brhaminic Hindu and some others have said that they were Magnolian. In this context, Baburam Acharya mentions in his article "Tharu Jatiko Mulghar Khan?" that they were Mongolian stock because of their colour and facial features but that does not mean they came from mongolias as the time passes and the Himalayas opened only at the end of sixth century. The Tharus in the early period of history were to use the language of Tibet Barman and only in later period they adopted the language of Aryan's after mixing with them. I shows that Tharus were Mongolian by their root. Only by the cultural effect, they have become Aryan. The effect of other cultural people on Tharus have been seen since ancient time according to Bhulai Chaudhary as he writes, "Great effect of Buddhism and Hinduism is seen in Tharus after the Muslim invasion in the Indian sub-continent at the end of twelfth to sixteenth century when Buddhist and Hindus fled from India to Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim, Tibet, Burma and other south Asian Countries" (95). Centering on my research, from above I have found that Tharus were living in different parts of different countries after the Muslim invasion in India being culturally autonomous and they made the target to migrate to Nepal and then to Jhapa at last. Jhapa has saved them taking from different places of India, Bhutan, Sikkim, Burman etc and these migrated Tharus of Jhapa are living preserving their own identical cultural in some extent in each and every group so, They have the cultural variation in Jhapa.

To make this research transparent and explicit through some proofs of photographs, interviews and common gossips with numerous Tharus of various places

namely Bangdanda, Laljhoda, Biran, Buttabari, Jatru Bari, Ghailadubba, Garamani and Gauradha, it is better to have short knowledge about their festivals and other cultures. Along with my visit, I have come to know that Tharus of Jhapa are mainly celebrating the following festivals in their culture in a year either by their pure culture or by the influence of other cultures:

- a) Dashain
- b) Tihar (Deepawali)
- c) Jeetiya
- d) Siruwa
- e) Holi
- f) Tila Sankrant
- g) Sama-Chakhewa
- h) Ratanbel
- i) Gaur Pabani, etc

The way of celebrating above mentioned festivals, they have no single way.

We can observe them in multiplicity instead of singularity. Not only we observe them in multiplicity but also in hybridity which has contributed them to stand in cultural variation to observe their cultural distance in the ways of celebrating their major festivals and in celebrating some festivals, we can account them particularly with the respective dwelling places of them where they have been saving their inter and intra cultural identity through their own way to celebrate them as :

Bangdanda's Tharus

They celebrate Dashain festival of Hindus in Nepal worshipping farming tools such as *plough, yoke, hoe, spade, sickle, axe*, etc. and they put tika on their forehead with their parents and other senior persons of their family. It is not compulsion to them to wear new clothes on the day of Bijaya dashami in the time of taking Tika. It is not obligation for them to keep 'Jamara' on the day of Ghatasthapana. Instead of Jamara, they can use flowers, Doobo etc. After over of taking or offering 'Tika' and bliss from seniors all of them, except one or two who are very old like grandparents, go to local fair of Shivaganj for fun and entertainment. From my interview with Shes Lal Chaudhary who is the leading young person of their community I acknowledge that the single day of Dashain is for taking Tika to them and they suppose the day as the ending of the festivals. They should sacrifice one duck compulsorily on the day of Dashain before Tika programme in the home but beside of the sacrifice they never do, though they enjoy a lot of varieties of meat to eat in the period of Dashain. In the next, they have 'Siruwa Pabani' in great importance which is celebrated in the occasion of new year. The festival 'Siruwa', is not from their core culture and it is transmitted on them from Indian people at that time when they were in India. I had known it from my gossip with Dunesh Bal Chaudhary, an 85 year old man in the community. All the Tharus of the place gather in the place of "Gramthan" and worship the gods and goddesses praying them to keep all people happy for the whole year. On the day of Siruwa Pabani the oldest one man getting up early in the morning he/she sprinkle fresh and holy water to all members of the family or community. It had a special meaning of making peace and no tension, problem, sorrow on any Tharus for the whole year.

Laljhoda's Tharus

They are unlike in celebration of festivals proving special importance with the Tharus of Bangdanda because they take 'Tihar' or 'Deepawali' as their greatest festivals instead 'Dashain', they worship farming tools like 'Halo-Juwa', Kuto-kodalo' axe, sickle etc supposing as the symbol of the goddess Laxmi, the goddess of food and wealth. Deepawali is the most special day for them and children play 'Hukahuki' in the evening of Deepawali throwing 'Ranko'in the sky. It has symbolic meaning and so it is played to show and make happy to the dead ancestors who are supposed to be in the sky to look the game being stars. When they see the 'Hukahuki' game played by exciting children being happy, those ancestors become satisfied with children and give bliss to remain so forever in their life. In the name of preserving cultural identify, Laljhoda's Tharus do not take Tika on their forehead in the occasion of Bijayadashami unlike the Tharus of Bangdanda, though, they celebrate very splendidly the festivals. The sacrificing deed of them is to cut an uncastrated goat on the day of Nawami in the name of goddess Durga. On other days, they worship gods and goddess without any sacrifice. They also have the system to go to local fair in a group of family like Bangdanad's Tharus.

Jeetiya and Holi are their other two important festivals. According to their belief, the sun god is the greatest god and they worship the god, Jeetman Goshain, who is assumed as the son of the sungod. They celebrate 'Jeetiya Parba' demanding children who they do not have and who have. they demand good health, happiness, prosperity, long life, etc on their husband and children. It is celebrated by married women normally. Commonly with other neighboring people, they also enjoy on 'Holi' and 'Chhat Parba'.

Ghailadubba's Tharus

They have no so great distance with Tharus of Lalhoda and Bangdanda in the point of celebrating Dashain and Tihar but they have typicality on the ways of celebrating some festivals such as 'Raksha Bandhan' , 'Sama' Chakhewa' etc, Particular in my research, I have found 'Sama-Chakhew' as one identical festivals of Ghailadubba's Tharus which is celebrated after Tihar till Kartik Purnima. Married and unmarried both women can celebrate it in on their parents home (Maita). They celebrate it more enthusiastically Dashain and Tihar. For them it is the most important festivals. They make idols and figures of gods and goddess using clay, bamboo, paper, straw of jut plant, hey etc. Sama Chakhewa and Chakhebi are kept on the bamboo basket which should be made by their local people and it should new. Keeping the basket on their head, women and girls visit their village and fields singing particular song on a line conducting like a rally. On this photo we can observe the bamboo basket with sama chakhewa and Chakhebi.



Celebration Sama Chakhewa-Chakhebi

They make one figurative statue of 'Chugila' who is supposed as one evil person of the community who makes fight, quarrel, bad relationship etc passing false matter from one to another in the village. Therefore, they make his long mustache and burn everyday during the period of the festival to give punishment and to kill him. They believe that women identified 'Chugila' (The evil person) of the village in the time of gods and give him hard punishment setting fire to burn through his long mustache. So, to make their community free from such person, women burn the mustache of Chugila in sama chakhewa. The goddess, Sama is the only sister of seven brothers. Symbolically, sama was the protectors of Chakhewa and Chakhebi in the 'Brindaban' jungle where once fire was set there and there were the creators of us (life) in this universe. Therefore Tharus worship them in the festival supposing them or our protectors and creators which I had known asking with Braman Kumar Tharu.

Unlikely with other Tharus of Jhapa they have 'Rakshabandan' or 'Rakhi' as one another remarkable festival of them because they celebrate it differently than others. On the auspicious occasion of 'Rakshabandan' sister tie a sacred colorful thread on the wrist of brothers and they give them some gift with special meal. In return of it, brothers give them Dakshina. Supposing the protection of evil, they put on the thread on the wrist by sisters. On that way, giving special importance to sama Chakhewa and Rakshabandan Tharus of Ghailadubba have created their separate cultural identity making unlike them with other Tharus.

Buttabari's Tharus

My thirsty travel to know about Tharu culture took me to search Buttabari where are living seven families of Tharus saving their own cultural identity, eventhough, they have great cultural impact from other non- Tharus due to their living

in minority and the changing impact of modernity. They take Dashain as their greatest festival and they worship goddess 'Durga' in Dashain. They have the cultural to sacrifice a couple of pigeon compulsorily in the day of 'Phulpati', a cock on the day of 'Mahastami' a he goat on the day of 'Mahanawami' and no sacrifice on the day of Bijayadashami which matter had entered into my mind when I was in tea-talk sitting on the yard with Suk Dev Chaudhary reaching in his home. They put/take red rice Tika on forehead in Dashain for five days until the day of 'Kojagra-Purnima'. After taking Tika on their family, they have developed the culture to go to take Tika and bliss from the oldest person on the community. However, they are from seven separate families, they suppose as if they are in a single family because of the strong unity and bandness on them. Like in a family, all festivals are celebrated in the community with a great enthusiasm which I have come to acknowledge from the gossip with Indra Shankar Chaudhary who is the teacher of Mahendra Ratna Higher secondary school, Anarmani-9. It has become compulsion on their culture to put Tika in Dashain and Tihar, even though these festivals are not from their ancient ancestors culture. It happens on them due to the great influence of next surrounding cultural people. Among of all Tharus of Jhapa, they have been seen on a great influence of others because they are living near Birtamod city and are in small group. They do not have the system to celebrate 'Sama-Chakhewa'. Although, they do 'Rakshabandhan', it is not the major festival of them unlike in the Tharus of Ghailadubba beside of them, Buttabari's Tharus celebrate other festivals like Tila Sankrat, Ratanbel, Gaur Pabani, etc.

Biran's Tharus

Biran is one best place to Tharus in Jhapa. Which is located in Satasidham VDC where they have been living since long years ago saving their identity within their own chaudhary groups and among other castial people in Jhapa. Like other Tharus, they also celebrate Dashain, Tihar, Gaur pabni etc but they have special importance of Holi-Parba (Phaguwa) and comparatively it is the most enthusiastic festival of them than others like Dashain, Tihar, etc. They celebrate it for three day. It falls on 'Falgun Purnima'. On the first day, they stop to work in the fields except the preparation of the festival. It is their system to go to the homes of their sisters or daughter to bring them with Damad (brother/ son in law). The same day, they do heavy shopping of sweets, foods, curries etc. In the second day, they sacrifice a goat for meat in the name of god and they make one figurative statue of demon, Holika made by straw, clothes, plastic etc, then they burn it teasing, kicking, hitting with stone, shouting, crying, cheering and clapping in the crowd. They enjoy varieties of food burning 'Holika' which is called 'Holika's Chirdahan'. The last and the third day, they enjoy throwing the ash of Holika and red color in each other with great joy and excitement assuming the victory of good over evil. Throwing colors is played on the preceding day of Hiranyakashyapu's sister Holik's death. Almost all relatives gather and eat delicious tasty and remarkable food with the play of colorful game. All of above, I have known from my discussion about their major culture in the community with Ram Dev Tharu. After the discussion with him, my brain had gone to grab the truth that 'Holi Parba' (Phaguwa) has become an identical festival of Biran's Tharus because of their own style to celebrate it and the emphasize of them on it with a great importance. As I had asked about their other festivals with another Tharu of the place,

Rakesh Chaudhary, I came to know that they celebrate Dashain, Tihar, Maghesankrati, Siruwa etc.

Jattrubari's Thrus

By my other more query to know about cultural varieties, I had reached Jattrubari of Jhapa where the Tharus are united in twenty families as I had known asking with Puspallal Chaudhary and Sri Prasad Chaudhary. Asking them about their feasts and festivals, I knew that they have 'Thulo Ekadasi', 'Gauraparba', Dashain, Tihar, etc to be celebrated with special importance. After my gossip with them, I had come to get 'Thulo Ekadashi' uncommon with other Tharus of Jhapa. By the influence of Birtamod's Madwaries and Pahariya Nepali, they have developed the culture or system on them to celebrate it. They celebrate it for two days. No meat and sacrifice is permitted for those two days of the festivals. Old people stop to eat meat before 7 days. All respected relatives should be invited on this occasion and they come like in Dashain. Only varieties of vegetarian foods are to be enjoyed in this period of festival. Who they want either married or unmarried, male or female can stay in fasting and they are not allowed even to drink water and spit or saliva. Fasting happens on the second day and in the third day, when they conduct a puja of god Bishnu after taking bath in a river or pond or tap in the morning, then the festival ends after having sacred food. Puja of Bishnu is conducted to get virtue for the next generation or future life.

Biran's Tharu have the culture to enjoy Dashain taking Tika and bliss up to 'Purnima.' They are unlike with other Tharus of Jhapa in one case that they should a cock and pig in Dashain. They have openness to keep pig and eat pork but other Tharus do not keep pig and they are not open culturally to eat pork too. They are not different with other Hindu Nepali who take Dashain as the greatest festivals of them

in Nepal. Though, they are united within their own castial community, they have the environmental influence. So, they keep pig in their home living in the surrounding of Mongolian community.

Preserving my target in the mind, I had wandered all over Jhapa district searching the dwelling place of Tharus to collect more and more information about their rite and ritual, feasts and festivals, life style, food, dresses, etc or in a single ward to say is about their cultures. Preparing some questions related with their culture and my research, I had presented them with various chauthary people in their respective places where they have been living united in a strong bondness since their ancestral time up to now having one cultural existences. Some of those questionnaire have been presented in the Appendix.

The term culture refers to the set of rules and norms of a life to be adopted in one ethnic people which comes either from ancestors or from the pass of time with the process of hybridization, transculturation, acculturation etc. Culture is the identity of people and always they like to preserve. Modernism and tradition are the two source of culture. Culture is supposed to get from our tradition and from the impact of modernism, culture by tradition is to get in pure form and by modernism is to get in the form of hybridization, multiculturation and acculturation.

As talked above, the best implication can be found in Tharus of Jhapa who were from a single origination as in their history found that they had some language, culture, life style, etc. but when they were dispersed in accordance with the demand of time on the several parts of the world, they lost their pure culture and developed a new kind of culture making them adoptable in their respective dwelling places. To talk, particularly I desire here to name Jhapa district where is the great changes on the

culture of Tharus. From the above taken interviews with various person from different parts of Jhapa, it has become explicit that 'Dashain' is one popular and important festival in their culture.

Tharus of Jhapa, now say that they have no knowledge about how they started to enjoy celebrating Dashain, though it wasn't in their core culture. They say that they have got no information about the festival in the history of Tharus and folk tales. About this festival when I asked with Indra Shanker Chaudhary in Buttabari to say about his knowledge then he said "I think, no they aren't from our core-culture because no indication I have found in our cultural history. We are here in small number and our relationship is with various next cultural people, people of our surrounding are more Pahariya, Rajbanshi, Limbu, Rai etc. So, we might have the impact to celebrate them". In such a way, they invite other's cultures in their own and they differ in each other contributing to their variation.

Almost all Tharus of Jhapa have adopted Dashain and Tihar like their own culture because they have been practicing them since long as we know in the description of them and their interviews. When something is practice since long time in a society or a group of ethnic people, that becomes a culture on them. However Jhapa's Tharus celebrate Dashain and Tihar, they do not have similarity in the system of celebrate them. For instance, Tharus of Laljhoda worship farming tools and weapons like sickle, axe, plough, yoke, hammer, chisel, saw, etc on the day of 'Laxmi Puja' in Tihar and they have the system to play 'Huka Huki' by children throwing 'Ranko' in the eve of Deepawali where as Tharus of Bangdanda worship those farming tools in the day of 'Phulpati' and they do not have the system to play 'Hukahuki' by

children. Not only, they do not but all Tharus of Jhapa also have no system to play 'Hukahuki'.

The distance In the matter of culture among them in Jhapa can be observed in another fact of taking or putting Tika on the auspicious occasion of Dashain. All Tharus of Jhapa have advanced the system to take/put on red rice Tika except the Tharu of Laljhoda. Although they have the system to do all other things of Dashain like worshipping gods and goddess eating varieties of food, going to meet senior relatives, gathering, etc. They do not use red rice Tika. On the other hand, Bangdanda's Tharus have no culture to put 'Jamara' on the first day of Dashain which day is called 'Ghatasthapana'. They have developed the system to use flowers and Doobo in place of Jamara as I know asking with Shes Lal Chaudhary. " Culture never remains to be singular even in an ethnic people if they are scattered to live in different places and culture is to be developed by a single group in a place without keeping relation with other same ethnic people" (27)

In accordance with the opinion of Rishi Bhandari, Tharus of Jhapa have developed their culture in multiplicity and hybridity developing their own system to follow their culture in each and every part of Jhapa where is the dwelling of Tharus in a group. For examples Bangdanda's Tharus have the system to take Tika only in Bijayadashmi whereas, Tharus of Buttabari, Ghailadubba, Biran and Jatrubari take it from Dashami upto 'Kojagra Purnima'. It proves that Tharus culture in Jhapa is in plurality (variation). "All the historically created designs for living explicit and implicit rational, irrational and non rational which exists at any given time as potential guides for the behaviour of men" (Kluckhohn and Kelly 78). Cultural variety is from the long course of time in which people move from one phase to another, one place to

another, one as to another. According to Fernando Ortiz, culture is one living thing like the life of man where we get various changes from birth up to death, never in static form. As the variety of people in diverse community, so the variety of culture we get in different communities like in Tharus of Jhapa as described above. Even in a single community we can get cultural variety without any surprise because of the migration, hybridization, adoption etc.

As described in the above closest paragraph, culture is like a living thing, So, there is great change in Tharu's culture in Jhapa due to the impact of migration, modernization and adoption. Culture is either from modernization or tradition. For example, we receive Jeetiya Pabani of Laljhoda's Tharus which is from their tradition and it is not celebrated by other Tharus in Jhapa. Other Tharus leave it and adopt other by the environmental influence. This festivals is similar with 'Swasthani Barta' but it is not the copy of 'Swasthani Barta' of Pahariya Hindu people. In Jeetiya ladies stay in fasting and worship the god 'Jeetman Goshain' demanding children and good health of husband. Laljhoda's Tharus have 'Jeetiya' as their identical festival where as Ghailadubba's Tharus have 'Sama Chakhewa' as their identical festival which is not celebrated by other Tharus in Jhapa. Similarly, Jattrubari's Tharus have 'Thulo Ekadashi', Biran's Tharus have 'Holi' or 'Holika Chir dahan' and Bangdanda's Tharus have 'Siruwa Paibani'. Through my field visit and discussion, interview and tea talk with various people I have found all above mentioned identical festivals of Tharus with their respective places which are not celebrated at all or not in similar way by them except those who they have these festivals as their identical festival. It proves that there is cultural multiplicity in Jhapa's Tharus, though they are an ethnical people.

To strengthen my desertation, I have studied the sacrificing deed of Jhapali Tharus in the occasion of Dashain where I have found great distance among of them Bangdanda's Tharus sacrifice only a duck on the tenth day morning before taking Tika where in Laljhoda's Tharus sacrifice an uncastrated goat on the nineth day (Nawami) then never they do other more whereas, Buttabari's Tharus should offer blood of three birds and an animal like a couple of pigeon in 'Phulpati' a cock in 'Austami' and a he-goat in 'Nawami' but no blood In Dashami. On the other hand, Jattrubari's Tharus compulsorily need a cock and a pig to sacrifice in the name of goddess Durga and Kali in 'Austami' and 'Nawami' and they also have no culture to cut any animal on the 10th day. There is not any restriction to those Tharus of Biran and Jattrubari to eat pig meat (pork) and keep in their home like goats and sheep. After knowing all of them, I try to reach to the point to say that they had single system in the long back past but due to the migration, environment, modernization and adoption, they have got the varieties in their culture. Where they migrated and which ethnic people where there in great number surround of them, they influenced them and their culture was transmitted on them. To support on how the multiplicity and variation have been arrived in Tharus culture, we can take the support of William Shakespeare who says, "Life of people is the drama to be performed on the stage of the world and the performance is by means of cultures and vise-versa" (501). Ceremonies and rituals are the most effective means of performance when it comes to mass media. Cultural variation can be studied through the observation of multicultural situation of a society like in the culture of Jhapali Tharus. In this context to show the variational and multicultural situations among Tharus of Jhapa R. Radhakrishnan defining a multiculturalism writes :

Multiculturation has to be thought as an eccentric and exotified that is not to be mastered by the will to dominance of any one subjects. The only way to honour and enter the multicultural field is in a spirit of self reflexivity, self consciencization and submission to that radical alterity that found all social process in opposition to egocentric ideas or self and other. (34)

Multiculturalism is an ideology advocating that society should consist of distinct cultural groups with equal status like in Jhapali Tharus.

Living the matter of festival, I to discuss rite and ritual of Jhapa's Tharus where we can get caste differences among of them. For instance, Jattrubari's Tharus do not drink and eat any thing in the house until naming rituals of the child where is 'Sutak'. In this matter, they copy the culture of 'Brahmin and Kshetri' from their surroundings. They use the priest of Brahmin instead of their own castial priest. No priest of them are available in Laljhoda and to bring a priest, they should go very far away, then that goes to be so costly to those poor farmer Tharus. So, they are compelled to use Brahmin's priest because of their poverty. They have very low economic status. Almost all Tharus of Nepal are dominated and Tharus of Laljhoda's also are not in exception. Then how can they spend heavy amount in such simple and small rituals. Any unknown man may have the query to know how Tharus have become in Nepal. In about it, I have found great domination on them by higher caste and majority groups of people on their surrounding as well as government also has no any inclusive police in job and opportunity for them. To prove it we can grab the support from the following extract as :

All the books, poems, stories, dramas, articles, essays etc have common message that is Tharus are poor in terms of economic, education, resources access opportunity taking etc exploited and discriminated by state so called higher caste groups (from hill and Terai) and rules and regulation of government, non-government organization and local bodies. It means that every Tharus was victimized is ill treated and possibly persecuted in term of opportunity and life guaranteed job. Therefore, Tharus are in compulsion to adopt the culture of others instead of their flourishing in own by own. They develop the culture autonomously adopting them and resembling them in the surrounding of the place. (*Dahit and Sarbahari 22*)

From the excerpt above, it is clear that there is/was great domination upon them and they have been given no chance to promote their life-standard in terms of culture, economy, education and politics. So, they are obliged to borrow the higher caste culture from their surrounding which differs one place to another like in between Laljhoda's and Bangdanda's, Ghailadubba's and Laljhoda's Tharus in case of naming rituals of newly born baby and using of priest. Laljhoda's Tharus use Brahmin priest being unable to afford the expenditure of remote and expensive Tharu priest. Copy, invitation and adoption of surrounding culture contribute them to exist in place to place of Jhapa having the features of variations on them.

Furthermore, Garamuni's Tharus are in contradiction with the Tharus of Laljhoda in terms of ritual points to conduct the naming ceremony of newly born baby. Adopting the changing process of culture and because of the scarcity of Tharu priest in their community, they do not use priest to keep name of a newly born baby.

In the next face, they are unlike in term of taking tea, water, food, etc in the home where is 'Sutak' (After birth and before naming ceremony of a baby). They can take any food or tea/coffee without any hesitation in the home where is 'Sutak'. They have the culture to keep the name of the new baby by the oldest man of the community arranging a party. When I had asked with Kedar Nath Chaudhary, the oldest man of the community, my interest to know about why do not they use a priest to give name to a baby increased ? He said to me, "we try to stand in our own culture denying the priest of Brahmin for conduction of naming ceremony, though we had the culture to use our own castial priest. Now, no one wants to be a priest hating the profession because of modern English education our priest are not in this community".

In case of naming ceremony using priest of Brahmin in one side, they are seen strict to preserve culture but in another side, they have developed the culture to go in Bolbam in the month of Shrawan which is not their own. Almost all youths and teenagers go in Bolbam copying the culture of Indian people. Since a long, many Indian people are living in different cities and bazaars of Nepal having doing business. As a result, they are in Ghailadubba too and they provide their culture influence on all people of Ghailadubba. Therefore, Bolbam has become like one fashion which an aspect of modernity because they both mean the same 'New thing'. To capture the variety of Tharu culture in this matter of Bolbam, I get the cluster of Tharus of Biran who have no culture to go in Bolbam. They have strong restriction to go on it. As they believe who are ugly and unable to get their pair in the life, only they go in Bolbam to beg a life partner with Lord Shiva and Parbati making them happy going on Bolbam on bare feet wearing yellow clothes. Married once go in Bolbam who are bad and unable to run the family. Some other go to wash their sin taking bath

in Bolbam if they are sinful. All above I had known asking with Rabi Lal Chaudhary of Biran who is an old man of 75 years. In accordance with his opinion, no Tharus are bad and unable to get life partner and to run the family because he has seen no one left being unmarried until 25/30 years in his community. According to them, Bolbam is one bad fashion which can corrupt the minds of youths and teenagers but in contradiction with them, ethnic Tharus of Ghailadubba have the trend to go and the guardian's also support it positively.



Tharu Youth in Bolbam

Transculturation is the phenomenon of merging and conserving cultures. In simple terms it reflects the natural tendency of people to resolve conflicts over time, rather than exacerbating them in the modern context. Both conflicts and resolution are amplified by communication and transportation technology. The ancient tendency of cultures drifting or remaining apart has been replaced by stronger forces for bringing societies together where transculturation impacts ethnicity and ethnic issues. These remarks are appropriate to analyse the condition of Tharu culture, custom, rituals and tradition from Jhapa district of Nepal. The condition of transculturation

clearly can be observed on them which forces them to stand in cultural variation in Jhapa. Being migrated from different parts of Nepal and India, they are living in Jhapa preserving the culture in hybridity and variation getting the transportation and transculturation impact on their ethnicity and ethnic issues. This impacts has been appeared due to the force of modernism or communication. Youth of Tharus go to abroad to earn money because of their poverty and easy access of transportation and communication. Then they imitate the foreigner's culture leaving their own. Supposing foreigner's culture are the best to grab in their own. When they return back in their community to live, they develop a kind of hybride cultural form. It can be observed from the photo of a marriage. They copy the culture of foreigners and neighbors. After returning from foreign land, youths inclined to imitate the culture of other.



Bride and bridegroom in hybrid form

In the photo, it is clear that both bride and bridegroom are in hybride form. It is not in Tharu culture to uses coat and Doobo mala by bridegroom and to wear red

sari and Doobo Mala by a bride as seen in the photo. Bride's cultural ornaments are made up of silver all in all but here the bride is wearing the ornaments of gold. The crowns of both, Dhoti, Pheta and Gamcha of the bridegroom are the cultural things. From the photo, we can say that the culture of Jhapali Tharus is not preserved in pure form.

To strengthen it, let's go to take another example of transculturation in the culture of Tharus, particularly in Jhapa where there was not the system of 'Swayamber' in marriage. They take it from others and preserved by all Tharus except the Tharus of Jattrubari and Gauradaha. They have embraced it as one compulsion to do in marriage imitating from their majority group of people in their surrounding which can be looked below on the photo.



Bride and Bridegroom in Swayamber

It is observed that even monolingual industrial societies like urban North America, some individual do cling to modernized primordial identity, apart from others who they are in their own culture. Some intellectual such as Micheal Ignatieff opines, "[...] convergence of a general doesn't directly entail a similar

convergence in ethnic identities. This can become evident in social situations where people divide into separate unsimilar groups despite being of an identical nationality" (31). Modernity and tradition are mutually inclusive. There is no modernity without the legacy of tradition and no culture can exist without the impact of modernity we observe in the culture of Tharus in Jhapa. Like the opinion of Micheal Ignatieffargness, Tharus of Jhapa either copying others culture or hybridizing their culture are living in different groups in the different parts of Jhapa who they have the single identity to say as they are living in cultural variation.

Hybridity functions as one vital force of cultural variation and which we can observe on Tharus of Jhapa who have implemented the process of hybridization in the living way of them. Implying the modernization process they vary in one to another place. Particularly we can look the mutual inclusion of modernity and tradition in the dressing style of Tharus the following pictures of some youths.



Tharu girls in cultural costumes



Tharu teenagers in modern costumes

As shown above, some youths are following the tradition in hybrid form as they occasionally wear cultural dress and sometime the modern. Some person wear cultural dress in special occasion and generally they wear the fashionable modern dress. They are unable to leave completely their traditional dress and also they can't stay purely in tradition due to the influence of modernity as in special occasion the same lady is to wear the cultural dress due to the cultural compulsion and she can't stay always in the similar dress in her life. By such method of modernization and hybridization they differ to get the influence on them and they have got the situation of cultural variation. For example, Tharus of Bangdanda, Laljhoda, Gauradaha are lose to let youth to wear cultural dress in special occasion like in marriage, birth ritual ceremony, death homage etc but Tharus of Ghailadubba, Buttabari, Garamani are very

strict and they make a compulsion to their youths to wear cultural dress in such special occasion, though, they let them to be free in other time.

Not only the youths but also old Tharus can be seen in mixed dress style.



An old Tharu of Laljhoda

During my field survey when I had gone to Gauradaha, I had asked Shyam Lal Chaudhary about his age and his habit to wear such dress which is not in his culture. He said, "Coat and Suruwal are not cultural but 'Kamiz' is one. I should wear 'Dhoti' and 'Gamcha' or 'Pheta' with Kamiz but we omit them and wear 'Dhaka Topi' coat, Kamiz and Suruwal imitating Phariya's dress style because we are in minority and poverty, so we take them instead to give". In contradiction with him, Kashi Lal Chaudhary of Jattrubari said to me about the dress of old people, "We do not like

coat, Dhaka Topi and pant to wear. We have our identity among other Nepali. We are not ashamed like youths to wear our cultural dress and we love our culture, therefore, all old Tharus of our community in this place either women or men can be seen in cultural dresses."



Subal Chaudhary in cultural dress

From above two photos of old man, we are clear to look on the mirror of this desertation that Jhapali Tharus are in the complex cultural combination with the features of hybridity and variation/multiplicity.

Turning in the next direction, my sharp and alert researching mind has found Tharus of my study area into two groups to take god and goddess as their 'Kuldevata'. I have prepared the category asking with following persons as they are in the list with their respective dwelling places and 'Kuldevatas' or gods/goddesses.

| s.n | Person | Place | Kuldevata (family god) |
|-----|---------------------|-------------|------------------------|
| 1 | Shes Lal Chaudhary | Bangdanda | Durga |
| 2 | Kedar Chaudhary | Garamuni | Kali |
| 3 | Mahabir Chaudhary | Laljhoda | Kali |
| 4 | Subal Chaudhary | Buttabari | Durga |
| 5 | Shyam Lal Chaudhary | Gauradaha | Durga |
| 6 | Mohan Chaudhary | Ghailadubba | Durga |

As shown in above list, Tharus of Garamuni and Laljhoda worship and take goddess Kali and Tharus of Gauradaha, Bangdanda, Buttabari, Ghailadubba worship and take goddess Durga. On the base of their 'Kuldevata', they have variation in their various matters.

'Kumar Bhoj' is one point where they differ in accordance with their 'Kuldevata'. 'Kumar Bhoj' is a party which is given in the preceding day of marriage in the home of bridegroom. Who worship Bhagawati Durga, they do not arrange 'Kumar Bhoj' in the preceding day of marriage but who worship goddess 'Kali' as their 'Kuldevata' they should compulsorily arrange the 'Kumar Bhoj' sacrificing a she-goat to make happy to the Kuldevata, 'Kali' in the next point, I have found differences on them asking with Singni Chaudhary of Laljhoda who is 82 years old. According to her, whose 'Kuldevata' is goddess 'Kali', they do not do 'Kulpooja' sacrificing goats, Pigs in each and every 2/3 years but whose Kuldevata is goddess Durga, they have the culture or ritual compulsion to do 'Kulpooja'. Furthermore, there is not strong restriction to participate in the 'Kumar Bhoj' and to take 'Prasad' at bhoj to them who worship goddess Durga, whereas who worship goddess 'Kali' they have strong restriction to take part in the Kulpooja and to have Prasad.

Again, I dive to catch the next variation on them because of their Kuldevata in the ritual matter of 'Chhebar' (First hair cutting of the eldest son). They have the culture generally to do Chhewar within the age of three/four years of the eldest son who worship goddess Durga. It has not any link with any other ritual or festival because it is done separately. Similarly, who worship 'Kali' supposing as their family god (Kuldevata), they do not have the system to do cheewar of their eldest son. Some of them now have developed to do it mixing with other ritual and festival without taking it as one compulsion and they take it as their optional work copying the system of those Tharus who worship goddess Durga. Other more from me mental discussion about their culture and rituals with Sundarlal Chaudhary I had captured the unsimilarity on the case of dead body ritual. Those Tharus who have kept 'Durga Bhagawati' in the sacred place of family god/goddess, they have the system to take the dead body on the bank of holy river wrapping with white cloth and to burn keeping in 'Chita' (Seven layers of wood arranged systematically to burn dead body). In contradiction with them, those who worship 'Kalimata' for the family god/goddess, they have no the system to burn the deadbody on the bank of river. They take the dead body either in the jungle or in the appropriate bank of a holy river or in their own field wrapping with yellow cloth and bury the body keeping into a wooden box with their certain ritual performances. Kalimata worshippers have the culture to make a temple in their field or near the house placing Deeyo, Kalash and a tripod in to the temple. But the culture is found among the Durga Bhagawati worshippers. That's why Tharus of laljhoda and Garamani are unlike with the Tharus of Bangdanda, Buttabari, Ghailadubba and Gauradaha in various ritual cases due to their different Kuldevata.

Making one sport to migrate, Tharus from numerous places of Nepal, India, Bangladesh are living in Jhapa and they are not found after a religious belief. On this fact too, their religious believes contribute me to show the culture variation on them though they all are from the same ethnicity. To show the autonomy of them in the matter of culture and religion, the help of the book 'Tharu Sanskriti' written by Bhulai Chaudhary can be strongly supportive for my research where Chaudhary has written:

People of Tharus are celebrating their own costume, rite and ritual, norms and values according to their different religious performance like Buddhist, Islam, Hindu and Christianity. They are managing their ritual according to costume and culture. They are also strictly moving towards its development. (Chaudhary, 60)

From this above excerpt, it is clear that Tharus are independent and autonomous to choose the religion and to develop their way of life. Through my study field visit it is unsealed to get that most of the Jhapali Tharus are Hindus and a few are Muslim and Buddhist. One group of them in Kohabara V.D.C., who are in three family are found Muslim. Getting pressurized influence of the majority from the surrounding they were after the philosophy and belief of Muslim religion since the immemorial time which I had known asking with Bholanath Chaudhary. Similarly in my research, I have got another one family of Tharu in Laljhoda which is after the religious belief in Buddhism. They are surrounded by many Tamangs and Limbus. Tamangs are Buddhist and they transmit their religious belief on the single family Tharus of Laljhoda. Except this family, all other are Hindus. As the result of adjustment and transculturation process, they have become Muslim and Buddhist.

Anyway, Jhapali Tharus have made an identity of cultural, ritual and religious variation within the same caste people having same in commonality.

Travelling through the long way of above mentioned discussion with various support of examples, questionnaires, tea-talk, photograph, statements, references of books etc I have reached to stand on the summit of my conclusion saying that Tharus of Jhapa are not in the similar way to live their life having one cultural identity in their group place to place in Jhapa, though, they are from the single origin and the single ethnicity but they are in the situation of cultural variation and hybridity because of the various causes like transculturation, acculturation, diasporic feeling, modernization, etc.

IV. Tharu Culture: A Tapestry

The living way of people in a group and a place is called culture. Living in the community of course people have their own system for marriage ceremony, wearing ornaments/clothes, putting name of their newly born baby or celebrating rite and ritual and festivals etc. Which all are incorporated inside the culture. According to Tylor, culture is the complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, arts, morals, custom and another capabilities and habits acquired by man as member of society. This research has studied on a particular caste (Tharu) of Jhapa district who they have been found out a lot of influence from other people and their custom and culture and them they are pushed to possess the cultural variation. Most of Tharus in Jhapa are living in minority having the great impact on them in the different subject matter of life like in economic life, education life, cultural life, social life, political etc.

Like a common phenomena, majority is to provide influence upon minority, they have get the influences to make their culture impure and variational one to another group in Jhapa though, they are from the same ethnic group. Nepal is known with the feature of diversity in culture and language as well as geography. Jhapa is from the south-eastern part of Nepal where is one ethnic clan of Tharu having the feature of cultural variation and hybridity due to the various causes. Cultural, linguistic and geographical diversity are the fact of Nepal to get decorated in case of identity and Jhapa district is also not an exception to save the identity of intra and inter ethnic cultural variation. Human has the capabilities to learn and imitate looking in other and getting impact from them. Namely Tharus are to imitate or copy of others culture and the way of living from them who they are in their surrounding being neighbours, friends or relatives in majority or high class people. Any how I have got

Tharus of Jhapa to welcome others culture in their old and traditional culture to make one impure and hybridity.

Cultural, linguistic and geographical diversity are the fact of Nepal to get decorated in case of identity and Jhapa district is also not an exception to save the identity of intra-inter ethnic cultural variation. Culture refers to set of rules and norms of a life to be adopted in one ethnic people which comes either from ancestors or from the pass of time with the process of hybridization, transculturation, acculturation and modernization. Culture is like the living thing which remains on us being our identity coming from tradition and modernity and always we do our best to preserve it. In this context, one ethnic clan of Tharus have been living being dispersed in different parts of Jhapa. Though, they have many more community and single originational history as in the point of conclusion through my long research it is found that, they have saved their inter and intra communal identity in accordance with their respective dwelling place which forces them to stand or exist with the feature of cultural variation within them due to the various causes like the process of migration, adoption, hybridization, transculturation, modernization and acculturation.

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Appendix

My first interview with Shes Lal Chaudhary of Bangdanda, who is one of the educated and leading persons of the community is presented below which had been taken on the date of 5th magh, 2067 sitting on the Baranda of his house (See Appendix Chapter).

Note : I = Interviewer (Jeet Lal Chaudhary)

S = Shes Lal Chaudhary

- I : Shes Lal Jee, what type of festivals do you celebrate in your culture and community? Can you some of them?
- S : Yes, I can. They are Dashain, Tihar, Holi, Siruwa etc.
- I : How do you celebrate Dashain? Can you explain in short?
- S : Why not, I can say about it. Kuto-kodalo, Halo-Juwa, sickle, axe etc are the means of food for farming and being farmer we worship them on the day of Nawami to them we suppose as our protectors and food providers. In the day of Dashami, we have the culture to cut a duck to offer to our goddess 'Kali' but do not make blood in other days though we enjoy bringing meat from neighbour or market. In this way enjoying also other varieties of food we celebrate 'Dashain' in our culture.
- I : Do you take 'Tika' in Dashain from senior members of the family? I have heard that it is not in your culture then am I right to hear?
- S : Yes, you are right to hear but we take red rice Tika in Dashain.
- I : Oh ! then what system do you have to take Tika, either only one day or up to Purnima?
- S : We have developed the system to take Tika up to Purnima or for five days.

I : Since how long back are you taking Tika in your culture?

S : I can't say anything about it but I have known it that we are taking since more than 100 years ago according to my grandfather who died before 5 years in the age of 91 years.

I : Is these any other special and great festival?

S : Leaving Dashain, there is Siruwa Parba in our community which has special meaning for us and we celebrate it differently than others. It is our second greatest festival.

I : Thanks for your priceless help to take me in my destination of research.

Likewise putting my feet on the yard of Mahabir Prasad Chaudhary in Laljhoda. Who has the leadership of the Tharus in the age of 65 years, I had taken his interview asking some appropriate questions for me and related with his community's culture and festivals on 15 Ashadh,2068. My interview with him is as :

Note : I = Interviewer (Jeet Lal)

M = Mahabir Prasad Chaudhary

I : What are the festival in your culture? Can you help me telling some names of them?

M : Many festivals are there in our culture. Our culture is very rich and I can name to you like Jeetiya, Holi, Dashain, Tihar, Chhat parba etc.

I : Do you take Tika in Dashain?

M : No, we do not take it but we enjoy Dashain doing in common with others excerpt taking Tika.

I : Must you wear new clothes in the day of Dashain or not?

M : No, it is not compulsion to wear. Only to make children happy we give new clothes to them because they look their friends in new dress who are from next culture.

I : Mahabir jee, Bangdanda's Thrus worship agricultural tools and weapons in Dashain and then is it done in your community also?

M : No, we worship them in Laxmi Puja of Tihar.

I : What type of ornaments are worn by ladies in your place?

M : They wear Bishamala (Chain of silver), Phooli, Kundal, Matha (Bangle of Silver), Kanda (Kalli), Baju, Hansuli etc.

I : What are the cultural dress in your place for ladies and gents?

M : For ladies : Sari, blouse, Ghangri-Jama and Pahirna.

For gents : Dhoti, Kamij, Paijama, Gamcha and suruwal

I : Now, are the youths wearing the dresses and is it compulsion for them to wear?

M : No, they do not wear and also it is not compulsory to wear. Because of the impact or influence of peer groups and western culture, they wear shirt, pant, coat, sari, Kurta salwar, miniskirt, vest etc.

I : I can't stay without giving you my special thanks for your kind help giving your valuable time for me in providing useful information.

I had reached Buttabari of Anarmani VDC in the next jump of my interview.

Where is a small group of Tharus who are living since long years back having one typical way of celebrating some festivals and to wear dresses. To get support for this desertation, I had put some oral questions in front of Indra Shankar Chaudhary sitting on his yard garden of the house on 25th Jesth, 2068. I had put these questions after our short gossip.

Note : I = Interviewer (Jeet Lal)

Ind = Indra Shankar Chaudhary

I: Certainly these are some festivals in your community, among of them which one is culturally best?

Ind : All festivals are special and important for us because they have specially meaning in our culture and to name particularly. I, want to name 'Dashain' and 'Rakhi' or 'Rakshabandan'.

I: Are they from your pure culture or not and how long before have you been celebrating them?

Ind: There aren't from our pure culture I think because no indications have been found in our cultural history about of them. In my opinion we are here in small numbers and our relationship is with various next cultural people due to the closeness or Birtamod city. People of our surrounding are Pahariya, Rajbanshi and Indian too. Indian have come in Birtamod for the purpose of business and to do labour work in building constructions and tea garden. So, our culture has been influenced strongly from them. So that, 'Dashain' and 'Rakhi' are adopted in our culture. According to my grandfather, we have been celebrating them after the arrival of democracy in 2007 B.S. in Nepal.

I: Though it wasn't in your culture, is 'Tihar' also ccelebrated?

Ind : Yes, it is celebrated.

I: Then how?

Ind : Simply, in common with our surrounding people like worshipping ox, cow, dog and goddess Laxmi and playing 'Deushi – Vailo'.

I : And, do you also worship Halo-Juwa, Kuto-Kodalo, sickle, axe etc like the Tharus of Laljhoda?

Ind : No, we do not do that.

I : Chiefly which god and goddess are worshipped in your community?

Ind : Bishahari (Nag Devata) 'Kali' and 'Hanuman'. They are our Kul-Devas

I : About cultural dresses, how are they worn occasionally or always?

Ind : Cultural dress are worn occasionally by old people like in wedding but youths are free to wear the fashionable modern dresses which appear in Birtamod city.

I : Does your culture have the influence of modernism or next culture in wearing ornaments?

Ind : Yes, Of course it has been influenced heavily.

I : Thank you very much for proving me your valuable time and information about your culture .