

THE SACRAMENTS AND FESTIVALS IN DURA COMMUNITY

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Submitted By

Naresh Kumar Dura

TU Registration No. 6-2-756-92-2013

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Letter of Recommendation

This is to recommend that the thesis entitled “**The Sacraments and Festivals In Dura Community**” has been carried out by Mr. **Naresh Kumar Dura** for the completion of Master’s Degree in Nepalese History Culture and Archaeology. This is his own original work and has been carried out under my supervision. According to the best of my knowledge, this thesis has not been submitted to any other institutions for any other degree and project work.

Date:.....

.....

Prof. Dr. Punam Rajya Laxmi Rana

Supervisor

Department of Nepalese

History Culture and Archaeology

Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur,

Kathmandu, Nepal

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Table of Contents

Title Page	i
Letter of Recommendation	ii
Letter of Approval	iii
Acknowledgment	iv
Table of Contents	v
List of Tables	viii
Abbreviation	ix
Glossary	x
CHAPTER ONE : INTRODUCTION	
1.1. Background.....	1
1.2. Statement of the Problem.....	3
1.3. Research Questions.....	5
1.4. Objectives of the Study.....	5
1.5. Significance of the Study.....	5
1.6. Justification of the Study.....	6
1.7. Selection of the Study Area.....	6
1.8. Research Design.....	7
1.9. Universe and Sampling.....	7
1.10. Nature and Source of Data Collection.....	8
1.10.1. Primary.....	8
1.10.2. Secondary.....	8
1.11. Methods of Data Collection.....	8
1.11.1. Questionnaire.....	8
1.11.2. Key informant Interview.....	9
1.11.3. Observation.....	9
1.11.4. Focus Group Discussion.....	9
1.12. Data Processing and Analysis.....	10
1.13. Delimitation of the Study.....	10
1.13.1. Geographical Limitation.....	10
1.13.2. Subject Limitation.....	10
1.14. Organization/Chapter Scheme of the Study.....	10
CHAPTER TWO : LITERATURE REVIEW.....	12

CHAPTER THREE : HISTORYICITY AND IDENTITY OF DURA COMMUNITY

3.1. Introduction of the Study Area.....	16
3.1.1. Location.....	16
3.2. Historical Background.....	20
3.3. Origin and History.....	22
3.4. Relation Between Dura and Shah.....	28
3.5. Effort Made on the Recognizance of Dura Community.....	32
3.6. Identity of Dura Community.....	34
3.6.1. Physical Contour and Nature.....	37
3.6.2. Sub-Clan (Thar) and Major-Clan (Gotra).....	38
3.6.3. Dress and Apperance.....	39
3.6.4. Habitation.....	39
3.6.5. Language.....	40
3.6.6. Religion.....	43
3.6.7. Occupation.....	45
3.6.8. Educational Status.....	45

CHAPTER FOUR : SACRAMENTS AND PRACTICES IN DURA COMMUNITY

4.1. Sacraments.....	49
4.1.1. Birth Sacrament	50
4.1.2. Chhaiti (Chhaitum) Sacrament.....	51
4.1.3. Name Giving Sacrament.....	52
4.1.4. Rice Feeding (Bhaat Khuwai) Sacrament.....	53
4.1.5. Tonsure (Chhewar) Sacrament.....	55
4.1.6. Putpute Sacrament.....	56
4.1.7. Gunyo Cholo Sacrament.....	58
4.1.8. Marriage Sacrament.....	59
4.1.9. Death Sacrament.....	73

CHAPTER FIVE : FESTIVALS AND PRESENT CONDITION IN DURA COMMUNITY

5.1. Background.....	87
5.2. Festivals.....	88
5.2.1. Baishakh Purnima Festival	88

5.2.2. Sahune Sankranti Festival.....	89
5.2.3. Shree Krishna Janmasthan Festival.....	90
5.2.4. Teej Festival.....	91
5.2.5. Dashain Festival.....	93
5.2.6. Tihar Festival.....	96
5.2.7. Poush Pandhra (Mahipru Nakuma) Festival.....	99
5.2.8. Maghe Sankranti Festival.....	101
5.2.9. Khoi Khane Festival.....	103
5.2.10. Shivaratri Festival.....	105
5.2.11. Falgun Purnima Festival.....	106
5.2.12. Chaite Dashain Festival.....	107
5.3. Present Condition of Festivals in Dura Community.....	109
5.4. Causes seen in the Festivals and it's way of Celebration.....	110
5.5. Views on Preserving the Festivals and it's way of Celebration.....	113
5.6. Ways of Preserving the Festivals and it's way of Celebration.....	114
CHAPTER SIX : SUMMARY, FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND	
RECOMMENDATION	
6.1. Summary.....	116
6.2. Findings.....	117
6.3. Conclusion.....	119
6.4. Recommendation.....	123
6.5. Direction to the Further Research.....	125
REFERENCES	
APPENDICES	

List of Table

Table 1	: Population by Caste/Ethnic Community	19
Table 2	: Total Population of Dura with Different Age Groups	20
Table 3	: Distribution of Dura People by Religion	44
Table 4	: Occupational Status of Dura	45
Table 5	: Education Status of Dura	46
Table 6	: Satus of Festival and its way of Celebration	110
Table 7	: Causes of Change	111
Table 8	: View on Preserving the Festivals and it's way of Celebration	113
Table 9	: Ways of Preserving Festivals and it's way of Celebration	114

List of Abbreviation

A.D.	:	Anno Domini.
ADC	:	Aide-De-Camp.
B.S.	:	Bikram Sambat.
CBS	:	Central Bureau of Statistic.
CNAS	:	Center for Nepal and Asian Studies.
HDI	:	Human Development Index.
NEFIN	:	Nepal Federation of Indigenous Nationalities.
NeHCA	:	Nepalese History Culture and Archaeology.
TU	:	Tribhuvan University.
TV	:	Television.
V.D.C.	:	Village Development Committee.

Glossary

- Aalo uthaune : The raising of bamboo stick with the stuff like three meter white cloth, purse (*thaili basa*), one bottle of alcohol, small wooden pot (*theki*) with curd, flowers in bamboo reed flat basket (*perango/perungo*) hung on it by the male-in-laws in the remembrance of the deceased person.
- Abir : The traditional name given to the powder of red or orange color which is used in typical Hindu ritualistic works, rituals and festivals.
- Achheta : Tika and offering made up of sacred rice, red color, flowers for the ritualistic works by the Nature worshipers and Hindus.
- Alo agrhaun : Among the two types of last rite also known as the quick last rite which is done when all family members, relatives, other kinship are present in one place.
- Ama Samuha : A group of women, generally of mother age lead by one head woman, formed for the social welfare, which especially found in the rural area than in urban area of Nepal.
- Anmaune : Making of bride ready by the clothes, ornaments and other stuff, given from the groom's side to prepare to go to the groom's house.
- Arghaun : The last ritual in death sacrament.
- Asthu/Asthi : The remains of dead person.
- Bahun : A group of people belonging to Brahman caste in Khas group. Also known as Thread bearer (*Tanghadhari*).
- Barga : Cagteory (In ethnic communities like Dura, Gurung, tamang, there are 12 category which is represented by animals and birds. These animals and animals represent the age and birth of an individual and determine their future.
- Barga chakra : Category cycle.
- Barmala : Groom's garland
- Bato chekne chalan: The tradition of blocking the way of boys and girls of one village by another group of boys and girls of another village during *Rodhi*.
- Bayu : The desperate soul or spirit of deceased ancestors of a family who

is still trapped in this physical world after his or her death.

- Bayu puja : Worshiping of ancestor.
- Bhadrai chara : Shrike bird.
- Bhai Tika : The fifth day of Tihar festival.
- Bhadgaunle/Dhaka topi : One of the national attire of Nepali people made in
Bhadgaun of Nepal.
- Bhar naach : The funny and typical dance which is performed by wearing wired
attire, carrying cradle and becoming clown during marriage to
make the funny and humor ambience to console the bride who is
leaving her parental house during marriage sacrament in Dura
Community.
- Bhauju : Sister-in-law (*Wife of big brother*).
- Bhoto : Sleeveless shirt.
- Buhari : Daughter-in-law (*Wife of son*)
- Burlung dhunga: Special kind of stone which is use in rural area to grind herbs,
spices to make masala and other things.
- Chaar Jaat : The sub-clan (*thar*) found in Gurung community, i.e. Lama,
Lamichhane, Ghale and Ghotaney.
- Chautara : The resting place which is made under the big tree, for traveller.
- Chelibeti : Sisters and daughters.
- Chhapani : Sieve made up of bamboo reed.
- Chihaan : Grave.
- Chikuta : A special type of vegetation found in the Hilly region of Nepal,
which is use to put under the pillow of the deceased person on the
tied up on the stretcher during his or her death sacrament which is
believed to avoid the evil touch and the spell of witchcraft.
- Chirag : Lamp made up of oil-soaked cotton with fire on the top of banana
bark with bamboo cane stand.
- Chinga herne : The tradition of examine the body and liver of the sacrificed cock
or rooster on the basis of which, it is said that the future of an
individual or newly married couple is determine.
- Chita : Pyre.
- Cholo : Blouse.
- Choya : Cane splinters.

- Dalo : Bamboo basket without pores having four legs on four corners.
- Daan : Donation
- Dabilo : Spatula
- Daduwadanda : Old settlement of Dura Community when they first came to Lamjung District, which now lies in the Sindure ward no: -11 of Sundarbazar Municipality of Lamjung.
- Dagbatti : Funeral fire.
- Dahi chataune tradition: The tradition in marriage sacrament where the bride and groom feed and apply curd in a funny way after they tie their knot.
- Daijo : Dowry.
- Damlo : Rope.
- Dampha : Drum, a Nepali musical instrument
- Dangre : The disciple of faith healer (*Jhankri*) and also the priest of Dura Community.
- Dasha : Misfortune, ill-luck.
- Data Jharne : Putpute sacrament.
- Deusi/Bhailo : Nepali traditional folk songs sung during the Tihar festival in Nepal.
- Dhago : Thread.
- Dhaka : A fabric by which the typical Nepali costume are made. For example Dhaka Topi.
- Dhattar : Five colors (Red, Yellow, Green, White, Blue) pieces of clothes wrapped around the stick used for ritualistic works in Buddhism.
- Dhawaja : Pieces of sacred cloth which is use to offer to the God and hang around the temple, xiermudaxiixii and worship place in the house.
- Dhiki : Rice mill or husk lever of an old time.
- Dhogani vetani: The tradition of paying certain amount of money as fee (*dastur*) by the groom the grandmother, mother, sisters, aunties, sister-in-laws (*fupu*) of bride.
- Dhosa roti : Flat bread made up of rice, wheat and maize flour.
- Dhup : Incense powder.
- Dhungri : Gold stud earrings.
- Diyo : Light, Lamp.

- Dobato : Crossroad.
- Dristi : Gance, look.
- Dubo : Bermuda grass.
- Dukura : Cone shaped idolic representation of deceased person.
- Dulaha : Groom.
- Dulahi : Bride.
- Duna : Leaf bowl.
- Duran/Durgane Farkaune: The tradition of returning back of bride with her groom, girls companions and with some present or gift (*koseli*) to her parental home for their staying of five days with her new groom.
- Dur dristi : Foresight.
- Ek pathi : Three-point two kilogram of food grains.
- Ek mana : Four hundred gram of food grains.
- Fainsha : A raised place inside the house, especially in the kitchen where the sacred water with sacred flower is kept as offering to the ancestors or the clan deity.
- Fetta/Pagari/Safa: White turban.
- Fuli : Nose pin.
- Fulpati tradition : The tradition where the assortment of flowers, leaves, fruits of different plants are done considering it as auspicious and is anointed at Dashain Ghar on the seventh day of Dashain festival. This fulpati is brought from Gorkha palace to Hanumandhoka palace of Kathmandu every year during Dashain festival for this tradition.
- Fupu : Sister-in-law (Sister of father).
- Gaado : Cross-band cloth.
- Gagri/Ghainto : Water jar, pot.
- Gai barga : Cow category (One category among 12 categories of category cycle).
- Gaumati Ganga: Midim river
- Gaun barne tradition : The tradition in Dura Community where people of the village

are not allowed to dig the field, cut the grass or trees and not allowed to do any other work in some case, to observe the pollution day taboo and to dedicate the God.

- Ghalek : Over shoulder cloth.
- Ghar ko dhuri : The top of the house.
- Ghatu naach : Nepalese folk dance popular in ethnic community like Dura, Gurung, Magar of west Nepal. This dance mainly performs during the fullmoon Baishak This dance is based on the story of King Parshuram and Queen Yamawati (Champawati).
- Ghat : Crematorium, river pass, river bank.
- Ghyaba : One day death ritual (*arghaun*) in death sacrament of Gurung Community.
- Ghyabre : A Shaman priest of Gurung and Dura Community.
- Goddhuwa : A ceremony in marriage sacrament where the parents, family members and relatives of bride wash the feet of the bride and groom and take the sip of water which is poured through their feet and give lots of blessing, amount of money and gifts.
- Goru : Ox.
- Gotra : Major-clan.
- Gotra padhaune : Saying the major-clan (*gotra*) of an individual's ancestors to inter match the major-clan and sub-clan with other individual especially to do the marriage.
- Graha : Planet.
- Graha shanti : Calming down of misfortune or malevolent star or planet.
- Gundru : Dried or fermented green vegetable leaf.
- Gunyo : Countryside cotton sari.
- Gurung Pancha : The five justice head of Gurung Community of Chaarnal (east from Madhi, west from Marshyandi, north from Thanshingkot and south from Unbhokhola) of Lamjung during the period of 22/24 states in Nepal.
- Halo Kranti : This historic movement started in 2006 B.S. when the Rana regime was on their declining state. This movement occurred in Duradanad demanding the right to plough the field to do agriculture and run their life by the Brahman caste of that place as like the Sudra

Community. Before this, the Rana regime had banned them from doing such things.

- Jaar : The illegal or illicit lover of married woman, Paramour.
- Jaari : It is the fine fee to be paid by the adulterer to the injured party or the former husband's family of one's wife.
- Jaari pratha : The system of paying fine or compensation by the adulterer to the former husband of one's wife.
- Jaand ko chhokra: Local beer dregs made up of rice and millet.
- Jagya : Altar.
- Jamara : Yellow grass shoot of maize.
- Janai supari : Engagement ceremony in marriage sacrament according to the Hinduism.
- Jhankri : Shaman; a faith healer of spirit-caused illness, priest of Dura Community.
- Jhanto : Millstone.
- Jhara : Collective unpaid public work.
- Jhurma : Small-sized cymbals a Nepali musical instrument.
- Jhyali : Cymbals a Nepali musical instrument.
- Jimbawal : Landlord, revenue agent.
- Jutho barne : Observing the pollution day taboo, for example (*sutak*).
- Juwain : Male-in-law.
- Juwains : Male-in-laws.
- Kaacho dhago : Raw yarn or thread.
- Kaag Tihar : The first day of Tihar festival where crow are worshiped to please and calm down the God Yama the Hindu God of death.
- Kaas : Kilt.
- Kachhad : Small loincloth.
- Kaind : Flour, butter dough torma used in ritualistic work or as offerings in Tibetan Buddhism.
- Kaliya : The two-match maker of affinal relation relation whose responsibility is to search bride for groom and take care of every economic or financial transactions and other stuffs during marriage sacrament.
- Kaliyaharu : Two match makers.

- Katro : Shroud.
- Kantha : Golden necklace one of the typical ornaments of ethnic community like Dura, Magar, Gurung.
- Kanyadan : Tradition of a father giving away his daughter to a groom through marriage sacrament.
- Kanya puja : Worshiping of virgin girl.
- Karash garn : The act of showing mirror, applying oil on the hair of deceased person in a reverse (*ulto*)way, applying tika on the forehead of deceased person by the daughters and sisters of deceased person.
- Karma chaleko : A person who has completed his several sacraments like Birth, Name Giving, Chaiti, Rice Feeding, Tonsure, Putpate, Gunyo Cholo, Marriage in his life except than death sacrament and who has not married for more than one time and moral value with no any evil deed.
- Khada : Scarf.
- Khainjadi : Tambourine a Nepali musical instrument.
- Khasanta Bhai : The noble person from Chhetri and Brahmin Community of Lamjung state during the period of 22/24 states in Nepal.
- Khopi : Small room especially found in the house of rural area of Nepal.
- Khyama Rakhne: Yearly esteem or ceremonial offering (*barshik shraddha*) to the ancestors by the people of Dura Community on the Maha Ashtami day of Dashain festival.
- Kriya basne : The act of staying away form the normal people, pets and animals, birds only wearing white clothes, eating only rice and butter one time a day to observe the 11 or 13 pollution days taboo in the name of deceased person by the family members of deceased person according to the Hinduism and Buddhism.
- Kriya putra/putri : Son and daughter of the deceased person.
- Korje/Khadal : Certain amount of money, approximately four hundred gram (*ek mana*) rice, homemade alcohol with rice, millet dregs (*jaan ko chhokra*) separated for the grieved family when someone dies in the village of Dura Community.

- Korje/Khadal uthaune : Collecting of xviiermudaxviixvii things like certain amount of money, approximately four hundred gram (*ek mana*) rice, homemade alcohol, beer with rice, millet dregs (*jaandko chhokra*) from every house of the village to help, support the grieved family of deceased person and conduct the death sacrament of deceased person.
- Kori : One of two types of after death rites where the sons and daughters and other family member have to observe the pollution day in close room without touching, talking and visible to other person by commemorating their deceased one.
- Koseli : Gift, Present.
- Kukur Tihar : The second day of Tihar festival in which the dogs are worshiped by the people of Nepal.
- Kul Devata : Clan Deity.
- Kul Puja : Worship of House God.
- Kuti : Hermitage.
- Kutini Budi : The mythological witch which is popular in the saying and story telling and listening of the people of Dura Community of the research area. It is said that this mythological witch roam around the jungle and village of the research area during the period of Poush Masanta and Maghe Sakranti of Poush and Magh month, so, the people of the research area avoid going to jungle during this time.
- Kutuma : Affinal kinship relation or relation in which one can marry another. For example, the individual with Dorde *sub-clan (thar)* with Kaushilya major-clan (*gotra*) can marry Puien sub-clan (*thar*) with Shree dhum major-clan (*gotra*) and they are kutuma to each other.
- Kusmakhar Ghimire: One of the noble person and Raj Guru of Lamjung and Royal palace who helped to install the Shah dynasty in Lamjung xviiermud 22/24 states in west Nepal, Ancestor of Rastrakavi Madhav Prasad Ghimire, Members of Pancha Purkha.
- Lagan ko paat : Leaf of auspicious moment.
- Lal Mohar : Red Seal.
- Lambabahu Dulal : The ancestor (*Adi Purkha*)of Dura who went to the royal palace

of xviiiermud in Rajasthan, India in search of job and became the army chief there, later returned back to Nepal to avoid the attack of Muslim invaders.

Madal : Nepali folk music instrument which is cylindrical in shape.

Madhai Dura : One of the xviiiermudaxviii of Dura Community who came to Lamjung from Kaski thcrossing Madi river.

Maita/Maiti bandhne chalan: The tradition of inviting and tying up the young boys, brothers of parental home or village in a moral obligation by the young girls or married women of that home or village in Rodhi Ghar during the Shree Krishna Janmashtami festival.

Malami : Funeral procession, Mourner.

Malamiharu : Funeral processions, Mourners.

Math : Small stupa, chaitya or monastery made in the name of deceased person.

Matwali : Alcohol drinker, trader and agriculture worker group according to the Varna system of Hinduism.

Manas putra : Spiritual son.

Mangalsutra : Auspicious thread put by the groom to the neck of bride that unites their souls together in one bond.

Mukh herne chalan: The tradition of watching the face of newly married bride by the female relatives of the groom by applying tika and giving blessings and honorarium (*dakshina*).

Mukhmandal : Countenance, Appearance.

Mukhiya : Leader or head of the village.

Nagada : Hand drum.

Narkhu : Lord Shiva in Dura language.

Narsingha : Cor S-shaped trumpet.

Ningalo : Bamboo reed.

Pahchu : Shaman priest of Gurung and Dura Community.

Pancha raat : The five days period of time where the new bride and groom have to spend in the parental house (*maita*) of bride after the Dura/Durgane Farkaune tradition to complete the marriage sacrament.

- Panchabali : The scarification of five birds and animals containing hen, duck, sheep, he-goat and buffalo bull, made during the occasion. Pancha means five and bali means sacrifice.
- Panche baja : Nepali five collective musical instruments such as cymbals (jhyali), small kettledrum (tyamko), large kettledrum (damaha), long C or S-shaped trumpet (narsingha) and a kind of clarinet or folk (shehnai).
- Pancha Purkha : Khaje Dura, Gaje (Chamu) Dhingal, Laxman Dura, Sukraj Kyausha and Kusmakhar Ghimire are collective known as Pancha Purkha of Lamjung who helped to install the Shah dynasty in Lamjung during the period of 22/24 states in Nepal. They were the influential courtier and noble person of Lamjung state.
- Patuka : Long waist band for male.
- Patuki : Long waist band for female.
- Peti : Belt.
- Perango/Perungo : Flat basket knitted by bamboo cane splinter or bamboo reed.
- Pitri Devata : Ancestor God.
- Pitri judhaune : Especially, during the marriage sacrament the process of reciting the ancestors name of different generations of bride and groom to get the permission marriage.
- Pinda : A round shaped dough made up of rice, water in leaf plate and other stuffs offered by the son of deceased person as a symbol of food according to the Hinduism and Buddhism.
- Piuri : A piece of cotton wrapped on small stick or iron trident given by the parents of bride to the groom while doing marriage sacrament. Giving this cotton (*pirui*) means giving every responsibility related to the bride or the daughter whose life is going to the life of groom's and this cotton (*piuri*) going to be used during her (xixermudaxix or bride) death sacrament.
- Pom Pom chara : A kind of bird found in Hilly and Mountain region used by Dura and Gurung Shaman to do the last ritual Arghaun, which is rarely found today. Poush pakayo Magh khane => The saying popular in Dura Community of research area related to Maghe Sankranti festival. The food like sweet potato, yam,

arum which are ripe and harvested in the month of Poush are eaten during the Maghe Sakranti festival of first day of Magh month.

- Pohle falne : The tradition of cleaning the kitchen and managing the financial transaction related to the big feast given to the villagers, marriage procession, by the two match maker (*kaliya*) ordering the cook and young people of the village where the marriage has happened.
- Prasad : Blessed food.
- Pung/Theki : Long and short cylindrical wooden pot with or without lid usually found in rural area used in different occasion, sacraments, festivals, ritualistic works and for household works.
- Pusta : Generation.
- Rakkhe : Yellow color thread with five, seven or nine knots made up of water, thread and turmeric used for ritualistic wroks, tantra mantra, and to heal the spirit-caused illness and other sacred works, Rakshya sutra.
- Rani odar : The historic cave lies on the hill of the bank of Midim river where Queen Jasatawati and wife of King Kalu Shah of Lamjung was kept secretly along with the Raj Mata Yasoda the wife of Raj Guru Kusmakhar Ghimire to avoid the attack of Ghales on her during the war between Ghale and Lamjunge.
- Ratauli : Traditional Nepali song event performed in both bride and groom's house during the evening by the females relatives of them.
- Rodhi ghar : A place of gather in the village where the community gathered after full day's work to relax and forget the pain and sorrow by singing and dancing in different folk and dohori songs. This is also a social institution which is mainly popular in the Dura, Gurung, Magar and Tamang communities of west Nepal.
Magar and Tamang communities of west Nepal.
- Rudratez : Light, Mytho light of sun.
- Saayen kaath : Y-shaped wooden stand to metal pot to cook or prepare thick porridge of corn, millet, buckwheat (*dhindo*).
- Sadhu : The one whose wife is stolen by adulterer or others according to Jaari system.

- Shehnai : A kind of clarinet or folk, Wind-blow flute like musical instrument.
- Saipata : A ceremony in marriage sacrament where the father of groom-to-be and the two-match maker (*kaliya*) go to the house of bride-to-be and propose for marriage to her parent. This ceremony is also known as Waakdanta Bolen which is similar to modern day engagement ceremony.
- Saait ko tika : The tika of auspicious moment which is made during the auspicious time of Day of Dashami of Dashain festival. It is said that putting this tika on the forehead before going anywhere or before starting new task makes your journey and work success.
- Samdhi/Samdhini : The father and mother of both bride and groom.
- Samudayik bhawan : Community building.
- Sanadpatra : The royal authentic letter or certificate.
- Sattal Dulal : Ancestor of Dura Community.
- Saato jandaina : The spirit won't leave your body.
- Sel roti : A traditional Nepali ring shaped sweet fried dough made up of rice flour.
- Seshanta Bhai : Gurung panch or Gurung pancha.
- Shiyo rakhne chalan: The tradition of giving the nickname by the young girls to young boys and young boys to young girls during while celebrating Haritalika Teej festival. For example girls give the name like Ramshai, Shyamshai, Manshai, Gamshai, Sharmasai, Gyanshai, Goonshai etc to the boys and boys give the name like Ramrani, Shyamrani, Dillahni, Sharmarani, Manrani, Phyllahani, gyanrani, Suerani etc to the girls and they all are called by this name they have got throughout the year wherever they goes, either while going to fair, bazar, while going for collective unpaid labour (*jhara*), while going for a communal system of labour exchange (*parma*) and while celebrating festival together.
- Shikshya Kranti : The education movement occurred in Dura Danda of Lamjung, in 2008 B.S. during which many school were established in Dura Danda and in the research area. The school established were

Sarbodaya high school, Shree Soma Sadan, Shree Saraswati Sadan, Shree Sarada Sadan respectively.

- Simebhume : The ghostly and evil force from the crematorium and graveyard.
- Sindur : Vermilion.
- Siundo : Hair-parting.
- Sola : Pyre, Cremation fire.
- Soli : Cone shaped basket made up of bamboo cane splinters without pores, having four legs on four corners.
- Sora Jaate : The sixteen sub-clan (*thar*) in Gurung Community. Though, they are said to be sixteen sub-clan (*thar*) in Gurung Community, in real there are more than sixteen sub-clan (*thar*) such as Ghyabre, Jangre, Thorje, Kyabchhe, Dorje, Kurumchhe, Foju, Rilami, Thin, Pom, Chormi, Migi, Khatra, Kholai, Yoj, Paingi, Sogun, Thorjami and so forth.
- Sotho : The paying of certain amount of fee (*dastur*) to the mother of bride by the groom.
- Sukra Graha : Venus Planet.
- Sun pani : Gold water used for different purpose like ritualistic works, to purify the house, to purify the body especially after the pollution day of taboo called (*sutak*) during birth sacrament and death sacrament.
- Sutak : An eleven pollution day taboo following the birth of new child.
- Syai Syai Garne: The sprinkling of sacred water and tying of yellow color thread with nine knots (*rakkhe*) around the sons, daughters, family members, clan members of a deceased person to avoid their spirit to leave their human body and follow the deceased one (*sato najana*) by the maternal uncle family (*mamali pariwar*).
- Thaan : Holy place, Shrine place.
- Tapari : Leaf plate.
- Thado Bhaka : A genre of folk song of Lamjung, first developed and sung by Deu Bahadur Dura and Dura Community.
- Thaso falne : The process of calming down the misfortune or meloveolent stars or planets (*graha shanti or graha falne*) by throwing treated, worshiped flour dough torma (*kaindu*) old utensils during by the

ritualistic work of Lama priest in the (*dobato*) crossroad. In Dura Community this is done two times a year, but according to the condition of house, family members this is also done after new child in born, while name giving sacrament and during the death sacrament.

Tika : A mark made up of different colors, herbs, food grains worn especially by the Nature worshiper and Hindu on their forehead.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

As the country Nepal has been coined as the country of multi-geographic, multi-ethnic, multi-caste, multi-lingual, multi-culture, multi-religion, we can assure that it's heavy diverseness in every sector makes this country unique and different from other countries in the world. Though there are multiness or diverseness everywhere there are biological and sociocultural co-existence and syncretism everywhere in this country but there are no multiness when talking about the national integrity and sovereignty. So, Nepal is regarded as ethical and ethnic garden in the world as proclaimed as "Nepal is a garden of four classes (Varnas) and thirty-six castes (Jaat)" by father of nation King Prithivi Narayan Shah of Nepal. Therefore indeed the term "Unity in Diversity" can be perfected in the context of Nepal. Among such multiness caste and ethnic are the one which represent the country through different kind of people.

But these multiness and term were meaningless till the People's Movement of 2046 B.S. (late 1989 and early 1990 A.D.) which was against the autocratic of Panchayat System in Nepal of that time. Only after this moment the above multiness and terms were addressed particularly and meaningfully. Along with other issue, ethnic agendas started coming to the fore of national politics in an organized way after the 2046 B.S. political change or People's Moment.

In 2048 B.S. (1991 A.D.), Nepal Federation of Indigenous Nationalities (NEFIN) was formed to raise the voice and agenda of ethnic people. In 2050 B.S. (1993 A.D.) United Nation (UN) declared as the year of ethnic peoples, which gave ethnic peoples, international recongnition and legitimacy for ethnic peoples struggling for rights in Nepal. In 2051 B.S. (1994 A.D.) a national conference held in Kathmandu, which came up with definition of Adivasi Janajati in according to UN standard. As ethnic movement increased, Government formed a task force led by Prof. Santa Bahadur Gurung which prepared a list of 61 ethnic communities and also drafted an act for forming an academy responsible for lifting socioeconomic status of indigenous peoples. However the act drafted by the Gurung task force was not approved by the parliament because in 2053 B.S. (1996 A.D.) NEFIN had pressured Government to

introduce an ordinance to form National Indigenous Nationalities Development Committee.

In 2058 B.S. (2001 A.D.), Nepalese Government passed this act during which the list of 61 indigenous nationalities were revived as Manange was struck off the list and Chimtan and Thintan merged with Tingaunle and Thakali, which draw the number of indigenous nationalities down to 59. In 2061 B.S. (2004 A.D.) a task force led by Prof. Om Gurung along with members Dr. Harka Gurung and Chaitanya Subbha was formed to categorized 59 indigenous nationalities. This task force categorized Nepal's indigenous nationalities into five groups (i.e. Endangered, Highly marginalized, Marginalized, Disadvantaged and Advantaged) according to their nature and criteria of Human Development Index (HDI). In later period some indigenous communities started to reveal their distinct identities. During the process number of ethnic communities rose to 81.

There were 125 castes and ethnic people living in different part of Nepal according to the census of 2068 B.S. but according to the census of 2078 B.S. the number increased to 142 which shows that the further academic research, work and systematic planning on the castes and ethnic groups is increasing for scholars, students, educational and governmental institutes. The census report further shows that the aboriginal and ethnic group or people are politically weak and disadvantaged.

As like in whole Nepal, Lamjung District is also well adorned with the diverseness where different ethnic and caste group with their own distinct culture, religion, norms, values and tradition living together. By the census report of 2078 B.S., total population of Lamjung district is 1,55,852 where there are castes and ethnic peoples like Dura, Magar, Gurung, Kshetri, Brahman, Muslim, Tamang, Bishwokarma, Mijar, Pariyar, Newar, Gharti, Bhujel, Kumal, Thakuri, Sanyasi, Dasanami, Khawas, Hyolmo, Sunuwar, Rai, Bote, Gaine, Majhi, Kalwar, Thakali, Chepang, Hajam, Badi, Sherpa, Darai, Bin, Pahari, Baram, Dhanuk etc are found to live in this district.

Among these ethnics and castes people, Dura Ethnic Community is the one who have been living in this district. There are 5,394 (0.02%) of total population of Dura people in Nepal according to the national census 2068 B.S. But the census report of 2078 B.S. shows that the population of Dura people is 5,581 (0.02%) of total population of Nepal. They are originally a group of people with their own Dura language of Tibeto-Burman root. They have round face, flat-nosed with the average height structure of

five foot, seven inches with their own unique tradition and culture (i.e. their son fitted with bows and arrows on the very day of their naming sacrament, a fact that reflects on their marital heritage and as warrior status). Their main settlements are in the Lamjung district of Gandaki province which is also one of the historically important district related to the establishment of Shah Dynasty in the history of Nepal.

Dura are the ethnic community of Nepal who have their own identity but are in shade because of proper acknowledgement. Scholars like Rishikanta Adhikari and Ganeshman Gurung have written about this community. Though, they are rich in culture so less has been done about this ethnic community. A high level of scientific research is necessary to reveal more facts about this community. So, the research which has been done is about sociocultural aspect of this community on the basis of festivals and sacraments only which will be informative and descriptive. This research work has been conducted in the then Neta and Sindure Village Development Committee (V.D.C.) of Lamjung District of Gandaki zone and today's ward no:-10 (Neta) and 11(Sindure) of Madhya Nepal Municipality and Sundar Bazar Municipality respectively of Gandaki Province of Nepal.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

The term ethnicity is close to the word development but it resembles violence too. The fact is that tension and violence always have existed in the world. The country like Afghanistan, Congo, Somalia, Liberia, Ethiopia, Rwanda, Iraq, Haiti, India, Myanmar, Indonesia, Mozambique, Yugoslavia etc, have faces the ethnic and religious conflict which led to widespread death and destruction of human life and property in the world. Most recently India faces the ethnic conflict between Meitei and Kuki ethnic community in Manipur. But Nepal is a country which has not faced bloodshed conflict and violence on the basis of ethnicity and religion, probably one of the reason is the sociocultural co-existence and religious tolerance. What is meaning to say is "the more the ethnic and religious diversity the greater the probability of ethnic and religious conflict" if the problem and agendas are not properly addressed by the Government of the country. Some of the main reason of ethnic and religious violence are rigid ideology, corruption, economical and political discrimination etc. So to make the national unity the process of economical and social integration with the sociocultural syncretism is necessary to avoid the raise in tension and violence among diverse ethnic communities from the Government.

Nepal is a beautiful country having diversified flora and fauna, topographical features, ecological variation and the human settlement. It has different castes and ethnic groups specially of Tibeto-Burman and Indo-Aryan linguistic families with their sociocultural norms and values which. Among such ethnic people, Dura are the ethnic people who possess their own distinct culture, language, tradition, rites, norms and values. They are the ethnic group who helped in establishing (i.e. Khaje Dura) the Shah Dynasty in Lamjung District during the period of 22/24 states in Nepal at past. Though, this ethnic community has been recorded in the list of ethnic community of Nepal and report of Central Bureau of Statistic (CBS), they were not properly recognized by Government before census of 2058 B.S., along with other ethnic group like Hayu, Koche, Meche etc due to it's low population.

Though, they have glorious history, they are still in shade, many other castes and ethnic groups can't recognize this ethnic group and some recognize them as Magar, Gurung or as Tamang rather than as Dura. So less has been done to shed light on the history, antiquities, cultural and possible archaeological evidence about this ethnic group. There are little amount or countable of books, articles, document, literary sources about this ethnic group, which has made different views and confusion among the scholars and academician. Few research is done only in books rather than conducting high level of research.

The reason of their least recognizance in Nepal are they are low in population, which is 5,581 of total population of Nepal or (0.02%) of total population, declining language of this community because language is a vehicle of culture and the language of this community is in the verge of extinction, trend of embracing the modern culture by ignoring their own festivals and sacraments in the name of modernization, forgetting their sociocultural life which has carried the golden history of their ancestor and unknown about their actual identity, history and contribution of their ancestor in the process of nation building.

There are little available resources about this community published by different researcher, scholars and institutes which of them are old and are in different topics such as *Dura Jati ko Parichaya* first edition and second edition in 2042 and 2062 B.S. by Dr. Rishikanta Adhikari, *Dura Jati ko Samjik Addhyan* by Ganeshman Gurung in 2041 B.S., *Nationalities Of Nepal* published by the then His Majesty's Government of Nepal, Ministry of Local Development, National Committee for Development of

Nationalities etc. Similarly, scholar Dr. Rishikanta Adhikari mentioned in his book *Dura Jatiko Parichaya* that people of Dura Community also get just like people of Gurung Community, which is similar but not same and writer Shivalal ThapaGuruchan Magar has mentioned Dura one of the sub-caste of Magar as “Duraha” in his book *Ojhelma Pareka Magarharu*. A foreign writer Walter Frank describe Dura as they may have originated from intermarriage of Gurung and Magar, which has created confusion about the socio-cultural identity, authenticity and history of Dura Community.

- a. Detailed study of the historicity and identity related to Dura Community are the gaping knowledge found there.
- b. Reviewed books have mentioned in few lines of Dura sacraments, however emic approach is lacking.
- c. Many studies on Dura festivals can be found, however showing of it’s present condition is another gaping knowledge.

1.3. Research Questions

- a. How has the historicity provided identity to Dura Community?
- b. What are the sacraments practiced and observed by Dura Community?
- c. What are the festivals and it’s present condition in Dura Community?

1.4. Objective of the Study

The objectives of the study which are as follows:-

- a. To provide historicity and identity of the Dura Community.
- b. To explore the sacraments and practices of Dura Community.
- c. To show the festivals and it’s present condition of Dura Community.

1.5. Significance of the Study

Every research or the study is motivated by it’s objectives and centered to it’s significance. Dura community being the establisher of Shah dynasty in Nepal has it’s own historicity and it’s importance which is to be recognized properly, which is the major aim of this study. Some of the significance of the study are as follows:-

- a. Helps fo find out the cultural, social, traditional life of Dura community.
- b. Helps to provide the identity of Dura community.
- c. Helps in clearing the confusion among laymen and experts regarding it’s identity whether they are part of other ethnic community like Magar, Gurung ,Tamang etc or they (Dura) are single of it’s kind. And their contribution to

this country Nepal.

- d. Though, there are no much literature and book about this ethnic community, this research gonna helps to increase in the number of literature which helps in giving exact information about Dura Community and will helpful for further research.
- e. Will helps to create awareness to the people about the historicity and culture, festivals and sacraments tradition which their ancestor have followed and what they have been following.

1.6. Justification of the Study

Dura are the ethnic community which possess their own distinct culture, language, tradition, norms and values, customary law and has glorious history which are not only their heritage and treasure but it is the heritage and treasure of Nepal. Loss of these heritage and treasure of Dura Community is loss of Nepal's heritage and treasure. Due to it's low population, they are properly recognized by the government of Nepal only after the census of 2058 B.S. And still this ethnic community need authentic recognition and equal participation in policy making and government level because whenever there is conversation about this ethnic community, people think that they are Magar, Gurung or other Mongolian group which is not true, this is because equal level of participation of this community in Nepali politics and policy making levels are almost zero. And knowledge gap regarding it's actual identity should be corrected by providing right information and proof.

This research is going to be helpful for the students, readers even scholars for the future research on Dura Community because there is still to be done about this ethnic community and most probably this helps to find out the precise sociocultural state and the history of Dura Community through festivals and sacraments in current situation and the identity and the historicity of Dura Community.

1.7. Selection of Study Area

Nepal has a area of 1,47,181 square kilometer with different landscapes and topographical regions which makes this country diversified. It has three different regions which are Mountain, Hill and Terai regions. There are 77 districts and 7 provinces disperse in these regions. Among them Lamjung is one which has the area of 1,692 square kilometer. The district headquarter is Besishahar. It has four Rural Municipalities Dudhpokhari, Dordi, Marshyangdi, Kwoholasothar and four Urban

Municipalities Rainaas, Sundarbazar, Madhyanepal, Besisahar with total of 75 wards. The total population of this district is 1,55,852 in which total population of male is 74,077 (47.5%) and female is 81,775 (52.5%) with the annual growth rate of -0.70% and population density of 92 persons per square kilometer according to the national census of 2078 B.S.

Lamjung District is situated in the mid of the Hilly region 385 meter above from the sea level. This district is resided by different caste and ethnic group such as Magar, Thakuri, Brahman, Tamang, Kshetri, Dura, Gurung, Newar, Bishwokarma, Mijar, Pariyar, Gharti, Kumal, Darai, Bhujel, Thakali, Muslim, Sunuwar etc. Among such castes and ethnic community Dura is the ethnic community with the population of 2,751 in this district. The then Neta Village Development Committee and Sindure Village Development Committee and today's Madhyanepal ward no:-10 and Sundarbazar ward no:-11 are the main habitation of Dura Community which has cultural, historical and archaeological significance. This region has a lot to offer and to the best of my knowledge some article and books have been published in different topics about this community and region but no research work has been conducted in the topic of this research paper or study. So, this is very vital for the study and research and this area has been selected for the study.

1.8. Research Design

This research work wish to solve the problem of the topic of the study and describe the historical, social, cultural, economical aspect through the sacraments and festivals and it's condition of the Dura Community of ward no:-10 of Madhyanepal Municipality and ward no:-11 of Sundarbazar Municipality of Lamjung District of Gandaki Province. Therefore, descriptive approach has been applied more along with explanotary and informative approach. The research design of this study is to give quality information and facts however due to the low population of people of Dura Community in whole Nepal, quantitative approach is also has been used. Since no insider has done thesis on this topic, emic approach has been used in this thesis research.

1.9. Universe and Sampling

During the survey In the research area, it has been found that different castes and ethnic communities were living which is also shown in the table below. According to the population census of 2078 B.S. the total population of Dura is 5,581 in Nepal.

They are living in Lamjung, Kaski, Chitwan, Kathmandu, Lalitpur, Tanahun, Shyanga, Rupandehi, Nawalparasi, Doti etc. Among them 2,512 people of Dura Community are living in ward no:-10 and 11 of Madhyanepal and Sundarbazar Municipalities respectively of Lamjung District according to the field report. So, only Dura Community of these areas were selected due to the dominant presence of Dura Community. Every area of settlement of this community of research area were visited, surveyed and data and information have been collected on the basis of study and research topic.

1.10. Nature and Source of Data Collection

Two major ways and sources have been used for data collection. The sources of Data collection are as follows:-

1.10.1. Primary

Primary source is the first hand source from which primary data can be obtained by studying the variables of the designated area of study. During the research, the researcher visited 356 household of only Dura Community among 461 total household in the research area of Madhyanepal Municipality ward no:-10 and Sundarbazar Municipality ward no:-11 to obtain primary data of Lamjung district of Gandaki Province by using different method of data collection, for his research work.

1.10.2. Secondary

Similarly, secondary source is the second hand information and data. For obtaining secondary data researcher has consulted the sources from previous articles, literatures, books, reports, thoughts written, published and made by writer, researcher, Government office, scholar, scientist about Dura Community of Nepal.

1.11. Methods of Data Collection

Different techniques has been used to collect data for this study, which are follows:-

1.11.1. Questionnaire

The data for the study are obtained by interviewing the local people on the basis of the list of questions. Easy, precise and clear questions were prepared so that the interviewees can easily answer back which could meet the objectives of the study. All age group people of this community were interviewed through open end technique face to face by conducting the survey. They were asked how and when they celebrate and practise the festivals and sacraments in their community and what is their

introduction, identity and historicity in the context of Nepal. During the study it was the time of Chaitra and Baishak month of Nepali Calendar when people get busy in weeding corn. This made researcher to meet the people easily. Open end questionnaire technique has been used by visiting the household of this study area.

1.11.2. Key Informants Interview

Lamjung District is the main habitat of Dura Community but we can found Dura Community living in different districts of Nepal like Kathmandu, Chitwan, Pokhara, Tanahu, Lalitpur, Nawalparasi, Ramechhap, Kailali, Manang, Okhaldhunga, Rautahat. To get the precise facts and information formal and informal interview were conducted with the local people, local social and political leader, local teacher, local worker of the Dura Community of this research area were selected and people of this community who are expert, know more about this community and migrated from Lamjung to other part of the country were interviewed about the historical, social and cultural aspect about this community, they were interviewed through phone and social media like messenger, viber, etc. Structured interview technique has been used.

1.11.3. Observation

For the study researcher himself was involved in social, cultural, economical activities by staying for certain time. During this period the researcher consulted with the cultural expert of the Dura Community for exact information and data. Researcher himself had attended in sacrament and festival like birth, marriage and Chaite Dashain, Shivaratri respectively. During the observation the respondents were asked, who actually are Dura and what are their sacramental practiceses and festivals that they have been performing and celebrating along with it's present condition.

1.11.4. Focus Group Discussion

Since, the study is about the Dura Community of ward no:-10 of Madhyanepal and ward no:-11 of Sundarbazar Municipalities of Lamjung District. Researcher conducted the focus group discussion by gathering the head of household of each village and old experts of the study area and interaction between researcher and the villagers took place. This method was conducted in the evening because when the study was undergoing, it was the period of weeding corn due to which it made researcher difficult to interview or survey in the day time. During the discussion the focus is given to age grop 65-69, 70-74 and above, as they are the living history of this community. They were asked what is the historicity of Dura Community, are

Dura people are related to Gurung, Magar and what are the sacraments and festivals they have been practicing and celebrating.

1.12. Data Processing and Analysis

During the study researcher had obtained qualitative and quantitative data from primary and secondary sources. Such data have been processed, analyzed, divided and presented in different statistical table. While presenting data in table simple tools like total sum or total population, total household and total in percentage have been used.

1.13. Delimitation of the Study

Every study should be limited up to their designated area and subject matter, if not then your study could be diverted from your subject area. The limitation of this study or research are as follows:

1.13.1. Geographical Limitation

The study was conducted in the the Neta and Sindure Village Development Committee and today's Madhyanepal Municipality, ward no:-10 and Sundar Bazar Municipality, ward no:-11 of Lamjung District of Gandaki Province as it is the main habitat of people Dura Community. This study have also included the expert and experienced old people's views and suggestions of Dura Community who are currently living in other part of Nepal like Kathmandu, Pokhara, Chitwan etc because of the low population in this community. During the survey, the researcher has found different castes and communities living in this research area, among which only people of Dura Community are selected.

1.13.2. Subject Limitation

As the topic of the study is "Sacraments and Festivals in Dura Community", only subject like how people of Dura Community celebrate and practice their festivals, rituals, tradition etc in different month in a year has been touched and only their introduction, identity and history has been mentioned as these things will help to determine the sociocultural and religious aspect of this community.

1.14. Organization/Chapter Scheme of the Study

This research has been comprised into six chapter and the contour of the research has been given:-

CHAPTER-ONE : Introduction

Chapter one present the indtroduction under which the background of the research, statement of the problem, research questions, objectives of the study, significance of the study, justification of the study, research design, universe and sampling, nature, source and method of data collection, data processing and analysis, delemitation of the study and organizatio/chapter scheme of the study or research.

CHAPTER-TWO : Literature Review

This chapter is about consulting the books and sources previously available while preparing this research.

CHAPTER-THREE : Historicity and Identity of Dura Community

Chapter two deal with the historicity and identity of Dura Community which includes it's hoistory and origin, history of Shah and Dura, settlement, religion, occupation, language, education, clothing, fooding status of Dura Community.

CHAPTER-FOUR : Sacraments and Practices in Dura Community

This chapter is about the sacraments and it practices in Dura Community of the research area.

CHAPTER-FIVE : Festivals and it;s Present Condition in Dura Community

This chapter is about the different types of festivals of different time in one whole year and it's present condition in Dura Community of the research area.

CHAPTER-SIX : Summary, Findings, Conclusion and Recommendation

This chapter is about the summary, findings, conclusion and recommentition of the research with the direction for the further research.

CHAPTER-TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Dura Community who are living in today's Madhyanepal ward no:-10 and Sundar Bazar ward no:-11 Municipalities of Lamjung District are the main habitants of this research area. Dura People of these places have migrated to Kathmandu, Chitwan, Pokhara and other urban and cities area for better life nowadays which shows the population of these places are decreasing which can have a later effect on this main habitat of Dura Community. Little amount of research and study have been done and little number of book has been published in different topics, some of them are done more than thirty years ago. Regarding to the prior literature about Dura Community and their culture and tradition little number of a whole single book can be found.

In such study and research works and books we can find different remark, comments, review, criticism made by different researcher and scholars and some references and helps have been taken form these books and literature to prepare this research paper. The studies and works are done in different topics, we can find such studies and works done in holistic approach rather than specific approach about this community. The prior studies and works done on different topic about Dura Community are as follows:-

Short introduction has been given in the book *Nationalities Of Nepal* (2057 B.S.).

Dr. Rishikanta Adhikari has written book name *Dura Jaati Ko Parichaya* (2041B.S.), (2062 B.S.) which are about the social, cultural, historical aspect about the Dura Community of Lamjung.

The author, J.P. Cross in his book *The Throne Of Stone : The Genesis of the World-famous Gurkhas* (2000 A.D.), has written about the famous person name Khaje Dura and his duty and legacy to the throne of stone (Sindure dhunga) that how he brought King Yasho Brahma Shah, declared him king of Lamjung in that throne of stone (Sindure dhunga) and installed the Shah dynasty in Lamjung which later caused the unification of modern Nepal.

Dr. Ganeshman Gurung has written about the social, cultural, traditional, economical life of Dura Community entitled *Dura Jaati : Ek Addhyan* (2051-52B.S.) in Pragya, Sodhmulak-Chaumashik, Jaat-Jaati biseshanka.

Writers, Sarina Gurung and Lok Bahadur Dura have written a book name *Dura Jaatko Chinari* (2075 B.S.) which is about the Dura Community's origin, habitations, cultural dress, ornaments, festivals, sacraments, types of worship and worshipping patterns of Dura Community.

Nepali Sabdakosh (2067 B.S.), 7th edition has mentioned Dura as the community who have been living in Lamjung District from ancient time.

Dura Vamsavali by Pitambar Dura has mentioned about the history of Dura Community migration to today's Lamjung.

Yam Bahadur Dura has given a short history and introduction entitled *Dura Jaatiko Samchipta Parichaya* in book called *Dura Smarika* (2071 B.S.).

Father of Nepalese Anthropologist Dor Bahadur Bista has raised considerable question about its origin while people compare the identity of Dura Community to Magar Community in his book *People of Nepal* (1980 A.D.).

Dura Service Society has published the book name *Dura Jaatiko Bhasa, Parampara ra Sanskriti* (2051 B.S.) which has mentioned about the culture, tradition and language of Dura Community with including the different translated words and sentences from Dura language to Nepali which is very useful book in this research.

Foreign researcher Lail Madge during her research year in 1985-86 A.D. had done research in Sindure village. In her book called *The Dura of Sindure: Perspective of Ethnicity* has given introduction about Dura Community with their customs and traditions of that time.

Another foreign writer Jwala Prasad Mishra has mentioned Dura as one of thirteen Buddhist followers in his book called *Jaati Bhasker. Attempt at an Ethnography* in the book called *Anthropology of Nepal*.

Likewise, another foreign writer Walter Frank described Dura as the offsprings from the intermarriage between Magar and Gurung in while studying the ethno-demography of middle Nepal.

Researcher Kedar Nagila Bilash in his study *The Dura Language: Its Grammar and Dictionary* (2007 A.D.) has described about the Dura language as one of the declining language of Nepal.

There is also a mention in book called *Mechi Dekhi Mahakali* volume 3 about the history of Dura Community.

Pathik poet Laxmi Acharya in his book *Dbataka Santan Nepali* mentioned Dura as, Lord Shiva is also called Rudra and this word originated from Rudra became Dura.

Janakavi Kesari Dharmaraj Thapa in his book *Lok Sanskritiko Gherama Lamjung* tried to trace the migrating history of Dura Community to its recent place settlement.

Magh Mahatammya of *Skanda Puran* has mentioned about the origin of Dura people which has raised interesting reason for the further research about the origin of the Dura Community.

Yogi Naraharinath in the book *Himalaya Debo Desh* mentioned about origin and migration of Dura Community.

Writer Nagendra Sharma in his book *Nepali Janajivan* (1976 A.D.) mentioned that Dura came to Nepal with the Rajput women to avoid the attack of Muslim invaders from India.

Ganeshman Gurung in his study *The Process of Identification and Sanskritization: The Dura of West Nepal* (1982 A.D.) has describe about the Dura and the influence of other castes and community living along with them, through the process of acculturation, brahminization etc.

Foreign writer Nicolas Schorer has described Dura as the king makers in hand in his book called *The Dura Language: Grammar and Phylogeny* (2016 A.D.).

Yogi Naraharinath also mentioned about the Dura Community in the book *Itihaas Prakash* Part 1, Volume 3 (2013 B.S.).

Writer Babu Ram Acharya in the book *Shree Panch Badamaharajdhiraj Pritivi Narayan Shah Ko Sanchipta Jiwani* (2024-2026 B.S.) mentioned about the Dura Community.

In the book called *Gyanbindu* (2072 B.S., Pg. 141), there is mentioned about the origin of Dura.

The book called *The Throne Of Stone : The Genesis of the World-famous Gurkhas* by J.P. Cross and *Nepali Rastriyako Paribeshma Dura Samudayako Sanskritik Jiwan* by Muktinath Ghimire which they have written about the historical, social, cultural,

religious and economical life of Dura Community and especially the contribution of the Dura Community in the installing of the Shah dynasty in Lamjung which later caused in the unification of modern Nepal. Since, there are more to be done about this community, little sources is available about this community due to which even the other caste and ethnic community are unable to recognize this community as a matter of fact this community has not been properly described in the ethnic communities list of famous scholar father of Nepali Anthropology Dr. Dor Bahadura Bista.

CHAPTER THREE

HISTORICITY AND IDENTITY OF DURA COMMUNITY

3.1. Introduction of the Study Area

Nepal is the oldest country in South Asia with the area of 1,47,181 square kilometer. It is the beautiful and small country which occupied of 0.003 % of area in the world map where we can find 864 types of herbs, 900 species of birds, 181 species of mammals and 126 to 142 types of caste and ethnic people with different culture, tradition and civility with their fete and festivals more than 365 days in a year. Mystical topography such as highest peak in the world Mt. Everest 8848 m above from the sea level and Mukhiyapatti Musharniya which is 59 m from the sea level but the distance between them is just 188 kilometer, Dharan and Vedetar distance is only 16 kilometer but the temperature between them is just 25 to 30 degree, Kali Gandaki the deepest gorge in the world, Fewa lake and Patale water falls lies in same district but their distance is just 7.4 kilometer, and in this small country it takes less than one hour to go to the coldest place to hottest place. It has ten natural and cultural world heritage sites which includes Lord Pashupatinath temple, Lumbini birth place of Lord Buddha the holy place of Hindus and Buddhists of the world. Such kind of diversified characters in such small piece of land cannot be found elsewhere in the whole world. So, the term “Heaven is Myth, Nepal is Real” is perfected in the context of Nepal because if we turn the pages of 18 Purans, we can find the heaven of Indra is colonized by devils like Tadmakur, Jalandhar, Mahisashur, Rawan but the country Nepal is never colonized and remains independent and intact with it's beauty and diversity from it's origin to now.

Nepal now in the federal democratic republic system is divided into seven provinces, seventy-seven districts and three geographical region where multi cast and ethnic people are living with their different culture and tradition. Among them Lamjung District is one example of real Nepal in which Madhyanepal ward no:-10 and Sundarbazar ward lie no:-11.

3.1.1. Location

Lamjung District is situated in the mid-hill of Gandaki province, 793 to 8155 meter from the sea level with the coordinates of latitude 28°16'58.44" North and Longitude

84°26'27.24" East. In the east of this district is Gorkha, to the west is Kaski, in the north is Manang and in the south is Tanahun District. From the prospective of political distribution Lamjung is divided into two provincial constituency and four rural municipalities Dudhpokhari, Dordi, Marshyangdi, Kwoholasothar and four urban municipalities Rainaas, Madhyanepal, Sundarbazar, Besisahar with total of 75 wards. Among them Madhyanepal ward no:-10 and Sundarbazar ward no:-11 which are the main habitats of Dura people and also the area of research as per the topic.

Madhyanepal municipality of Lamjung District is 180 Kilometer west from Kathmandu and 32 Kilometer east from Pokhara situated on the lap of Ishaneshwor Mahadev with the coordination of Latitude 28.1467° or 28°8'51" North and longitude 84.2681° or 84°16'5" East. It has the population of 21,971 which consist of 1,0084.689 male and 11886.311 female population. It has temperate highland tropical with dry winter and subtropical and mid temperate climate. There are 6,427 household in this municipality. This municipality was formed in 2073 B.S. by merging ten wards such as Jita, Borletar, Tandrang Takksar, Suryapal, Ramgha, Samibhanjyang, Ishaneshwor, Karpu, Bangre and Neta. The main inhabitants of this municipality are Dura, Gurung, Bhraman, Chhetri, Bishowkarma, Newar etc. It has the area of 113.86 square kilometer, to it's east is Sundarbazar and Besishahar Municipalities, to it's west is Kaski District, to it's south is Byas Municipality of Tanahun District and to it's north is Kholashothar Rural Municipality. The municipality office is in Borletar.

The name of ward no:-10 of this municipality is Neta which is among ten wards. It has the area of 8.14 square kilometer. To it's east and north is ward no:-11 Sindure of Sundarzar Municipality partially separated by Khahare river, to it's south is ward no:-1 (Jeeta) of Madhyanepal Municipality, to it's west is ward no:-9 (Bangre) separated by Handi khola river. It consist of villages like Naske, Thulo Bardhan, Sano Bardhan, Danda, Simle, Ghartiswara, Aunswara, Jhankare, Bardhanphant, Danda Gaun, Handi Khola Gairi Gaun, Dhaniswara, Pakha Gaun, Konkra, Thansing and Neta. It has total population of 1,180 in which male population is 595 and female population is 585 among which the total population of Dura is 815 with male population 414 and female population 401 (Field Source). Total number of household in this ward is 212 among which total number of Dura family or household is 141 (Field Source). There are Dura, Gurung, Kami, Damai, Sharki, Bhandari, Adhikari, Shahi, Khatri, Kunwar living in this ward.

Sundarbazar Municipality is 164.3 kilometer west of Kathmandu and 58.4 kilometer east of Pokhara with the coordinates of latitude of 28°07'54.8" North and longitude of 84°24'11" East. It has the area of 9.02 square kilometer with the climate types of subtropical and mid temperate. According to the census of 2078 B.S. total population of this municipality is 27,043 in which the male population is 12,520.90 and female population is 14,522.091 with total number of household of 7829. Dura, Gurung, Magar, Kami, Damai, Sharki, Adhikari, Dhungana, Shrestha are living in this ward. It was formed in 2073 B.S. by merging eleven wards such as two Sundarbazar wards, two Bhoteodar wards, Parewadanda, Tarku, Dura Danda, Kunchha, Chandreshwor, Dhuseni and Sindure.

The name of ward no:-11 of this municipality is Sindure. The area of this ward is 9.02 square kilometer. It has villages like Makaiswanra, Chandi Gaun, Gairi Gaun, Gairi Gaun, Kulthok, Kumle Gaun, Bhatagram, Jyamirbot, Pame, Musara, Ronte Gaun, Kaure, Sanpani, Kusunda Danda, Ghonke, Manke, Bhirpani(Harrabot), Bhithapla, Mahinya, Kharki, Bhangu, Turlungkot, Kusunde, Mallakuri, Dhokalthok, Jayathunka, Dhungana Gaun and Maidan. Total population of this ward is 2,084 in which male population is 1,013 and female population is 1,071. Among this total populatio of Dura is 1,697 with male population 819 and female population 878. Total number of household is 284 in which total number of Dura household is 215 (Field Source). To it's east and north is Besishahar Municipality, to it's south is ward no:-3 (Chandreshwor) and ward no:-10 (Dhuseni) and to it's west is Madhyanepal Municipality. This ward is the habitation of Dura, Kami, Damai, Brahman (Adhikari, Dhungana, Neupane), Chhetri Sarki, Gurung.

The research has found population of different castes and ethnic communities and the total population of different age groups of Dura Community in the research area during the survey which is given respectively below in the table:-

Table 1

Population by Caste/Ethnic Community

S.N.	Caste/Ethnic	Male	Female	Total population in Neta 10, Sindure 11	Total population in whole Lamjung
a.	Dura	1233	1279	2,512	2,751
b.	Brahman	15	18	33	18,210
c.	Chhetri	28	29	57	24,193
d.	Gurung	111	114	225	45,597
e.	Pariyar	46	43	89	6,272
f.	Sarki/Mijar	72	84	156	8,732
g.	Bishowkarma	90	86	176	14,000
h.	Rai	3	1	4	209
i.	Gharti/Bhujel	6	6	12	3,585

Source: Field Survey 2079-2080 B.S.

Table 2

Total Population of Dura with Different Age Groups

S.N.	Age Group	Male	Percent	Female	Percent	Total Population	Total Percent
a.	0-4	51	2.03	56	2.23	107	4.26
b.	5-9	83	3.30	84	3.34	167	6.64
c.	10-14	95	3.78	97	3.86	192	7.64
d.	15-19	108	4.30	119	4.74	227	9.04
e.	20-24	105	4.18	96	3.82	201	8
f.	25-29	126	5.02	135	5.37	261	10.43
g.	30-34	136	5.41	128	5.1	264	10.51
h.	35-39	125	4.98	103	4.10	228	9.08
i.	40-44	71	2.83	76	3.03	147	5.86
j.	45-49	70	2.79	53	2.11	123	4.9
k.	50-54	48	1.91	65	2.59	113	4.5
l.	55-59	42	1.67	63	2.51	105	4.18
m.	60-64	47	1.87	62	2.47	109	4.34
n.	65-69	52	2.07	55	2.19	107	4.26
o.	70-74	34	1.35	41	1.63	75	2.98
p.	75-79	25	1	16	0.64	41	1.64
q.	80+	15	0.59	30	1.19	45	1.78
	Total	1,233	49.08%	1,279	50.92%	2,512	100%

Source: Field Survey 2079-2080 B.S.

3.2. Historical Background

Regarding to the origin of the term Lamjung, there are many hearsays and views such as male people of this district used to grow mustache (*Lama Junga*) which is later said to be misinterpreted to Lamjung (Adhikari, B.S. 2062, Pg. 2), according to Dura Language there are different words to recognize water, they are “Ti”, “Wangju”, “Lang” and in same language there is another word “Chun” which means store the collective means of Langchun is water store later this word developed to Lamjung and became Lamjung (Ghimire, B.S. 2075, Pg. 2). Though, there are different views about the origin of Lamjung, it can’t be hyperbole to say that this is the place where the seed of unification of modern Nepal was sown.

According to the evidential history of Nepal, Lamjung District is already in an existence during the rule of Lichchhavi dynasty in Kathmandu valley. Due to the internal dispute Lichchhavi dynasty was on the verge of downfall. Taking advantage of it the concept of free independent state started to emerge in the Karnali and Gandaki region resulting the establishment of 22/24 states. And in 1524 B.S. from Bichitra Khan to Kulmandan Shah the State of Kaski was established. Similarly, Lamjung State was established in 1550. During this process Dura, Ghimire and other caste and ethnic communities brought second son name Kalu Shah to the Turlungkot (*Daduwa Danda*) from Shyanja Bhirkot (Nuwakot) descendant King Kulmandan Shah of Kaskikot by making Turlungkot capital and built the Kalika and Bhairab temple in Turlungkot which is still there. We can see the remains of Turlungkot fort and Purankot Palace, fort and temple still there where writer, J.P. Cross said that no other fort like of Turlungkot has been found elsewhere in Nepal, India or Tibet (Cross, 2000, Pg. 352). He was killed by Gale King and again Khaje Dura and Kusmakhar Ghimire and other people of Lamjung brought the third son name Yasho brahma (Jasbhu) Shah of Kulmandan Shah and made him king of Lamjung by making Purankot capital of Lamjung and later shifted to Gaunshahar which lies in today's Besishahar Municipality, ward no:-6 of Lamjung.

Yasho Brahma Shah and his successor ruled the Lamjung successfully (Yasho Brahma Shah, Narahari Shah, Chuda Shah, Achindra Shah, Narendra Shah, Kehari Narayan Shah, Bhim or Dashiwanta Shah, Ripumardan Shah, Bir Bhupal Shah). During this time Lamjung was very powerful due to which a suggestion "Lamjung is Stork (Garud), Gorkha is Snake and Kathmandu is Frog and if you want to win the Kathmandu then do not provoke Stork (Garud)", given to King Prithvi Narayan Shah by his maternal uncle and King Mukunda Sen of Palpa became famous in the history of Nepal. Later Lamjung was defeated by the Gorkhali force led by Damodar Pandey and Lagjit Shah in Kartik month of 1839 B.S. and included in the Nepali Kingdom of during the process of Nepal unification.

This research area has popular religious and historical heritage sites like Sindure Dhunga also known as "Throne of Stone", Turlung kalika temple, Malika Devi, Turulingkot fort, Purankot palace and fort, Gandabaj Shrine (*Than*), Queen cave etc and home to iconic figure like Khaje Dura the King maker, Deu Bahadur Dura the developer and initiator of famous *Thado Bhaka* song a genre of folk song and

Sindure is a place where Khaje Dura and his friend along with Ghimire and other people of that place did the Sindur Jatra in Throne of Stone also known as Sindure Dhunga by establishing Shah dynasty by installing Yasho Brahma Shah as a King during the period of 22/24 states, which later help in sowing the seed of unification of modern Nepa. Similarly it is a place where lies historic cave called Queen cave (*Rani odar*) during the battle of Lamjung, Pancha Purkha (Khaje Dura, Gaje (Chamu) Dhingal, Laxman Dura, Sukraj Kyausha, Kusmakhar Ghimire), Khasanta Bhai (*Khas, Bahun*), Seshanta Bhai (*Gurung Panch*) against Ghales, Queen of Lamjung Jastawati was kept there secretly to protect her from the attack of Ghales and there is a place of penance in Neta, where woman of Kausila major-clan (*gotra*) did a long penance in the bank of Midim river (*Gaumati Ganga*) in ancient time (Ghimire, B.S. 2075, Pg. 58) and the place from where Deu Bahadur Dura developed and initiated the genre of folk song called *Thado Bhaka*.

The above facts and events proves that, the research area ward no:-10 and ward no:-11 of Madhyanepal and Sundarbazar Municipalities respectively are the places which carries the history of ancient and medieval Nepal on which the eyes of the national and international writers have not been reached properly.

3.3. Origin and History

Lamjung District in Gandaki province of Nepal is the habitation of Dura Community. They have been dwelling in this region from ancient time but the recorded history shows that, “they have been already dwelling in Dura Danda of Lamjung District since 15th century along with other caste and community and according to Late Chandra Singh Dura the red seal (*lalmohar*) of Dura is 933 years old” (Adhikari, B.S. 2062, Pg. 2). There are assorted views, legends, analytical prospect, hearsay and research outcomes regarding to the origin and history of Dura community made by different scholars, researcher, local people, institution and documents which are mentioned below:-

Yogi Naraharinath in the book *Himalayan Debo_Desh* described Dura as

-Bhutaa Bhutaa Bhutaa Bhote Bhutokami Debyonam:

Lambaa Laamaa Iti Proktaa Rudraa He Rudraa Dura.....I68

Came from the place name Rudrabhot which lies between Manang and Mustang. Later, frequently they were called the people of Rudrabhot and they became Dura from Rudra (Ghimire, B.S. 2075, Pg.56).

Yogi Naraharinath in the book *Itihas Prakash* mentioned Dura as Dura are the royal ruler who fled from Chittaudgad to avoid attack of Muslim invaders in India came to Dullu, Dailekh of Nepal and migrated to Jajarkot, Rukum, Parwat, Durankot, Arghaun kaski, Madi river, Dura Danda (Source : Adhikari, B.S. 2062, Pg.3). The same thing is also mentioned by the writer Nagendra Sharma in his book *Nepali Janajiwan* by saying that “Dura are the off spring of Rajput women and their servant who fled from Chittaudgad of India to avoid the Muslim attack and they came to Dura Danda and were called Dura”.

In the book called *Mechi Dekhi Mahakali, volume 3* (His Majestic Government of Nepal, Ministry of Information, B.S. 2031, Pg. 189) Dura are mentioned as the ancestor of Dura used to work in the Rajput royal palace in India, the Rajput women fled from their royal palace with their servant and came and settled in Lamjung. And their offspring are “Dura” according to the local legend. In same book, it is mentioned that according to the hearsay the name of place became Dura Danda because high number of people of Dura Community used to reside here and the people of this community brought Yasho Brahma Shah the son of King Kulmandan Shah of Kaski and made him king of Lamjung.

Dura people entered Lamjung from Jajarkot, Rukum, Parwat, Durankot, Arghaun, Durathum (Adhikari, B.S. 2041, Pg. 17).

Pathik poet Laxmi Acharyain in his book *Debtaka Santan Nepali*,(n.d., Pg. 17) mentioned Dura as “Debyoni Biseshma Jetho Hangolai Jestha Bhaninthyo Ra Jestha ko Jetho Bhayo. Jetho Bata Jaad Bhayo, Jaadbata Jaad Jaade Sangyale Tinlai Chinaunchha. Bhagawan Shivalai Rudra Pani Bhaninichha. Rudrakaa Katipaya Ganka Manishko Sangya Rudraa Bhayo Ra Haal Dura Sangyale Tinlai Bujhaunchha”. This is how Dura is originated.

Indian writer Jwala Prasad Mishra in his book *Jati Bhasker*, (1983, Pg. 221) has mentioned Dura as “Espcial proof of Shaiva, Jainism Buddhism came from this Vaishya caste, Buddhism spreaded far wide because of them, many temples of Shiva and Jainism were established and decorated not only in India but also in China, Kabul, Yamdvipa, Sumatra etc”. And in same text introduced Dura by placing them in the list of 13 types of Buddhist followers.

According to the *Dura Vamsavali* written by Havaladar Pitambar Thapa Dura in 1870 B.S. Dura were Dulal and became Dura when they arrived to Parwat, Durankot. Due to different reason they migrated to the east and during this process they entered Lamjung from the peak place between Manang and Mustang. And same Dulal became Dura later because of the mistranslated of word rudra. Janakavi Kesari Dharmaraj Thapa tried to trace where and how Dura came from in his book *Lok Sanskritiko Gherama Lamjung* (B.S. 2041, Pg. 422-424) on the basis of another Dura Vamsavali prepared in 1870 B.S. found by him during his visit to Thuloswara, Lamjung in 2033 B.S. According to the Vamsavali, the ancestor of Dura were Dulal and the came from uchhai nagari, Dhaulagiri, Muldes, Chayanigad, Dulbashindhara, Jajarkot, Rukum, Archaun (Kaski) to Lamjung.

According to the *Magh Mahatammya of Skanda Puran* being Kirant and Kirantini Shiva and Parbati were roaming on earth, Parbati has told Shiva that doing penance being Kiratini alone here is not frightening and Parbiti is not allowing Shiva to come near to her. A glance of Shiva strike on Parbati due to imaginary relationship with Parbati, a spiritual son (*manas putra*) was born. The spiritual son was placed in the *Rudragan*. The offspring of that spiritual son evolved to human being and spread there. The surrounding of the Himalayas are the place where the ancestors of this community dwelt, roamed and played after their origination and later travelled, migrated and resided to different part of Nepal. In such a way from the foresight (*durdristi*) of Shiva, they originated (*aagaman bhayeko*), they became Dura from Dur, Aagaman, Duragaman. This is how from this the anthropological and sociological development of Dura occurred (Dura Smarika, B.S. 2071, Pg. 74).

According to the old document found from the home of Mathawarshigh Gurung of then ward no:-7, Neta Village Development Committee and today's Madhyanepal Municipality ward no:-10, Neta, in ancient time a woman name Kausila was dwelling doing penance around the place called Bardhanphant, Bardhanthanti of eastern bank of Gaumati river of today's border between Madhyanepal 10, Neta and Sudarbazar 11, Sindure of Lamjung District. She vowed not to see the face of sun and men and was continuing her celibacy life. After her penance reached to 12 years, her childhood friend came to meet her with her son. They talked each other. The woman's friend and son returned. The woman saw her friends son is so cute and mischievous that the woman got her meditation disturbed. The woman age is also in mature stage. After

that day, tomorrow she woke up early in the morning and as like usual she went to river, took bath and did penance. At that time the Sun rose up to the sky and she became unable to reach her hermitage (*kuti*) before the Sun rise up to the sky. Breaking her vow she directly watched to the Sun, offered water to Sun and made her wish. After doing penance for certain time the light (*rudratez*) was evolved in Sun and his sight (*dristi*) fell on the countenance (*mukhmandal*) of the woman and she became pregnant with twins son, she gave birth to them. For sometime she lived there by rearing and caring her twins son. But due to the grief and stoicism again, she moved to another place for penance. As time passed the twins became young. Due to the effect of light of Sun and because they came from the womb of mother Kausila, they became Suryabanshi and Kausila sub caste/clan respectively. Due to their (Twin sons) origination was from the foresight (*durdristi*) of sun, they evolved to the Dura. Therefore Dura are offspring of Rudra (Gyanbindu, 2072, Pg. 141).

According to Sir Walter Frank in , “Attempt at an Ethnography of Middle Nepal”, (1973, Pg. 93), Dura are the offspring born from the inter marriage from the Magar and Gurung.

According to the researcher Laila Madge in her research *The Dura Of Sindure : Perspective of Ethnicity* (1986, Pg. 1) mentioned that, the Dura are a small group of people who live predominantly in Lamjung District.

According to the hearsay by the people of the study area, Dulal were the first ruler of Dullu and Dailekh and Dura are the offspring of the same royal dynasty. Due to some reason later they migrated to the east and came to Lamjung and established the king (Raja Thapeko). Due to this Dura also used call them Thapa too.

Expert about Dura Community Kau Bahdur Dura said that his mother and forefather used to tell that Lord Shiva once did a penance in Kailash during morning time and after that he chanted mantra and struck his rudrakshya on the stone due to which a spiritual son (*manas putra*) was born and that spiritual son roamed here and there around the Himalayas for sometime and took a form of human being. Being born from the rudrakshya of Lord Shiva the human being became Dura.

Writer Shivalal Thapa Guruchhanmagar also mentioned Dura as Duraha one of the Sub caste/clan of Thapa Magar in his book *Ojhelma Pareka Magarharu* (B.S. 2052, Pg. 144).

The above facts or dual views made by Yogi Naraharinath about origin of Dura people seems controversial and confuse which seems to be followed by writer Nagendra Sharma in his book *Nepali Janajiwani* (1976) and the book *Mechi Dekhi Mahakali* which may not be true. According to Jemadar Kau Bahadur Dura, the ancestor (*Adi Purkha*) name Lambabaahu of Puien sub-caste/clan (*thar*) of Dura Community went to India in search of job and he served as chief of army in the Rajput royal palace of Rajasthan in India after the Muslim invaded the India he returned back to Nepal. Writer Muktinath Ghimire also mentioned about the ancestor Lambabaahu in page no. 62, 146 of his book *Nepali Rastriyatako Paribeshma Dura Samudayako Sanskritik Jiwan*.

Writer Nagendra Sharma in his same book (1976, Pg. 56) further mentioned that a trend or fashion was prevail in ethnic communities and tribes of linking their ancestors to Rajput and there is no any proof to believe in such trend or fashion which makes his fact about the origin of Dura controversial. He also associated such linkage regarding the origin of Tharu Community. So they are not the off spring of Rajput women and the servant.

A fact given by Indian writer Jwala Prasad Mishra that Dura are one among the 13 types of Buddhism which makes confusing because the first well managed settlement of Dura Community when entered in Lamjung is Turlungkot village and they had brought their Clan Deity (*Istadebta*) is Lord Shiva with them and established there (Ghimire, B.S. 2075, Pg. 60). In Dura language Shiva is called *Narkhu*. Jwala Prasad Mishra given fact can be contextual in present context.

The fact given by Sir Walter Frank don't have any proof because Magar and Gurung communities helped Khaje Dura and Kusmakhar Ghimire to established the Shah Dynasty in Lamjung. They (Dura, Ghimire, Gurung, Magar) fought together against the tyranny rule of Ghale King, these incident can be proved by the following statement, When the ancestor of Dura and Ghimire requested the King Kulmanda Shah of Kaskikot, he gave them his second son name Kalu Shah. During that time King Kulmandan Shah sent some object as souvenir and people from different caste and community with them such as one Ale Magar with statue of Khad Devata, one Adhikari Brahman with Laxmi Narayan Debta statue, one Khatri with watch, one Teyari with slaine, one Ambarne, one Rawat, one Brahi, one Bhandari, one Sunyal,

one Pukher and one Bastola. These facts and events are found in the royal authentic letter (*sanadpatra*) found from Dura Community (Adhikari, B.S. 2062, Pg. 5).

Halochan Gurung one of the ancestor of Gurung and trusty and well wisher of Ghale ruler. He was promised that his son will be married with princess and daughter of Ghale King but his son was tricked to marry daughter of servant who worked in Ghale King palace. He became so furious that he vowed to take revenge and formed an ally with Khaje Dura, Kusmakhar Ghimire and others who were on the expedition of overthrowing autocratic Ghale rule and establish Shah Dynasty due to which the *Baluwabenshi massacre* occurred. So to overthrow the rule of Ghale not only Dura, Ghimire but Gurung also had an important role (Adhikari, B.S. 2062, Pg. 8).

Among the places mentioned during the tracing the places of origin of Dura by Janakavi Keshari Dharmaraj Thapa, place name Dhaulagiri is known but other places are not known till now which need high scale research (Dura Smarika, B.S. 2071, Pg. 49).

The fact given by Jemdar Kau Bahadur Dura is also similar to the story of Kirant and Kirantini mentioned in above *Magh Mahtamya of Skanda Puran* but such story are legendary. And it is possible that such legendary about Dura Community may be true because if not then similar views that Dura are the descendants of Lord Shiva will not came into surface by both Dura people and non Dura people.

If we talk about the fact that Dura are listed as Duraha in the list of sub caste/clan of Magar Community mentioned by Shivalal Thapa Guruchhanmagar needs high scale of sociological, anthropological, genealogical and serological research because there we can find similar sub caste/clan in Dura And Magar Community for an instance Kyausha in Dura Community and Kaucha and Kyapchaki in Magar Community etc. The misunderstanding that Dura are Magar is totally wrong because “ The dynasty ruling in Dailekh was Dulal later their offspring migrated to Lamjung and settled there by establishing (Thapana) King in Lamjung and started to add Thapa in their surname and used to write Thapa Dura and later they used to write Dura only” (Adhikari B.S. 2062, Pg. 3). The word Thapa is no other than title given by the Shah king of Lamjung regarding Dura as their trusty or loyal courtiers after they (Dura) established Shah Dynasty by doing Vermilion festival (Sindur Jatra) in Sindure Stone (Sindure Dhunga) of Lamjung before this they only had used Dura surname which is

proved by the fact available in Dura Vamsavali. In the Vamsavali the ancestor of Dura Lambabahu Dulal, Sattal Dulal, Megha Dulal, Khaje Dura etc they don't used to use Thapa in their last name prominently which proved that they (Dura) are not Magar (Gurung, G., B.S. 2041).

Regarding Dura Community in relation to Magar community father of Nepalese Anthropology Dor Bahadur Bista in his book *People of Nepal* (1980, Pg. 63) said that some people consider the Dura people of Lamjung District as Magar, but there is considerable question on this point and more study should be made regarding their origins. This proved that they are not Magar too.

Analyzing the above facts, hearsay, documents, Vamsavali it seems that Dura migrated from west to east in Nepal. In this process they first became ruler of Dullu in Dailekh as said by Jemdar Kau Bahadur Dura and migrated from rudrabhot place which lies between Manang and Mustang and moved along the Chera river of Dhaulagiri and ruled in Dullu of Dailekh District and later migrated respectively to jajarkot, Durankot of Parvat, Durathok, Arghaun Kaski and entered in Lamjung. We can find that during there migration to east the ancestor (*Adi Purkha*) Lambabahu Dulal of Dura Community was in Chitauraghat of Dhaulagiri. From there another ancestors Sattal Dulal, Khajai Dulal came and settled in Jajarkot of Bheri Zone and spent their life there. From there ancestors like Bodhe Dulal, Khajai Dulal shifted to Sishaghat, Durankot of Parwat through Rudrabhot and completed their life there and after that, the ancestors of Dura arrived in Arghaun one of there ancestor died there and they did the last rituals of dead ancestor from which the place name became Arghaun Pauwa which is called Arghaun Chowk of today's Mauriya Tole, Taal Chowk of Pokhara Municipality. From there ancestor name Dadhiram Dura and Madhai Dura arrived and settled near the bank of Madi river of Lamjung (Ghimire, B.S. 2075, Pg. 146). After they arrived in Durankot then after they were called Dura while entering Lamjung. Introduction of caste and community is given on the basis of places name at that time (Ghimire, B.S. 2075, Pg. 61, 62)

3.4. Relation Between Dura Community and Shah Ruler

The time was during the medieval period of Nepal when there were 24 states in Gandaki region (Gandaki Prasarwam Chetra) and 22 states around the Karnali-Bheri river basin. It was the time when the central power Kathmandu had lost it's grip to these region. Many states had declared themselves free and sovereign states. 24 states

were ruled by Magar, Gurung, Dura, Chhetri people and 22 states were ruled by Khas people predominantly. Every states of these region were flaunting power by attacking and annexing eache another's states. During this period, Ghale also were flaunting their power by ruling in Lamjung and doing injustice to the people of Lamjung.

After Dadhiram Dura and Madhai Dura arrived near the bank of Madi river, Chamu Dhingal arrived there from Sindi Sukraj Kyapsha arrived from Gorje. They found that Lamjunge people were under the tyranny rule of Ghale King. They found one Brahman name Kushmakhar Ghimire who also wanted to overthrow the autocratic Ghale ruler from Lamjung state. They together made a firm decision to end the autocratic rule of Ghale and establish Shah dynasty in Lamjung state.

During the time there were opponent of Ghale ruler in Lamjung. They were known as Six Surname (*Chha Thar*) Dura, Ghimire, Bhandari, Punwar, Rawat, Suyal which has a kind of dominance in the politics of Lamjung. The ancestors (*Panch Purkha*) of Dura and Ghimire along with Sheshanta and Khasanta Bhai got together and made a firm decision to establish Shah dynasty in Lamjung. In the process ancestors (*Panch Purkha*) went and requested King Kulmandan Shah the Shyanja Bhirkot (Nuwakot) desendant of Kaskikot. King Kulmandan Shah said you can take anyone except the first son. They got second son Kalu Shah and brought him and made him King in Purankot of Lamjung. Ghales and their King knew that. And Ghale sought different oppertunities and reasons or excuses to kill new King Kalu Shah. He was killed by Ghale King while doing the fake peace and friendship relation treaty, conducted by Ghales. He was killed by Ghale King of Panjo when they were doing hunting in the forest of Sishir Dhunga then Baglung Pani V.D.C. ward no six of Lamjung (Ghimire, B.S. 2075, Pg. 147). Kalu Shah and his courtier Narayan Dura were killed by Ghales during the period of Saka Sambat 1415 (1550 B.S.). The history of King is written but not the history of people. Narayan Dura was active, practical and clever diplomat, so he was killed by Ghales (Ghimire, B.S. 2075, Pg. 147). King Kalu Shah was able to rule only for three months in Lamjung.

After the death of King Kalu Shah the security threat increased to his Queen Jastawati (Basantawati). Writer and historian have mixed views about the Queen Jastawati which is the subject of research, when she was going to her parental house to avoid the attack of Ghales on her. "She was on her way to her parental house with his already born son" (Adhikari, B.S. 2062, Pg. 7), "she was pregnant" (Ghimire, B.S.

2075, Pg. 156) but she was stopped by group of Six Surname (*Chha Thar*), by analyzing the fact that Ghales have deployed secret agent or sleeper cell to kill the Queen Jastawati, she was kept hid safely in the cave lies in the bottom of the hill side of bank of Midim river (Gaumati Ganga) of today's ward no:-11 Sindure of Sundarbazar Municipality which is still exists there. After this event the cave is named as Queen Cave (*Rani Odar*) Seshanta and Khasanta Bhai and other people of Lamjung also helped to save the queen. Again for the second time Khaje Dura, Kushmakhar Ghimire, Seshanta and Khasanta Bhai with other people went to Kaskikot to request another son from King Kulmandan Shah. At first he refused their request because his queen said him that she won't give his son for only to be killed. But the group convinced her that security will be tight and her son will rule the Lamjung, King Kulmandan Shah agreed to give his son, he gave third son. It is said that Khaje Dura during selecting the king saw the third son name Yasho Brahma Shah who was sleeping above among his siblings brothers keeping head held high and chose him as such character is lucky charm for the person and his life who is going to be ruler (Ghimire, B.S. 2075, Pg.152). There are different views among the historian about the King Yasho Brahma shah. Some said that he was the third son, some said he was last or youngest son of King Kulmandan Shah. J.P. Cross said that King Yasho Brahma Shah was the youngest son of Kulmandan Shah, who was just seven when he became the king of Lamjung (Cross, 2000, Pg. xii). But Muktinath Ghimire said that Yasho Brahma Shah was the third son of Kulmandan Shah (Ghimire, B.B. 2075, Pg. 152).

They brought Yasho Brahma Shah to Lamjung and kept him safe with the Queen Jastawati. There is a saying famous in Lamjung that "Dura Ko Namlo Ra Ghimire Ko Kamlo". It is said that Yasho Brahma Shah was brought from Kaskikot to Lamjung taking him in silver natty satchel (*gyabi*) by Khaje Dura and it takes long time to travel from Kaskikot to Lamjung as there were no means of transportation as like today. Khaje Dura was so dedicated person that he took care of Yasho Brahma shah as like his own son and when they have to rest during their travel the natty satchel (*gyabi*) carried by Khaje Dura on which Yasho Brahma was put is also put down and the mat brought by Kushmakhar Ghimire was used to laid Yasho Brahma Shah (Ghimire, B.S. 2075, Pg. 150, 152). From this above event there raise controversy that was King Yashobrahma Shah in his young age or not because the statue of Khaje Dura in the

Khaje park of Dura Danda, Chyanhanpata is carrying King Yasho Brahma Shah in the small natty satchel which shows he is in his childhood age. If he was in his childhood age then it is impossible that he will marry to the Queen Jastawati who may be of his mother age because the “Seshanta Bhai and Khasanta Bhai made decision and requested Queen Jastawati to marry King Yasho Brahma” (Ghimire, B.S. 2075, Pg. 156). So he must be in his young age when he came to Lamjung and married his sister in law Queen Jastawati.

And after that again ancestors (*Pancha Purkha*), Seshanta and Khasanta Bhai, along with the people of Lamjung made a decision that there is no other way to defeat Ghale other than war with them. So they tricked them by signing the fake peace and friendship treaty and plotted the Baluwabenshi massacre. They were able to kill the last king of Ghale King Phainchan Ghale and his courtiers, helpers and bodyguards in this maccacre which took place in the sandy ground near the Marshyangdi River of then Bhulbule Village Development Committee ward no:-5 and Bahundanda ward no:- 8 of Lamjung. After the Ghales were defeated Khaje Dura and his team brought the Queen Jastawati and Yashobrahma Shah who were kept hid in the cave to the Bhangu village ward no:-5 of then Sindure Village Development Committee and ward no:-11 of today’s Sundarbazar Municipality. And on the presence of courtier head Khaje Dura, by the blessing of priest Raj Guru Kushmakhar Ghimire and with acceptance and cheers by the people of Lamjung, vermilion festival (Sindure Jatra) on the occasion of victory over Ghale rule was done (Ghimire, B.S. 2075, Pg. 155). There is a stone at the top of this village still exists where this event of history occurred which is also regarded as the “Throne of Stone”. The above event of installing Shah dynasty by Dura with the help of Ghimire and other castes and communities in Lamjung whose offspring later helped in unifying the different states and principalities into one Nepal Kingdom and the presence of Dura Community before the 1550 B.S. in Lamjung can be proved by the inscription engraved on the pedestal of the statue of Khaje Dura which is in the Khaje village of Dura Danda, Lamjung. The inscription is written as

॥ Khaje Dura ॥

Shree Shake Sambat 1415 Shree Sambat 1550 Ashard 15 Gate

Rabibar Tithi Dashami Shree Sundaryodayaristaghatishu 9/15

Shimhalaganma Khaje Dura Ra Unika Sahayogi Bhai Jasbhu Shahlai Gadi

Garayeko

After all of this historical facts and incidents, an intriguing question can be expected that having the rich history and having contribution in the nation building process, why Dura Community are low in number and not well known or recognized among other communities or castes in Nepal? In this regard Adhikari mentions that, history shows that when the third son Dravya Shah of King Yasho Brahma Shah went to Gorkha, people of Dura Community didn't go with him to Gorkha except his three Dura friends and there are no old settlements of Dura Community. This Dura Community who helped to installed Shah dynasty in Lamjung became the devotee of the kings of Lamjung and settled in Dura Danda village of Lamjung. Due to it's low population no one knows them other than the inhabitants of Gandaki Zone (Adhikari, B.S. 2062, Pg. Cha). The another reason that people don't know much more about this community is because of their changing trend of last name from Dura to Magar and Gurung during world war one and two to be enlisted in British and Indian army for good and decent income which later created confusion about this community that either they are Magar, Gurung or they really are Dura.

The Shah Dynasty established by Dura with the help of Lumjunge people in Lamjung is the place from where the seed of unification of Nepal Kingdom was sown. King Yasho brahma Shah's youngewst son King Dravya Shah became the king of Gorkha and his 9th generation King Prithvi Narayan Shah unified the small states and principalities into today's single modern Nepal kingdom. Therefore, we cane say that Dura are the king makers whereas Shah are rulers. Though, the unification expedition of Prithvi Narayan Shah started from Gorkha but the seed of unification of Nepal already sown from Lamjung due to which we now are proudly saying that we are Nepali in the world.

3.5. Effort Made on the recognizance of Dura Community

What ever the reason of the problem occurred in the identification and the recognizance of Dura Community, some works had been done in the past for the identification and recognizance of Dura Community. Under the leadership of Late Cpt. Shree Bakhan Singh Dura of then ward no:-5 Bhangu of Sindure Village Development Committee and today's ward no:-11 Sindure of Sundarbazar Municipality of Lamjung a representative group of six members such as Village Council Head (*Pradhan Pancha*) Late Cpt. Shree Bakhan Singh Dura Landlord or

revenue agent (*JimmuwalJimbawal*) Vice Village Council Head (*Upa Pradhad Pancha*) Late Shree Bhim Bahadur Dura, Social Worker Subedar Major Shree Man Bahdadur Dura, Social Worker Shree Singh Dura, former Teacher and Chairman of Dura Service Society Shree Lok Bahadur Dura and Chairman of District Panchyat Shree Hari Prasad Adhikari were formed.

This group submitted the letter of proper identification of Dura Community as one of the ethnic community of Nepal and their history, role and contribution in the process of building modern Nepal. They submitted the letter to Late King Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev and his Government, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, British embassy and Indian embassy in Kathmandu, Nepal in 2037 B.S. (Gurung & Dura, B.S. 2075, Pg. 74). Due to their hard effort Dura are allowed to enlisted in the British army and India army as Dura and started to recognized as Dura among the colleague and friends in the foreign army, with their own language, tradition, culture etc as like other ethnic community. And after the peoples movement of 2046 B.S. all indigenous or ethnic communities came to it's actual identity or UN declared the year 2050 B.S. (1993 A.D.) as the year of ethnic peoples which gave them and their struggles for rights in Nepal an international recognition and legitimacy resulting in establishment of different organization according to their ethnic communities. During this time Dura Service Society was established.

During the process of nation restructure, minority Dura Community did various struggle to obtain or maintain their identity. For Example requesting the Government to formed and name accordingly the local level of Dura majority, similarly making Dura Danda Rural Municipality by including the Dura majority places like Sindure, Neta, Purankot, Dhuseni, Chdreshwor and Dura Danda. For this work Dura Service Society and Dura Danda Society are actively engaging. To fulfill the above demand different work life frequently meeting the chairman of rebuilding commission, lobbying, public hearing, making press statement or announcement among the people etc has been done or made. But no any hearing or work are done of the demand. National Federation of Indigenous Nationalities and Adivashi Janajati Utthan Rastriya Prathisthan have helped economically and intellectually Dura Community to maintain their identity (Gurung & Dura, 2075, Pg. 75).

3.6. Identity of Dura Community

Caste in general means divided human species or class on the basis of lineage, tradition, religion, stature, habitat etc where race means Brahman, Newar, Chhetri etc on the basis of Hindu society, lineage, tradition, sacrament, religious act etc (Parajuli, B.S. 2063, Pg. 486).

A race, primeval dweller or original tribe who have been living in a certain region, country or place is known as indigenous people (Parajuli, B.S. 2063, Pg. 108).

According to the Nepali Brihad Sabdakosh (Nepal Pragya Pratishan, B.S. 2067, Pg. 619) a nationality who has been residing from ancient time in Dura Danda inside the Lamjung District of Nepal kingdom, who has their own language, culture but slowly forgetting those language and culture is Dura.

If we analyze the above saying, the minority indigenous community who have been residing in Lamjung District of Gandaki Province from ancient time is regarded as Dura Community. They have their own language and practice their own culture, tradition, religion, clothing appearance, fooding/drinking habit, and customary law. From this facts it can be said that Dura are one community which lies in the Vaishya of Hindu Varna System which has it's own identity. Before the national census of 2058 B.S. Dura are not properly recognized by the Government of Nepal and their fellow citizens, after this census Dura are listed in the group of 59 ethnic group and categorized as the marginalized ethnic group. This is because of the lack of the accessibility of this group to education, equal participation, politics, policy making and the ignorance from the Government. The population of Dura is low in whole Nepal, if we analyze the available statistical data probably name of Dura Community comes after Kusanda and Raute as a endangered indigenous ethnic community. Comparatively Dura are lagging behind in case of social, economics, educational, politics aspects which cause them lagging behind in the race of development in the context of modern Nepal.

As it is already mentioned that population of Dura are low in whole Nepal. According to the survey of the umbrella organization of Dura, "Dura Service Society" in 2054 B.S. population of Dura is 5,676. This population data decreased to 5,169 in the national census of Nepal 2058 B.S. According to the census of 2068 B.S. the total population of Dura is 5,394. The national census of 2078 B.S. shows the population of Dura in whole Nepal is 5,581 in which male population is 2,576 and female

population is 3,005. This ratio of population data of four decades shows the population of Dura is unable to rise above the 6,000. Though, their main habitation is Lamjung, they have been living in other districts of Nepal and out side the country because of their occupation, education, in search of quality life and other reasons.

People of Dura Community are wide hearted, liberal and courageous in Nature. They especially are follower of nature worship and ancestor worship. God Mahadev is their tutelary deity. But later in different time period to present age they became the follower of Buddhism and Hinduism and Christianity. There is a proper need of sociological, anthropological and archaeological research when and in which context and background the people of Dura Community came and settled in Dura Danda and study area ward no:-10 Neta, ward no:-11 Sindure and other place of Lamjung District. Round face, flat nose, small eyes, average height structure of less than five foot seven inches are the physical contour of the Dura people. They are from mongol race seven inches are the physical contour of the Dura people. They are from mongol race. So, by analyzing the facts we can say that people who are nature, ancestor worshiper who have been residing in Nepal by following and practising their own culture, religion and traditional which falls under the Vaishya category according to Hindu Varna System is Dura Community. And analyzing the statistical data the indigenous community who are under marginalized and endangered is Dura Community. They had a vital role in the establishment of the Kingdom of Nepal for which they haven't been given adequate credits by their fellow citizens and the country.

Dura are the king makers of Nepal. In the ninth century of B.S. there was a rule of Lichchhavi Dynasty in Kathmandu valley in Nepal. This center power gradually becoming weak due to which in the early period of same century the concept of independent state was developing in the Karnali and Gadaki region. In 1524 B.S. the state of Kaski was detablished by Bichitra Khan to Kulmandan Shah. And in 1550 B.S. of 16 century state of Lamjung was established with the administration in Gaun Shahar. During that period Lamjunge were prosecuted by the autocratic rule of Ghale King who's palace was in Ghermu. The Chetriya Dynasty also started to ruled in the different region of Gandaki praswan region. But no proper development can be seen in Lamjung state (Ghimire, B.S. 2075, Pg. 146).

So, to deter the tyranny rule and to develop the Lamjung state in all way, Khaje Dura and Kusmakhar Ghimire with other caste people of Lamjung went to Kaski in search of king. They requested one son of King Kulmandan Shah of Kaski. He gave the second son name Kalu Shah but he was killed by Ghale and again they asked for another son and King Kulmandan Shah reluctantly gave his youngest son name Yashobrahma (Jashbhu) Shah for the second time. The new king was established by doing sindur festival in sindure dhunga of then ward no:-5 of Sindure Village Development Committee and today's Sindure 11 of Sundarbazar Municipality which is also one of two study area of this thesis paper and later put on the Daduwa of Turlungkot. This Lamjung state later became powerful during the period of 24 states in Gandaki region of Nepal due to which the saying Lamjung is Stork (Garud), Gorkha is Snake and Kathmdu is Frog became popular in the historical process of Unification of Nepal.

Dura community has a unique and glorious identity of brave, warrior and king maker. According to the expert about Dura Community Jemadar now living in Bhorletar, Lamjung, Dura themselves are ruler during their migration to Lamjung they used to rule in Parbat. During their rule in Beni, Ghale King killed the son and daughter of Dura King when they were on the wild hunting. From that day the enmity between Dura and Ghale became deep. Those killed son and daughter of Dura King are still being worshiped as Mandala and Mandali in Beni and story of Dura King is popular there and utensils used by Dura King is still there in Beni (Dura, K.B., personal interview, Falgun 22, B.S. 2079).

Though, they have unique identity, there are some reason that the identity of Dura Community is in shadow and people of other caste and community still recognized them as Gurung, Magar than Dura. The first reason is the ignorance from the Government level due to which many Dura people were compelled to change their last name (Gurung & Dura, B.S. 2075, Pg. 74), second reason is after the Sughauli treaty in 1873 B.S. a trend of enlisting in British army started. British started to recruit the young people of Magar, Gurung, Rai, Limbu, Chhetri. Due to physical texture, linguistic intimacy, cultural equality even Brahmans changed their caste to Chhetri and enlisted in British army. Dura also changed its last name to Gurung, Magar. This is how other Nepali people became unable to recognize them as Dura due to Dura changed their last name (Adhikari, B.S. 2062, Pg. Cha). To support this fact

Jemdar Kau Bahadur Dura mentioned that after Sughauli treaty the British regime had listed the Magar, Gurung, Rai, Limbu in Martial Race and Rana ruler at that time requested British regime not to select Dura as Martial Race because they already knew that Dura are King Makers and they can be helpful for their long rule in Nepal and an order was issued by Ranas for Dura people not to join any foreign army at that time and his for father was in Nepal army of that time and the salary was just three mohar to two rupee but in British army the salary was ten to 15 rupees. So to join the British army Dura people changed their last name at past.

To support his facts Jemadar Kau Bahadur Dura again mentioned the name of the ancestor like Ganjalal Dura of Nepal army expert in debenture (*tamsuk*), scripture writing and landlord, Sarbajit Dura ADC of Ranas, Lt. Indrajit Dura of Nepal army from the hunting regiment. He further mentioned that these facts can't be found now, all these record and history were either has been hidden or destroyed.

3.6.1. Physical Contour and Nature

Round face, flat nose, small eyes, average height of less than five foot seven inch, wide body, short but fat step with thin mustache and beard with white or light brownish complexion are the physical features found in the people of Dura Community. Their promptly looks gives the looks of Magar and Gurung but they are not Magar, Gurung or any other indigenous community and caste. They are single of their kinds.

They are mongoloid people, they are straight forward in nature, they tend to have a very generous and friendly, helpful behaviour but can give and dedicate their life to the people in need and for the justice. Their typical and fundamental characteristics or traditions are doing hunting, enlisting in foreign as well as in domestic army, drinking and eating etc whereas the women of Dura Community tend to have enjoying in singing and dancing managing household, wearing jewelries of gold and silver and so forth. But as the time has changed the interest also changing in living standard, eating and drinking, opportunities in different field like education, job employment, freedom etc which we can see visibly in Dura Community of other place and in the research area due to modernity.

3.6.2. Sub-Clan (Thar) and Major-Clan (Gotra)

Dura are the ethnic community living in Nepal from ancient and they have their own culture and tradition, customs, values etc. So it is obvious of raising question over Dura people also having system of Major-Clan (Gotra) in their community just like of Brahman people. As it is already known that Nepal is multi-ethnic, multi-religion, multi-caste country where people of different race, caste, community, group are living and though, they have their own belief, norms and values, they pray the same Gods and Goddesses in their own way on the basis of their beliefs. For example Muktinath temple is shrine place for both Buddhist and Hindu where Buddhist pray it as Awalokiteshwar and Hindu pray it as Lord Vishnu. Likewise Buddhist and Hindu are interrelated because Gautam Buddha is the incarnation of Lord Vishnu not only this the Bon follower and the Animist, Shamanist follower of Shaktism and Lord Shiva which shows the religious and syncretism because of which the similar system of Major-Clan and Sub-Clan in these Buddha, Hindu and Bon followers. And in Dura Community During the period of 22/24 states in west Nepal the entry of Ghimire priest in the historical and cultural life of Dura Community caused to have the system of Major-Clan (Gotra) in Dura Community.

There are no any hierarchy system in Dura Community and there are no any system of touchability and untouchability like in Gurung and Brahmin, Chhetri society. For example in Gurung Community there are Four main clans (*Chaar Jaate*) such as Ghale, Ghotane and Lama, Lamichhane and Sixteen clans (*Sora Jaate*) like Ghyabre, Jangre, Thorje, Kyabchhe, Dorjeli, Kurumchhe, Foju, Rilami, Thin, Pom, Chormi, Migi, Khatra, Kholali, Yoj, Paingi, Sogun, Thorjami and so forth. "The Chaar-Jaat group is considered higher in status than Sora-Jaat people. These two groups do not inter marry under normal circumstances; they are distinctly endogamous units divided into strictly exogamous clans. Chaar-jaat do in fact have four distinct clans, but Sora-jaat, although they may have started at one time with sixteen, now contain more than sixteen exogamous clans" (Bista : 1980, Pg. 77, 78). In Brahman and Chhetri society is based on Hindu Varna system and the order of the hierarchy such as (*tangadhari*) the Upper caste, (*matwali*) the liquor drinker or meat consumer or tribal group, (*Sudra*) the untouchable group. We can still find such types of system in nook and corner of such castes societies and ethnic community. There are different types of sub-caste/clan and major-clan in Dura Community on the basis of which they

performs their consanguineal and affinal relations, duties and responsibilities, they are as follows:-

<u>Sub-Clan (Thar)</u>	<u>Major-Clan (Gotra)</u>
Dorde	Kaushilya
Dhingal	Kaushilya
Pache	Aattreya
Kyausha	Kashyap
Puien	Shree Dhum/Madhu

For example Dorde, Dhingal and Pache Sub-Clan are kindred or their relation are brothers and sisters and they are only allowed to marry from the Kyausha and Puien sub caste/clan and vice versa.

3.6.3. Dress and Apperance

The clothing and dressing appearance or sense have been determined by the place and the environment of that place. The study area lies in the mid-hill of Lamjung District and main habitat of Dura Community. It features a subtropical with a mid temperate and temperate highland tropical climate with some time dry winter. The male of this community wears hat (*dhaka, bhadgaule topi*), sleeveless shirt (*bhoto*), waist coat, loincloth or kilt (*kachhad/kaas*), crossband cloth (*gaado*), wide belt (*peti*) or waistband (*patuka*) shoes, sweater whereas the female of the Dura Community wears blouse (*cholo*), countryside cotton sari (*gunyo*), shawl (*majetro/mijaro*), long waistband (*patuki*), over shoulder cloth (*ghalek*), around heap cloth (*tikish*) and ornaments like ring, nose ornaments (*fuli, bulaki*), earring (*dhungri*), necklace (*kantha, tilahari, pote*) and so forth. But now a days as like others the western attires seems to have attracted the people of Dura Community. Male wears shirt, paint, t-shirt, jacket, modern sneakers and female wears shirt, frock, paint, legging, skirt etc whih shows the impact of modernization.

3.6.4. Habitation

It is clear that Lamjung District of Gandaki Province of Nepal is the main habitation of Dura Community. We can find high number of Dura population and their villages in this region. Among such places are Madhyanepal ward no:-10 Neta and Sundarbazar ward no:-11 Sindure are the municipalities where high number of Dura are dwelling. They usually live in a group and usually have houses in a bunch together in a particular place. They have own typical house design which has thatched or stone

plate roofs, with rectangular and spiral house structure, with one ground floor and one first floor. The ground floor consists of porch, small room (*khopi*), small windows, along with the goat pen, old style rice mill or husk lever (*dhiki*) and grinder (*jhanto*) either on the left side or either on the right side. We can usually found the main door on the middle of the spiral based house but can found the main door on the left or right side in the rectangular based house. Inside the house there is hearth in the middle of the ground floor where cooking work and dining in done. System of Dining table and chair can't be found in such types house all are done by laying mattress on the floor and siting on it. Just above the hearth there is hanging board shaped structure (*bhar*) on which people use to put wet grains to dry. And just around the hearth the family members takes deep sleep at night because of the warm from the hearth. The walls of the house are made up of stone and mud and walls are plastered by mud as it is cold resistance. The doors, windows and the frames of roof are made up of wood and bamboo can splinters.

On the first floor we can usually found the sleeping and resting area and as well as store area of such houses where the paddy, corn, millet etc are stored in larder (*bhakari*), vegetable like garlic, onion are hanged.

Now a days we can find that the thatched roof and stone roof are replaced by the tin roof and the spiral based structured house are almost disappeared.

3.6.5. Language

Language is the means of communication due to which one can exchange information, share feeling, express emotion, opinion and feel the sorrow. It is the way by which one build relationships and create a sense of community. As a matter of fact it is the vehicle of culture, tradition and identity. It is the main vehicle for the identity of castes and ethnic communities. To talk about and to explain about the culture, tradition and the identity, language is needed.

“Among different marginalized indigenous nationalities Dura is also one ethnic race” (National Foundation for Upliftment of Indigenous Nationality Act no. 20 of 2058 B.S., Nepal Law Commission). They have their own way of life, culture and tradition but they are weak at their linguistic aspect. No one seems to have talk in Dura language (*Dura Bhun*) in their community now a days. The Dura people of the research area also don't know or utter the complete sentence and dialect. Except Kabi

Maya Dura a 70 year old house wife of Sano Bardhan village of Madhyanepal Municipality ward no:-10, who can speak words and sentence but no fluently. There are no more old generation people left in the research area from which we can get the knowledge of Dura language. Dura language has been classified in western Bodish language of western Bhotbarmeli language of Sino-Tibatan Family (Rai & friends, B.S. 2079, Pg. 1). This language is mostly spoken in the Lamjung District. But now a days the speaker of this language can't be found.

According to the Jemadar Kau Bahadur Dura, Dura language was also used in administraction office, court etc as the continuation of administrative system of Shah ruler and Khaje Dura in Kunchha the headquarter of Lamjung before it was shifted to Besishahar in 2028 B.S. But this language is on the verge of extinction in the present day. There are different reason for this. "The extinction of mother tongue of Dura Community is the low population and the accompany and impact of Brahman culture from the beginning" (Adhikari, B.S.,2042 Pg. 13).

Different researcher and people have contributed in the restoration and conservation of Dura language. It is said that Late Shree Chandra Singh Dura of Thuloshwara of Sundarbazar Municipality ward no:-11 of the research area of this research had published a book about the history, language and culture Dura from Sajha Prakashan. He also helped Yogi Naraharinath by giving the fact of history of Dura Community to complete his book *Itihas Prakaran*. Rishikanta Adhikari published his book called *Dura Jaati ko Parichaya* (B.S. 2041, 2062) where he have a collection of Dura words and sentences and it's equivalent with Gurung language and Nepali language with the help of Late Shree Chandra Bahadur Dura. Likewise researcher Laila Madge during her college year in Nepal in 2042-43 B.S. prepared a report name *The Dura of Sindure : Perspective of Ethnicity* in which she included 200 words in Dura language among which 50 words appeared to be new one. In this process from the old people name Budunui Maya Dura, Kalaudi Dura, Bishnumati Dura of Naske and Bardhan of then Neta Village Development Committee and today's Madhyanepa Municipality ward no:-10 and Shanta Maya Dura Thuloswara of then Sindure Village Development Committee and today's Sundarbazar Municipality ward no:-11 of Lamjung which is also one of the research area of this research, words and sentences were obtained which helped in the conservation of Dura language.

Similarly Dura Service Society had published a book name *Dura Jaatiko Bhasa, Parampra ra Sanskriti* in 2051 B.S. where there presented 256 sentences and many words use for human organs and use for regular life or livelihood. Head of Dura Service Society contact office of Lamjung Bir Bahadur Dura and adviser of Dura Service Society Deb Bahadur Dura had collected words and sentences in Dura Language and have written literature in Dura language. Researcher Kedar Nagila obtained words and sentences of Dura language from the last speaker Dura language Soma Devi Dura for his thesis entitled *The Dura Language: Its grammar and Dictionaries* of Master's Degree in 2064 B.S. Researcher Muktinath Ghimire have a great contribution in the restoration and preservation of Dura language. He have collected many Dura grammar, words and sentences and for his thesis paper in 2049 B.S. "In 2073 B.S. in the cooperation of National Foundation for the Upliftment of Indigenous Nationality and in the direction of Prf. Dr. MadhavPrasad Pokhrel, researcher Muktinath Ghimire prepared the alphabet of Dura Language which has been published by Adibasi Janajati Utthan Rastriya Pratisthan" (Rai, Ghimire, Dura, B.S. 2073, Pg. 13). And in 2073 B.S. researcher Nicolas Schorer published a book *The Dura Language: Grammar and Phylology* where he has written about the grammar and some word of Dura Language.

The national census of 2068 B.S. had shown the population of Dura is 5394 in which 2156 population were stated as speaker of this language which is false. There are no other people who can speak this language fluently. There was a last speaker of this language who can speak fluently whose name is Soma Devi Dura. She died in 2065 B.S. As she died Dura Language came on to the verge of extinction. Muktinath Ghimire is officially regarded as a solo speaker of this language. Thirty-six consonant and five to ten vowel letters, more than two hundred fifty sentences and more than fifteen hundred sentences has been restored and preserved so far.

The above fact shows the extinct condition of Dura language which need proper research, restoration and preservation. For the identification of particular caste and community language is necessary. By evaluating the present condition of Dura language, it is necessary that people of Dura community should be aware and vigilant about their language preservation because no one will come to protect their language and culture they have to conserve and preserve themselves.

3.6.6. Religion

The term religion is the belief and worship of a unearthly powers especially Gods and Goddess and the belief in the origin, development and collapse of world. It is also a social institution which includes the pattern of belief, behavior, social norms and values, ideas etc which helps to control the human behavior and the direction of human society. Jugman Gurung in one interview said that “In early period people were in their tribal state with their distinctive characteristics in the world, many of them detribalized themselves and some remained in their tribal state. During this process the Aryan of Indian sub-continent did vaidikization it’s distinctive characteristics and the Caucasian of Europe did scientification to their distinctive characteristics” due to which different norms, beliefs, worshiping pattern, culture, tradition and religion developed accordingly (NAGARIK ONLINE TV, 9:59, Oct. 9, 2023). It has been found that there are many castes/ethnic communities, and religious sects in the world who have been following their respected religion according to their belief from the old time. “ There are some religious group who worship the simple natural phenomena occurred in such religious system representing as divine power and spread their own religion” (Gurung & Dura, B.S. 2075, Pg. 30).

Dura are nature worshiper. They have their own religion and religious belief but it has been found that they don’t seems to have pure and comprehensive religious system and don’t have the religious scripture that define about the heaven, earth, life and death as like other castes and ethnic communities. According to Hast Bahadur Dura of ward no:-10, Naske village of Madhyanepal Municipality the study or research area of this research, we are the offspring of Lord Shiva who came to recent Lamjung from Kailash in different time phase by following the culture of worshiping the nature indecent lifestyle just like Lord Shiva who is regarded as indecent compare to other Gods and Goddesses in dress and appearance (Dura, H.B., personal interview, Chaitra 24, B.S. 2079). Jagman Gurung said that ethnic communities of Nepal are the follower of Shiva Culture (NAGARIK ONLINE TV, 23:25, Aug. 14, 2023). It has been found that there were no particular type of Dharma Guru earlier as like today. The eldest son of the family become priest to do the ritualistic worship and the oldest of the village become the priest of the popular temple. For example there is Dura priest in the temple of Turlung Kalika of Turlungkot (Gurung, Ganeshman : 2045, Pg. 54) of Sundarbazar Municipality and Brahmin priest is also called to do Rudri puja,

Satya Narayan puja etc. The work is done by the Shaman (*Jhankri*) and (*Dangre*) according to Dura Community. Later, such works were shifted to the Pahchyu and Ghyabre. Now a days Lama priest and Pandit priest are used for such religious works. This is due to amalgamation of different castes and communities in around the dwelling place of Dura Community. For example Dura Community of the research area which consist villages like Naske, Bardhan, Danda gaun, Gairi gaun, Neta etc of Madhyanepal Municipality ward no:-10 and Thuloswara, Makaiswara, Ronte gaun, Mahiya, Kharki, Gairi gaun, Harrabot, Chandi gaun, Pamai etc of Sundarbazar Municipality ward no:-11 are the follower of Buddhism where there are villages like Jyamirbot, Nalma, Hile, Prising etc of majority of Gurung Communities in it's surrounding who follows Buddhism whereas Dura Community of research area which consist of villages like Turlungkot, Bhangu of Sundarbazar Municipality ward no:-11 tend to follow Hinduism because there are Brahmin and Chhetri peoples are living in it's surrounding. So what ever they follow the religion in high number they are the same part of Sanatan Kul religion (*dharma*) and subject of research. The following table shows the religious state of Dura Community of the research area.

Table 3

Distribution of Dura People by Religion

S.N.	Religion	Total Number	Total Percent
a.	Bonism	929	36.98
b.	Buddhism	879	35
c.	Hinduism	552	21.97
d.	Buddha/Bon/Hindu	150	5.97
e.	Christianity	2	0.08
	Total	2,512	100%

Source: Field Survey 2079-2080 B.S.

The total population of Dura in the study area is 2512 in which 34.92% of them follows Buddhim, 22% of them follows Hinduism, 6% of them follows mix religion, 37% of them follows Bon (Nature Worshiper) religion and 0.08% of them follows Christianity(Field Source).

3.6.7. Occupation

The people of Dura Community of this research area used seems to largely dependent on agriculture. The famous person Khaje Dura from this community was a warrior and helped to installed Shah dynasty in Lamjung which shows that people of this community also joined army and fought many wars in and outside of Nepal. This shows that joining military is also their ancestral occupation for their livelihood. Before the period of unification of modern Nepal through the first and second world wars and up to now, people of this community have chosen army occupation in different time period. And in later period people from this community is also seen in different occupation like foreign employment, teacher, government office etc. The data about the occupation during the survey in the researck area is given below:-

Table 4

Occupational Status of Dura

S.N.	Occupation	Male	Percent	Female	Percent	Total	Total Percent
a.	Agriculture	513	30.72	298	17.84	811	48.56
b.	Military/Police	239	14.31	4	0.24	243	14.55
c.	Foreign Employment	143	8.56	6	0.36	149	8.92
d.	House Wife	-		356	21.31	356	21.32
e.	Teacher	16	0.96	10	0.60	26	1.56
f.	Government Personnel	3	0.18	3	0.18	6	0.36
g.	Others	65	3.89	14	0.39	79	4.73
	Total	979	58.62%	691	41.38%	1,670	100%

Source: Field Survey 2079-2080 B.S.

3.6.8. Educational Status of Dura

In later period, after the tyranny rule of Rana regime, historic events occurred in the field of social reform and in the field of education which are plough movement (*Halo Kranti*) and education movement (*Shiksha Kranti*) in Dura Danda of Lamjung District. In 2008 B.S. during the education movement Sarbodaya high school was established in Duradand after which the impact of this can be seen in neighboring then Village Development Committee like Sindure and Neta and today's Sundarbazar 11, Sindure

and Madhyanepal 10, Neta which is the research area of this research. In the same year school like Shree Soma Sadan Prathamik, Shree Saraswati Sadan Madhyamik, Shree Devi Sadan Prathamik, Shree Sarada Sadan Prathamik were established which is still running till the day.

The level of education in Dura Community of the research area is given below:-

Table 5

Education Status of Dura

S.N.	Education Level	Male	Female	Total	Percent
a.	Pre- School	24	31	55	2.74
b.	Primary (1-5)	218	154	372	18.54
c.	U. Primary (6-8)	184	165	349	17.39
d.	Secondary (9-10)	269	192	461	22.97
e.	H. Secondary (11-12)	218	183	401	19.98
f.	Bachelor's Degree	59	75	134	6.68
g.	Master's Degree	15	10	25	1.25
h.	Technical/Vocational and other education	3	29	32	1.59
i.	Literate	44	134	178	8.86
	Total	1,034	973	2,007	100%

Source: Field Survey 2079-2080 B.S.

The above table shows the data of educational status of the people of Dura Community of the research area during the survey by researcher where only 2,007 out of 2,512 of total population have acquired or have any level of education. The table also shows that the female population are less than male in context of acquiring any kind of education level. Here, it should be clear that during the survey every person are included either they are actively engaging in their academic education or they had acquired any level or kind of education but have stopped to acquire the further education. And remaining 505 population out of 2,512 are either uneducated, old or not the age of acquiring any kind or level of education.

Dura are the ethnic community who are the main inhabitant of Lamjung District of Gandaki Province. They have their own glorious history with their own kind of culture, tradition, religion, feast and festivals, language and lifestyle. They are the

people who had installed the Shah dynasty which later became the reason of unification of modern Nepal. Even though, they have everything or particular kind of civilization to be called particular caste or community they are still unrecognized by other castes and communities. They are known as Magar or Gurung rather than their own identity which actually is not true. People of Dura Community who have been dwelling in Dura Dand and research area like Sindure and Neta now have been living in more than 12 districts of Nepal and outside of Nepal. They are listed as endangered ethnic community after Kusunda and Raute. According to the national census of 2078 B.S. the total population of Dura in Nepal is 5,581. The decades of national census shows that the population of Dura people never increased to more than six thousand or decreased to less than five thousand which can be the subject of research.

It is said that Dura came to Lamjung from Dullu of Dailekh District who were royal ruling over there but due to different reason they left Dullu, Dailekh District and migrated to Rudrabhot of Manang and came to today's Lamjung who later established Shah dynasty there which later became the reason of unification of modern Nepal.

Dura are mongoloid group who are Vaishya according to Varna system of Hindu. They are rich on the aspect of culture, tradition but they are linguistic aspect which is not very good for this community. There are only two hundred and fifty-six sentences and thirty-six consonant and five to ten vowel letters with fifteen hundred words of Dura language have been restored. There are no one who can speak Dura language fluently.

They are simple people with simple life style and rich culture and most probably they are known as the king makers of Nepal. They are straight forward in nature, they are mongoloid group who have round face, flat nose, small eyes, straight hair, thin mustache and beard with white and light brownish complexion and have wide body with short but fat step with average height. There were many old documents which were written about the Dura Community, due to lack of knowledge about how important is it, due to lack of documenting and keeping record and due to lack of conservation the historical evidences of this community is disappearing. As it is mentioned above that there are two types of Gurung which are Four main clan (*Chaar Jaate*) and Sixteen clan (*Sora Jaate*). These two groups don't inter marry under normal circumstances, they are distinctly endogamous units divided into strictly

exogamous clans. In this Jemadar Kau Bahadur mentioned a fact that so to establish the relation with four major-clan (*gotra*) Gurung by marriage or other way a man name Lama kanchha of sixteen clan Gurung of today's Nalma ward no:-5 of Besishahar Municipality of Lamjung took away the copper inscription plate (Tamrapatra) of Dura from Mahavir Chakra recipient Subedar Jhhilke Subedar aka Bal Bahadur Dura and never returned back, what ever the fact can be, but it can be the subject of research. Dr. Rishikanta Adhikari in his book *Dura Jaati Ko Parichaya* (2062 B.S.) mentioned that Yogi Naraharinath found Vamsavali Dura from late Chandra Singh Dura Thuloswara and the Village Head (*Mukhiya*) of Kunchha of Lamjung and wrote that main Vamsavali is in the Gorakchhu Pith in Mirgasthali. Lok Bahadur Dura the former chairman and adviser of Dura Sewa Samaj said that date forgot may be around 2035 B.S. during the meeting with Yogi Naraharinath, he said that if you want to know the history of Dura, you have to go to Jaisidewal in Kathmandu (Dura, L.B., personal interview, Chaitra 29, B.S. 2079). Professor and freelance journalist Yam Bahadur Dura have mentioned in the book *Dura Smarika* (2071 B.S.) that from social activist Cpt. Bakhan Singh Dura, historian Yogi Naraharinath found that there are Red Seal (*Lal Mohar*) and documents about Dura Community in Hanuman Dhoka Museum. But nothing is found after investigating and searching there and the reason is as like Jemadar Kau Bahadur Dura said, either such documents are either hid or destroyed. It can be said that they are ethnic community with their own culture and tradition due to the contact with and influence of other castes and communities they have been forgetting their own culture and tradition but not totally lose it's historical characteristics. And it shows that to preserve their cultural and historical identity Dura people have to be aware and vigilant themselves.

CHAPTER-FOUR

SACRAMENTS AND PRACTICES IN DURA COMMUNITY

4.1. Sacraments

Among the living being in the world, human being are said to be different from other living being. There are many reasons that makes human being different from other but the one and only most reason that makes human being different from other living being is consciousness. Till it's origin to today's modern period, different civilizations have developed and passed, movement of human being in different nooks and parts of the world also took place due to which their different types of cultures, traditions, social structures, social customs, norms values, settlements, livelihoods, eating and drinking habits, religions, sacraments, feasts and festivals etc came to exist. Such things which literally can't be seen in other living beings are developed by human beings to live their life after their birth on the earth. They developed such things according to their need and their surrounding environment, on the other hand other living beings than human beings were unable to be developed to the level of human beings. Therefore, human beings are conscious living beings as compare to other living beings on this planet.

After their evolution human being developed different types of sociocultural traditions, customs, norms and values, institutions which includes festivals, sacraments, religions, and societies, continuities which helps to direct the social behavior of human beings in a particular circumstances, helps to tie the human beings in one social rules, norms and values and helps to distinguish the authentication of the caste, communal, ethnic status among human beings. Though, human developed the sacraments in different period in different part of the world, it is still the subject of research that how and in which condition they developed this sacarements.

As it is already mentioned that Duras are under marginalized community which has low population about 0.02 % in Nepal, here we definitely can see the religious sacramental effect of other caste and community on this community. Though, this community is passing through the sociological process like assimilation, acculturation, amalgamation they have their own types of sacraments which they have been practising from the beginning. As we all know that Nepal is multi-ethnic, multi-caste, multi-culture, multi-religion where people follow different religion, worship the

different Gods and Goddesses according to their cultural beliefs, norms, values and religion but at the same time they have cultural and religious influence with each other. For example Muktinath temple which is the shrine place for both Buddhist and Hindus as Awalokiteshwor and Lord Vishnu respectively, Pashupatinath and Swyambhu are both sacred shrine for both Hindu and Buddha, Lumbini is the sacred place for both Buddhist and Hindus. Likewise the Anamism, Shamanism followers worship Lord Shiva, nature, ancestors, Goddesses of Shaktism on the basis of tantra where their sacraments are determined accordingly which shows the cultural and religious interrelation and syncretism. In the context of Dura Community during the period of 22/24 states in west Nepal Khaje Dura became success to install Shah synasty in Lamjung with the help of Kusmakhar Ghimire, Seshanta and Khasanta Bhai. During this Raj Guru Kusmakhar Ghimire able to influence the Dura Community and became the priest of Dura Community and became the good friend (*mit*) of Khaje Dura and categorized the Sub-Clan (*Thar*) of Dura into Major-Clan (*Gotra*) and from that day Dura and Ghimire are regarded as brothers and it is said that when Ghimire dies Dura people have to observe 13 days taboo after death and when Dura people dies Ghimire have to observe five days taboo after death. Such types of influence can be seen up to now in different sacraments and festivals in Dura Community.

The sacraments prevail in Dura Community of the research area are as follows:-

4.1.1. Birth Sacrament

Birth sacrament is regarded as the first sacrament for every people after they born on this planet. In Dura Community of research area it has been found that childbirth most be done in the husband house. Giving birth in woman house is considered as bad omen for the woman and her husband's family. Right before the birth of the child, her own mother-in-law and some experienced women of the village are accompanying her for assistance and right after the birth the good news is given to their family members, relatives and in the village. From the moment the woman gave birth that house and family members are regarded as profane and are not allowed to do any ritualistic works and start new work during their pollution days.

After the birth of child, placenta is buried in sacred place and the umbilical cord is tied up using yarn by mother-in-law, the remaining extra is thrown away. When the remaining umbilical cord which is tied up when detached is buried in the hearth or

fireplace of kitchen. In Dura Community it is believed that if detached umbilical cord of child is buried in the fireplace of kitchen then the child will not be deprived of having food he wants in the future. If the new born child is boy then stew of rooster or cock and if the new born child is girl then stew of hen is given to the mother of newly born child. During this time mother and the child especially are taken care and got treat cautiously.

Following birth an eleven days birth rite is performed where the newly born child is not allowed to bring out from the house and no one are allowed to touch the child until the name giving sacrament. The family members are also not allowed to do worship, pray, other ritualistic work and go to temple because it is believed that if all these activities happens during this pollution period of eleven days, clan deity of that house and other God will get angry and cause trouble to that particular house and it's members. Also if the practise is violated then sacred water (*sun pani*) or cow urine must be consumed by the mother and other violators and sacred water (*sun pani*) must be sprinkled in whole house. After the eleven days of pollution the other family or household of same lineage sprinkles the sacred water (*sun pani*) or cow urine in their house as well to purify or unpolluted their house and family member.

In the research area it has been found that the most Dura women moves to the relatives house in the bazaar area like Bhorletar, Sundarbazar and Besisahar one month before the delivery to avoid problems occurs during per-delivery and post delivery period which cause death and this sacrament is still intactly following by this community.

4.1.2. Chhaiti (Chhaitum)Sacrament

People of Dura Community performs this sacrament exactly on the sixth day from the birth of child. The whole neighbors and relatives are invited. A specific place is chosen and smeared by cow dung and lamp with light (*diyo*) is placed inside the room where the new born child is kept. There is belief that at the night of this day, the luck (Some says their Clan Deity) of the new born child come and draw the new born child's future line in his or her forehead. So to make them depend on their future line with their hard work and destiny, that they have got, family members and relatives stay whole night without having sleep by dancing and singing and guarding the burning lamp (*diyo*). The future of new born child is believe to be as good as how long the new born child stay awake at night.

During the night of the sixth day family of new born child worship the Goddess Sastika Devi. Different types of food items are given to relatives and neighbors on this occasion. In the morning of the following day the invited neighbors, mother group are farewelled by giving paddy on plate (*thali*) or flat round woven tray (Nanglo) with some amount of money.

In the research area it has been found that relatives, neighbors especially mother group (*ama samuha*) helps the family of new born child to perform this sacrament and there was no system or trend of worshipping Goddess Sastika Devi on sixth day after the birth of new child is regarded as one of the polluted day among the eleven day of pollution (*sutak*) period. People of this community still performing and following this sacrament.

4.1.3. Name Giving Sacrament

This sacrament is performed normally when the new born child is eleven days old. But we can find this sacrament is performed in third day, fifth day, seventh day, ninth day and eleventh day. With in the Thuloshwara and Naske villages of research area it has been found that this sacrament is performed in third, fifth, seventh or ninth day from the birth day of the child.

During this sacrament the new born child is taken out from the house for the first time after the birth. In the process of taking new born child out from the room of house, if the new born child is boy then he is fitted with bow and arrow, khukuri, pen, copy along with his friend which is made up of polished stone (*burlung dhunga*) wrapped with clothes and if the new born child is girl then she is fitted and adorned with cone shaped basket having made up of split cane (*solli*) with forehead band or head strap (*namlo*), traditional wooden butter pot (*theki/pung*) full of food items, pen, pencil, copy along with her friend which is made up of polished stone wrapped in clothes. The meaning of doing this is to wishing of become active and capable in their personal and professional work as well as inside and outside the house according to their gender and wishing of successful life in future. The new born child is played by his or her father by holding his or her arms and do singing and dancing. But before this this the new born child is given his or her first bath along with his or her mother by the mother and mother in laws of the newly become mother and a golden color or yellow color thread (*rakkhe*) is tied up around the neck of new born child. There is

tradition of giving the treat of rooster if the new born child is boy and the treat of hen if the new born child is girl to the relatives, neighbors etc.

After that a woman from the group of mother (*ama samuha*) or eldest mother or woman who herself is mother take the new born child from who newly became mother and play with the new born child in veranda of house by saying come little one come we will marry you with beautiful girl and help to become soldier (*lahure*) if the new born child is boy and saying come little one come we will arrange your marriage with soldier (*lahure*) if the new born child is girl. By saying this the mother group (*ama samuha*), relatives, neighbors along with new mother do entertainment by singing and dancing but no men are allowed to participate in this stuff.

The exact birth time of new born child is taken to the Shaman, Lama Guru or Priest for this naming sacrament. “The Shaman, Lama Guru or Priest analyzes the auspicious time, day, month, year and give the name, horoscope for the new born child. For this one of among married daughters (*chori/cheli*), nephew, niece (*bhanja/bhanji*) and son-in-law of the new born child family should go and fetch the name, horoscope, cow urine (*gaumutra*) with mantra” (Dura Sewa Samaj, B.S. 2057, Pg. 4). If the new born child is born in the inauspicious the Shaman, Lama Guru or Priest settle down this problem by doing propitiation of malevolent star (*ghraha shanti*) so that the new born child won't face any problem in his or her coming future and recommends and gives the name.

During this sacrament, family members of the new born child, do ritualistic work such as worship or offering (*yagya/hom*) offers tika and donation (*daan*), honorarium (*dakshina*) to unmarried girls after sprinkling cow urine (*gaumutra*) with mantra or gold water (*sun pani*) in the house and upon the family members and the relatives of that same family. In the research area it has been found that name to new born child is given by the oldest member of the family or by the Shaman but now a days this job is done by the Lama Guru especially and the Priest.

4.1.4. Rice Feeding (Bhaat Khawai) Sacrament

As like other communities and castes, there is rice feeding sacrament in Dura Community, where this sacrament is performed in six month in case of son and in fifth month in case of daughter after their birth. For this Lama Guru and Priest in some case locates a proper and auspicious day.

On this day different types of foods are prepared and different types of fruits and liquors are brought. Maternal uncle's family, relatives, neighbors are invited and new clothes sewn by tailor Damai Community is given to the child's family. The mother or other family member makes the child ready for this sacrament and the members from maternal, family and other relatives and neighbors gathers in the house of sacrament which is going to happens. On the time located by Lama Guru or Priest, the child is placed just in a way that his or her astrological Lucifer or Venus planet (*Sukra Graha*) should be on child's left side and moon on child's right side.

Before the sacrament starts the head of family worships clan deity, all family members, relatives, neighbors gather there. First the three virgin girls apply tika made up of curd and rice on the forehead of the child and with the help of Shrike bird (*Bhadrai Chara*) beak feeds the child with milk, curd, honey, ghee, rice and other food and fruit items. And after that the father and mother of the child puts tika on the forehead of the child, feeds the child and the maternal uncle's family, relatives and neighbors puts tika and feeds the child. The child gets best wishes and blessings, some amount of money and gifts from the father, mother, family members, maternal uncle's family, relatives and neighbors respectively. During this sacrament the tailor of Damai Community who had sewn the clothes of the child is given some amount of money, rice, foods etc.

In Dura Community of the research area, it is believed that the three virgin girls should be of cow category or year (*gai barga*) an animal associated with year according to Tibetan lunar calendar or other matching category (*barga*) to the child's category (*barga*) on which the sacrament is performing because cow is the symbol of Goddess Laxmi who is the Goddess of wealth and prosperity and other matching category (*barga*) with the child's category (*category*) helps to makes the child life good. The reason to feed the child with the beak of Shrike bird (*Bhadrai Chara*) is, it is believed that child will speak fast and become wise and clever in his or her upcoming days.

Dura Community of this area are following and performing this sacrament intactly, some changes can be seen in following and performing the sacrament. People of this community used to use the beak of Shrike bird (*Bhadrai Chara*) to feed the child during this sacrament but now a days gold rubbed silver coin or gold coated spoon are being use and as the Damai Community of this area is leaving their ancestral

profession and moving to the urban area for better opportunity, people of Dura Community are buying and using ready made clothes for their new born child.

4.1.5. Tonsure (Chhewar)

As like the Tonsure sacrament which is one sacrament among sixteen sacrament of Hindu, Dura Community of this research are also follows and performs this sacrament as hair cutting (*chhewar*) sacrament. This sacrament is performed when the boy is five years or above and this sacrament is performed in odd years such as in five, seven, nine or eleven. For this sacrament Lama Guru priest locates the auspicious date, on the at located date this sacrament is performed.

The maternal uncle has a great role in this sacrament. Maternal uncle brings the topi, tika, some ornaments, foods, roti, three or four kilogram (*one pathi*) paddy, four hundred gram (*one mana*) rice some and some amount of money for offering. First he puts these things in the cow shed and takes the nephew to the cow shed and puts holy vessel (*kalash*) and lamp (*diyo*) and worships. Afterward he ties the nephew with the same rope (*damlo*) which was used to tie the cattle like cow, buffalo etc and puts the grass on nephew's mouth for chewing and starts to cut the nephew's hair. Maternal uncle after ward puts topi on nephew's bald head and applies tika on the forehead of nephew and gives the roti, foods items, offerings, gifts, ornaments to nephew. With blessings maternal uncle wishes nephew the best for his upcoming future, nephew also gives respect to maternal uncle. There is a belief that the hair cut by maternal uncle should not let down directly to the ground, so maternal uncle puts the hair in the leaf made plate (*tapari*) and disposes it in the sacred place or near water source. When all above jobs are done the family members, relatives and invited guests, neighbors get together and wish the boy with good future whose tonsure sacrament is performed and eat and drink together and do entertainment together.

Dura Community of the research area though follow and perform this sacrament, some change can be seen in the pattern of performing this sacrament such as tying the tonsure boy in cow shed and feeding the grass and excessive use of meat, beverage items which shows the unnecessary and extravagance nature. Here, we should know that castes and communities other than Dura also follows and performs this sacrament but they have their own way to perform this sacrament.

4.1.6. Putpute Sacrament

Among the Mongol Community especially Dura and Gurung, this sacrament is popular more. The process of wishing good health, wealth and prosperous life to the eldest nephew of particular family by his maternal uncle and his family through Sorathi and Krishna Charitra dance and song is known as Putpute (*Data Jharne*) sacrament.

After Bada Dashain to Falgun month of Nepali calendar this sacrament can be performed and celebrated. This sacrament is performed after when all the above sacraments (i.e. Birth, Name Giving, Chaiti, Rice Feeding, Tonsure) has been performed and before marriage sacrament. In some case if one of the above sacrament is not done then that sacrament is performed before performing this putpute sacrament on the same day of this sacrament by the family and maternal uncle family member according to the nature of sacrament.

In the Dura Community of the research area, there is a custom of performing putpute sacrament for the eldest son of the particular family. When the eldest son is in between seven to thirteen years old the father and mother of the eldest son of a particular family call the maternal uncles of the eldest son for the sacrament, in some case the maternal uncle tell the parents of eldest son to perform this sacrament and the sacrament is performed on the auspicious day located by the Lama Guru. After receiving the invitation from eldest son or nephew family and after the date is fixed the maternal uncles come to nephew house and take him to the maternal uncles village with round bread (*sel roti*), alcohol and with some amount of money. It has been found that the maternal uncle come to eldest son or nephew house with the singing and dancing orchestra of Sorathi and Krishna Charitra under the leadership of Guru Bau along with the villagers of maternal uncle's village.

Lama Guru starts the ritualistic task and orders to lay the things like sacred flowers, lamp (*diyo*) rice seed (*achheta*), paddy, amount of money and fee according to the family status in flat round woven tray (*nanglo*) and teaches different task to perform this sacrament. But, during the observation in the research area it has been found that the sacrament has been performing without the Lama Guru. All the ritualistic works are done by either maternal uncles or Guru Bau (mostly Guru Bau). Afterward this sacrament begins with the performance of Sorathi and Krishna Charitra song and dance with wishing and blessing of happy, prosperous life to the nephew for which

this sacrament is done. During the sacrament the nephew for whom the sacrament is performing sits in a row with his parents and the first one to get tika is him from the Lama Guru, Guru Bau of Sorathi and Krishna Charitra group and gets blessing and good wishes whereas maternal uncle of the nephew offers silver bracelets, topi, some amount of money along with good wishes and blessings. Guru Bau and maternal uncle welcome the father and mother of the nephew by scarf and turban (*khada and pagari*) and scarf and shawl (*khada and majetro*). And again from the Lama Guru, Guru Bau, relatives, village head, maternal uncle's family, villagers, respectively wish the eldest son or nephew with good health, prosperity and long life. Lama Guru puts golden color thread or rakshya sutra (*rakkhe*) around the neck of nephew and bless him.

During the sacrament main importance is given to Sorathi and Krishna Charitra dance and song as the nephew the eldest son of particular family for whom the sacrament is performing is depicted or regarded as Bal Krishna. When the sacrament is completed the nephew family gives treat and party to the villagers, maternal uncle's family, Guru Bau, village head etc according to their economic status where if nephew family is soldier family (*lahure pariwar*) then they offers good dishes of chicken, mutton, buff, round bread (*sel roti*), pickle and drinks like wine, beer, whisky etc. The party lasted for whole night of that sacrament day where young girls and boys group of the village gives best wishes and blessings along with some amount of money to nephew and engage in singing dohori and dancing.

The Guru Bau of the orchestra group of Sorathi and Krishna Charitra song and dance is offered scarf and turban (*khada and pagari*) and garland of flower by the father or family member of the nephew and the maternal uncle and Guru Bau their villagers are farewelled by giving gift (*koseli*) and amount of money extended from fifteen to twenty-five thousand according to the time. This is how this sacrament is performed in the Dura Community in the research area.

In the research area it has been found that this sacrament is done without the Lama Guru. All ritualistic works are done by Guru Bau or maternal uncle. In some place of research area it has been found that if the family is economically strong than, they performs this sacrament for their eldest son individually and if the family is not economically strong then such family performs this sacrament in a group or on the

basis of community. This shows that, this sacrament is still followed and performed by the Dura Community of research area.

4.1.7. Gunyo, Cholo Sacrament

The another sacrament of the Dura Community of this research area is gunyo, cholo giving sacrament. As like Putpute sacrament is only for boys, this sacrament is only for girls. This sacrament should be done in the odd years within three to eleven years of age. This sacrament is about the process of giving the pair of clothes name gunyo and cholo basically long frock, blouse and shawl to the daughter before their first menarche. For this sacrament invitation is given to relatives and neighbors.

On the day of sacrament the family member especially father and mother, they take bath early in the morning, worship their clan deity and worship their daughter (*kanya puja*) by placing the holy vessel (*kalash*) by the side which is regarded as the witness of Lord Ganesh and offer tika to their daughter. Father and mother give clothes called gunyo and cholo to their daughter with lots of blessings. By that time the invited relatives, neighbors reaches there, cheers the daughter and the other family members, relatives, neighbors put tika and give blessings respectively to the daughter whose sacrament is being happening and give money, gifts etc.

Because the daughter of this community before they reach to menarche, they are regarded as innocent small child who can be worshiped as Goddesses and after this sacrament the daughters are regarded as to leave their old childish clothes like frock, jama etc and wear the new pieces of clothes which represent the grown ups. So, basically it can be said that this sacrament is the path of grooming or preparing the child girl for their coming maturity stage. Family of the daughter whose sacrament is happening give treat to the relatives, neighbors according to their economic status. This is how this sacrament is done by the Dura Community of the research area.

Gunyo, Cholo giving sacrament is one of the sacrament of Dura Community of research area which have been following and done by them till now. As time has passed some changes can be seen in the pattern of following and doing this sacrament in research area, such as in some village of research area some people of this community use Lama Guru, some use Hindu Priest to conduct this sacrament whereas many of them don't use such Lama Guru or Hind Priest to conduct this sacrament. The unfortunate thing is conducting of this sacrament is decreasing day by day and

the reason behind this may be the lack of knowledge about this sacrament or lack of interest about following and preserving their cultural sacrament as people are focusing on quality education, job opportunity and modern life.

4.1.8. Marriage Sacrament

Marriage relation is a pious relation, it is said that the couples are made already in heaven by the God and it is only to tie knot in earth. When it is about the marriage sacrament in Dura Community, three main things come up and should be addressed properly which are category cycle (*barga chakra*), major-clan (*gotra*) and sub-clan (*thar*). There are twelve category (*barga*) which represent the age of an individual with the name of animals and birds and five major-clans and sub-clans which are as follows:-

<u>Catagory (Barga)</u>	<u>Sub-Clan (Thar)</u>	<u>Major-Clan (Gotra)</u>
Cow	Dorde	Kausilya
Tiger	Dhingal	Kausilya
Cat	Puien	Shree Dhum
Eagle	Paache	Aatreya
Snake	Kyausha	Kashyap
Horse		
Sheep		
Monkey		
Bird		
Dog		
Boar		
Mouse		

By inter matching these category (*barga*), sub-clan (*thar*), major-clan (*gotra*) of man and woman under the auspicious time by doing the propitiation of malevolent star (*ghraha shanti*) this sacrament is done by the help of Lama Guru. It is said that if this sacrament is done without differentiating, analyzing the category (*barga*), sub-clan (*thar*), major-clan (*gotra*) of man and woman then the future of man and woman who ties knot won't be so successful and there will be risk of marrying the person who are brother or sister in relation. For an instance, if man with tiger category (*barga*) marry woman with cow category (*barga*) then there is a high risk of death of woman with

cow category (*barga*) and vice versa and if the sub-clan (*thar*) and major-clan (*gotra*) is not differentiated then there occur the risk of male with Dhingal sub-clan (*thar*) and Kausilya major-clan (*gotra*) marrying the woman with same sub-clan (*thar*) and major-clan (*gotra*) who are brother and sister in relation which is regarded as big sin. The boy should not marry when mother's category comes and the girl should not marry when father's category comes. Here, it should be remember that in Dura Community sub-clan (*thar*) with Dorde, Dhingal, Paache and major-clan (*gotra*) with Kaushilya, Aatreya are allowed marry sub-clan (*thar*) Puien, Kyausha and major-clan (*gotra*) with Shree Dhum, Kashyap and vice versa.

In Dura Community of the research area there are different types of marriage in exist i.e. arrange, love, elope and steal marriage, among which stealing marriage is not in exist nowadays but some case of elope marriage has been found in the research area. When a son of a family in Dura Community reaches marriageable age, two experienced old persons who have completed there sacrament purely (*karma chaleko*) are appointed as matchmaker (*kaliya*) by the parents of son who is going to be groom to search for eligible bride. They should be of affinal kinship or they should be of Dhingal and Puien sub-clan. In some case parents of bride-to-be and groom-to-be meet with each other and under the observation of Lama Guru they inter match the auspicious zodiac symbols, stars, catogory (Barga), they decide their marriage. When the parents of bride-to-be is ready to give their daughter, Saipata ceremony begins which is also known as *Waakdanta Bolne* ceremony During this ceremony, the family of groom-to-be is requested to bring gift (Sagun) like eight to ten flat bread (*dhosa roti*) in basket made up of bamboo cane splinter or bamboo reed (*perango/perungo*), curd in wooden pot (*theki*) decorated by white and red color tika and lid covered by sal tree leaf, around four hundred gram (*one mana*), rice, home made alcohol, silver coin, sal leaf, hen, cock, needle like wooden stick, mustard green leaf (*rayo ko saag*) etc. Here silver coin is necessary to open the lid of wooden pot and wooden stick to make the leaf plate (*tapari/duna*). The two-match makers (*kaliyaharu*) and father of groom-to-be go to the house of bride-to-be with these gifts.

When the matchmaker (*kaliya*) and father of groom-to-be appears in the house of bride-to-be, they are welcomed by the bride family where the main entrance of the bride-to-be house is purified by smearing or plastering (*lip, pot*) by cow dung with laying banana leaf and lamp (*diyoo*), holy vessel (*kalash*) placed upon it for worship

and other ritualistic work. During the worship the major-clan (*gotra*) sub-clan (*thar*) and seven generation (*pusta*) of the bride and groom are said. On this day father of bride-to-be leaves one time meal of a day for this. After the worship and other ritualistic works are completed the father of groom-to-be stands just outside the main door offers the gifts to the father of bride-to-be and the father of bride-to-be accepts the gifts gave by the father of groom-to-be and the Saipata or Wakdanta ceremony is completed by saying “from today I gave you my daughter, come to take my daughter on the auspicious date”. After that the gifts brought by the groom-to-be side is taken inside the house of where some amount of alcohol and curd is offered to sacred or puja place or *altar* inside the house in the name of Clan Deity (*Kul Debita*). *Saipata* is a ceremony within marriage sacrament similar to modern day engagement ceremony but with or without the presence of bride and groom-to-be, where the two-match makers (*kaliyharu*) mediate, confirmed and manage about the marriage expenditure. During this ceremony the two-match makers or the father of groom-to-be gives money for the the wedding expenses like chicken, castrated he-goat, buffalo/he-buffalo for feast and for other expenditures. This ceremony within marriage is equivalent to the *Janai Supari*, *Tuwa/Pung Khane*, *Sodhani* ceremony of Chhetri/Brahman, Gurung, Magar respectively. There is no formal system of dowry in (*daijo*) this community but the parents of bride give jewellery, money, property etc according to their status. After this ceremony the bride and groom-to-be are regarded as engaged and are not allowed to marry the third person. From the date of this ceremony to the date of marriage, if the groom-to-be dies then the bride-to-be should performs the funeral rite of the deceased groom-to-be and if the bride-to-be marry or elope with other guy then the father of bride has to manage or give his another daughter to the groom or anyhow get the new bride for the groom and the other guy has to pay fine (*jaari*) to the groom-to-be. This types of tradition is rare to see nowadays in the research area.

When Lama Guru located and fixed the auspicious date for marriage the family of groom and bride prepare for marriage and start to decorate their houses, hire the catering, different types of food items are prepared, chicken, castrated he-goat, he-buffalo are cut down for meat items for feast, two married girl of different sub-clan (*thar*) are sent to fetch the leaf of auspicious moment (*lagan ko paat*), band of musician is arranged. On the day of marriage the groom takes bath early in the morning, purifies himself and offers lamp (*diyo*), incense, fruits to the Clan Deity,

other God and worships them by saying, today I am going to do an auspicious work in my life have mercy on me. Father of the groom also do the ritualistic works and gives best wishes and blessing. On the other hand the parents of bride do the same works but father becomes ready by shaving all hair from his head, wraps his head by piece of red cloth, wears vest and long kilt (*kaas*) only and gives lots of blessing to his daughter. On this day of marriage of his daughter, father has to stay whole day without eating and drinking. The family of groom prepare the things to be taken to the house of bride, such as round bread (*sel roti*), full of bamboo reed basket (*dalo/thumse*), alcohol, for parent, family members, uncles, maternal uncles, aunties, sisters, kinship and village leader (*Mukhiya/Jimabal*) of bride and clothes, ornaments for bride etc and prepare the groom. The groom is made ready by his parents where his parents and elders apply tika to his forehead and give best wishes as he is going to start a new life, and sibling especially sisters and brothers help him by putting tika and the garland of such bermuda grass (*dubo*) and golden necklace (*kantha*) around his neck with Nepali dhaka or bhadgaunle topi on his head and white turban (*fetta/pagari*) on his forehead with an umbrella along with his brother (Friend of Groom during marriage). When he becomes ready he again do worship the clan deities and offers stick incense. The sisters of groom go round the groom and make circle of water from holy vessel (*kalash*) and the nephew of groom takes the bamboo reed flat basket (*perango/perungo*) full of flat bread (*dhosa roti*), sugar cane with wooden pot (*theki*) full of alcohol hung on it and the band of musician start to play the musical instrument and the relatives of the groom fire the gun and the marriage procession begin to move. In past round bread (*sel roti*), alcohol are mandatory for the village head (*Mukhiya/Jimabal*) of the bride village as village head (*Mukhiya/Jimabal*) system was there in research area.

The mother of groom performs a tradition of seeing off by giving milk to groom while covering herself under the shawl (*majetro/mijaro*) so that no one can see them. The reason for this is in past the mother of groom used to suckle their son and said that from today on this suckle milk is going to be in daughter-in-law's hand and do not forget the debt of your mother's milk stream. Nowadays instead of suckling, they feed the cow or buffalo's milk. And after that two-match makers (*kaliyaharu*) lead the marriage procession. The groom along with his friend, father, band of musician and marriage procession depart to the house of bride. When the marriage procession

of groom reach near to the house of bride, the members from bride side come to take the groom and the marriage procession with torch (*chirag*) made up of bamboo reed (*ningalo*) banana bark, cotton cloth, to the house of bride. When the groom and the marriage procession arrive in the house of bride, the bride side welcome them by throwing the mixture of rice, color, fruits (*gundar*) etc on them which is also known as *Gundar throwing* tradition. During this tradition the friend of groom protect the groom and himself from the colorful mixture (*gundar*) using umbrella. After the tradition is completed groom is welcomed by the sister-in-law (*bhauju*) of bride by putting new blanket around him and taken to yard of the house of bride where a particular place is already smeared by the cow dung. In return the groom pays the cost of the blanket to the sister-in law (*bhauju*) of the bride. Father of bride who was waiting groom holding water and leaf of bar, pipal in decorated brass water pot (*karuwa*), circles around him by pouring the water for three times and washes the feet of groom and worship the groom and apply tika made up of curd and rice on the forehead of groom. During this when the groom takes out his shoes an act of hiding the shoes is done by the sisters of bride demanding money where an act of entertaining negotiation can be seen between the friend of groom and the sisters of bride. When this tradition is completed, the brother of bride carries her out from the house and takes her to the groom where flower of garland and marriage rings (*barmala, aunthi*) are exchanged between them after bride circles the groom for three times by pouring the water. The brother of bride takes her inside the house and the groom is taken inside the house and served with curd, milk and other snack items and the marriage procession from the groom side are also served with snacks, water etc. When they finish their snacks father of bride again carries groom to the feast place and the marriage procession from the groom side follow the groom. Here it should be remember that there is no system or tradition of circling the pavilion or altar (*jagya*), chanting the mantras and worshipping on it as like of Brahman and Chhetri Community in Dura Community.

During their feasting at first groom, groom's father, friend and two match makers are served with varieties of veg and non veg items in big leaf plate (*tapari*) with big holes by the bride side, this is because to show the respect and welcome them and to know the ability of groom that how can he be able to tackle the problems of life with the bride in the future as like capable of completing the task of eating meal in big plate

with many holes. When they complete this life lesson funny task, they are served varieties veg and non veg items on dining plate with spoon. After the permission granted by the groom's father the marriage procession also start to eat and drink. The sister-in-laws (*saliharu*) of groom demand the money in exchange of his shoes by teasing him and making fun of him due to which a kind of entertaining ambience can be seen. After completing their feast the groom, his father, friend, matchmaker (*kaliya*) are offered to get their hand and face washed but instead, for fun the sister-in-laws (*saliharu*) of groom trick them wiping their face by color, here also we can see the funny act between groom and sister-in-laws (*saliharu*). Again, the ambience become full of fun when the groom, his father, friend and matchmakers are offered to wear the clown items like mask, glasses, crown made up of cucumber, sponge guard, pumpkin bark with chicken feathers etc and the groom is offered Hubble-bubble (*hookah*) made up of bamboo and reed fitted with cigarette. When the groom starts to take the taste of Hubble-bubble (*hookah*) they are deceived by the garland of intestine of animals on them instead of flowers by the bride side and become the center of entertainment. Here we should remember that in such entertaining stuff mother group (*ama samuha*) also help the sisters-in-laws (*saliharu*) and bride family whereas the musical band play the musical instruments (*panche baja*) like large kettledrum (*damaha*) small kettledrum (*tyamko*) cymbals (*jhayli*), a kind of clarinet or folk (*shehnai*), a long C or S-shaped trumpet (*narsingha*) etc in different songs and family members, relatives, neighbors, gurests who came to the wedding sing and dance.

After this, groom is taken inside the house of bride and put side by side with bride in worship or sacred place (*fainsha*) of house and the marriage process starts. During this the father and mother of bride offer the incense to their Clan deity, do ritualistic work and put tika on them. The groom and the bride both divide and distribute rice with bread (*sel roti*), milk, ginger, curd, fish, blessed food (*prasad*) in seven and nine parts respectively on the laid banana leaf. Reading the name of Clan deity (*Pitri judhaune*) and major-clan (*gotra padhaune*) are done during which the both sides recite the name of their past seven generations and *kanyadan* begins where the parents, family members especially father of the bride holds the hand of the bride, takes the hand to the groom's hand and the gold coin if possible or silver coin is dropped to the hand of groom through the hands of family members from father of bride by pouring the bermuda grass (*dubo*), barley, sesame seed water from the brass water pot. The father

of bride who already has shaved his hair off the head and has worn the piece of red cloth looks to the groom and his father and says from today, I have given my daughter to you and your family, if you love and support her you will be propitious and your life will be full of virtue, if you disregard and neglect her you and your family are going to get misfortune or sin. By saying this the father of bride tries to bound the groom, his family in strong promise. Groom and his family also accept the promise of bride father and family and accept the bride as wife, daughter-in-law of their family. The reason behind the father of bride shaved his head and wear of piece of red cloth is that from the day of marriage the father and the family of bride have given her to the groom and the family, from now onward all the responsibilities and destiny is connected with the groom and his family so even if the bride dies the last rites is also done by the groom and his family, groom and his family have right in every decision made by the bride rather than her own family.

After the *kanaydan* is completed the rice and other edible things which were divided in parts by the bride and groom on the laid banana leaf are worshiped by the couple, where the rice and other edible items divided by the groom is worshiped by the bride and the rice and other edible items divided by the bride is worshiped by the groom. A sacrifice of cock which was brought from the house of groom and hen from bride side are made. This sacrificed cock and hen are later given to the bride and groom before their farewell to the groom house. The bride and groom again offer incense to their respected clan deity and the drinking the foot water (*goddhuwa*) begins where the groom and the bride are taken by the bride father and bride brother respectively to the place where the decorated chairs are waiting for them. The bride is placed on the right side of the groom. In respect to the union of bride and groom, all the family members, relatives along with the parents, family members like brothers, uncles, maternal uncles of the bride drink the water poured on the foot of them. The water is mixed up with barley, sesame seed in brass water pot (*karuwa*) which is decorated with flower, bermuda grass and mugwort. Parents, family members, relatives of the bride apply tika to the couple, put white color turban (*fetta/pagari/safa*) on the head and scarf (*khada*) around the neck of groom, his friend and his father and give scarf (*khada*), white shawl (*majetro/mijaro*) and give money ahonorarium (*dakshina*), gifts, utensils and other family members, relatives, friends, villagers also apply tika to the couple and their friends (*dulah ra dulahi ko sathi*) and give the

couple blessings and gifts or money as honorarium (*dakshina*) according to their status. Family member of bride collect the money as honorarium (*dakshina*) which are given by the family members, relatives, guests, friends and make the name list of those who has attended and give the honorarium (*dakshina*), gifts and other for the record and give to the bride and groom's family at last. Here it should be clear that the job of pouring and sprinkling the sacred water which is mixed with sesame, barley seed, mugwort, bermuda grass are done by one among of two match maker (*kaliya*) for example if the bride is of Puien sub-clan (*thar*) then the job of pouring and sprinkling water are done by Dhingal sub-clan (*thar*), they must be of affinal kinship rather than consanguineal kinship. The friends of bride and groom are also get tika applied and given honorarium (*dakhsina*). The bride is still in her dress and ornaments provided by her family.

After this, the bride changes her clothes, ornaments and wears the clothes and ornaments brought from the house of groom after which groom applies vermilion (*sindur*) on the bride's hair-parting (*siundo*). While doing this the hair-parting (*siundo*) of bride is made ready in a way that her hair-parting (*siundo*) is placed at the end of the piece of white cloth and the groom has to put vermilion from one end of that piece of white cloth to the hair-parting (*siundo*) of the bride by making straight line through the piece of white cloth for three times in the way that the line of vermilion (*sindur*) should not be break till he reaches and fills the bride's hair-parting (*siundo*). He then, put auspicious thread (*mangalsutra*). During this time all the members of parental family member side of the bride are not allowed to watch this process of applying vermilion. After this, bride touches the feet of the groom and groom gives blessing to her. Up to now the bride is seating on the right side of the groom and after the vermilion process the groom lifts the bride and puts her on his left side, this process is known as changing place (*thaun sarne*). When the groom completes his task, they involve in the tradition of exchanging the curd (*dahi chataune*) where groom and bride feed curd to each other and apply curd on each other face in a funny way. During this process the sister-in-laws, friends of bride and groom cheer, tease them and make fun. This process of changing place (*thaun sarne*) has meaning, after vermilion process when the bride is shifted from her place, that means from that moment on the bride belongs to the groom and his family.

Now, the marriage procession with bride and groom is ready to return back. Before this, the family members of bride with the help of the match makers (*kaliyharu*) separate the things to be taken to the groom's house such as ornaments given by the parent, family members, relatives, three bamboo baskets (*thumse/dalo*) round bread (*sel roti*), collected honorarium money (*dakshina*), utensils, other gifts given by the parents, family members, relatives, kinships, friends, villagers and stand oil lamp (*thadauro diyo*), pillow, blanket, bed sheet by the parent and family members. By this time the feast is completed and the two-match makers (*kaliyharu*) involve in the tradition of cleaning the kitchen they are responsible to directing and ordering to clean the kitchen which was used to cook the varieties of food items for feast. This tradition of cleaning the kitchen by the two matchmaker is known as *Pohle falne*. For doing this the two-match makers (*kaliyharu*) are given rice, paddy, round bread (*sel roti*), alcohol, money, head of the castrated goat and turban (*pagri*), scarf (*khada*) on their head and neck respectively by the parent of the bride. At the same time the job of groom is to pay the fee (*dastur*) to the paternal (*maiti*) side where the groom pays forty rupees to grandmother, twenty rupees to the aunties, fifty rupees for sisters, sister-in-law (*fupu*) and hundred rupees for the own mother of the bride. This tradition of paying the fee (*dastur*) by the groom to the grandmother, aunties, sisters, sisters-in-law (*fupu*) of bride is known as *Dhogani, Vetani*. The paying the fee (*dastur*) to the bride's own mother by the groom is known as *Sotho*. There is a tradition of distributing the round bread (*sel roti*), alcohol and the parts of the slaughtered animals which were slaughtered for the feast where the round bread (*sel roti*), alcohol are given to the uncles, maternal uncles, aunties of the bride. Front right thigh of slaughtered castrated he-goat and buffalo is given to the uncles of the bride, front left thigh of the slaughtered he-goat and buffalo is given to the maternal uncles of the bride, rib cage for the aunties of the bride. Muktinath Ghimire in his book *Nepali Rastriyatako Paribeshma Dura Samudayako Sanskritik Jiwan*, (B.S. 2075, Pg. 73) has mentioned that the front legs or thighs, rib cage of the slaughtered castrated he-goat and he buffalo which are given to the uncles, maternal uncles, aunties are among the things which are taken to the house of groom which is not true. In fact, these parts of slaughtered animals are given to the uncles, maternal uncles, aunties, including the head of castrated he-goat to the matchmaker (*kaliya*) along with round bread (*sel roti*), flat bread (*dhosa roti*) and alcohol.

After all works are done the farewell begins where the bride and groom do ritualistic works and offer incense to the clan deity. They are given the rice and stew of cock and hen with which were cut down during their worship and ritualistic work inside the house. The nephew with the bread (*sel roti*) in bamboo reed basket (*perango/perungo*), bottle of alcohol on the top of the sugarcane plant or stick carries and starts to dance on the musical rhythms played by the musical band. Two men appears in male and female dress-up and carries the things like frog, fish, snake, litters like bone, food thrown by the marriage procession on covered leaf plate (*tapari*) placing on stretcher like structure and dance on the rhythm of musical instrument (*panche baja*) which is known as *Bhar dance*. The bride is made ready (*anmaune*) to go to her groom's house. The parents of bride and the two-match makers (*kaliyharu*) get together, talk and conclude about the costs and expenses about the marriage and the family members hand over the money or honorarium (*dakshina*) collected from the marriage to the father of the groom through the hand of the two-match makers (*kaliyharu*).

When the bride and groom become ready, the father and mother of the bride stand on the door of the house with cotton wrapped stick (*piuri*) installed on the approximately four hundred gram of food grain (*one mana*) paddy on the vessel. The cotton wrapped stick (*piuri*) should be hold by groom. Once the wooden wrapped stick (*piuri*) is hold by groom then he is not allowed to stay in the bride house and should walk form there and once he walks away from there he is not allowed to return and look back. The groom is escorted by his friend. The bride is carried out of the house by her brothers for her last farewell where all her parent, family members, relatives, neighbors wish her best future and give a lot of blessings. It is said that, the own brothers of the bride are not allowed to go with the bride to the groom's house so, the bride is carried and taken by other. The bride is taken to the groom and the marriage procession follow the bride and groom. The bride is farewelled and sent with three or five girls companion. The groom's side fires the gun and musical band play the musical instrument (*panche baja*) in different song. During this time the mother group (*ama samuha*) perform the tradition of way blocking (*bato chekne*) by putting round bread (*sel roti*), alcohol in front of the groom and the marriage procession and demand money where the father under the negotiation of two-match makers (*kaliyharu*) give money they demanded and make the way for the bride, groom and the marriage procession. On the other hand groom's side are waiting, especially the mother, family members, woman group

(*ama samuha*) of groom's village by dancing and singing (*ratauli*). When the groom, bride and the marriage procession arrive. The family members of the groom welcome them. The bride and groom are kept on the yard of house where the nephew with basket of bread and wooden pot or alcohol bottle hung on the top of sugarcane and sister with sacred water in sacred vessel (*karuwa*) circle around them pouring water for three times. On the way to the house door the sisters of the groom demand some amount of money with newly married couple. After paying the demanded money, sister of groom worship the newly married couple, holds the newly bride and take her to the door for entrance where the five and seven heaps of paddy with clay lamp on it are waiting for her. Then the bride has to step on it and enter the house by leaving one heaps on her each step for groom. After the bride and groom enter the house, the groom's relative made the sacrifice of cock on the middle of the door, throw the cock on the yard of house and they close the door of the house for sometime during which the bride and groom do ritualistic work and worship the clan deity of the groom. It is said that the ritualistic works and worship done by the newly married couple should not be watched by others. At the same time on the other hand the relatives of groom start to examine the fortune line of newly married couple by examine the body of sacrificed cock, if the body of sacrificed cock which was thrown on the yard of house lands up right then fortune of groom is strong over the fortune of bride and if the sacrificed body of cock lands up left then the fortune of bride become strong over the fortune of groom. They also examine the liver of sacrificed cock and predict the future of couple. If the tip of the liver of sacrificed cock is flaccid then the fortune line of couple is weak and if the tip of the liver is strong then the future line of couple will be good. This tradition of examine the body and the liver of such sacrificed cock is known as *Chinga herne* tradition. When the couple complete the ritualistic work they open the closed door, the bride is placed on the left side of the groom and the groom is placed on the right side of the bride. The father and the mother of the groom apply tika to the newly married couple and give money as honorarium (*dakshina*), blessings and gifts. The family members, relatives, guests, neighbors, friends also apply tika and give blessings, honorarium (*dakshina*), gifts to the newly married couple during which the tradition of watching the face (*mukh herne*) of newly married bride is also considered complete.

The married sisters of the groom manage and brings the chicken, castrated he-goat, buffalo bull for feast, in return the groom gives the money that cost to by these chicken, castrated he-goat, buffalo bull, gold and lungi. A massive feast is aslo given for the relatives, friends, guests, relatives, marriage procession in the groom's house. They sing and dance with the rhythm of musical instrument (*panche baja*) music and do lot of enjoyments. On the next day the bride with her companion and groom with some relative return to her parental house (*maiti ghar*). The parent of the groom prepares gift (*koseli*) like round bread (*sel roti*), alcohol, fruits etc and send the groom, bride and her companion to the bride house. The bride and groom stay in the parental house (*maita*) of the bride and return back to the groom house next day and this tradition is known as *Duran/Durgane Farkaune* tradition. In Dura Community, it is said that this tradition should be done by every single newly bride because if not done then new bride can't able to see her parental house (*maiti ghar*) and her marriage is regarded as not completed. Again next day after they return to the groom house the groom and bride have to go to the parental house (*maiti ghar*) of the bride to spend the five nights (*pancha raat*). After spending the five nights in the bride's parental house (*maiti ghar*), bride and groom return to the groom's house and this marriage sacrament is completed.

As it is already mentioned about the types of marriage has been found in the research area among which arrange marriage and love marriage are the most seen marriage here. Out of them steal marriage is not in existence, but some case of elope marriage can be found in this research area. If love marriage without the consent of parents and elope marriage in some case happens in the Dura Community of this research area then giving tika (*tika thapne*) ceremony or tradition is conducted by convincing the parents of the bride and groom. This tradition is conducted for those who have eloped without the consent of their parents. After convincing the parents and after the parents realize the life and future of their sons and daughters the family members, relatives arrange the auspicious time under the supervision of Lama Guru and conduct the ceremony or tradition of giving tika (*tika thapne*) where all family members, relatives, friends, neighbors etc are invited and they apply tika on the forehead of the couple and give blessings and best wishes, gifts and honorarium money (Dakshina) etc. After completing this tradition on the same day massive feast is given to the family members, relatives, neighbors, guests etc and the distributing the bread, alcohol to the

aunties, sisters, uncles, maternal uncles of bride is conducted and distributing of body part of the castrated he-goat and buffalo bull to matchmaker (*kaliya*), uncles, maternal uncles, aunties, sisters is also conducted. Paying fee (*dastur*) to the grandmother, sisters, aunties, sisters-in-law (*fupu*) and mother of bride as *Dhogani, Vetani and Sotho* is done. Cleaning of the kitchen where foods, vegetables meats are cooked for feast is also conducted by the matchmaker (*kaliya*). All the ritualistic works an worshiping, offering the clan deity and reciting the past seven generation, sub-clan (*thar*), major-clan (*gotra*) are also recited. If the above things are not possible then on the day of tika of Dashain festival the groom's family side send the stuff like round bread (*sel roti*), alcohol, castrated he-goat, buffalo bull etc as gift (*koseli*) to the family member and maternal uncles along with the bride and groom. And the bride family also accept the gift (*koseli*) and give tika and honorarium money (*dakhsina*) according to their economic status. When the marriage is completed in Dura Community the bride on the occasion of her marriage she has to give lungi to her aunties as a gift and by arranging favorable time parent (*samdhi, samdhini*) of bride invite the parent (*samdhi, samdhini*) to their house and give turban (*pagari/fetta*) and shawl (*majetro/mijaro*) to the parent of groom and treat them with delicious food and it is said that, then after the parent of the bride can visit her daughter's house.

In Dura Community, the divorce system is also exists. If there are clash, conflict, disagreement occurs and both bride and groom are wanting to leave each other and live differently then, they can appeal to village head (*Mukhiya/Jimabal*) of the village. In the past there was a village head system (*Mukhiya/Jimabal*) system and decisions are made by this system before reaching to the courts. The representatives of both sides are called and divorce is done on the mediation of the village head (*Mukhiya/Jimabal*) in the presence of other experienced elders of the village where the man says, "take your gunyo" and pays five hundred rupees if he wants to leave the woman and woman says, "take your kachhad" and pays three hundred rupees if she wants to leave the man and announcement of divorce is made. In the research area, it has been found that there was the system of paying compensation to the former husband of one's wife (*jaari pratha*). One has to pay six to six hundred fifty to the former husband. The one who steal the wife of another man is called *Jaar* and the one whose wife is stolen is called *Sadhu*. As the time has changed these divorce and paying compensation system has been extincted in research area.

The people of Dura Community of the research area have been found performing and conducting the marriage sacrament according to their own customary way but some changes can be seen in today's marriage. Such as the competition and extravagant nature where a bit of more amount of money are being spend in food and beverage items to show their status high in the society or community. The another change that can be seen in the marriage in Dura Community of the research area is the attire where in the past the bride and groom used to wear blouse (*cholo*), countryside cotton sari (*gunyo*), shawl (*majetro/mijaro*), long waist band (*patuki*), over shoulder cloth (*ghalek*), around heap cloth (*tikish*) and hat (*dhaka, bhadgaunle topi*), sleeveless shirt (*bhoto*), waist coat, Loincloth/Kilt (*kachhad/kaas*), wide belt (*peti*) respectively and such attires have been replaced by modern gown, lehnga, customized blouse, countryside cotton sari (*gunyo*), transparent red scarves, sandal or sandler shoes and modern shirt, tuxedo, pants or wedding suit, shoes. Not only this the people, guests, neighbors who attend the marriage sacrament of Dura Community people in the research area have also been found wearing the modern suits, shoes, sneakers, modern jackets, long frock, etc. The tradition of *Bhar dance* in marriage is also changing because while doing this tradition live snake and frog is needed which can be risky. Nowadays we can see increase in the fee (Dastur) to the grand mother, aunties, sisters, sister-in-laws (Fupu) and mother of bride by the groom as *Dhogani, Vetani* and Sotho. Generally, marriage in Dura Community of the research area is done except the month like Shrawan, Bhadra, Ashoj, Kartik, Poush, Chaitra of Nepali calendar so the people of Dura Community of the research area still following this custom of auspicious time, month and year for marriage sacrament. There used to be the system of village head (*Mukhiya/Jimbawal*) as they have authority for planning, making decisions and on the basis of their village customary law and people used to respect them and they were invited in every ceremony and occasion in the village but as the time has changed, Nepal is now in the system of federal republic, this system of village head (*Mukhiya/Jimbawal*) is not in existence now and there is no any system of paying compensation to the former husband (*jaari pratha*), such problem including divorce are handled by the law department of Government of Democratic Republic of Nepal. And the marriage in Dura Community in the research area is done from the house and the feast is given in the plowed fields around the house. From the research it has been found that the trend of giving feast and doing some marital work are gradually shifting to community building (*samudayik bhawan*) and embracing the modern day

catering, kitchen system as the building of community building (*samudayik bhawan*) is slowly increasing in the villages of research area and at present due to impact of modernization, love marriages are on the rise in the Dura Community of research area. Though, the people of Dura Community of the research area have been following their way of doing marriage sacrament due to the impact of modernization there is increase in the number of love marriage in the research area and due to the presence of other communities and castes around their habitation, the originality of conducting this sacrament in Dura Community is in changing condition.

4.1.9. Death Sacrament

One must die once he or she is born in this world and this is the universal fact. So, there are birth to death sacraments in different communities and casts in Nepal who have been following from the past. As like in other communities and castes, there is also own type of death sacrament found in Dura Community of the research area. When someone dies in Dura Community, the family members inform the relatives, married daughters, other kinship and neighbors. They gather at the house of the deceased person. The body of deceased person is wrapped with mattress or blanket and kept in one corner of the house. Until and unless, the daughters, the male-in-laws (*juwainharu*) and other relatives of the deceased person don't arrive at the house of deceased person the death ritual can't start further. Family members, relatives, neighbors, villagers are divided into different groups for different works like some go to purchase goods for death rituals, some go to call or bring the daughters, male-in-laws (*juwainharu*), some go to bring the Lama Guru, some go to burial place, crematorium to prepare cremation fire or pyre (*sola*) or burial land and some manage the accomodation for guest, relatives, two people of affinal relation (*kutumba/kutuma*) relation are sent to bring maternal uncles (*mamaliharu*), cotton (*piuri*) from maternal uncle's house and some go to bring the Lama Guru, Pahchu or Ghyabre and so on. Here daughters, sisters, male-in-laws (*juwains*), maternal (*mamali*) of deceased person and a piece of cotton (*piuri*), shroud (*kaatro*) are the inevitable peoples and things for the death sacrament in Dura Community. If the deceased persons don't have son, daughter, maternal uncle, male-in-law then the responsibility of his or her death ritual goes to his or her brothers son, daughter, maternal, male-in-law.

When the Lama Guru and his team arrive, the Lama Guru priest wears special attire for last rites in death sacrament and starts to read the Buddhist scripture for last rites

where he is accompanied by his companion by playing drum, big cymbal, conch shell. And the sisters of the dead person smear the house in opposite direction from inside to outside through entrance door (it is said that smearing the house from inside to outside is a bad sign and all inauspicious things are done during this death sacrament). The body of deceased person is brought out and kept on the cow dung smeared (*lipoko*) porch, in a way that no one even cat, dog, chicken can't touch the dead body. If the deceased person is someone's husband then the widow woman breaks the glass bangles of his wife and wipe the vermilion (*sindur*) from the parted hair (*siundo*) of his wife. Bamboo is brought to make stretcher and the dead body is covered by shroud (Kaatro) and is placed on the bamboo stretcher where the body is tied up in three, five or seven places of stretcher by cord made up of bamboo cane splinter (*choya*) and thatch grass (Babiyo ko ghans). The male-in-laws (*juwains*) put a vegetation name *Chikuta* under the pillow, below the head of dead body, nettle is also placed on the deceased body to avoid witchcraft and evil touch as it is said that witchcraft and evil touch can stop the deceased person's soul from entering into heaven and they tie the rope along with same vegetation on four sides of the stretcher.

The daughters and sisters of the deceased person apply oil on the face of the deceased person, they show mirror to the deceased person and put garland of flower, scarf (*khada*) around the head of the deceased person and pay tribute by offering some amount and applying red tika to the deceased person. Relative or the maternal uncle of the deceased person put three to four hundred gram (*ek mana*) paddy and soil, cotton (*piuri*), other edible things like fruits, alcohol, biscuit, cigarette etc on the leaf plate (*tapari*) the things which the deceased one had wanted to eat during his or her life on the planet earth. These things on the leaf plate (*tapari*) is placed at the foot of the deceased person. The foot of the deceased person is also washed by the family members, maternal uncle family members of the deceased person on the copper vessel and the remaining water should be thrown on the top of the house (*ghar ko dhuri*) if the family has called the Pahchu or Ghyabre priest. The Lama Guru examines the category (*barga*), time of birth and time death of the deceased person and if the dead body of the deceased person wants fire then the dead body of the deceased person is burnt and if the dead body of the deceased person wants soil then the dead body of deceased person is buried and the pyre (*sola/chita*) and grave (*chihan*) should be

made accordingly and if the deceased person is male then rectangular grave is dug out and if the deceased person is female then triangular grave is dug out.

Adulterated type of system has been found in Dura Community of the research area regarding the priest. In the past Pahchu or Ghyabre of Nature worship religion were used in the villages of research area but later the people of Dura Community of the villages of the Madhyanepal ward no:-10 of research area used Lama Guru of Buddhism and in contrary the people of Dura Community of some villages of the Sundarbazar ward no:-11 especially the Dura Community people of the Turlungkot village used Hindu priest for this sacrament as there are Brahman Community villages like Dhungana gaun, Deutapani, Maidan etc in it's surrounding. Regarding the Pahchu or Ghyabre priest, Ganeshman Gurung claims that Dura need Gurung Shaman (Pahchu or Ghyabre) for the performance of ceremonies (Gurung, B.S. 2051-52 B.S., Pg. 193) but according to the informant Hira Lal Dura now living in Bharatpur, Chitwan, Duras also used to have own system of Pahchu or Ghyabre priest. He further mentions that there was a priest of Dura Community whose name is Lale Pahchu who used to lived in Arghaun Pauwa of Pokhara (Dura, H. L., personal interview, Falgun 27, B.S. 2079). The Pahchu mantras are based on oral, listening and remembering tradition, they don't have religious or scriptural text book. The Pahchu priest used to catch the bird name *PomPom* and three or seven layers or steps of pavilion or altar (*jagya*) are made and they used to use that bird in that pavilion or altar (*jagya*) to do every rituals, sacraments and ritualistic works so the Ghyabre priest used to have drum and the wooden bird while doing the ritualistic works. He also mentions that there are type of Ghyabre such as Kage, Tu, Lehke Ghyabre etc used to use by Dura Community in the past but the way of doing the ritualistic works were mainly based on the gory and painful animal slaughtering and scarification which caused the Dura Community people of the research area shifted to the Buddhism. Well, whatever the facts are, this can possibly the subject of research.

If the Pahchu or Gayhbre priest are called then they come to the deceased person's house by blowing conch shell and daughters of the deceased person have to welcome the Pahchu or Ghyabre priest by bowl of alcohol covered with leaf. The Pahchu or Ghyabre priest do the death sacrament on the basis of their memorization and oralization mantra tradition. Some similarities can be found between Lama Guru of

Buddhism and Pahachu or Ghyabre of Nature worship religion for doing and conducting the death sacrament.

When paying tribute and tying up the dead body to the stretcher is done, approximately four hundred gram (*one mana*) of rice is cooked for offering for departed ancestors (*pinda*) and under the guidance of the Lama Guru priest by circling the deceased body one oldest member of the family points the bow arrow towards sky, land and to four directions and shoots on the banana tree trunk placed at the certain place at the same time son of the deceased person takes off the hat, shoes and throws the offering for departed ancestors (*pinda*) to those same directions and this is known as *Barsha hanne*. It is believed that *Rahu* who is the minister of Asuras and represents the sinister or inauspicious, materialism, fear, obsession, dissatisfaction expects more and is the cause of all death in this world and takes the life of the living being so to take off the soul of the deceased person from the claws of *Rahu* and make safe way to the heaven this *Barsha hanne* act is done. With the rhythm of big cymbal, drum and conch shell the Lama Guru priest dances and circles around the body of deceased person. There are different mantras, rhythms, dances for different tasks in the death sacrament.

To advance the death sacrament further the Lama Guru priest with his companion read, chant different mantra and play different rhythm to do the task of lifting the stretcher of dead body of deceased person. After completing the ritual by Lama guru in home the taking of the dead body to the crematorium or graveyard (*ghat/chihandanda*) starts. The oldest among the family member of the deceased person becomes ready by holding one end of three meter white cloth (*kaatro*) wrapped or hanged in the bamboo reed stick in one hand and sickle and baby chicken in the other hand leads the funeral procession where the stretcher with the dead body of the deceased person is lift up in a way that the foot of the deceased person is pointed towards his or her house and head is pointed towards the mountain and carried by the sons of the deceased person and the daughters of the deceased person walk in front of the dead body on the stretcher of deceased person by letting their hair free, with bare foot, sprinkling paddy, rice, barley, coin (*burki*) and putting the copper plate with oil on their head and carrying the white three meter cloth wrapped in the bamboo reed that is tied up with the stretcher of dead body of the deceased person. Here, the one who is carrying the oil in copper plate is deceased person's own

daughter. At that time the daughters, family members cry and weep by calling the deceased person in an emotional way. During the leading of funeral procession to the crematorium or graveyard (*ghat/chihan danda*) atop of the hill, the oldest person who is leading the funeral procession makes the sound of “Ho, Ho, Ha, Ha, Hoieeee” in front of the carried dead body of the deceased person and this is called showing the way (*bato dekhaune*) to the deceased person. During this, by throwing all water the people of the village empty their pot (*ghainto*), water-jar (*gagri*) of their houses. Similarly, they break the thread, (*dhago*) already worn by their sons so that their sons spirit don't follow the deceased person.

In Dura Community of the research area it has been found that, the dead body of deceased person is taken to the hill. There is no custom or tradition of taking dead body of deceased person to the bank of the river for cremation or burial. According to the informant Hasta Bahadur Dura of Naske village, Madhyanepal Municipality, ward no:-10 of research area, it is said that Brahmans and Chhetri came from the bank of Indus river they are taken to the bank of the river again after their death for the cremation just like this Dura people are offspring of the God Mahadev whose place is Kailash which is up in the mountains and Dura people are originated and came from the mountains so, they again go up to the hill after their death (Dura, H.B., personal interview Chaitra 24, B.S. 2079). When the funeral procession with the dead body of deceased person reach to the top of the hill the oldest person who had led the funeral procession with sickle, baby chicken in one hand releases the baby chicken and the baby chicken starts to scratch the land and it is said that the dead body of deceased person should be burnt or buried on that same scratched place.

Before the dead body is laid down, one hundred eight pieces of chestnut wood is collected by the male-in-laws (*juwains*) in leaf placet (*tapari*), the pyre (*sola/chita*) or grave (*chihan*) are wrapped around for seven or nine times by the raw yarn (*kaacho dhago*) and the tip of the same raw yarn (*kaacho dhago*) is taken little far away from the pyre (*sola/chita*) or grave (*chihan*). After laying down the dead body of deceased person the daughter of the deceased person who had been following the dead body by carrying the copper plate on their head apply the oil on the forehead of deceased person and they show the mirror to the deceased person face and the copper plate should be taken by the daughter of deceased person. This act of showing mirror, applying oil, tika to the deceased person is called *Karash garne*. After that oldest one

from the family member of deceased person points the bow arrow or spear or khukuri towards sky, land and to four directions and the eldest son throws the offering for departed ancestors (*pinda*) to the same direction by circling the dead body under the guidance of Lama Guru. These acts of applying oil sowing mirror to the deceased person and *Barsha hanne* are done both in the house of deceased person and in the crematorium or graveyard. Before the dead body is placed on the pyre or buried in the grave, the collected one hundred eight pieces of chestnut wood in leaf plate (*tapari*) which is also known as religious wood (*dharma kaath*) is burnt by the male-in-law (*juwain*), all people who came to the crematorium or graveyard in funeral procession are told to touch because according to elderly people of Dura Community of the research area by doing this work the soul of the deceased person knows the people who and who don't have come as mourner (*malami*) to attend his or her funeral. As the same way raw yarn (*kaacho dhago*) which was wrapped around the pyre (*sola/chita*) or grave (*chihan*) and elongated away from the pyre (*sola/chita*) or grave (*chihan*) is pulled by the male-in-laws (*juwains*) and others showing their back to the pyre (*sola/chita*) or grave (*chihan*). During this time the Lama Guru play the big cymbal, drum and conch shell in different rhythm on the basis of their mantra and all the people who came to the crematorium or graveyard as mourner (*malami*) start to cry by saying Ohhh.., Ahhahahh in a long way and loud noise. The reason behind this is that it prevents spirit of mourner (*malami*) from following the dead soul (*saato jandaina*).

After that the dead body is carried around pyre (*sola/chita*) or grave (*chihan*) for three times and placed on the pyre (*sola/chita*) or in the grave. The eldest son or daughter or male-in-law (*juwain*) put the gold coin, if not possible gold rubbed coin is place in the mouth of the deceased person and the eldest son of the deceased person gives funeral fire (*dagbatti*) on the mouth of the deceased person, the maternal uncles (*mamaliharu*) give funeral fire (*dagbatti*) on the head and foot of the deceased person. Four hundred gram (*ek mana*) rice on leaf plate (*tapari*) and flower should be placed on the crematorium or graveyard of the deceased person by both family member and by maternal uncle family. The deceased person is then burnt or buried. If the dead body of the deceased person has to buried then the grave has to be dug out and should be buried using spade, shovel in a reverse (*ulto*) way. When the dead body of the deceased person is burnt and the fire ablaze in high condition the Lama Guru with his

companion play the drum, big cymbal, conch shell and the mourners (*malamiharu*) start to cry in a loud noise so that no one present in the funeral gets scare of the popping sound came from the burning of the dead body of deceased person on pyre (*sola/chita*). In some village of the research area it has been found that people offer tools like spade, sickle on the deceased person's pyre (*sola/chita*) or grave. During the return of mourner (*malami*) with the sons, daughters of the deceased person from the crematorium or graveyard to the deceased person house the sons, daughters, relatives and the mourners (*malamiharu*) go to the nearest water source (*pandhero*) where the maternal uncle shaves the hair eyebrow, mustache, the beard of deceased person and daughters take bath with barley, sesame water along with other mourners (*malamiharu*) to remove the pollution. After that the son, daughter (*kriyaputra/putri*) of the deceased person wear pure and sacred white cloth and drink the barley, sesame seed water in both obverse (*sulto*) and reverse (*ulto*) way before returning to the house.

During their return to the house the oldest person or the male-in-law (*juwain*) burn the fire with holy powder incense (*dhup*) sons, daughters, (*kriyaputra/putri*), mourners (*malamiharu*) who had gone to the crematorium or graveyard are told to touch the fire with holy incense (*dhup*) and touching the fire with holy incense (*dhup*) is known as taking holy incense fire (*dhup khane*). The other daughter, sisters, female-in-laws (*bhaujuharu, buhariharu*) sprinkle the holy water to the son, daughter (*kriyaputra/putri*), mourners (*malamiharu*) or whole funeral procession. These taking of holy incense fire and sprinkling holy water is done so that the soul of recently deceased person can't follow the mourners (*malamihaur*) to their house and other evil force (*simebhume*) from the crematorium or graveyard can't follow, harm them. At the same time during their way from water source (*pandhero*) to the house of deceased person the male-in-laws (*juwainharu*) on the other hand after completing the ritualistic work, the Lama Guru collects flour doughed torma (*kaindu*), barley, sesame seeds, spatula (*dabilo*), Y-shaped wood stand to support brass pot (*saanyen kaath*), sieve (*chhapani*) and throw on the crossroad (*dobato*) and put the nettle, mugwort plant pointing towards the crematorium or graveyard from where they had just returned by burning or burying the dead body of deceased person and this act of throwing such things is called throwing the polluted kitchen stuffs or calming down the misfortune (*graha shanti*) or meloveolent stars (*thaso falne*). This is done to stop

the bad omen or evil force to enter the house and to indicate the upcoming pollution day. In Dura Community of the research area there still exist of community life style . When feast, festivals, fairs, and other occasion happens or any unexpected incident happens to someone then they help each other in need. So, the other relatives, neighbors, villagers have already been gathered in the house of grieving to comfort, console and help the distraught family member. Certain amount of money (Hundred rupees) approximately four hundred gram (*ek mana*) local beer, dregs made up of rice, millet (*jaand ko chhokra*) or one bottle local alcohol are collected from the relatives, neighbors, villagers for the death sacrament and grieving family. This collection certain amount of money, local beer or alcohol is known as *Korje uthaune* or *Khadal uthaune* and with the passage of time, the cost of *korje* or *khadal* increases.

After this, the separate place is made for son, daughter (*kriya putra/putri*) and family member to do the after death rites (*kriya basne*) where straw is laid, pure and sacred clothes, blankets are given to them, rice with ghee, ginger are cooked and served on banana leaf one time a day to them but they are not allowed to eat salt and other salty things. Following this moment, thirteen day taboo (*jutho barne*) is observed by them. During this time the son, daughter, family members of the deceased person are not allowed to touch other, even they are not allowed to touch cat, dog and so on. To help the son, daughter (*kriyaputra/putri*) and family member during their pollution days male-in-laws (*juwainharu*) are appointed. The Dura Community of the research area, generally observe the taboo or pollution of thirteen day but under the direction of Lama Guru and because of the time period this pollution day can be observed for three, five, seven, nine, eleven or thirteen days. There are two types of last rites (*kriya basne*) in practice found in Dura Community of the research area. They are *Kori* and *Rahai* after death rites (*kriya basne*) where in former one, the son and daughter (*kriyaputra/putri*) have to sit inside the close room without touching and being visible to other during their pollution day and in later one the son, daughter, family member (*kriyaputra/putri*) can be visible to other, talk to the other but not allowed to touch other people, animal and things. Among these two the people of Dura Community of the research area follow the second after death rites (*kriya basne*). If the Pahchu or Gyabre priest is doing the death sacrament then, they chant their mantras and start to make the offering by slaughtering the sheep.

There is after death ritual called *Arghaun* which is of two types and they are death ritual done right after the death and lately death ritual. If all the family members, relatives and other kinships of the deceased person are present at the moment of the death of deceased person and if there is lack of time then quick death ritual (*alo arghaun*) is done which is completed in three days and if the family members like son, daughter, relatives, other kinships are not present or are not be able to present at the death of the deceased person then lately death ritual (*arghaun*) is done in eleven, thirteen, forty-five days or in one year under the guidance of the Lama Guru so that, all family members, relatives who have gone away form home for the decent earning can attend and do the death rites of the deceased person together. This death ritual (*arghaun*) can be done in three, five, seven, nine, eleven, thirteen day or in one year according to the time condition, economic condition, busyness in the life of the grieving family. If the time to do after death ritual (*arghaun*) elongated to one year or if the soul of the deceased person can't able to enter the heaven according to Lama Guru then the soul of the deceased person roam here and there by becoming desperate soul (*Bayu*) who always wants to leave this materialistic world and enter the heaven. So during their period as a desperate soul in the earth they should be kept under the tree or in the small house and worshiped as a God in the temple by their family members until and unless the after death ritual (*arghaun*) is done and worshiping of such desperate soul is known as worship to the ancestor (*Bayu puja*). This worship is done during the festival of Baishak Purnima which is one of the festival celebrated in Dura Community. It is believed that those who have practiced and used witchcraft for wrong purpose don't easily go to heaven because of the wrong deed on the earth and they use to bother their family members. "Generally, this after death ritual (*arghaun*) is done for three to seven day or night but nowadays this after death ritual (*arghaun*) is done for three days and nights. According to the informant Hira Lal Dura, Dura and Gurung do this after death ritual (*arghaun*) in their own way where the Gurung do after death ritual (*arghaun*) for one day which is called Ghyaba and but Dura called it *Mahsyu*.

To do the after death ritual (*arghaun*) male-in-laws (*juwainharu*), neighbors, villagers help to build the after death ritual (*arghaun*) house is made where two to three steps religious altar by sacred woods and clothes with different colors of torma (*kaindu*) made up of sacred flour are placed, statue of Gautam Buddha, holy lamp, thanngas a

buddhist religious painting of different Buddhas, Green Tara, Vajrasattva, Buddhist prayer flag, holy vessel (*kalash*), mendal, dhattar, furwa, stick incense, fruits etc. Are placed in a decorative way. Tall bamboo stick is raised by the help of male-in-laws (*juwainharu*) where bamboo reed basket (*perango/perungo*) with white three meter white cloth, purse (*thaili, basa*), with round bread (*sel roti*), one bottle of alcohol, one small wooden pot (*theki*) of curd in it huded. Thsi traditon of raising bamboo stick with bamboo reed basket (*perango/perungo*) with such stuffs in it is called *Aala uthaune* and this is a symbol of deceased person. Similarly, the male-in-laws (*juwainharu*) and other than the family members start to make cone shape small idolic representation of the deceased person which is called *Dukura*. This idolic representation of deceased person is made by sprinkling, putting white clothes on the cone shaped idol made by bamboo, by putting the raised soil (*jagayeko mato*) of deceased person house or burnt remain (*asthu/asthi*) and is decorated by putting red tika and different flowers. On the tenth day of the pollution the Lama Guru start to read the mantras from their religious text book to do the after death ritual (*arghaun*). The companions of the Lama Guru also start to read the mantra from the religious book and play drum, big cymbal, conch shell, brass trumpets, bell etc. They read the mantra for days and nights. Raising of soul (*asthu/mato jagaune*) is done by the Lama Guru. If the quick after death ritual (*arghaun*) is performing they raise the burnt remains (*asthu/asthi*) and if the lately after death ritual (*arghaun*) is performing they raise the soil of the deceased person house and invite the deceased soul or spirit to the place or altar where Lama Guru is performing the ritualistic works and the family members, relatives, other kinship of the deceased person offers the things like alcohol, found bread (*sel roti*), foods, fruits and other things according to the demand of deceased soul. In the past in Dura Community it has been found that the after death ritual (*arghaun*) is done for seven days and seven nights. Dura community of the research area believes that the mantras from the religious text of Lama Guru have to read for one hundred eight times which guaranteed the entrance of the recently deceased soul to the heavenly world. Later this system of reading mantras from religious text book by Lama Guru is decreased to three days.

On the last day of pollution or last day of three day after death ritual (*arghaun*) Lama Guru with the male-in-laws (*juwainharu*) go to the place where they had been worshipping (*Bayu puja*) ancestor (*Bayu*) to dismantle the ancestor (*Bayu*) place.

Following the dismantling of ancestor place (*Bayu thaan*) other than the relatives, family members of the deceased person perform the after death ritual (*arghaun*) dance where they lit the fire wood and circle the fire wood and dance in different rhythms of drum and big cymbal by making different sounds. After that death ritual (*arghaun*) dance, cone shaped idolic representation (*dukura*) dance is also performed. During this dance Lama Guru and his companion become ready by wear especial type of red and yellow color attires carrying big cymbal, drum and on the other hand the male-in-laws (*juwainharu*) become ready by carrying the cone shaped idolic representation and they dance. Entertaining act and competition for forcing Lama Guru with his companion to dance for long time between the Lama Guru with his companion and male-in-laws (*juwainharu*) can be seen during this cone shaped idolic representation (*dukura*) dance. They dance for more then one hour untill one party give up. The onlookers enjoy this dance. The male-in-laws (*juwainharu*) cut down the raised bamboo with stuff like round bread (Sell roti), alcoho, purse (*thaili, basa*), etc in bamboo reed basket (*perango/perungo*) hunged on it which is called *Aala* and along with this *Aala* the cone shaped idolic representation are flowed or immersed by the male-in-laws (*juwainhaur*) in the river or in the crematorium. Except all purse (*thaili basa*) with money is given to the family member. After this the thirteen day of pollution and this after death ritual (*arghaun*) is completed. The reason behind this dance and after death ritual (*arghaun*) is to invite, offer different types of foods, fruites, other edible things he wanted to dead soul and to request the dead soul to go to heaven by doing and entertaining in cheerful way and never return back to bother the family members of the deceased person.

Since, the family members of the deceased person have been on the thirteen day taboo of pollution the family members and the house of the deceased person must be purified. The son, daughter, family members of the deceased person go to nearest water source, maternal uncles again shaves the hair, eyebrow, mustache, beard of the son and other male members of the family and they take bath in the nearest water source (*pandhero*), leave the white clothes which they have been wearing for thirteen days wear other normal clothes. Here it should be cleared that as like in Brahman, Chhetri community it is not necessary to wear the white clothes from top to bottom for one year. They consume barley, sesame seed water sprinkled by the 83ermuda grass (*dubo*) or mugwort (*paati*) there and house of the deceased person is purified by

sprinkling holy water from Lama Guru and the urine of cow. They return to home from the nearest water source (*pandhero*) and after consuming the holy water from the Lama Guru and after consuming the cow urine from the married daughters and male-in-laws (*juwainharu*) they become pure. After this the custom of *Barakhi* begins which is also called *Fultiaka fukaune* where all relatives are called and the maternal uncles and maternal uncles (*mamaliharu*) of the deceased person apply sandalwood tika, rice and curd tika and put Nepali cap (*Topi*) on the head of the son, yellow color holy thread (*rakkhe*) tie around the neck of the son and apply sandalwood tika, rice and curd tika on the forehead of the daughter and put yellow color holy thread (*rakkhe*) and put shawl (*majetro/mijaro*) around the neck and on the head of the daughter of the deceased person. Maternal uncle of the deceased person gives some amount of money to the son and daughter of the deceased person. At the same time the maternal uncles (*mamaliharu*) of the deceased person serve different items of food like round bread (*sel roti*), pickel of dried spinach and other leafy vegetable (*gundruk*) soya bean, curry, beverages etc. When the job of applying sandalwood, rice and curd tika, donating or giving money, serving food to the son, daughter and family members of the deceased person by the maternal uncle and maternal uncles (*mamaliharu*) are completed then same thing are done by the son, daughter, family member of the deceased person to the maternal uncle and maternal uncles (*mamaliharu*), daughters, sisters-in-laws, male-in-laws (*juwainharu*) of the deceased person. The tradition of tying the yellow holy thread (*rakkhe*) is called *Syai, Syai Garne* which means to stop the alive one to follow the spirit or soul of recently deceased person. This applying tika of sandalwood, rice and curd, serving different items of food, giving certain amount of money as donation or honorarium are done to get rid of or to avoid the deceased person getting into debt because getting a recently dead soul or spirit into the debt cause obstacle in their journey to heaven. Not only this, to avoid the bother from the recently person's soul or to placate the soul of the deceased person different items of food are cooked, different things are collected which he probably liked when he was in this world and son, daughter with other relatives go to the crematorium or graveyard and offer these food items and things to the soul of the deceased person. Before the commencement of *Barakhi* and after they take bath and change their clothes the son, daughter, family members are given a piece of meat in leaf plate (*tapari*) to get rid from the thirteen day taboo of pollution where the son, daughter and family member are not allowed to eat salt and other things. From the

moment this *Barakhi* custom is done the son, daughter, family member are not allowed to sit on resting place (*chautara*) for one year, if the deceased person is mother then, they are not allowed to drink milk and if the deceased person is father then, they are not allowed to eat and drink meat and alcohol for one year.

In case of Pahchu or Ghyabre priest are called, all things are similar to the way of doing this death sacrament of Lama Guru except the altar (*jagya*) of animal scarification as the Pahchu or Ghyabre priest perform sacrifices as and integral part of their ceremony. Pahchu or Ghyabre priest conduct this death sacrament by kicking the dead body of deceased person to warn the dead soul or spirit not to return back to persecute the family member whereas the Lama Guru conduct this death sacrament by bowing in front of the dead body of the deceased person requesting and hoping to go to heaven. After completing this death sacrament the family member do the worship of house God (*Kul puja*). This worshipping of house God (*Kul puja*) after death sacrament is necessary to placate or calm the house God for peace in the house and among family member. In contrast to this, it has been found that the people of Dura Community of Turlunkot village of Sundarbazar Municipality ward no:-11 of the research area use or call Brahman priest for this sacrament.

Nowadays, the tradition of lighting one lakh of lamps after one year of death has increased in the memory of the dead person. Though, in the past such work is done, such work was not so extensive but people of Dura Community of research area used to build small chaitya, monastery (*math*), resting place (*chautara, thanti*) etc instead. This is how the death sacrament is done in Dura Community of the research area.

Dura are the people with their own culture, tradition, custom, sacrament, norms and values and local version of behavior can be found on them. Not only this the influence of Hinduism, Buddhism, Bonism and influence of development, modernization can be found in every behavioral and cultural aspect of Dura Community of the research area which can also be seen in the death sacrament of Dura Community of the research area. Such as in the past people pay tribute to the deceased person by putting flower garland around the neck of dead body of the deceased person but nowadays the trend of putting ready made scarf (*khada*) of different color is increasing instead of flower garland. In the past there Dura people used to have their own priest who is know as *Dangre* and priest system shifted to Pahchu or Ghyabre priest. The tradition of using of calling Pahchu or Ghyabre priest in Dura Community of research area is

completely disappeared now due to which the tradition of animal sacrifice, and other customs related to Pahachu or Ghyabre system has also disappeared. In the past, the people of Dura Community of the research area used to cut down chicken, he buffalo or he goat for this sacrament but nowadays this trend of cutting down buffalo to feed the guests, family members, neighbors etc is decreasing in the Dura Community research area. In the past there was the tradition of digging the grave or burial place burying the dead body of the deceased person but because of the specific cremation site or crematorium in different villages of the Dura Community of the research area the tradition of digging rectangular, triangular shaped grave for male or female is also disappearing. In the past the nine Lama priest including Lama Guru read the mantra from their religious book for seven days and seven nights for the death sacrament but nowadays due to busy schedule and to return to the foreign job like military this reading of Lama Gurn or after death ritual (*arghaun*) is done only for three days and three nights. Similarly, in the past people of Dura Community of the research area used to build small monastery (*math*), temple, resting place (*chautara, thanti*) and in some case used to build fund to help other, in memory of their deceased one but nowadays except these above works, people donate money to help needy people, spending money in the developing the infrastructure like community house, football ground etc and they are sponsoring the money to the local festivals and fairs like Chaite Dashain in Turlungkot, Sindure Dhunga in ward no:-11 of Sundarbazar Municipality of the research area and so forth to commemorate their deceased one or in the memory of their deceased one.

CHAPTER-FIVE

FESTIVALS AND IT'S PRESENT CONDITION IN DURA COMMUNITY

5.1. Background

The information, data, facts has been collected for the thesis entitled “Sacraments And Festivals In Dura Community” has been prepared on the basis of field visit, surveying, face to face interview, observation and particaipation during festival occasion in different time period. During the process the villages of Madhyaneal Municipality ward no:-10 Neta and villages of Sundarbazar ward no:-11 Sindure of Lamjung District have been selected as the study area as these two municipalities are main settlement or high number of Dura people are living. At the same time the old generation as well as the experts about Dura Community who are living outside of these municipalities, outside of this district have also been interviewed and questioned.

Festival and Sacrament are the factors that helps to provide direction and mobility to human society. Festival is the auspicious occasion or event of celebration by different communities and castes which usually of religious and cultural reasons. It is the occasion of enjoying and sharing happiness and sorrow of your life with each other. Sacrament on the other hand is the religious ceremony or ritual your life from birth to death. Festival and Sacrament are the factors that helps to direct the particular group and community people to be in their particular rules and regulations according to their norms and values and helps to give the identity or differentiate the one particular group or community from another particular group and community.

“Sociologists and anthropologists favour words ending in “-zation”, such as Hinduization, Brahmanization, Universalization, Localization, Westernization and Sanskritization. These are concepts used by them to describe the process and direction of social change in a community” (Gurung, B.S. 2045, Pg. 4). We can see these concepts are also used in the ethnographic study.

“Because of Dura people had dwelt together with Brahman people, they have influence of Brahman culture in their culture” (Adhikari, B.S. 2062, Pg. 13). “Adopting the social customs and rituals of Gurungs” (Gurung, B.S. 2045, Pg. 51) which shows the influence of Gurung culture in Dura Community. Though, there is influence of Brahmans and Gurung culture in Dura Community. They still have their

own types of festivals and sacraments and their pattern of celebration and following them intact which they still have been following.

5.2. Festivals

Human used to live alone, hunt alone, eat alone and behave like animal. There were no any kind differences between humans and animals later as time passed they developed sense of grouping for hunting, gathering and for security in different time period and subsequently they started to socialize themselves. During this they also realized to make culture, tradition, social norms and values, feasts and festivals etc for the continuation or existence of bonding society. The best thing the human made to meet the family members in one place to celebrate their joy, to respect their elders and love their junior, to worship their creator, supernatural power and celestial land etc are regarded as festivals which are based on the tradition, nature, God and the whole world.

Nepal is a country with almost 142 castes and communities with their different tradition, culture where we can see festivals more than a day in a year. Every castes and communities here celebrated their festivals on the basis of culture, tradition, religion and history. And this country mainly has a dominance of Hindu, Buddha, Bon religion where we can found similarity among them and interrelation between them. Some festivals are shared and celebrated jointly because of their interrelation and religious similarity and syncretism where some festivals are celebrated by specific caste or community according to their specific culture and tradition. Among such 142 castes and communities, Dura Community also one who has their festivals to celebrate in their own way which are as follows:-

5.2.1. Baisakh Purnima Festival

Baishak Purnima is celebrates by the Dura Community on the day of Baisakh Sukla Purnima of Nepali calendar which also the first month among 12 month a year. For Dura Community this festival is special because on this day, they worship the family member who were untimely, unnaturally, inauspiciously demised due to various reason. This worship is called worship of ancestor (*Bayu puja*) worshiping of ghostly spirit because the family member within the clan (*khalak*) who have died untimely, unnaturally, inauspiciously are said to be stuck between the physical world and spiritual world where their soul are unable to go to heaven and the dead soul appear as

Bayu a ghosly spirit and expecting to help them reach heaven. If they were not helped then they will always persecute the head of family or clan.

On this day the worshipping of ghostly spirit is done by offering the scarification of hen, rooster and in some case goat. In some case Lama priest and in some case Shaman a faith healer (*Jhankri and Dangre*) is also use to do this ritualistic worship. The married daughter, sisters of the family are invited to their father and mother home to meet and celebrate this festival. During the worship in this festival the food items prepared from scarified animals, bless foods etc are not supposed to share other than the family or clan member. Similarly on this day of purnima, Dura Community organize *Ghatu Dance*.

Although it is said that Duras are the generation of Hindu God Mahadev but as they migrated to it's recent settlement in different time period of history, they embraced the Buddhist religion. As there is no tradition of scarification of animals in Buddhism the tradition of offering animal scarification is declining during this festival in Dura Community of these research area.

5.2.2. Sahune Sankranti Festival

The people of Dura Community consider this festival as cleaning and resting after the work of planting rice in monsoon or rainy season. This festival is celebrated on the first day of Sahun month of Nepali calendar. During the rainy season they plant crops where they are expecting to harvest more by planting little. After the long exhausting work in muddy field, they become physically and mentally tired and may get infection or wound, so as to get rid of such physical and mental tiredness and infectious wound the Sahune Sakranti is celebrated on the first of Sahun month of Nepali calendar date.

The family member get together and on the dusk of this day family member of this community throw their weakness, illness, sorrow, bad omen or scabies (*luto*) throw away from their body in the form of burning wood taken out from the hearth of kitchen, in four directions wishing in loud noise that all diseases, sorrows, illness etc gone away and wishing the crops that they planted in this rainy season will be good during it's harvesting time in winter season. And they put paste of water henna plant (*tiure*) in their hand and on the finger nail of foot. It is said that this paste of Water Henna plant has a medical characteristic of antibiotic and healing, so this has been

used to be protected from the infection and heal the physical and mental state of the body which has been in work in rainy season and muddy field for long period.

On the night of this day, especially the mother of every family prepare traditional ring shaped sweet fried dough made up of rice flour (*sel roti*) sit together and eat together with family members. This day is also special for people of Dura Community because as the rainy season starts the head of the village who has authority to do sociocultural works and also the head (*Guru Bau*) of the socially recognized entity called Rodhi of the village formally order to stop going socially and culturally recognized entity (Rodhi) and playing musical instruments. And on this day of Sahune Sakranti the young boys and girls of the village gather and together they take alcohol, sweet fried dough (*sel roti*) and some other edible things to the house of head (*Guru Bau*) as a gift to offer respect and grant permission to play musical instruments and to go to Rodi.

Since, the human resource of the research area have been shifting to urban area like Kathmandu, Pokhara, Chitwan there are less number of old and experience generation which cause the rare celebration of this festival in public level in this research area.

5.2.3. Shree Krishna Janmashtami Festival

This festival is celebrated in the month of Bhadra of Nepali calendar. Though, this festival is celebrated by Hindu people the people of Dura Community also celebrates this festival in their own way.

Here, *Rodhi Ghar* is a social institution which has a great role in Dura Community. During this festival day especially the young boys and girls gather in *Rodhi Ghar* and worship the Lord Krishna. And there is tradition of inviting and tying up the young boys of parental home and village in a moral obligation by the young girls of particular village. This tradition is known as *Maiti Bandhne* which is related to the feast (*dar khane*) of Teej festival, where the brothers who are tied up in this obligation of *Maiti Bandhne* should invite and treat the young girls who later may or may not get married, to their parental home (*maiti ghar*) by giving banana, curd and other edible things as a member of their parental home or village.

The young girl especially on this day of festival treat the brothers and young boys by giving them food like boiled cow pea, bean, sel roti, clove, betel nut, pickle, home made alcohol so that they can be treated warmly with banana, curd, fruits etc by their

brothers of parental home in Teej festival. After the worship of Lord Krishna is completed, the boys and girls sing *Krishna Charitra* song and dohori by playing musical instrument like dampha, madal, cymbal etc and spend whole night in the name of Lord Krishna.

This festival Shree Krishna Janmashtami is no more celebrated by the people of Dura Community in the research area. Even the local young generation of these research area can't believe that this is their festival that is used to celebrated by their ancestors.

5.2.4. Teej Festival

The festival Haritalika teej mostly celebrated during the Shukla Pakshya Tritiya of Bhadra month according to the Nepali calendar. Sometime this festival date reach to the Kartik month of Nepali calendar. This holy festival of Hindu is dedicated to Lord Shiva and Parwati and celebrated by the women all over Nepal for three days. Similarly, this festival is specially significant for married women, as they get special invitation to visit their parental home, have chat or conversation about their ups and downs that they have faced for whole year and get feast. Following a long feast also known as *Dar Khane*, the women sit for a 24 hour long fasting without eating or even drinking water in the name of Lord Shiva so that unmarried women can get husband like Lord Shiva and married women can have prosperous and long life of their husband and their relationship.

The people of Dura Community also celebrate this festival in their own way. "Lord Shiva is a adored God (Aaradhya Bhagawan of Duras" (Ghimire, 2075, Pg. 191), "Dura are descendant of Lord Shiva" (Dura, K.B.,personal interview, Falgun 22, B.S. 2079). Though Dura are regarded as Buddhism followers, from the above facts it is known that they have been celebrating this festival from long period of time.

During this festival the women of Dura Community wake up early in the morning before the sun shine, before the cock shrill or crow and take bath and pray Lord Shiva and get ready for feast. And the tradition of *Maiti Bandhe* works here, where the young boys and brothers of the parental (*maiti*) home who were tied up in the obligation bondage of helping the married and unmarried women during the Shree Krishna Janmahstami festival prepare food, bring fruits, other edible things in which curd and banana is compulsory and warmly treat them. The women on this day of festival do not have to work, all household work are handled by their brothers and the

young boys of the parental home village of the women. On the next day they wake up early in the morning and take bath and the young girls and boys along with (*Guru Bau*) and (*Guru Aama*) head of Rodhi Ghar gather in Rodhi Ghar and draw the picture of Lord Shiva and Parwati and pray and worship picture of Lord Shiva and Parwati.

The one interesting thing about the Teej festival in Dura Community is the tradition of giving nickname (*shiyo rakhne*) among the boys and girls who have affinal kinship relation as well as consanguineal kinship relation. For example girls name the boys by name like Ramshai, Shyamshai, Manshai, Gamshai, Sharmashai, Gyanshai, Goonshai and boys name the girls by naming like Ramrani, Shyamrani, Dillahani, Sharmarani, Manrai, Phyllahani, Gyanrani, Suerani etc and they call each other with the nickname they have got during this festival, when they meet each other in different occasions like picnic, gathering, festivals and collective farming, collective work and when going on herding. And such name are written beside the picture of Lord Shiva and Parwati drawn on the wall of Rodhi Ghar.

Since, there are religious sites like Midim river (*Gaumati Ganga*) and Shree Ishaneshwor Mahadev temple in Madhyanepal Municipality, and it has been found that no more pilgrimage and even this festival is no more been celebrated as like of past time in these research areas. The reason behind is the demolition of Rodhi Ghar system and the influence of modernization. According to the local of ward no:-10 Neta, Naske village of Madhyanepal Municipality Hasta Bahadur Dura, during the ten years of Maoist insurgency in Nepal this research area is also under the radar of Maoist group. Rodhi Ghar system is regraded as the medium for the espionage by the security forces and Maoist regarded rodhi system as like the late night party and discotheque of western or capitalist people. From the period of Maoist insurgency in Nepal, Lamjung District is also remain under the influence of Maoist control and the system and tradition related to this social institution Rodhi Ghar is almost stopped and disappeared. The people of Dura Community who migrated from this research area to city area like Kathmandu, Narayanghadh, Pokhara etc celebrate this festival but the process of amalgamation, sanskritization and modernization which they have brought from such urban area have influenced pretty much in the distinctive way of celebrating this festival in Dura Community of the research areas.

5.2.5. Dashain Festival

Dashain also known as Bada Dashain, Vijaya Dashami is one of two main festival of Hindu celebrated all over Nepal and Nepalese around the world. This is the festival of adoration of power or strength by worshipping the *Nawa Durga Bhawani* also the festival of victory of truth power over demonic power (ie. Victory of Goddess Durga over Mahishasur and victory of Lord Ram over Ravana according to Hindu Mythology). This festival is celebrated mainly from Aswin Sukla Pakshya Prtiprada to Purnima for fifteen days by doing different activities according to the Nepali calendar. Among the fifteen days of this festival the first day of this festival is *Ghatasthapana*, which represent the a holy vessel or pot (*ghada or kalash*) and people sow corn for yellow grass (*jamara*). The holy vessel or pot represents the purity of Durga and is worshiped twice during the day, often by the eldest male of the family. Over the next several days, the sown yellow grass is begins to grow. Another main day is *Fulpati* on seventh day which is celebrated by cleaning and decorating house. A Fulpati parade is often held and is attended by the President and many other government officials and is arranged by the Nepal army. There has been a centuries long tradition of firing in honour of the celebration for ten minutes. Before the President the Shah King used to observe or oversee the parade celebration. Similarly, the another main day of this festival is the eighth day which is also known as *Maha Ashtami*. This is the day where both *Durga* and *Kali* are worshiped by devotees to mark the most fierce creation of Durga's power Kali who appeared from the sacrifices of animals. Thus, worshipers often sacrifice blood as a blessing for fertility. Furthermore, in more recent times, people often eat the meat of goats, ducks and buffaloes all in honour of Kali. This food will carry on until the fifteenth day, showing the power of the manifestation of the Goddess. The ninth day of this festival is another main day which is known as *Maha Nawami* which is important as the preparations reach their peak and temples for both Durga and Kali are often laden with sacrifices and gifts. This provides a day to worship and appreciate all mechanical household items like cars, knives, axes, sickle, spade etc. The tenth day of this festival is Dashain or Vijaya Dashami and is the most celebrated day with white or red and black tika, food, gifts, money usually by eldest person of the family, regardless of gender. Here, all the previous days of celebrations are tied together by offering tika, yellow grass shoot of maize (*jamara*) and Dashain money. And lastly the fifteenth day is main day of this festival which usually is not seems to very important to the today's

people. This day is known as *Kojagrat Purnima* which often falls on a full moon. On this last day of this festival people stay awake whole night due to a legend that says wealth will be bestowed to those who stay awake all night by Laxmi, the Goddess of wealth.

Dura people have also been celebrating this festival in their own way. Before the festivals season starts people of Dura Community in the research areas conducts the collective unpaid work (*jhara*) system to clean and decorate their village and build the swings (*rote ping and linge ping*). On the day of Ghatasthapana of this festival a ritualistic work is done in the temple of Kalika Devi which lies on the top of Turlungkot village of Sindure ward no:-11 of Sundarbazar Municipality of Lamjung District which is also the research area. Dura people installed the Kalash and worship it and sow corn in the plate made up of leaves full of sacred soil so that, that corn will grow to yellow grass (*jamara*) for next several days. There is interesting fact about this yellow grass shoot of maize (*jamara*) of this Dashain festival. The reason to put, wear yellow grass shoot of maize (*jamara*) in Vijaya Dashami is “Bada Dashain is celebrated during Chaite Dashain, but due to the start of summer, people started suffering from many health problems due to heavy food they eat during the festival . Therefore this festival is moved to autumn and when Lord Ram was doing penance on the name of Durga Bhawani before going to the battle against Ravana, seeing this Dura Bhawani became delighted by Lord Ram penance and said that I will give the blessing of victory against Ravana but you have to offer me a flower which is not touched by any bees, butterflies or insects. So, Lord Ram planted and put the corn seed inside where no insects can reach and touch that plant. This is how the tradition of offering, putting and wearing the yellow grass (*jamara*) during this festival as a symbol of strength and blessing started” (Dura, K.B., personal interview, Falgun 22, B.S. 2079).

On the seventh day of this festival Dura people gather and go to the Maula and Kalika temple which lies atop of the hill of Turlungkot of Sindure ward no:-11, Sundarbazar Municipality of Lamjung which is also one of the research area. It has been found that the two young man from the village of Turlungkot wake up early in the morning before the sun shine and without talking with other they go to the water tap (Pandhero) near the village and collect the flowers, fruits and offer to Maula and Kalika in Turlungkot temple and after that they conduct the Fulpati tradition (*Fulpati bhitraune*)

where they bring flowers, leaves, gifts, foods, fruits etc from different villages and worship and pray the Maula and Kalika Goddess.

On the night of eighth day or Maha Ashtami of this festival, people of this community worship their ancestors (*Pitri*) by offering sacrifice of rooster with its blood and different edible items like fish, meat, egg, curd, fruits, spinach or vegetable leaf, alcohol, water etc. On the banana leaves or in leaf bowl (*tapari*) and cover it with same banana leaves. This type of worshipping and offering to ancestor (*Pitri Devata*) is known as *Khyama Rakhne*. The meaning of Khyama Rakhne is yearly esteem or ceremonial offering (*barshik shraddha*). All this work of yearly esteem should be done by the main head of the house and all the offerings done should be collected by the married daughter of the family. Some people of Dura community do this Ancestor Puja and Khyama Rakhne one or two days before the Maha Ashtami and it has been found that some people of Dura Community of the research area do these works in *Sasthi*.

On the day of Maha Nawami people of Dura Community make a sacrifice and offer to Durga Bhawani after the sacrifice of buffalo bull, he-goat, rooster, pigeon, ash gourd made in the kot ghar of Kalika Devi temple in Turlungkot. Sacrifice of the female piglet is also made to the Bhairab which is situated just beside of this Kalika Devi temple.

The next day is Dashami, on this day of Dashami after worshipping of Devi the priest apply Tika to the virgin or unmarried girls, elders, noble persons and the tika is sent to the village and after placing the tika of auspicious moment (*saait ko tika*) people of Dura Community start to put and get tika. At past the auspicious time for Tika is informed by shooting the gun or by playing the drum (*nagada*). The tika is made up of curd and rice. The elder people put tika on the forehead and yellow grass (*jamara*), mugwort (*paati*) to the ears of the family members and relatives. The younger family members and the relatives greet and respect the elders and get blessing, gifts and honorarium (*dakshina*) or Dashain money.

The people of Dura Community always use the tika made up of curd and rice whether worshipping their ancestors, God or starting new works, in occasion or going anywhere from the house. They make the image like structure of the family member those who are not in the house during tika on the wall by cow dung and apply tika and

put mugwort, bermuda grass and coin and bless them. In Dura Community putting and accepting tika continues from the day of Dashami to Purnima during this festival. This is because the daughter who got married to far relatives, the son who are abroad especially serving in foreign army can reach their family and accept or get the tika and blessings of Vijaya Dashami from their elders.

The young boys and girls of Dura Community play swings (*rote ping, linge ping*) and do enjoyment stuff and the young boys and girls makes group and go to another village to play swings and enjoy and the youth of another village also come to their village. Generally this types of enjoyment is done during night.

The popular dance Sorathi Dance in Dura Community starts from the Ashtami of this festival and ends on the day of Shri Panchami. The people of Dura Community have preserved their own way of celebrating this festival but the modernization and acculturation process seems to influence the pattern of celebrating this festival in Dura Community to some extent. For example the tradition of putting red tika instead of white Tika an be seen in the Dura Community of research area like Turlungkot village of ward no:-11, Sundarbazar Municipality because there Dura Community is exists side by side with the Brahmin and other caste and community in this village. The another reason that makes the today's Dashain different than Dashain in past in Dura Community is the modernization brought by the people of of the research area who have left this area in search of good education, good life and people have enlisted in the foreign army. Because of the trend of shifting to urban area, there become the lack of young generation which directly affect the tradition of entering Fulpati in the Kalika Devi temple of Turlungkot. The system of informing the auspicious time for granting Tika by shooting gun is almost disappear.

5.2.6. Tihar Festival

The another main festival among two festival of Nepal and Neapli people is Tihar. Tihar also known as Deepawali and Yamapanchak is celebrated in the month of Kartik and celebrated for five days by people of Nepal and Nepalese people around the world. This festival has been celebrating in the honoring of various animals, cultural myths and strengthening the bond of love and goodwill. This festival begins with Kaag Tihar on Trayodashi of Kartik Krishna Pakshya and ends with Bhai Tika on Dwitiya of Kartik Sukla according to the Nepali calendar which includes Kukur Tihar, Gai Tihar, Goru Tihar.

On the day of Crow (*Kaag*) Tihar the crow bird is worshiped, considering as a messenger of a God Yama the God of death in Hindu Mythology and different items of foods and fruits are offered. It is believe offering foods and fruits to crow on this day will protect people's home and family from bad lucks, negative energies and bad omens. In the morning people of every households or families prepare food offerings like rice, grain, sweets and other edible stuff and place them on the roof tops or open spaces. The cawing of crow resembles the acceptance of the offerings and the blessings of God Yama. This day of festival represent the promoting gratitude and respect for all living beings.

The second day of this festival is Dog (*Kukur*) Tihar. This day of the festival is dedicated to the dog because they are regarded as the loyal friend of human from their evolution. People of every families and household worship their pet dog and those who don't have their pet dog they worship the stray dog too. On this day of festival people decorate their dog with garland of flower around their neck and put tika on their dog's forehead and offering them with special treats and meals. In Nepalese culture it is believe that dog are the safeguard of human afterlife and worshipping them on this day ensures the safe passage to heaven for departed souls. This day of this festival is attestation of the loving bond between humans and animals.

The third day of this festival is Cow (*Gai*) Tihar and Lakshmi Puja. They two represent the wealth and fortune, prosperity and motherhood. Cows regarded as a sacred animal in Hinduism which gives milk and contributed in the livelihood and agricultural life of human by playing as a role of mother are worshiped by putting garland of flower around their neck and tika on the forehead of cow. They are treated by different edible things like fruits, bread (*sel roti*) etc. In the evening of this day of festival, Laxmi Puja is conducted, in which colourful rangoli designs are made to welcome Goddess Laxmi wishing good wealth and fortune, homes are illuminated with oil lamps, candles and special prayers, offerings and rituals are done to seek the blessing of Goddess Laxmi for success, prosperity and abundance in the life.

The fourth day of this Thihar festival is Ox (*Goru*) Tihar which is dedicated to oxen as oxen are backbone of farming which was and which still is the backbone of agricultural country like Nepal. These animals are worshiped with Tika on their forehead, garland of flower around their neck, marks their body with rice or millet flour paste and treated with special meals as a token of appreciation for their

invaluable help in agriculture. On this day Govardhan Puja is conducted which commemorates the act of Lord Krishna to protect his fellow villagers. According to the Vaishnav Hinduism, Lord Krishna had Lifted Govardhan hill to protect his fellow villagers from the wrathful rain of Lord Indra. Small hillock symbolizing the Govardhan hill is sculpted by cow dung and worshiped.

The fifth and final day of this festival is Bhai Tika, a tika for brothers and sisters which is dedicated to the bond between brothers and sisters. On this day of this festival sisters perform a special puja for their brothers, sprinkle them with sacred water and put tika of different colors on their forehead, putting the garland of flowers around their neck and gives them blessings of happy, healthy, long and prosperous life. In return brothers also gives them gifts and Tihar money and also gives them blessings of good life and good husband in the future. This day of this festival indicates the strong sibling relationship and eternal love between them. Sisters also make the image like structure of their brothers on the wall by cow dung and apply tika and put flower on it as there is trend of male of this community joining foreign army and going abroad for decent earning because of which they aren't able to get holiday on time like this kind of festivals and other occasion.

As this festival starts, from young to old people make group, go house to house and play deusi and bhailo by playing deusi, bhailo song and dance in other dohori, movie song and asking foodstuff and money and blessings. Though Government has band the fire crackers, fire works and cracking fire cracker can be seen during this festival. Though, the five days festival ends on the day of Bhai Tika of Dwitiya, people play deusi, bhailo upto the day of Ekadashi of a Kartik month of Nepali calendar. People go to picnic on collected money and foodstuffs collected by deusi, bhailo.

Nepal's various castes and communities celebrate this festival in different ways. People of Dura Community also celebrates this festival as like other Nepalese people. On the day of Crow (*Kaag*) Tihar, people of Dura Community prepare food and items of grain and put them on the rooftops and open places and worship them. On the second day of this festival, people of Dura Community worship the Dog by applying tika on their forehead, putting garland of flowers and treating them with different food items. On the third day of this festival, people of Dura Community pray and worship the cow by applying oil and after tika on their forehead, putting garland of flowers around their neck and applying the paste of rice, millet flour on their body in fact, all

animals like goat, buffaloes, oxen are marked with the paste of such rice, millet flour and treated them with special meal like flour mixed with popcorn, fruits, bread etc. And on the night of same day, people of this community worship and pray the Goddess Laxmi, the Goddess of wealth and prosperity. On the fourth day they worship the ox by applying oil and after tika on their forehead, putting garland of flowers around their neck and applying paste of rice, millet flour on their body. The young people especially boys and girls to house to house and play deusi and bhailo by singing, dancing and playing musical instruments like Madal, double sided disk-shaped drum (*dumphha*), cymbals (*jhurma*), Tambourine (*khainjadi*) asking foodstuffs, money and blessing and go to play swings (Rote Ping, Linge Ping) from one village to another village. They play deusi and bhailo upto the Ekadashi of Kartik month and go to picnic by using the collected money, foodstuffs earned from playing deusi and bhailo.

The houses are illuminated with lamp made up of leaves, mud or metal with oil on it. It has been found that the Dura people of the research areas don't have trend to illuminating house by using electric lamp, candles and fire lamps at past as the houses generally are made up of wood, stone, mud and roof top made up of elephant grass (*khar*) which can easily be caught in fire. They used to illuminated their house by using the raw yarn or cotton wick (*dhago*), oil or ghee on the lime leaf instead of candles, fire lamp and electric lamp like of today's time. It has been found that there is no trend of cracking fire cracker in these research areas in past but at present the Dura people who went to urban area brings the fire cracker and crack the fire cracker in some village of these research area. In some village of the research area the another popular dance name *Krishna Charitra* is performed during this festival.

5.2.7. Poush Pandhra (Mahipru Nakuma) Festival

Among the different festivals celebrated by Dura Community, Poush Pandhra is also one. This festival is celebrated on the day of 15th of Poush month of Nepali calendar. In Dura Language this festival is called Mahipru Nakuma where "Mahipru" means "Lunch" and "Nakuma" means "New", which literally means a lunch eating festival in new year. So new year starts from 15th of Poush and ends on same date in next year for Dura Community. There is system of category cycle (*barga chakra*) and 12 category (*barga*) in Dura Community in which animals and birds name are use to count the month of the year and the age of the individual. On this day of 15th of Poush,

the category (*barga*) changes every year. For example before the 15th of Poush of this year (2080 B.S.), there was year of cat category (*barga*), now it is the year of eagle category (*barga*) after 15th of Poush of this year (2080 B.S.) and if some one born before the 15th of Poush is regarded as cat category (*barga*) and after 15th of Poush of this year is regarded as eagle category (*barga*). This category cycle (*barga chakra*) has a significant importance in conducting sacraments, celebrating festivals and doing other ritualistic works. So this is the festival of new year in which changing of category (*barga*) takes place.

This festival is popular among the ethnic communities like Dura, Gurung, Tamang, Sherpa, Topkegola, Bahragaunle etc. From this day new year starts for Dura Community followed by the English Calendar new year after two days. In other castes and communities there are twelve star signs and twelve months while people of Dura Community have 12 categories (*bargaharu*). This class order or category starts from 15th of Poush month of ever year and ends with the fifteenth of Poush month of next year. When this order is completed one year is considered to have been completed. This system of class order or category (*barga*) takes into consideration especially during marriage. There is a tradition of counting the age on the basis of this category (*Barga*) system in this community. And each category (*barga*) remain for one year. For example, from Poush 15, 2079 B.S. to Poush 14, 2080 B.S, Cat category (*barga*) remain for one year and after that its turn of Eagle category (*barga*) respectively.

As Nepal is a country with influence of Patriarchal society and in general, the men are the head of families. On this day of festival the head of the family put orange or yellow colour thread (*rakkhe*) around the neck of each family member and give blessing and lots of best wishes. Special types of holy thread of red, yellow or orange colour is put around the neck of the family member whose horoscope, malevolent star (*graha, dasha*) become weak as the category (*barga*) changes by the head or Lama Priest in the house or in the monasteries.

During this festival different family group of one lineage or clan (*khalak*) invited their married and unmarried daughters, sisters in one place and organize meeting party and treat them with different food items and beverages and they exchange the greeting with each other and do conversation about how to make their family intact and conversation about achievement and business, help or assistance if needed.

In the past time especially the young people of this community go house to house and used to collect the rice, vegetables, alcohol and used to manage and prepare the meat items like chicken, buff, mutton and used to gather in open place, Barn or Rodhi ghar and used to enjoy the festival eating food, meat items, alcohol singing dohori, dancing, joking together and exchange the best wishes on this festival occasion of New year. Now a days the young people of this community in the research area gather in the community building and do their task their during this festival. The young people and guest are also invited from another villages and places on the occasion of this festival. The coming of guest to the invited place is known as guest coming (*deshali aune*) tradition. Not only in this festival, this tradition is popular in festivals like Khoi Khane, Baishak Purnima, Teej, Maghe Shakranti etc. And on the night of the same festival day during the farewell of young boys, girls and guest from on other villages or places, there used to have a tradition of stopping them (*bato chekne*). In this tradition if the guests young boys and girls are are not fed up of enjoy dancing and singing with the boys and girls of host village then the young boys and girls of host village used to stop them on the way by putting handkerchief and shawl (*mijaro/majetro*). But as the time pass due to the influence of modernization and urbanization such gatherings is seen in public places or community building (*samudayik bhawan*) rather than Rodi Ghar. This festival is celebrated by Dura Community of the research area but not as like of past time and now we can see the modern way of feasting which include the modern day catering with food items and beverages which is replacing the local products. The reason is people have left this place and migrated to the urban area like Kathmandu, Pokhara, Narayangardh, Damauli etc for better life enjoy the urban lifestyle and another reason is the lack of the awareness and preservation about the festival and it's importance because of which the system of *Rodhi Ghar* has lost it's originality.

5.2.8. Maghe Sankranti Festival

As various castes and communities have their own way to celebrate the festival, such as Tharu celebrates this as Maghi and Magar celebrates this festival as Makar Sankranti, people of Dura Community also celebrates this Maghe Shakranti festival in their own way. This festival is celebrated on the first day of Magh month of Nepali calendar year. On the day of Poush Masanta (Last day of Poush month) the young boys and girls of this community go near to the source of water (i.e. Pond, water tap

(*pandhero*), water conduit) on the evening of the same day and collect the wood and lit the fire and starts the campfire and they spend the whole night by singing and entertaining. On the early morning of the day of Maghe Shakranti, they bath with rice, mugwort (Paati) black gram beans (*maas*). The elderly people also come for bath to water source early in the morning on this day of Maghe Shakranti festival. They return to their home.

After they return to home the elderly family member apply tika of rice, black gram bean, sesame, barley and give the best wishes and blessings good and healthy life. The young generation of the family respect and greet the elderly family member. Other family members like married daughters, sisters, nephew, niece, sister-in-law, brother-in-law are also invited where they were treated with sel roti, curry, alcohol, yam, sweet potato and arum. There is a tradition of slaughtering buffalo and rooster for meat items on this day of festival. The special dishes of this festival are sweet potato and yam. There is a saying in Nepali in the research areas, “*Poush Pakyo, Maghe Khane*” which means the food items prepared on the last day or Masanta of Poush month and is eaten on the first day or Sakranti of Magh month (Dura Jaatiko Bhasa Parampara Ra Sanskriti, B.S. 2057, Pg. 20). There is also another saying that on the last day or on the day of Poush Masanta the sweet potato, yam, arum should not be dug out, it should be dug out two or three days before the day of Poush Masanta otherwise the mythological witch (*Kutini Budi*) will destroy you (Gurung & Dura, B.S. 2075, Pg. 42).

In the research areas, the change can be seen in the pattern of celebrating this festival. As like of past time, tradition of boys and girls of this community going to near water resources and doing campfire, singing and doing entertaining stuff and spend the whole night are not in practise because facility of drinking water and water tape are available in almost every houses which assist in forgetting of going to traditional water source (*pandhero*). We can see that the tradition of slaughtering buffalo and rooster for meat item is decreasing to these days in the research areas instead they import meat items along with alcohol items form the near urban area like Sundarbazar, Bhorletar, Besisahar etc. This may be because of the decreasing population of the research areas and embracing modernity by gradually forgetting their traditional way of eating and drinking.

5.2.9. Khoi Khane Festival

A person without community is insecure and the community without culture is moral less. Culture is a lifestyle and identity which includes action, custom, character, behavior, tradition, manner or conduct etc. And it is the culture which makes the human being and it's institution different than other living being.

Culture is based on the folklore which helps to determine and dignify the identity of particular group or community of particular place. People of Dura Community use to enjoy in their culture and tradition. In Dura Community there are different folk tales, dances, songs such as Ghatu, Krishna Charitra, Sorathi etc. After organizing and completing the folk dance and song like Ghantu, Krishna Charitra, Sorathi a typical and massive treat of feast is given and this festival of massive feat which is given on the occasion of organizing and completing these folk dance and songs is known as Khoi Khane festival of Dura Community.

When the *Ghantu* dance from Panchami tithi to Baishakh Purnima of Baishakh month and Krishna Charitra and Sorathi on Dashain Purnima of Ashoj or Kartik month of Nepali calendar year are being organize, news is given and invitation are made to the another villages people and to other different places of interest. The group of people especially young boys and girls along with noble person from another villages and places of interest come to the village where the Ghatu, Krishna Charitra dance and Sorathi song is happening according to their different time period. They enjoy the dance and make the group and sing different folklore and dohori song with boys and girls of organizer group or with other group. Generally such dances like Ghatu, Krishna Charitra and song like Sorathi used to be conducted on the porch of Village Head (*Mukhiya*) house. The noble persons along with boys and girls of the group from another villages who were invited donate the amount of money according to their status.

After short period of time the invitation are made by the villagers where the Ghatu, Krishna Charitra, Sorathi dance and song are conducted in different time period according to their date, to the group of people of another villages and places of interest who had made the donation of money during their Ghatu, Krishna Charitra, Sorathi dance and song invitation. On this day of festival the people of host village treats the guest with massive feast which includes food, alcohol, items where people of host village slaughter one or more than one buffalo, goat and rooster for meat items

according to the size of group of people who came from different villages and places of interest, and give huge welcome with good hospitality. The young boys and girls along with the noble persons who came from another villages and places of interest enjoy by dancing and singing dohori song by playing musical instruments like madal, cymbal, tambourine etc. During the farewell the young boys and girls of village do entertaining stuff by barricading the way of the guest from another villages who are leaving for their destination. This tradition is known as blocking the way (*bato chekne*). During this tradition we can see the love affair of boys and girls which later can change in the relationship of marriage. This is how this festival is celebrated. Note:- This festival is celebrated two times a year. The Khoi Khane festival which is celebrated after conducting and completing the Ghatu dance from Panchami to Baishakh Purnima of Baishakh month is celebrated in the month of Ashad or Shrawan month of the Nepali calendar whereas the another Khoi Khane festival celebrated after conducting and completing the Krishna Charitra and Sorathi dance in Ashoj or Kartik month of Nepali calendar.

Though, this is one of the festival of Dura Community people who have been following from the ancient period, it has been found that the celebrating of this festival in Dura Community of these research areas are gradually decreasing. As this is the festival celebrated on the occasion of organizing and completing the Ghatu, Krishna Charitra, Sorathi dances. Because these folk dances and it's songs are based on the tantrik words and rhythm and should be conducted under the leadership of head fo Rodhi ghar (*Guru Bau and Guru Ama*) or expert who have deep knowledge about it. And such old generation is rapidly decreasing and the young generation of the research area leaving the area and shifting to the urban area or leaving the country for good job opportunities, good education and for good life for their family so that they can secure good future and some young generation who stuck in this research or in their village are not having interest in such dances and songs regarding it as hard and complicated knowledge for them to grab and they are influenced by the process of modernization as the facilities of per-requisite is increasing in the research area. The another thing that we can seen in the pattern of celebrating festival is that, this festival used to be celebrated in the Rodhi Ghar but nowadays this festival is being celebrated in the community building (*samudayik bhawan*). In fact, festivals of Dura Community

of the research area related to Rodhi Ghar nowadays is being celebrated in Community building.

5.2.10. Shivaratri Festival

Shivaratri is one of the festival among many festivals celebrated by Hindu in Nepal and Nepalese people living around the world. This festival falls in the month of Falgun according to the Nepali calendar and just before the arrival of Spring, usually in February or March month of English calendar. This festival marks the end of winter and start of Summer.

According to Hindu scriptures, Shivaratri is the day when Lord Shiva drank all the poisonous negativity to protect the world. Therefore this festival is celebrated to mark the remembrance of overcoming darkness and ignorance in the life of the world and worldly creatures. It is also said to have that, this festival is celebrated at night because Lord Shiva had performed the Tandava Nritya or dance of primordial creation, preservation and destruction. This festival is also regarded as the occasion when Lord Shiva and Mata Parwati got married. Therefore, this festival is also regarded as the convergence of Shiva and Shakti.

On this day of festival devotee take bath early in the morning and pray and worship Lord Shiva with great devotion and make offering of cow milk, fruits, jimsonweed (*dhaturo*), water, rudrakshya to Lord Shiva at home or in famous temple like Pashupatinath and keep or observe day long fast by chanting mantra of “Om Namah Shivaya” and reading Shri Shiva Chalisa. The devotee spend whole night on the devotion of Lord Shiva and Mata Parwati. Male devotee observe fast to get rid from sin and for successful life whereas female devotee observe fast to get husband like Lord Shiva.

The people of Dura Community of these research areas celebrates this festival as this is the festival of their adored God Lord Shiva though, they are Buddhist now. They wake up early in the morning and take bath, pray, worship Lord Shiva and keep day long fasting and make offering of water, cow milk, jimsonweed, fruits as like other Nepali people. They spend whole night in the name of Lord Shiva and Mata Parwati. There is a tradition of involving in the pilgrimage to Isaneshwor Mahadev temple which lies in the Karputar, Rambazar of Madhyanepal Municipality of Lamjung

District of Gandaki Province. Those who keep the fasting on this day of festival, they go to this temple for pray and worship by making a group.

Along with the people of Dura Community, people of other different communities and groups from different part of Nepal come here for to worship Lord Shiva. Couple who want or who don't have son come here to fulfill their wishes. Along with the people of other communities and castes, people of Dura Community make offer of one lakh burning lamp and spend whole night by chanting Shiva Mantra and Shiva chalisa. Because there is belief that who ever do these above all activities in the name of this Isaneshwor Mahadev gonna have son in the future. During this festival a big fair is also happens around the temple of this Isaneshwor Mahadev temple where similar to shot put (*chelo/thelo*) competition happens in which along with other Dura boys also take part in the competition. Singing competition is also happens on the premises of this temple during this festival. In the past Deu Bahadur Dura a famous singer from Dura Community used to sing famous *Thado Bhaka* song on the premises of this temple during this festival which attracted the people from Kaski, Tanahun, Gorkha, Lamjung even from Manang, Mustang (Dura, B.S. 2078, Pg. 4).

On this day of the festival people of Dura Community of these research areas stop all agriculture and other works like ploughing field, using spade and digging, picking up wood and cutting down trees for fire wood, slaughtering birds and animals and this is called restricting to do agricultural and some household work (*gaun barne*) tradition.

Nowadays, the pattern of celebrating this festival is changing in the research area. It has been found that the festival is only limited to the restricting village (*gaun barne*) tradition. And only those people who keep day long fasting in the name of Lord Shiva go to Isaneshwor Mahadev temple for worship. The people of Dura Community of these research areas go to Isaneshwor Mahadev only for worship and observe the fair.

5.2.11. Falgun Purnima Festival

The festival of Falgun Purnima is celebrated on the Purinma day of Falgun month on the Nepali calendar. As like other communities, castes and groups, people of Dura Community also celebrate this festival. On the day of this festival the eldest family member of family in Dura Community wake up in the morning and take bath. After having bath he/she worship his/her Kul Devata by offering incense, water, fruits etc and after that he or her put tika and give blessing to other family member and the

exchange of color powder (*abir*) starts. Tradition of applying color powder (*abir*) was not there in the past in this community. This tradition of applying powder of different colors was later acquired by this community at the influence of other castes and communities.

On this day of festival a fair is conducted on the bank of Madi river of Karaputar:-7, Rambazar of Madhyanepal Municipality, where people of along with the people of Dura Community, people of different communities, groups from different places come for visiting, shopping and enjoy the competition of similar to Shot Put (*chelo/thelo*) competition where young people from Dura Community also take part in the competition. Young boys and girls of Dura Community of these research areas also go to visit and enjoy the fair during this festival and exchange the color (*abir*) with other group. According to the local of research area and the local people of Karaputar, Rambazar which lies in the Madhyanepal ward no:-7 bordering to Kaski District, a famous singer name Deu Bahadur Dura is the main attraction of the fair during this Falgun Purnima festival because he used to spread the magical spell by singing the *Thado Bhaka* song with his colleague name Pancha Subbha Gurung due to which people had entertained and enjoyed the song. In fact, Shivaratri, Falgun Purnima and Karputar, Rambazar are the festivals and places respectively where Deu Bhahadur Dura used to sing this song and attract the people and entertain the people of different communities and places. Local also remember that a kind of singing competition used to happen during this festival which can be confirmed by small part of the song as mentioned below

“Kahan gayou Deu Bahdur Dura
Sunnaya bhayo Karputar Bazara”

(Source : Dura Jaatiko Bhasa Parampara Ra Sanskriti, 2057 B.S., Pg. 21).

From the research area it has been found that people of Dura Community have been celebrating this festival from the past but no exact time has been known and the pattern of celebrating this festival is limited to the worshipping of their clan deity only.

5.2.12. Chaite Dashain Festival

Chaite Dashain festival is the last festival celebrated by Hindu in Nepal and around the world. This festival falls usually on the seventh day of the Baishakh month according to the Nepali calendar (Sometime it falls in the Month of Chaitra) and

regarded as another Dashain in one same year. Which means it usually falls in the month of March-April of English calendar. This festival is celebrated on the occasion of the victory of Lord Ram the central character of the epic Ramayan, over the Ravan the another character of same epic, with the help of Goddess Duraga or Bhagwati. This festival is celebrated for two days. Government of Nepal gives holiday on the occasion of this festival.

During this festival Goddess Durga or Bhagawati is worshiped, and animal sacrifices are performed in temples of Goddesses who are the symbol of strength and power. Sacrifices of buffalo, goat, rooster, duck etc are made in those temples. People of Dura Community also celebrates this festival. There is temple of Turlungkot Kalika Devi at the top of the village of Turlungkot of today's Sundarbazar Municipality, ward no:-11 of Lamjung District which is also one of two study areas, in which we can see the gathering of devotees of Kalika Devi, who came to pray, worship and to make offering to Kalika Devi. During this festival people of Dura Community pray, worship the Kalika Devi and offers the sacrifices of buffalo bull, he-goat, rooster, duck and pigeon to Kalika Devi on the day of Ashtami wishing the victorious life over their problems, enemy in their life. This system of offering sacrifices to Kalika Devi is known as five sacrifice (*panchbali*). For this system musical band of musical instruments (*panche baja*) is arranged. Every year the five sacrifice is offered to this Kalika Devi. Every villages of research areas of Dura Community and other devotees who had made the vow to give offering of such sacrifice, makes the offering of sacrifice. This festival is celebrated for two days. On the day of Ram Nawami the devotee from outside the research areas and outside this Lamjung District comes and worship the Kalika Devi and gets Tika from the Hindu priest.

Note:- Actually the doer priest is Dura and the guru priest is Adhikari in this Turlungkot Kalika Devi temple.

During this festival five sacrifice are made from the Government of Nepal also and after that the five sacrifice from the villages of Dura Community of research area and other people or devotees offering of five sacrifice are accepted. On the day of Ram Nawami big fair is also happens on the flat ground just beside the temple of Kalika Devi where young boys participates in the competition of similar to round shot put (*thelo/chelo*). People also enjoy the dohori song and *Thado Bhaka* song get entertained.

The winners of the similar to shot put (*thelo/chelo*) competition are walk by the people placing them on the shoulder by say hip, hip hurray and circle the Kalika Devi temple. Both Vijaya Dashami and Chaite Dashain festival starts with the initiation or chanting the Durga saptasati and ritualistic work and offering sacrifices are done in Ashtami and Nawami day of Vijaya Dashami and Chaite Dashain. On the occasion of this festival people of Dura Community invites their daughters and sisters who are married and treat them with tika, blessed food of Kalika Devi and various items of foods.

Though, this festival has celebrating patterns still intact, some changes has been seen. Such as the system of appointing people from Adhikari Caste from Khaje village of Dura Danda as Guru priest, appointing the people from Damai Community for playing drum are gradually declining because these people of the respected castes and communities are migrating to the urban area and showing no interest in such ritualistic area. The festival is generally celebrated for two days and in past there used to be no more competitions and entertaining stuff except than singing and shot put (*thelo/chelo*) but in later period competition of volley and football are being organize due to which the craze of sports added during the festival have increased the duration of this festival from two to five days.

5.3. Present Condition of Festivals in Dura Community

Festivals and sacraments are the elements of culture as well as the identity of the each group or community of every place around the world which helps to differentiate one group or community from another group or community. Since, the current status of the festivals of Dura Community of the research area have already been discussed above, here we will discuss about the statistical survey of how and what number of the total population of the Dura Community of this research area are still celebrating festivals. During the survey, required methods are applied for the data collection. People or respondents of different age groups above from the age group (15-19) from the total of 356 household of this Dura Community of the research area were questioned and interviewed. The table is given below:-

Table 6

Status of Festivals and it's way of Celebration				
S.N.	Status of Festivals and their celebration	Total Household	Total Population	Total Population Percent
a.	As Per The Ancestral way	272	1,557	76.1
b.	As Per Both Ancestral & Contemporary ways	74	433	21.16
c.	No Response	10	56	2.74
	Total	356	2,046	100%

Source: Field Survey 2079-2080 B.S.

The above table shows the current condition of the festivals and and their celebrating and performing or way. Here total of 356 household were surveyed where 76.1% of total population are still celebrating and performing their festivals and sacraments as per the old way, 21.16% of total population are celebrating and performing their festivals as per both ancestral and contemporary ways 2.74% of the total population didn't respond. The reason behind the 21.16% of total population of Dura Community of this area celebrating and performing their festivals as both ancestral and contemporary practice can be the amalgamation, modernization, economic prosperity, social status or prestige etc as total of 23.47% of the population of this community of this research area have involved in national and international army (Nepal army, British army, Indian army, Singapore police force) and foreign employment. And the total of 2.74% population who didn't respond are in confusion of celebrating and performing their festivals either of old way or embrace the modernity or modern way although, they celebrate their festivals.

5.4. Causes of Change seen in the Festivals and it's Celebration

Changes can be seen and experienced in every aspects of this world. Upon them culture is dynamic and cultural things like cultural norms, values, festivals, sacraments, institutions can be influenced by changing factors. Here are the different factors that causes change in the festivals and it's way of celebration in Dura Community of the research area on the basis of respondents response.

Table 7

Causes of Change			
S.N.	Causes of Change	Total Respondents	Total Respondents in Percent
a.	Economic	997	48.73
b.	Social	768	37.54
c.	Religious	97	4.74
d.	Other Reasons	103	5.03
e.	No Response	81	3.96
	Total	2,046	100%

Source: Field Survey 2079-2080 B.S.

During the research, population or respondents from the age group 15-19 and above are questioned and interviewed. And from the result of above table it has been found that 48.73% respondent said, the economic cause for the change seen in the festivals and it's way of celebration. It is true because in the research area while celebrating festivals, economic condition matters most. While celebrating festivals and people of this community the trend of spending money in decoration of house, doing ritualistic work in a competitive way can be seen increasing and trend of spend money in festivals along with the sacraments or occasion especially like marriage, wearing ornaments, new, expensive clothes in a showy way also can be seen increasing. Not only this the trend of feasting and giving party in Community Building (Samudayik Bhawan) on the occasion of every festivals and someone's achievement and other extravagant activity are also seen increasing in the research area which are the economic cause to change seen recently in the festivals and it's way of celebration along with the sacraments in Dura Community because is sacraments is also interrelated to the festivals celebrated in every communitiesin.

Total of 37.54% respondent said social cause is the another cause for the change seen in the way of celebrating and performing festivals and it's way of celebration of Dura Community in the research area. This is fact, because though the population of Dura is higher than other, an amalgamated societies of different castes and communities like Brahman, Chhetri, Gurung, Bishowkarma, Sarki are found in the research area. The social impact can be seen not only celebrating festivals but sacraments too in the Dura Community of the research area. For example some people of Dura Community

use or call Brahman priest for ritualistic works and sacraments like death sacrament. This is without a doubt one of the causes of the change seen in way of celebrating and practicing festivals along with the sacraments in Dura Community of the research area.

Out of 100% total of 4.74% respondent believe that, the cause of the change seen in the festivals and sacraments of the Dura Community of the research area. In the research area the people of Dura Community can be found worshipping the Kalika Devi, Malika Devi, although their root is the nature worship or Bonism. People of Dura Community of this area use tika made up of rice and curd or ghee in different occasions and festivals, and use tika made up of rice and chicken blood but now it has been found that they are also using red color tika and so forth. In death sacrament the Dura people of Turlungkot village which is one of among several villages use Brahman priest and Brahman practice. Similarly the slow impact of Christianity such as going to Sangati in the name of Jesus to heal their mental and physical wound without leaving their culture and tradition are also the causes of change seen in celebrating and performing their festivals in Dura Community of the research area.

Meanwhile 5.03% of total respondent responded that other reason like modernization, growing of infrastructure (electricity, road, health post, education) and accessibility to it are the reason that cause change in the celebrating and performing the festivals and in Dura Community of the research area. The impact of education causes the people of Dura Community to independently and without being superstitiously celebrate and practice the festivals and along with the sacraments at the same time accessibility of road and electricity causes of modern and urban product like television, fridge, laptop, sound system, branded liquor, fashionable clothes etc which cause extravagant activities like feasting, partying etc that are replacing or destroying the local product like local tradition, system, local alcohol, local dance, local song, local musical instruments, local dish items etc that were use in the celebrating and performing the festivals along with the sacraments by Dura Community of the research area. This is the another cause of change seen in the festivals and it's way of celebrating in Dura Community of the research area.

While questioning 3.96% of respondent hesitated to talk about the current condition about the festivals and their way of celebrating and the reason for change seen in it of Dura Community in the research area. During the research people from age group 45-

49 and above have given focus on preserving their culture and tradition including celebrating and performing the festivals along with the sacraments for their offspring as they have known that, there is no single person from Dura Community in the research area who can speak Dura language and like their language they have realized that if no one shows concern about their culture and tradition then, their culture and tradition will be in danger.

5.5. View on Preserving these Festivals and its way of Celebration

The population or respondents from the age group 15-19 and above are questioned and interviewed about the view on preserving these festivals and its way of celebration, where their total population is 2,046. The statistical data of view on preserving the festivals and its way of celebration are as follows:-

Table 8

View on Preserving the Festivals and its way of Celebration

S.N.	Preserving Festivals and its way of Celebration	Total Population	Total Population Percent
a.	Should Preserve	1,840	89.93
b.	Not Necessary To Preserve	191	9.34
c.	No Response	15	0.73
	Total	2,046	100%

Source: Field Survey 2079-2080 B.S.

From the above table eight, it can be known that total respondents with 89.93% are have responded that this festivals and its way of celebration in Dura Community should be preserved. This is because they have known that if they are not concern about their culture and tradition then there will be no one left to follow their culture and tradition as like the condition of Dura language where there is no single one left to utter the single sentence properly.

Total of 9.34% respondents have responded that there is no need of preserving the festivals and its way of celebration which have been following from the past. They have also responded that they have been following culture and tradition by celebrating and performing their festivals till now. Some of them also said that people should not be rigid and bounded with any kind of socio-cultural norms and values and should be

free and liberal as like the foreigners. And total of 0.73% respondents have been neutral and gave no any response.

5.6. Way of Preserving their Festivals and it's way of Celebration

While collecting the data about the view on preserving the festivals and it's way of celebration, the respondents of age groups 50-54 and above have shown keen concern about preserving the festivals and their way of celebrating and performing. The respondents of age groups 40-44 and 45-49, especially the males have shown deep concern about their culture and tradition including the preservation of festivals including sacraments because when they were in their teenage they joined the army especially, foreign army and went for foreign employment for decent earning where they spent their young and adult ages mostly due to which they lost the chance to know and learn the socioc-cultural pattern of their community and they were unable to teach their children about the social norms, values, cultural tradition, customs, festivals, sacraments of their community. The respondents of the research area have given their own view for ways of preserving their festivals and theirsacraments with their way of celebrating and performing it.

Table 9

Ways of Preserving Festivals and it's way of Celebration

S.N.	Ways of Preservation	Total Population	Total Population Percent
a.	Unity of All	647	31.62
b.	Continuing It	629	30.74
c.	Encouraging Young People	644	31.48
d.	No Response	126	6.16
	Total	2,046	100%

Source: Field Survey 2079 B.S.

The above table nine shows the view on ways of preserving the festivals and their way of celebrating and performing it, where total of 6.16% respondents have not responded and all ways of preservation the festivals and it's way of celebration and performing it shows almost same percent. It is perhaps, the people of this Dura Community are in deep concern about their culture and tradition and at the same time the young generations of this community of the research area are leaving their

ancestral land to join the foreign army, for foreign employment and to do the modern day works or jobs to earn money for the quality life by leaving their socio-cultural pattern of their community. These above things have caused the remaining people of this community in the research area to have keen interest and deep concern about how to preserve their festivals and it's way of celebrating and practicing to preserve their culture, tradition, customs, norms and values in every way.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

6.1. Summary

This thesis entitled “Sacraments And Festivals In Dura Community” has been organized into six chapters. The first chapter deals about the introduction about the research where other elements like statement of the problem, objectives of the study, significance of the study, justification of the study, review of previous literature, organization of the study have been described and mentioned.

The second chapter on the other deals about the research methodology which includes selection of research area, research design, universe and sampling, nature and source of data collection, method of data collection, data processing and analysis, delimitation of the study.

The third chapter of this thesis deals about the introduction of the study area, introduction and identity of Dura Community, origin and brief history about the Dura Community of the research area, relation between Dura Community and Shah ruler, their physical contour and nature, habitation, dress and appearance, sub-clan (*thar*) and major-clan (*gotra*), religion and language.

Similarly, the fourth chapter deals about the festivals and sacraments of Dura Community of research area (Madhyanepal 10, Neta and Sundarbazar 11, Sindure) and their status or current condition.

The fifth chapter deals about the data presentation and analysis about the condition of demographic features of the Dura Community of the research area and about the condition about the festivals and sacraments of Dura Community of the research area. And lastly, the chapter six deals about the sum up of the thesis and it’s conclusion with recommendation.

During the research, the Dura villages of the Madhyanepal Municipality ward no:-10, Neta and Sundarbazar Municipality ward no:-11, Sindure of Lamjung District were surveyed for information and data collection as the research area is the main settlement of Dura Community. Out of 5,581 total population in whole Nepal 2,512 of population of this community is living here. Total of 356 households of Dura were

surveyed for the research in which total population 2,512 with 1,233 males and 1,279 females are found to live in the research area with different age groups from 0-1 to 80 plus with different demographic features and it's different statistical data.

Though, this is descriptive research, for the collection, procession and presentation of data and information both descriptive and explanatory research design have been used for the history and origin about the Dura Community of the research so that we can get precise qualitative and quantitative data and information. Purposive sampling technique has been used for this specific components of culture like festivals and sacraments of individual group or community which is Dura of determined research area whereas simple random sampling technique has been used for the statistical data. Both open end question and fixed or close end questions were asked but focus is given for open end questions to the respondents and unstructured interview has been done through face to face with the respondents or expert of the research area and through telephone and other communication medium question are asked and interviews were done with the experts who are living outside of the research area. The whole research is based on the field works like field survey, questionnaires, focus group discussion, key informants interview, observation etc.

6.2. Findings

It is not an exaggeration to say that the country Nepal has diverseness in everything found here. Though, we found diverseness in everything here, we found unity in them too which is the key principle of Nepalinness. Dura Community is one of the example of multiness and diverseness found in Nepal. Dura Community is an ethnic community found in Nepal but they still in shade and are not still properly recognized by their fellow citizens. This proves that there are castes and communities, culture, traditions, customs related to these castes and communities, religious places, historically important places, cultural and natural heritage etc are still to be explored, recognized and researched, in another word Nepal is still virgin place for the research and study.

So, analyzing the reviewed books, sources, views given by different writers and researchers, missing a detailed study about the origin, history and identity, sacraments and festivals an its present condition related to Dura Community creates the gaping knowledge. Because many of the reviewed books found during the research are

written more than thirty years ago and an emic approach is also another gaping found from the research.

If we analyze the informations, views of people, sources and books it has been found that people of Dura Community are considered as Magar and Gurung, which is not true. "After the *Baluwabenshi* massacre the defeated Ghale Gurung joined the Dura Community and became Dura" (Cross, 2000, Pg. 296). Because they became Dura it is obvious that, we can see the mixup of Dura and Gurung customs and tradition in performing sacraments and celebrating festivals and because Dura were ruler and during their rule in Beni of Myagdi, the Ghale King killed their son and daughter which is still worshiped as Mandala and Mandali there and to avoid the attack of Ghale the people of Dura Community joined Magar of Dhor region of west Nepal and became Magar (Dura, K.B., personal interview, Falgun, 22, B.S. 2079). Because of this we can see similarities in language and sub-clan (*thar*) of Dura and Magar, besides this there are different castes and communities who entered Nepal from India and Tibet in different time periods but there is no clear history of Dura Community entered Nepal from outside. They came from Dullu of Dailekh and migrated to Jajarkot, Rudrabhot, Beni, Durakot, Sishaghat to present settlement of Lamjung.

Though, they are Buddhist follower now, they are the nature and ancestor worshiper, there adored (*aradhya*) God or the God of the community was and still Lord Shiva (*Narkhu*). Not only this they are the Anamist, Shamanist who follow the Goddesses of Shaktism. "The Ghyabre or Pahchu priest were the peacock feather crown with frock that represent the Goddess (*Naari Shakti*) of Shaktism" (Gurung, B.S. 2034, Pg. 46-50). Shah rulers are the Thakuri and their Clan Deity (*Istadevi*) is Alam Devi of Lasargha, Syangia whose priest is Magar similarly Lamjung kalika of Gaunshahar Lamjung, Gorkhikalika temple of Gorkha, Manakamana temple of Gorkha etc have Magar priest. Likewise, Kalika Devi temple has Dura and Adhikari priests. The influence of Raj Guru Kusmakhar Ghimire to the Khaje Dura and Dura Community in Lamjung palace during the period of 22/24 states in west Nepal, which we still can see in the sacraments and festivals of Dura Community. These are the perfect example of religious and cultural interrelation, tolerance and syncretism and perfect example of amalgamation, acculturation, assimilation and diffusion developed in this country Nepal. So, we can say that by such unity in diversity and such influences of one caste

and community in another caste and community and such process of social changes even Dura Community also could not remain untouched.

Therefore, putting the views, legends, analysis from different books and scholar's and tracing the migration history of Dura Community from the research it can be said that Dura Community of the research area seems to be the original community of this country who don't have a history of entering in Nepal from outside, who have their own customs, traditions, norms, values, sacraments and festivals who also are regarded as the king makers of Nepal, despite having glorious history, having own types of distinctive culture, tradition, sacraments, festivals and having great contribution to the nation, they are slowly forgetting their history, culture, tradition, customs, norms and values and passing through different social process like acculturation, assimilation, amalgamation, diffusion and modernization. The perfect example of this is the total declining condition of Dura language in this community.

6.3. Conclusion

Nepal is one of the 195 countries in the world which has occupied 0.03% of total land in the world. It is multi-geographic, multi-ethnic, multi-caste, multi-culture, multi-lingual, multi-religion, multi-species in case of birds, mammals, herbs, that is to say, Himalayan region, Hill region, Terai region with 77 districts, 14 zones, seven province which consist of highest mountain in the world Mt. Everest to the deepest gorge Kaligandaki, 126 to 142 types of castes and communities with their different different cultures, 124 languages, 10 languages, 900 species of birds, 181 to 208 species of mammals among 17,097 species of animals, 864 to 1,624 types of herbs, are found in such small country, that are nowhere to be found in any other countries in the world. It has different religious and historical places like Pashupatinath temple of lord Shiva, Lumbini the birth place of Gautam Buddha, Muktinath temple of Lord Vishnu, Valmiki ashram, Patan, Bhaktapur, Kantipur palaces, area of Khas kingdom, forts of Shah ruler in Lamjung during the period of 22/24 states in the west and the area and ruins of Kirant ruler in the east etc Such diverseness is the identity of this country Nepal. So, the people of Dura Community who have their own cultural pattern and have been following customs, traditions, celebrating and practicing festivals and sacraments, of Madhyaneapal 10, Neta and Sundarbazar 11, Sindure of Lamjung District of Gandaki Zone of Gandaki Province of Nepal is one of such example of diverseness of Nepal.

The research conducted on the topic Sacraments and Festivals in Dura Community of Madhyanepal 10, Neta and Sundarbazar 11, Sindure is pure and field based research.

From the research it can be concluded that

- a. Dura Ethnic Community are the historic ethnic community, they have glorious his
- b. story and great contribution in the nation building process but they still are in shade. They are under marginalized ethnic community who are not properly recognize by their own fellow citizens.
- c. As like other ethnic community, Dura is also one ethnic community who have their own festivals and sacraments and way of celebrating and performing it. Festivals like Baishakh Purnima, Sahune Sankranti, Shree Krishna Janmashtami, Haritalika Teej, Dashain, Tihar, Poush Pandhra, Maghe Sankranti, Khoi Khane, Shivaratri, Falgun Purnima, Chaite Dashain, and Sacraments like Birth, Chhaiti, Name Giving, Rice Feeding, Tonsure, Putpute, Gunyo Cholo, Marriage, Death.
- d. The research area is the inhabitation of different castes and communitites like Gurung, Brahman, Rai, Chhetri, Dalit. Here, especially the impact of Brahman and Gurung culture can be seen in the festivals and sacraments of Dura Community and it's way of celebrating and performing. For an instance, the Dura Community of Turlungkot and Thuloswara use Brahman priest and Mahayani Lama priest respectively to conduct some ritualistic works and death sacrament and during the Dashain and Chaite Dashain festivals both Brahman priest of Adhikari caste and Dura priest conduct ritualistic works in the Kalika Devi temple of Turlungkot village of research area which is the example of religious co-existence and the acculturation and assimilation process.
- e. Culture is dynamic all the time, so in this modern age the technological advancement has assisted on the process. The access to road, electricity, different means of communication makes access to different facilities which uplift their lifestyle and know about the people and their culture of different castes and communities of the country and of the world and their culture and lifestyle have caused gradual impact of westernization and the process of acculturation and assimilation in the research area. For an instance, during the

research in one village called Gairi Gaun of the research area, though, the musical group were playing panche baja Nepali musical instrument, people seemed to enjoying dancing on the song and music played by electronic music system and people seemed to enjoying the foreign beverage rather than enjoying the sip of local home made beverage.

- f. The people of Dura Community are Clan Deity, nature worshiper and now follow Buddhism but their community God is Shiva (Narkhu) and they also worship the Goddess and give sacrifice of bird and animal which shows that, they are the worshiper of Shaktism. Turlung Kalika, Langdi Devi, Thanshing Malika are the best example of it and which are also the shrine place found in the research area.
- g. The trend of extravagant and show off can be seen increasing gradually in the research area while celebrating and performing the festivals and sacraments where trend of wearing expensive ornaments, attire like western suits, customize ethnic dress, sari, lehenga fro boutique is gradually increasing especially by the young people of the research area as such occasion are the occasion of gathering of people.
- h. The Dura Community of the research area is highly involved in agriculture for their livelihood and festivals like Sahune Sankranti, Maghe Sankranti etc are such festivals based on the agriculture where people of this community harvest maize, paddy, arum, yam, sweet potato and eat. And because people of this research area are going to urban area in search of better job opportunities, some changes being seen in the way of celebrating these festivals.
- i. Festival like Shivaratri is only limited to barring digging, ploughing, cutting trees, grass within the village during the festival. Shree Krishna Janmashtami and Falgun Purnima are no more celebrated by this community as like in the past because of which the tradition of tying up in the obligation bondage (Maiti Bandhne) and *Thado Bhaka* a genre of folk song are gradually forgetting respectively.
- j. Though, the sacraments in Dura Community of the research area is performing according to their ancestral way, but the concept of maintaining the high prestige and status is also increasing on the basis of economic status. For an instance, during the Putpote sacrament donating more money than other

to the Guru Bau, organizer shows the economic status of the particular family who are strong economically, which automatically portrait them as elite group within the community.

- k. In the sacrament like Name Giving, in the past if the new born child is boy then the boy were fitted with bow and arrow which shows Dura Community as warrior clan. But because of the access and importance of education, such tradition of fitting bow and arrow to the new born child has been replaced by stuff like pens, book, pencils etc.
- l. Lamjung District is divided into two election constituency because of which we can see the impact of different political parties and it's ideologies in Dura Community of the research area, in fact in the research area during the Maoist insurgency Rodhi Ghar system and tradition related to this system is directly affected.
- m. The celebration of festival events and performing of sacraments are now shifting from Rodhi Ghar to community building and people of this Dura Community of the research area are living in peace and harmony without having any line of differences.

If we take the words of some writer and historian, Dura came to today's Lamjung from Dullu of Dailekh in different time period and helped to install the Shah dynasty in Lamjung which later became the cause of modern Nepal. They are the king makers of Nepal who have own sociocultural patterns, norms and values, customs and traditions, language and religion, festivals and sacraments which they have been following till now. Though, they have glorious history, culture and tradition and have made great contribution to the country, they are still in shade. Addressing this single community on it's type with other community like Gurung and Magar or labeling title of Gurung and Magar to this community is injustice to this community.

So, the Dura Community of the research area (Madhyanepal 10, Neta and Sundarbazar 11, Sindure of Lamjung) is one among several ethnic communities found in Nepal. They have their own way of celebrating and practicing festivals such as Baishakh Purnima, Sahune Sakranti, Shree Krishna Janmashtami, Teej, Dashain, Tihar, Poushe Pandhra, Maghe Sakranti, Khoi Khane, Shivratri, Falgu Purnima, Chaite Dashain, which they celebrate throughout a year and sacraments such as Birth, Chaiti, Name Giving, Rice Feeding, Tonsure, Putpute, Gunyo Cholo, Marriage and

Death which they practice or follow throughout their whole life, where we can see the gradual impact of advancement of technologies, means of communication, impact of development and most probably the gradual impact of modernization and acculturation, assimilation due to the amalgamate societies of different castes and communities in the research area and still they are unrecognized properly by the fellow Nepali citizens and still far from the eyes of researcher, writer and historian.

6.4. Recommendation

Every caste and community in Nepal in fact in this world has their own history and every one of them have their own kind of festivals and sacraments and own way of celebrating and practicing them which they have also been following form the past till now. Such history and cultural factors helps to give the identity and recognition of particular caste or community of particular place. Festivals and sacraments are those cultural factors that make the human society discipline, civilized and bind in particular rules and bonds. Such cultural factors should be preserved for their coming generation. So on the basis of the research and survey of the research area, some recommendations have been made which are given below:-

- a. Dura Community is one of several ethnic communities found in Nepal. This ethnic community is under marginalized community who helped to install the Shah dynasty in Lamjung which became the cause of modern Nepal. Though, they have glorious history and contribution, they are still not properly recognize by their own fellow citizen and even by government. So, Government of Nepal should take the initiative steps for their proper recognizance through different governmental plan, programs and policies.
- b. As like other caste and communities in Nepal, Dura Community also celebrate and perform festivals and sacraments in their own way and the ritualistic works, traditions, rituals, customary laws which are conducted and followed during celebrating and performing festivals and sacraments should be continued as per the stance stral way for it's long lasting and authenticity of this community.
- c. Customs and customary laws are made to make the civilized community and society, but the tradition of unnecessary and gory scarification of birds and animals, unnecessary and blind believe upon priest or faith healer to celebrate and perform festivals and sacraments should be discouraged.

- d. People of Dura Community of the research area have been seen enjoying with urban liquors and beverages while celebrating and performing festivals and sacraments. So, Dura people should at least use and promote local made liquors and beverages from millet, rice, maize etc so that the tradition related to this home made liquors and beverages can be preserved and since, the people of this community in this research area is highly involved in agriculture for their livelihood which can help in their economic situation.
- e. The young people of this community are unaware about the rituals and traditions while celebrating festivals and performing sacraments. Even the people of age group 45-49 are unaware that what and who need for which event and ritual during celebrating and performing festivals and sacraments, as they had enlisted in foreign army and had left the house at the very young age. So, old people of the community must teach them about the culture, tradition, custom, customary law, ritual and other sociocultural pattern of their community.
- f. The young people of this community should be active and should participate in different festival events and traditions of sacraments so that, they can experience their own cultural rituals and events which can rise intimacy on them.
- g. During festivals like Dashain and Chaite Dashain we can see the perfect example of cultural and religious syncretism where doer priest is Dura and guru priest is Brahman perform every ritualistic works in Kalika Devi Temple in Turlungkot of the research area. They perform ritualistic works together. So, other ethnic communities and castes can learn the exact meaning of the religious tolerance and cultural co-existence.
- h. Donating, sponsoring money to the village, to needy one in the name of deceased love one is not bad thing, but donating and sponsoring money to flaunt their power of money, status unnecessarily is not good thing. So, such provocative things which is increasing in the research area should be discouraged.
- i. The trend of forgetting the typical Dura attire in the research area is also seen in gradual state, instead modern clothes and expensive ornaments are being worn especially by the young generation during the festivals and sacraments. Such things should be discouraged because all people don't have

same economic status and doing these things are just waste of time and money.

- j. People of this Dura Community are the nature worshiper and used to have their priest to do their ritualistic works during celebration and performing the festivals and sacraments and later they shifted to Pahchu, Ghyabre and Lama priest. So, the people of this community of the research area should encourage to change Lama priest to their original Jhankri or Dangre priest.
- k. If we talk about the history of Shah dynasty of Nepal, no one knows before the person wants to talk about the period before the period of Yasho Brahma Shah in Lamjung District and the contribution of Khaje Dura and his people. So, for the proper recognizance and further development of this community of the research area, it looks like people of this community should be active themselves and aware because no one come to preserve, celebrate, perform their cultural festivals and sacraments they, themselves are responsible for their development and destruction of their community and it's history.

6.5. Direction To The Further Research

This thesis entitled “The Festivals and Sacraments in Dura Community” has made an effort to explore about Dura Community. As per the objectives of this research, this research has made an effort to show who actually are Dura and what types of festivals and sacraments they celebrate and perform and the rituals, customs, traditions, norms and values related to them and the present condition of such festivals and sacraments of this community.

This is ethnographic research which was conducted in the Dura Community of Madhyanepal Municipality ward no:-10, Neta and Sundarbazar ward no:-11, Sindure of Lamjung District. In the course of making this research only got a handful of literature and book. So, still more is to be explored about this community and hope to guide for further study and research in different topic and subject matter about this community which are not discussed and explained in this research

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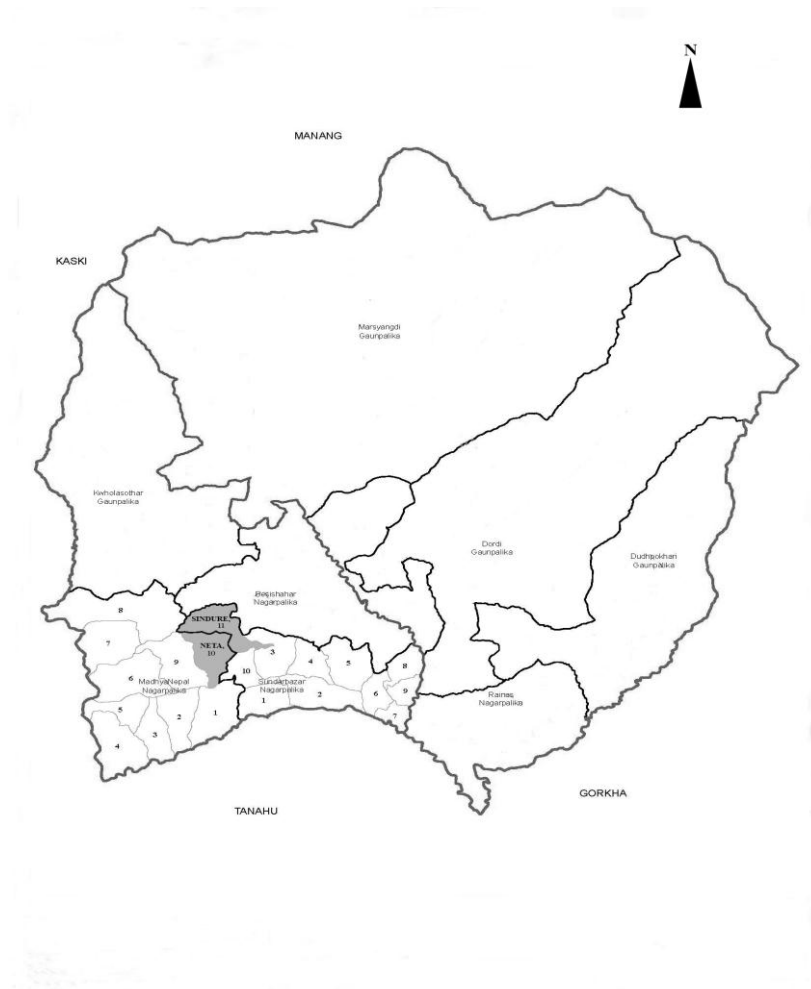
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Appendix-1
Map of Nepal



Map 1: Map of Nepal Showing Lamjung District

Appendix-2
Map of Lamjung District



Map 2: Map of Lamjung District Showing Research Area

Appendix-3
Questionnaire

Date:-.....

1. House Number:-.....
2. Name of Household Head:-.....
3. Family Detail:-.....

S.N	Name	Male With Age	Female with Age	Religion	Education	Occupatio n	Relation with the Househol d Head
1.							
2.							
3.							
4.							
5.							
6.							
7.							
8.							
9.							
10.							
11.							

1.1. Questions Related To Identity of Dura Community.

1. Who are Dura people?
Ans.....
2. Where they came from?
Ans.....
3. What are their Major-clan (Gotra) and Sub-Clan (Thar)?
Ans.....
4. Are Dura Community is separate than Magar and Gurung Communities?
Ans.....

27. What are the homemade product that you prepare for both ritualistic work and for earning money?

Ans.....

28. Do we have any impact of economic condition in the way of celebrating and performing festivals and sacraments.

Ans.....

1.4. Questions Related To Educational Status.

29. What is your and your family members educational level?

- a. Pre-School
- b. Primary
- c. Upper-Primary
- d. Secondary
- e. Higher Secondary
- f. Bachelor's Degree
- g. Master's Degree
- h. Technical/Vocational and other education
- i. Literate

30. Do we have any impact of education in the celebration and performing of festival s and sacraments in your community?

- a. Yes
- b. No

1.5. Questions Related To Occupational Status.

2. What is your occupation?

- a. Agriculture
- b. Military/Police Service
- c. Foreign employment
- d. Government Official/Worker
- e. Teacher
- f. Housewife
- g. Others

32. Since, the people of Dura Community are attracted to the occupation like military services especially, foreign military like British, India, Singapore etc, which is regarded as good earning. So, do such so called high earning occupation has affected the celebration and performing of festivals and sacraments in this community?

Ans.....

At last, is there anything that you want or you think that I have forgotten to tell this or that about your community and their sacraments and festivals and the way of performing and celebrating them along with their importance in your community

Ans.....

Appendix-4
List of Interview

S.N.	Name	Age	Date of Interview	Post
1.	Kau Bahadur Dura	77	Falgun 22, 2079	Cultural Expert
2.	Hasta Bahadur Dura	70	Chaitra 24, 2079	Ex-Ind. Army
3.	Hira Lal Dura	75	Falgun 27, 2079	Former Guru Ba
4.	Deb Bahadur Dura	65	Ashad 23, 2076	Central member of Janata Samajbadi Party/Former Chairman of Dua Sewa Samaj
5.	Lok Bahadur Dura	76	Chaitra 29, 2079	Former Chairman of Dura Sewa Samaj
6.	Kishor Dura	67	Shrawan 21, 2079	Former Chairman of Dura Sewa Samaj
7.	Yam Bahadur Dura	45	Shrawan 23, 2079	Freelance Journalist/Teacher
8.	Dharmaraj Dura	32	Falgun, 20, 2079	Chairman of Deu Bahadur Youth Club, Madhyanepal Municipality 10, Neta
9.	Chandra Devi Dura	39	Chaitra 12, 2079	Social Mobilizer
10.	Som Bahadur Dura	33	Chaitra 26, 2079	Committee Member of Deu Bahadur Dura Youth Club, Madhyanepal Municipality 10, Neta
11.	Hira Dura	32	Falgun 20, 2079	Committee Member of Deu Bahadur Youth Club, Madhyanepal Municipality 10, Neta
12.	Ram Bahadur Adhikari		Chaitra 26, 2079	Teacher
13.	Shanti Maya Dura	62	Baishakh 6, 2080	Housewife
14.	Deb Bahadur Dura	70	Chaitra 6, 2079	Ex-Ind. Army
15.	Jit Bahadur Dura	72	Chaitra 26, 2079	Respondent

