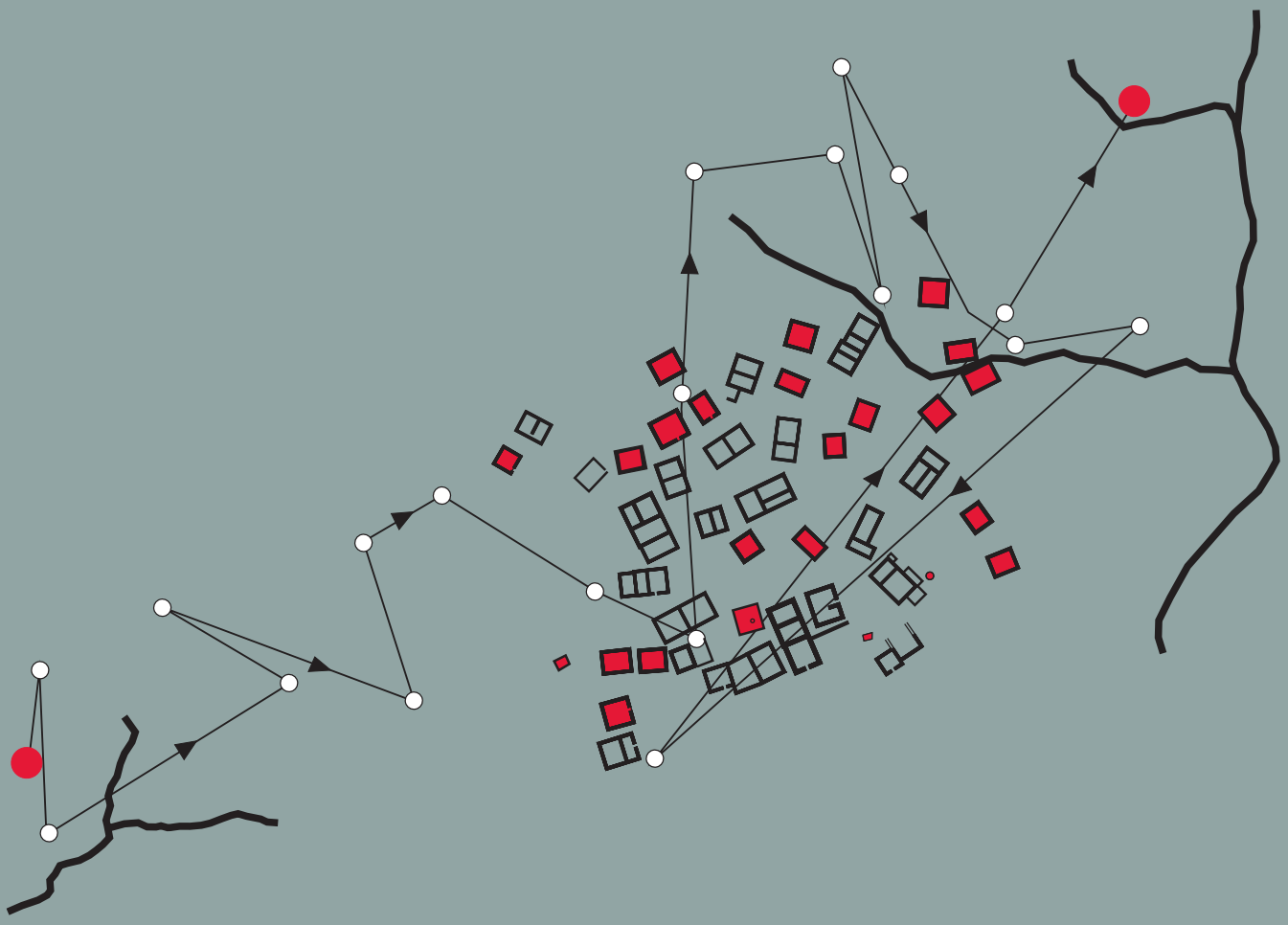
McDONALD INSTITUTE MONOGRAPHS

Grounding knowledge/ walking land

Archaeological research and ethno-historical identity in central Nepal

By Christopher Evans
with Judith Pettigrew, Yarjung Kromchaĩ Tamu & Mark Turin



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Cover illustration: *Kohla site plan superimposed with rendering of Tamang shamans' landscape-recital 'traverse' (see Fig. 5.6; after Höfer 1999, fig. 4).*

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Preface and Acknowledgements
The Assembly of Context

Foremost behind the fieldwork sit our local Nepali colleagues who hosted the project, particularly the Tamu Pye Lhu Sangh. It has been a great privilege to work with them. Many of that organization warrant naming, but here Major Hom Bahadur, Lieutenant Bhuwan Singh, Bhovar Palje Tamu and Lieutenant Indra Bahadur Tamu will have to suffice. Equally, the arrival of our expeditions must surely have proved daunting for our village hosts, particuarly Tara Devi Gurung and family in Yangjakot and their remarkable hospitality is most gratefully acknowledged here.

David Gibson and Crane Begg were the core of the archaeological team in the first two seasons, with Josh Pollard joining us in 1995. The 2000 team consisted of Marcus Abbott and Alastair Oswald from the UK, being joined by Uddhav Acharya and B. Thapa of HMG, Nepal. Collectively, they gracefully endured a lot and, with Knut Helksog, proved good companions.

The project's 'archaeological stays' in Nepal have variously been enlivened, and our knowledge of the country and its people greatly furthered, by Gunnar Håland, Don Messerschmidt, Charles Ramble, Anne de Sales and Angela Simons. At 'home', we have been variously grateful for the support and insights of Mark Aldenderfer, Dorothy Allard, Tim Bayliss-Smith, John Bellezza, Richard Bradley, Dillip Chakrabarti, Hildegard Diemberger, Mark Edmonds, Ian Hodder, Caroline Humphrey, Michael Hutt, Mark Jobling, Alan Macfarlane, Tim Murray, Michael Oppitz, Corinne Pohl-Thiblet, Perdita Pohle, Tod Ragsadle, Mike Rowlands, Marie Louise Stig Sørensen, Peter Ucko, Torben Vestergaard, Piers Vitebsky, John Whelpton and the late Klaus Ferdinand.

Negotiating Nepal's intricate bureaucracies was greatly facilitated by the British Embassy in Kathmandu, and we are particularly grateful for the assistance of Sheila O'Connor and Andrew Mitchell. Equally, over the years, the various Directors General and Officers of the Department of Archaeology, HMG Nepal supported and smoothed the progress of the project in a spirit of open co-operation. Thereby, we are indebted to Shaphalya Amatya, Riddhi Pradhan, Kosh Acharya and Sukra Sagar Shrestha.

The project was funded throughout by the McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research at the University of Cambridge, and we have been grateful for its inspired support, and particularly that of Colin Renfrew and Chris Scarre. The project also received specific grants from the Frederick Williamson Memorial Fund and the Crowther-Beynon Fund of the University of Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, and in this capacity the encouragement of Robin Boast and Anita Herle must be acknowledged. Gratitude is also due to the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London for a grant towards the project's post-excavation research. In 1995 the British Academy funded the translation of the *pye*. Finally, we must acknowledge the intellectual support of the Cornell-Nepal Study Program of Cornell University, particularly Kathryn March, which led to the placement of Dawn Kaufmann who undertook a study of local Tamu-mai houses in 1999 (Kaufmann 2000) and whose sketches feature in this volume.

With political events in Nepal cutting short the project's fieldwork, the lack of 'hard' excavation data has provided greater scope to explore related themes. To wit, projects don't exist in isolation: knowledge and research frameworks interact with each other. In this case, Kohla's 'findings' and what has been made of them have, over time, resonated with other projects and colleagues, variously the Haddenham (Ian Hodder), Mergen (Caroline Humphrey) and Sinja Projects (Tim Harward), and which together constitute a singular Asian/Fenland genealogy. Evans would also like to thank Richard Darrah for his comments concerning the woodland management of Hobbemas's 'Middelharnis Avenue', which herein has been (re-)rendered by Vicki Herring.

Judith Pettigrew is grateful for the assistance of Kamal Prasad Adhikari. Eleni Asouti and Dorian Fuller wish to thank Sarah Walshaw for weighing and sieving the environmental samples and undertaking their initial sorting. The volume's graphics reflect the enormous skills of the Cambridge Archaeological Unit's Graphic Officers, variously Marcus Abbott, Crane Begg and Andrew Hall; the latter of whom drew the project's finds in Kathmandu, and was responsible for much of the final design of this book's figures. Unless otherwise indicated, the photographs within the volume are by Christopher Evans, and the text has benefited from the well-honed journalistic skills of his father, Ron Evans.

As to the nuances of the volume's authorship (i.e. what is implied by 'with'), its anthropological sections are, accordingly, specified. While Judith

Pettigrew's insights and deep knowledge of the local community have informed the text throughout, due to differences in disciplinary approach and 'scope', the responsibility for all but Chapter 2 is strictly Evans's alone. Evans is also grateful for Mark Turin's detailed comments concerning the introductory and final chapters, and for proof-reading and copy-editing the whole manuscript.

Finally, matters of nomenclature: the first is the reckoning of time, as Nepal has its own calendrical system. However, to facilitate international reference, all dates in this text should be read as '(B)CE', in other words relative to the 'Christian Era' (with the 'BP' of radiocarbon dating denoting 'before the present', that being 1950). The second point pertains to naming. Although the ethnic group under study is more widely known by their Nepali name, Gurung, here their name for themselves in their own language, Tamu or Tamu-mai will be employed. Otherwise, to all intents and purposes these terms can be considered to be interchangeable. Equally, there is little consensus-standard of local place-name spellings. They have been 'regularized' as far as reasonably possible, but due to problems of computer application, the use of diacritics is restricted to Chapter 2; however, in the subsequent chapter correspondence is indicated between *pye-* and site-titles.

Cambridge, Ely and Kathmandu

Now no chronicler nor historian can attempt to record all events; from the superfluity of happenings he must select what he regards as memorable. His selection is determined to a very small extent by his personal idiosyncracies, but on the whole by tradition and social interest. Indeed, save for personal memoirs and diaries, *the standard of the memorable is a social one*, dictated by interests shared by the whole community … (Gordon Childe, *History*, 1947, 22; emphasis added).

Everyone is prone to forgetfulness, even under the most favourable conditions, and in a place like this, with so much actually disappearing from the physical world, you can imagine how many things are forgotten all the time. In the end, the problem is not so much that people forget, but that they do not always forget the same thing. What still exists as a memory for one person can be irretrievably lost for another, and this creates difficulties, insuperable barriers against understanding … *It is a slow but ineluctable process of erasure*. Words tend to last a bit longer than things, but eventually they fade too, along with the pictures they once evoked. Entire categories of objects disappear — flower-pots, for example, or cigarette filters, or rubber bands — and for a time you will be able to recognise those words, even if you cannot recall what they mean. But then, little by little, the words become sounds, a random collection of glottals and fricatives, a storm of whirling phonemes, and finally the whole thing just collapses into gibberish (Paul Auster, *In the Country of Last Things*, 1987, 88–9; emphasis added).

Chapter 2

Anthropology and Shamanic Considerations

Judith Pettigrew, Yarjung Kromchaĩ Tamu & Mark Turin

Situating anthropology
Judith Pettigrew

In August 1992, I interviewed Major Hom Bahādur Tamu, treasurer of the *Tamu Pye Lhu Sangh* (Tamu Cultural and Religious Organization) at the ancestral village of Kohla:

> 'How does it feel to be in Kohla?' I asked,
>
> 'Great, it's our old village, the place of our ancestors'.
>
> He followed this with, 'I think that we should get people up here with shovels to dig the place up and put the proof in the *kohĩbo'*.
>
> I commented:
>
> 'If anyone is going to dig it up, there should be archaeologists involved as they will know how to dig without damaging the old buildings'.
>
> Hom Bahādur nodded his head and replied: 'Yes, that would be a very good idea'.

The Kohla Project for Archaeology and Ethno-History which developed as a collaborative venture between University of Cambridge researchers and members of the *Tamu Pye Lhu Sangh* (TPLS), a Tamu (Gurung) religious and cultural organization, has its origins in this discussion which took place at the ancestral village of Kohla in August 1992.

The Kohla Project was concerned with archaeology and ethno-history as a 'community process'. Its multi-dimensional approach incorporated archaeological survey/excavation alongside the collection of oral histories and interviews with Tamu people regarding their views of the past. A 'project within a project', it was also concerned with how history is created in the present and the role that our work played in this venture. A central feature of the Kohla Project was its commitment to the concept of multiple voices — separate but equal. The *Jana Andolan* (People's Movement) of 1990 in Nepal created new possibilities for organization, discussion and activism among the people who call themselves *janajāti* (ethnic minorities or minority nationalities) and *adivāsi* (indigenous peoples). Much of the immediate post-1990 discourse related to their position within the nation-state, their desire to negotiate new relationships to the state and to enjoy new rights within it. The demands were based on contemporary realities and the experiences of the past which, in the early and mid-1990s, were being carefully examined from the perspective of the long-term effects that they have had on *janajāti* groups.

Among the Tamu-mai, this re-examination took place on many levels and in talking to a wider national forum, the Tamu-mai also talked to themselves. The prime topics of discussion included the question of historical origin, the religion(s) of the Tamu-mai, the preservation of language, loss of culture and the effects of Hinduization. Of particular concern were the seventeenth- and nineteenth-century Hindu-authored genealogies (*bãsāvali*), which posited a mixed Indo-Aryan and Mongolian origin for the Tamu-mai and portrayed one group of clan lineages, the *Sõgi* (Nep. *cār-jāt*), as being 'superior' to another, the *Kugi* (Nep. *sohra-jāt*).

In the post-*Andolan* years, these discourses led to the foundation of a plethora of new ethnic organizations. One such organization is the TPLS which was founded in Pokhara in 1990. *Tamu Pye Lhu Sangh's* self-appointed mandate is to preserve and revitalize Tamu cultural traditions and in particular the shamanic traditions of the *pachyu* and *klehbrĩ* and the *'bön' lama*. The TPLS is concerned with shamanic interpretations of the past, the effects of Hinduization and status relationships between the clans. While a significant number of other Tamu organizations exist, including the national Tamu organization *Tamu Chõj*

Figure 2.1. *1992 TPLS route map (Pettigrew & Tamu 1999, map 2).*

Dhī, the Kāski district organization *Tamu Dhī* and the Buddhist organizations *Bauddha Arghaun Sadan* and *Tamu Bauddha Sewā Samiti*, TPLS is the only organization directly concerned with the shamanic traditions and its position as such is uncontested. Its stance on the relationships between the clans, however, while widely supported at an overt level, is contested, often covertly, by those Tamu-mai who perceive that a hierarchical relationship does exist.

In the absence of documented sources, the present re-examination of Tamu history has proceeded along different lines of enquiry (see Des Chene 1996, 117). These include the search for evidence of Tamu kingdoms, the re-evaluation of the place of the Tamu-mai in the Hindu kingdoms, the study of language and the study of religious history. The last of these is the approach taken by members of the TPLS.

Tamu shamans are considered by many Tamu-mai to be experts in indigenous knowledge and understandings of the past. What they know about Tamu history is based on knowledge contained within the 'oral texts' (*pye)*, including texts such as the *Tõhdã* and *Lẽmakõ* (see below) which narrate the downward migration of the Tamu-mai, sections of which are retraced in reverse during the shamans ritual journey in the *pai laba* death ritual. As the shamanic version of

history relates to a literal landscape, the search for a more authentic version of the past led TPLS members to travel into this landscape where they attempted to match text to geography. During a 1992 research trip, I accompanied TPLS members on their first expedition northward through the districts of Kāski, Lamjung, Manāng and Mustāng (Fig. 2.1). We 'discovered' that there are significant ruins at the historic village of Kohla. While shepherds and cowherders were fully aware of the village, they saw the ruins as a source of stonework for their temporary shelters, rather than as part of their heritage which should be preserved.

The purpose of the 1992 trip was to discover if the places listed in the *pye* exist in the physical landscape. The first part of the journey retraced the overlapping downward migration route of the Tamu-mai and the upward ritual journey route along which the shamans guide the souls of the dead in the *pai laba* death ritual (Fig. 2.3). While the ideal would have been to travel the entire length of both routes, in practice it was only possible to trace those sections of the journeys that lie within the districts of Kāski, Lamjung and Manāng.

The ritual journeys of shamans from different villages merge in the high pastures of Thurchu (some shamans do not have the *pye* which takes them to Thurchu and so they 'fly' from the village they are performing in). Prior to Thurchu, shamans from different villages have their own routes. On our journey, we followed the route of the shamans from the village of Yāngjakot. This route was chosen because several of the TPLS participants were originally from Yāngjakot. At the point on the trail where the soul journey ascended the large rock at Oble, we continued following the downward migration trail that overlaps with the landscapes referred to in several different *pye.*

Although the TPLS members already knew that most of the geographic places on the routes existed, they hoped that the trek would provide concrete (experiential but non-shamanic) confirmation and documentation of their existence. The journey was therefore not only of spiritual importance, but also of emotional, historical and political importance. It was simultaneously a pilgrimage to sacred places and a journey into the past. More importantly, it was a quest for origins — origins which are perceived to be 'somewhere in Mongolia' and intimately tied to the shamanic traditions. Oral texts narrate the northward soul journey, the downward migration route and a series of overlapping physical landscapes. Thus, it was not only the oral texts which were under scrutiny, but also the entire orientation of the shamanic world.

The TPLS trip members, none of whom, with the exception of the shaman and founder member, Yarjung Tamu, had visited more than a few places on the proposed route, were very conscious of the implications of their venture (see below for an account of Yarjung's original visit). They knew that a successful trip would place them in a much better position to address questions about the past and the cultural embeddedness of the *pye-tã lhu-tã.* The term 'proof' was often used, and on several occasions I heard people saying that they were 'going to retrieve the proof'. 'Proof' referred to verification of the historical migration route as well as to the shamanic journeys. Not surprisingly, the trip received considerable attention among the wider Tamu community, particularly in the urban centre of Pokhara.

We left Pokhara on a sunny August morning in 1992. We were a group of sixteen — eight participants (seven TPLS members, two of whom were shamans, and myself), one guide, five porters and two cooks. Our first night was spent in the village of Yāngjakot, and the second at the site of the ancestral village of Khudu. On our third morning, we saw the historic village of Kohla for the first time: a small distant treeless area amidst the heavily forested south-facing slopes of the Lamjung Himal. Further along the trail at Chikrei, ruins were spotted and members of the group took rough notes and measured buildings.

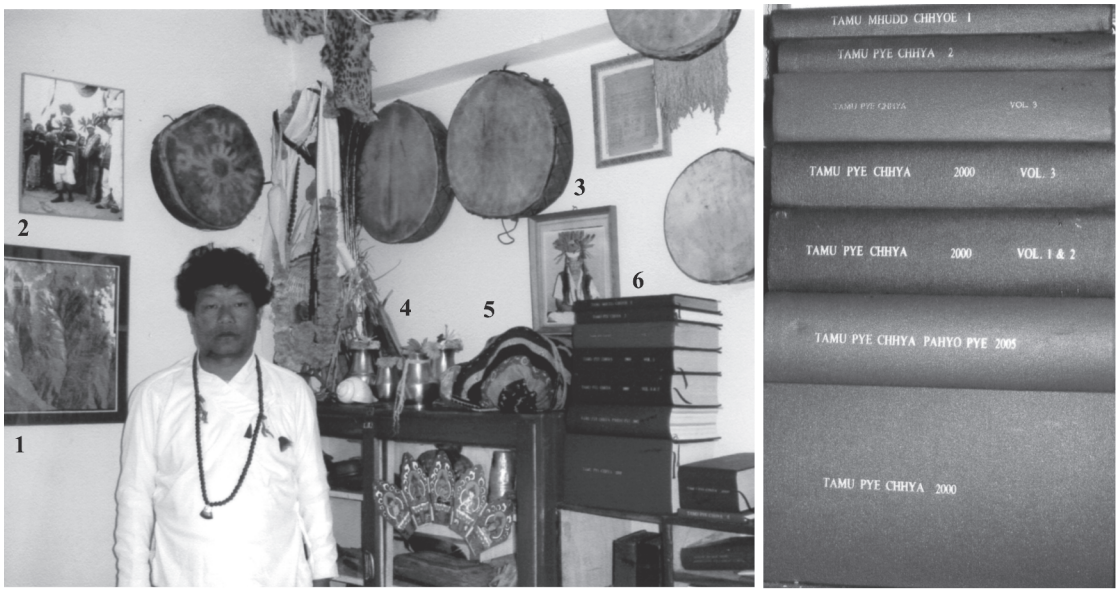
On the fourth night, we camped in a dismal monsoon downpour above the treeline at Naudi Pak. Early in the morning, we walked the short distance to Kohla (Fig. 2.2). I knew of its importance as I had been told many times that it was the 'last joint village before the Tamu-mai split into smaller groups and moved down to the locations of the present villages'. I was not, however, expecting what we found — visible standing ruins of a very large village. With notebooks, measuring tape, cameras and a video recorder, the group moved through the ruins recording what we could see despite the high monsoon-fed overgrowth.

On the basis of what was visible to us, a process of ascription began taking place which was based on people's knowledge and their experience of contemporary architecture. The largest and most prominent house was thought to be the 'Klye (Ghale) chieftain's house'. The standing stone to its side, which stood in relationship to the house in a way that is still found today in house/stable complexes in extant Tamu villages, was the 'stable'. We couldn't locate the cemetery, but when the pachyu shaman Yarjung Tamu began to have pre-trance sensations after touching some large stones, people said 'that's probably the cemetery or a place where rituals used to take place. The ancestors are nearby, that is why Thagu (eldest son) feels shaky'.

After leaving Kohla, we spent two nights in the shepherds' huts at Thurchu before crossing into Manāng district by cutting through the mountains. In Manāng, our route took on an added dimension. As well as being the trail of the shamanic soul journey, the ancestors' migration route

A

B



C

Figure 2.2. *A shaman's perspective: A) Yarjung and guide, Damarsingh, at Kohla during the 1992 TPLS trip (photograph: J. Pettigrew); B) Tamu-mai shamans gathered in Kathmandu, 2003 (there to record their chants and drumming for the CD,* Divine Ancestors, *made in collaboration with the School of Oriental and African Studies, London; note their prominent drums); C) a shaman's study (Yarjung's), Pokhara, 2005, including Kohla environs satellite image (1), a photograph of Yarjung in full regalia and 'performance' (2), his collection of flat-drums (with both Siberian and Irish examples) (3), a* Phai Lhu Chon *shrine to ancestors (4), a portrait of Yarjung's shaman father (5) and a bound series of Yarjung's transliteration of various* pye *'texts' (6; with detail right).*

and the salt trade route, the route had also become other peoples' trails — an important tourist route, the trail down which the 'Tibetan refugees spreading Buddhism' travelled, a route dotted with small Tibetan and Tamu villages. Tamu gods, shamans and ancestors thus share their landscape with foreign trekkers, Buddhist lamas, Tibetans and people from elsewhere who run the local administration.

At Oble, in the shadow of the large dome rock which deceased Tamu ascend to reach the afterworld, the group practised the singing and dancing of the pachyu Serga Pye. The Serga sends the deceased to the afterworld in the pai laba, the three-day death ritual. The section referring to the local landscape was to be sung at Maiju Deurāli, the site of an ancestral village, and the point on the route at which the human trail curves to the left while the trail of the dead goes to the right, up and over Oble.

As we continued our journey, we passed villages that are mentioned in the pye as ones in which Tamu ancestors had lived. The list corresponded to that given in the texts, and landscape corroborated the shamanic version of the past. In each case, the villages appeared in the order in which they are listed in the pye, many names were clearly the same although the pronunciation, and in some cases the actual name, was different. The ancestors, however, had left little trace of their habitation — the contemporary villages were all of Tibetan origin. The landscape was populated by gods that can be beckoned by contemporary Tamu shamans who live on the other side of the Himal. The valleys leading to Thorang La (Pass), famed and feared among trekkers, were inhabited by Tamu gods. Crossing the pass the following morning we looked down, in the early hours of the dawn, on a landscape which incorporated the famous Hindu pilgrimage site of Muktināth. In Tamu shamanic geography, this location is referred to as Muchhitrachamgoye.

A high point of the expedition was the side-trip to the village of Lubra (Lipro Mharsõ in the pye), a place of past learning for the klehbrĩ shamans. The village was inhabited by Tibetan-speaking people who had no memory of the klehbrĩ and were bemused by the group's earnest enquiries. We were taken to see the Bön-po monastery. Excitedly, the group members examined the painted deities on the ceiling, which bore a great resemblance to those on the klehbrĩ urgyan ('crown'). As Yarjung filmed the images, he narrated the names of the gods to the camera. As we left the monastery, someone pointed to a miniature iron bird suspended just above eye-level and cried, 'look, it's just like the klehbrĩ bird'. Writer and historian Bhovar Tamu questioned the villagers, 'where did this come from?', 'what do you think it is?', but the locals had no idea. We were told of an old monastery that was on the other side of the ridge behind the village. There was talk of sending me and a couple of others up to film and photograph it, but there was no time. We left. There was a distinct but unspoken awareness that our excitement was not shared by the locals, a certain disappointment that they did not realize how 'important and historic their village is to the Tamu-mai'. At a distance from the village, Ba Klehbrĩ chanted the section of the pye that refers to Lipro Mharsõ. Lipro was 'reclaimed'.

We reached Jomsom. To the locals we were just another group of 'tourists' looking for accommodation, so we decided to press on. Time, money and what are always referred to as 'rations' were beginning to run short. Jomsom is not mentioned in the pye, but the nearby village of Thini is. There were only a few brief minutes in which to film and chant the section of the pye that refers to Thini (named Thini Kyhalsõ in the pye). In Tukche we bought apples for friends and families and hired a porter to carry them down.

The next day we passed the large waterfall of Maiwha Chhara that is mentioned in Prõprõ pye. Yarjung, who had never before physically visited it, recognized it immediately as a place that he had visited in trance. The pye tells that the mho (demons) that live in the waterfall used to be able to change into people. One day, a ritual was held in the village during which all the pots and pans were laid out. During the ritual, a ladle was stolen and from that day, the mho have been unable to transform themselves into humans. According to Yarjung, a 'king and queen still live in the waterfall'. We approached an old man weaving a bamboo basket. 'Do you ever hear the sound of bells and drums coming from the waterfall?' asked Yarjung. 'Yes we do', replied the old man.

We reached Baglung two days later. The new Chinese-built road to Pokhara was temporarily blocked due to a landslide creating a long delay. In the afternoon, we finally managed to get a truck which took us back to town. In slanting rain, huddled under sheets of plastic, we perched atop the Chinese truck. Through the rain, and between the hairpin bends of the new road, we passed the familiar villages of Birethanti, Nayapul and Lumle. As Dhampus came into view Yarjung said, 'My father had a bad fight with witches in that village about 30 years ago'. It was almost dusk when we finally reached Pokhara.

We met the following day — to celebrate, to apologize should we have offended each other in the difficult circumstances of the trip, to thank the porters, guide and cooks, and to watch the video. When we came together, we heard that we had received messages of congratulations from many people along with requests to watch the video.

The expedition recounted above is the second journey in the chronology of TPLS journeys into the land of the ancestors. It formed the basis for the construction of new historical narratives and, as 'our 1992 trek', it became part of the history that it was designed to discover. When those who participated in the journey talk about their historical research, they trace the beginning of the search for evidence to this trip which allowed them to see and

experience first hand the relationship between the *pye*, the landscape and the shamanic journeys (as opposed to hearing about it from shamans, who usually have not visited the sites themselves). This evidence significantly shifted the discussion about history as it provided a firm foundation on which to counter versions of the Tamu past based on Hindu interpretations (for which the only evidence is the widely discredited seventeenth- and nineteenth-century genealogies). During and after the trip I spoke to TPLS members about the role that archaeology could play, and asked if they were interested in my making contact with archaeologists who could help with a research project on the history of the village of Kohla and other ancestral villages. They replied that they were, and on my return to Cambridge (to write up my PhD dissertation), my discussions with colleagues led to the suggestion that I contact Christopher Evans, Director of the Cambridge Archaeological Unit, which is part of the Department of Archaeology. In the summer of 1993, Yarjung Tamu (who was in the UK to work on a museum project at the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology) and I met Evans. Out of this meeting and subsequent negotiations, the Kohla Project developed as a collaborative venture between University of Cambridge researchers and the TPLS (and subsequently the Government of Nepal's Department of Archaeology).

Archaeological research plotted new routes into the landscape of the ancestors. The land was remapped but in a different way, and the archaeological maps did not always coincide with existing interpretations. The maps provided by the archaeologists expanded indigenous understandings of the landscape and provided new material for interpretation. That the scripts were somewhat different, although a source of much discussion, was relatively unimportant. The interpretations co-existed in simultaneously overlapping and separate domains. Local people and archaeologists talked both to each other and past one another. What was important was the journey, for it was the journey that provided the context and the opportunity for interpretation and the construction of narratives. My initial role as a broker continued, and much of what I did as the anthropologist on the project was to act as an interpreter. My interpretation included the usual range of language and culture, but also included mediating between different modes of thinking, knowledge and interpretation as shamans, local people and foreign and Nepali archaeologists engaged in an ongoing dialogue about the Tamu past. Ethnographic research also included translation of the oral texts relating to Kohla (see below) and oral history interviews with people of different ages, genders and generations in Kāski and Lamjung districts, as well as in Pokhara. These did not, however, provide significant material, as although all interviewees stressed that the Tamu-mai migrated downwards from a northern direction, and most had heard of Kohla, few could provide any additional historical information.

The encounter with archaeology created a degree of previously denied access to the ancestral world. The emotionality of journeying into the landscape of the ancestors (and conversely the landscape of the ritual journey) was further enhanced by actual physical contact with the ancestors' material culture. Unlike the original TPLS journey, the range of people who could at some level participate, who could 'touch and be touched', was now much wider. The first archaeological expedition's return to Pokhara attracted a wide audience to the *kohībo* who came to look at photographs of the trip, talk to the participants and touch the pottery of the ancestors.

Journeying of the type undertaken by TPLS members on their 1992 trek was an attempt to show that the places mentioned in the *pye* existed, and thus prove the historical authenticity of the shamanic version of history, which could be counterposed against what appeared as the historical inauthenticity of the Hinduized version. There was a moral dimension to the journey, suggesting the contemporary righting of past wrongs. Geography fostered a moral continuity with the past. Landscape and morality were linked in a manner that is reminiscent of that described by Basso (1984) for the western Apache. Among the Apache, moral narratives are constructed in landscape. One does not necessarily need to hear the stories but only to see or remember the landscape of the stories, 'the moral significance of geographical locations ... is established by historical tales with which the locations are associated' (Basso 1984, 44). What was different in the Tamu case was that the encoding of morality in landscape was based not on historical tales but on narratives constructed in the present, but which related to the landscape and memories of the past. It was also different in that it concerned historical morality rather than everyday conduct.

Landscape and morality were linked through the ancestors. The landscape had to be negotiated in a particular way: to be disrespectful to the land was potentially to be disrespectful to the ancestors. To simultaneously pay respect to ancestors and manage the pragmatics of everyday life required constant negotiation. The situation was similar to that described by Turner (1974, 182–3) for pilgrims. As the pilgrim moves away from home, s/he becomes increasingly sacralized as s/he meets shrines and sacred places and objects, and increasingly secularized as s/he must cope

with the difficult practical demands of everyday life in a strange and temporary place. Those who journeyed confronted problems created by this juxtaposition of roles. Sometimes the subtle balance was lost. Following our brief 1992 visit to Kohla, it was suggested that we had become lost because we had not burnt herbs or said prayers to the ancestors. On another occasion, herbs were hastily burned because it was felt that we had constructed our toilet close to the dwelling place of an area god. The arbiters of morality in landscape were the shamans who decided when to appease or not appease the Afterworld. On our 1994 research journey to Kohla, the frequency of hailstones worried some members of the research team who often urged the shamans to burn herbs in order to keep the ancestors happy. The underlying fear was that we were making the ancestors unhappy, thereby causing them to send hail. The shamans, working on a different understanding of, and relationship to the landscape, sometimes refused to burn herbs, explaining that it was the weather and not the ancestors. At a temporary resting place en route to Kohla it began to hail and Yarjung appealed to the place-god to stop the deluge. As he stood in the middle of the hailstorm burning herbs and chanting, the group watched, and his actions (and apparent success) were captured on film and video. Journeying, which required shamanic mediation between the landscape and the ancestors/Afterworld, provided an additional domain of authority for shamanic practice.

While 'proof in the landscape' provided the basis for a reconstruction of history, I suggest that journeying was the *actual* construction of historical narrative — the writing (or walking) of history. Rather like committing a historical account to paper, journeying was the construction of a performative historical narrative located in landscape. As Tilley (1994, 28) writes, 'movement through space constructs "spatial stories", forms of narrative understanding'. As Tamu revivalists walked up and down the trails from the town to the high Himalaya, they constructed, both for themselves and others, a chronology which was simultaneously past and present, and past in the present. A narrative was constructed which included and interlinked the actors of the past with the actors of the present. In this way, a perspective was created which associated the contemporary actors with the telling of history, thereby establishing authority. As the shamanic and the historic interacted, the establishment of history-making authority was at once the enhancement of shamanic authority.

To understand the potential that journeying had in conveying an interpretation of history, it is necessary to consider the audience to which history-making was directed. While it was important to provide written accounts of the Tamu past for outsiders — to explain and share perceptions of the injustices of the past, to reinterpret, to assert an identity based on one's own cultural practices — it was more important to provide an account for one's own people. While published historical accounts might receive the attention of a small number of well-educated people, most Tamu-mai, whether urban dwellers or villagers, do not read them or have access to them. For some sections of society, understandings of the past continue to be based on the Hindu-authored genealogies. While in the early-mid 1990s, some people were engaged in the re-examination of the past, and others were aware of it and eager to learn more, there were (and continue to be) Tamu-mai who premise their understandings of social life on ideas of clan hierarchy and dismiss the perspectives of TPLS activists as 'the talk of people who have a chip on their shoulders'.

Of interest to most people are the local events of the village, the 'lived-in' experiences. Also of interest is the landscape — the forests above the villages where people go to cut firewood, the stones, rocks and rivers where the human and spirit worlds overlap. The ancestral landscape is one which the Tamu shepherds traverse, where people go to cut bamboo, gather herbs and walk through en route to Hindu pilgrimage spots. These places have well-known and emotive names, like Kohla, Chomrong, Thurju, Dudh Pokhari, places which a great many people from all clans aspire to visit, places which exist in consciousness, seen or unseen.

While the past as a written account, or even as a narrative account, normally does not receive much attention from people when detached from the landscape, the past 'located' in the landscape is a different matter. A high-profile visit by urban Tamu-mai with video cameras and maps, accompanied by foreign researchers and local porters who are 'going to the old villages to study Tamu history', gained enormous attention. So did the return trip a month later, and the subsequent showing of the video of the trip. This attention was reinforced by the hearthside recollections of the porters and support workers, hired from the villages, and the villagers' own stories of what the visitors did, where they went and what they said. Such stories were also reproduced in the town with people telling and retelling what they had heard had happened and where it had happened. The stories were 'brought home' in a manner reminiscent of Kwon's (1993, 67–74) account of stories recollected in the evenings by Orochon reindeer herder-hunters from Siberia. As in the narratives of Kwon's herder-hunters, the stories of what happened in the landscape can only be shared if one 'has a certain shared map. The location, where an observation or a

recollection is made, was not referred to by east or west' (1993, 67), but by the location of events or in relation to a particular geographical feature. The stories and places constructed thus reproduced each other (Tilley 1994, 33). As with the Orochon, Tamu stories create and alter social relations, and differentials exist between the old and the young. The teller of tales, however, could enjoy temporary elevation to a status 'above' that of his/her normal one.

Narratives were constructed and located in the ancestral landscape that they were intended to address — narratives that included the events of the journey, interspersed with images of the actual activities making history. In this way, an account of how the cook used to send *Thagu* ('eldest son', a support worker hired from a village) through the forest at Chikrei carrying mugs of tea and biscuits for the researchers and their helpers, who were measuring the old houses, drawing the *kuni* (rice grinder) we found near the trail and looking for the *chogõ* (cemetery), was simultaneously a recollection of a rather amusing daily life event and the conveying of historical information. At Chikrei there were old houses, material culture which was continuous with the present, and the burial place of ancestors. The potential for reinterpretation was extensive. History became meaningful, relevant, close by. Links were created to the present — trails along which both past and present could be experienced. Events that were contemporary were interrelated with powerful visual images of the past. The ancestor's *kuni* could be looked at, touched, and held. It became a relic. The old buildings could be inspected and wondered about, and everyone could enter the discussion about why the *chogõ* (cemetery) was not found.

Prior to departure and en route to the ancestral landscape, people told us of places and things to look out for. The possibility existed for everyone to be a historian, for stories about places, people, gods, spirits, ancestors to be remembered, brought out, constructed, interpreted and reinterpreted. The possibility, however, did not exist for everyone to be an expert; this remained the domain of the few, those who entered the landscape to research it, those who established the authority to investigate the past and make it speak in the present, those who had made the journey, those also, who had the knowledge to speak to the past, those who knew the *pye*, those who had the migration genealogies, in other words, the shamans. The research team could not have operated without a shaman as a central figure. For those who were interested, and many clearly were, shamanic practice narrated and located the past and by doing so, located itself.

As identity is bound up with place (Tilley 1994, 15), journeying contributes to the construction of identity. Journeying associated those making the journey with what is considered to be quintessentially Tamu — the world of Tamu ancestors. Those who made the journey were simultaneously seen, and saw themselves, to be associated with the essence of a cultural past. Despite their residence in the town, by journeying they established their direct continuity with the culture of their ancestors. This went some way towards counteracting the widespread opinion that the purest most authentic form of Tamu cultural life is lived by those who remain in the villages. The people who went on these journeys, all members of the urban diaspora (except for the porters), showed themselves to be town-dwellers who 'could walk'. Thus, the stereotype of town people who 'cannot walk' was debunked. Not only could they walk, but they could walk further than many villagers who have never been in the *hye* (uplands). Journeying into the ancestral landscape and closely associating with the ancestors, not only established a direct continuity with the ancestral Afterworld but also a moral continuity that could be matched against the perceived 'immorality' of the town. It created a shared Tamu *hyula* (country/locale/homeland) — a *hyula* which included town-dwellers, villagers and ancestors. In other words, a common sense of landscape in which town and country, past and present could merge. Journeying was thus transformative in the sense that a pilgrimage is transformative (Turner 1974, 204–6); those who made the journey at some level transformed how they were perceived and how they perceived themselves.

Journeys into the landscape of history were simultaneously journeys into the geographical and metaphorical 'landscape' of the shamanic. Shamanic landscape overlaps with the landscape of history, reaching northwards to the Afterworld and origins, and southwards through history to the landscape of the present. Like the past, shamanic practice exists in other spaces and other times. To interact with the history of the landscape is to interact with the 'landscape' of the shamanic. The historical significance of landscape is enhanced through ritual, which 'invests historicity in sites that do not themselves embody events of the past' (Rappaport 1990, 153). The performance of ritual activities, as illustrated in the account of the journey described earlier, imbued (or reimbued) geographical location with both shamanic and historical significance. For the audience watching the video of the journey, the chanting of the *pye* at Maiju, Lubra and Thini not only invested these locations (which for many would have previously only been names) with historicity, but associated the conferring of historicity with shamanic action. The shamanic legitimized both history and landscape. In this relationship, the shamanic was the senior player. Shamanic action in

landscape has been continuous (it had never ceased). History (in its non-Hindu interpretation) was discontinuous. History in landscape was relocated and re-created by those who had never left the landscape — the shamans. As interest was refocused on the past, it was simultaneously refocused on the shamanic. At a time when shamanic practice was seen as being on the decline and under pressure from other religious and secular ideologies (Buddhism as well as cosmopolitan secular ideas), this kind of history-making made a contribution to its revaluation. It also helped to remind the urban dwelling Tamu-mai, in particular, that this was their indigenous religion and that the shamans were the custodians of Tamu history. Since their beginnings in 1990, TPLS members have been very successful in re-centring the shamanic traditions and ensuring that they still have currency in the new national and international Tamu diaspora. The Kohla Project aimed to expand understandings of the Tamu past, and as such it brought out histories that had long been submerged. It also accorded a degree of attention and authority to the work of TPLS members, supporting their role as shamanist-activists.

Reflecting on the past and remembering the path
Yarjung Kromchaĩ Tamu, Mark Turin & Judith Pettigrew

This section is devoted to the perspective of the Kohla project's principal *pachyu* shaman and co-director, Yarjung Kromchaĩ Tamu. The truly interdisciplinary nature of the fieldwork endeavour and the research which ensued, combining anthropological, archaeological and shamanic forms of knowledge, was new not only for the academics involved, but also for the shaman. Moreover, while the lead anthropologist and archaeologist both have an extensive scholarly vocabulary at their disposal for articulating reflexive thoughts about knowledge production in their native English, this was not the case for the lead shaman. This collaborative fieldwork experience was truly experimental for Yarjung Tamu and challenging in ways that he could not have predicted.

How best then to represent the experiences and impressions of the Nepali- and Tamu-speaking lead shaman to an international audience in an academic publication? It was clear to the editors of this volume that in Nepal, narrative sequence and presentational style are intimately tied up with the cultural expectations of both the audience and the speaker. A canonical translation of the lead shaman's narrative, whether from a structured interview, a relaxed chat or from his own field notes contained in a diary, would likely not reflect his nuanced perspective of the experience. Instead, it was decided to conscript the help of a linguistic anthropologist who has been working in the Himalayas since the early 1990s, had visited the project area and is fluent in Nepali. The other issue is that of trust, since Yarjung Kromchaĩ Tamu is concerned about the incorrect appropriation of his knowledge and all too aware of the importance of representing his ideas in an idiom which has currency and meaning to an international scholarly audience. The longevity of the relationships between Tamu, Turin and Pettigrew, including many successful prior collaborations in the realm of language teaching, publications and computer support, have done much to build and reaffirm this trust.

This chapter is divided into discrete subsections, each of which address a specific issue or concern of the shaman. Throughout the chapter, the voice is that of the lead shaman, Yarjung Tamu, and the text is therefore written from his perspective and in the first person. The contents of this chapter were elicited by Mark Turin over a period of sixteen months between October 2002 and March 2004, in occasional, if intensive, periods of questioning, recording and transliteration of Yarjung's written Nepali and Tamu. Four languages were used in the conversations between the linguistic anthropologist and the shaman, in decreasing frequency: Nepali, the vernacular Tamu language (called *Tamu Kyui* and hereafter referred to as *TK*), the ritual language known only by shamans from the ethnic group (known as *Cõ Kyui* and hereafter referred to as *CK*), and finally English. Important names, places and terms were written down both on paper and entered digitally into an Apple Macintosh computer in a Devanāgarī font which was later checked for spelling errors by the shaman. The chosen method of transliteration reflects well-attested and long-standing Indological guidelines and has been chosen by the linguistic anthropologist in the interest of compliance with international norms. It should be noted that this method of transliteration is at odds with Yarjung's own method which reflects a perceived phonetic reality of spoken Tamu but fails to take into account the phonology of cognate Tibeto-Burman languages. In particular, we had differences about how and where to indicate aspiration or breathiness on consonants, but have resolved to follow linguistic best practices rather than a local and indigenous method of transliteration. The material gathered by the linguistic anthropologist was supplemented with additional data collected over eighteen years of ongoing collaborative research between Tamu and social anthropologist Judith Pettigrew. This data did much to provide context as well as flesh out the shamanic narratives presented by Tamu.

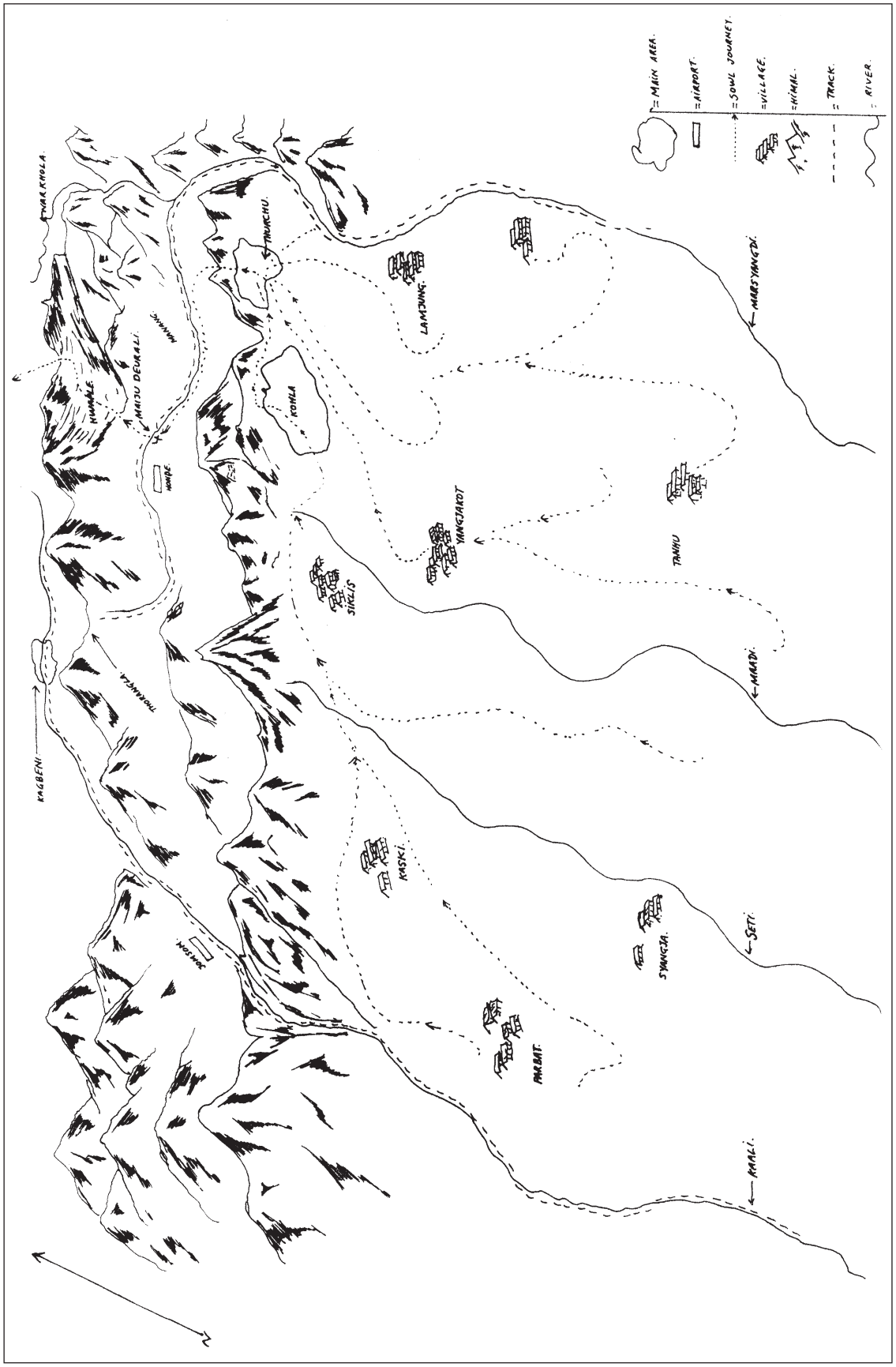


Figure 2.3. *Yarjung's mapping of the 'soul journey' north (note Hwaple/Oble top centre; see Fig. 4.34).*

The composition of the first team to visit Kohla

Kohla is a very important place for the Tamu-mai. Our *pye* and the oral history of the shamans tell us that many important things happened at Kohla. When I retired from the British army, I visited the Kohla area for the first time. In some sense, this felt like going 'home', even though it was a home I had never seen. I travelled with another ex-Gurkha soldier, also from my ethnic group, by the name of Bālā Singh. While not a shaman, Bālā Singh knew a fair amount about the places we would pass since he had worked as a cowherd. We took another guide with us, a 60-year old man called Buddhimān. Buddhimān was also not a shaman, but rather a shepherd. He didn't know the texts of the *pye*, nor did he know of the importance of our journey, but he had heard of or visited all of the places and locations mentioned in my shamanic texts. All three of us hailed from the Kromchaĩ clan, and we were related which gave us a sense of security and trust with one another. We also took with us a porter called Khorā. Of our group of four, then, Bālā Singh knew the layout and names of the lowlands areas through which we would pass (on account of his tending cows), while Buddhimān was better versed in the features of the higher pastures (since he tended sheep).

My father, Parsingh Kromchaĩ Tamu, had always believed that the places shamans mentioned in their chants and rituals were to be found on earth, and not in the sky as some others believed, and that the locations of the ancient migration route lay to the north. I had always wanted to visit these places and see them with my eyes, but had never had the time and money. Only now that I was retired did I have the money and time to make my dream a reality.

We set off on our journey on Sunday, July 22, 1990, departing from my home village of Yāngjakot. When we reached the high pastures, Buddhimān explained the landscape to us and told us the names of all the places along our route which I compared with the place names in the *pye*. Each time the *pye* described a village we could see evidence of a past settlement. We also found other places that are mentioned in the *pye,* like rivers (*syõ*) and resting places (*nhe*). It took us a week to get to Thurchu, by which time all our rations and money were finished. Thurchu is at about 15,000 feet and is an important base for Tamu shepherds (Figs. 2.1 & 2.3). Thurchu is where the various ritual journeys of Tamu shamans meet up and also the location through which all the souls of the dead (*plah*) from different Tamu villages pass on their final journey to Targila (the Tamu Afterworld). We wanted to cross Ekrai Mountain into Manāng as Ekrai is the place where near-dead Tamu souls prowl in the hours and moments before death, but Buddhimān said that we didn't have the equipment for climbing through the snow. At this point, we decided to turn back. Because of the hardship we sent our porter and Buddhimān back to Yāngjakot, while Bālā Singh and I returned by ourselves. On the way back, we got lost taking a shortcut in Lamjung, and the going was difficult. In total, the whole trip took us fifteen days. We had followed exactly the route of the chants. After this trip, I realized the strength of our traditions and knew that it was important to do more research. However, our journey had been self-funded and sadly, we had no more resources to undertake further studies.

***The importance of the* pye**

The *pye* are the sacred oral texts of the Tamu *pachyu* and *klehbrĩ* shamans. They also explain the history of the Tamu-mai. At the beginning of a ritual before we start the *pye,* we chant and describe what we are going to do in the ritual. After that we start the *pye*. Some *pye* are effective by themselves, you just need to chant them to bring about change. *Pye* vary in length, some take 30 minutes to chant and others, like the *serga* in the three-day death ritual, take about ten hours to complete. Some *pye* describe actions or events, others call evil spirits or gods and ancestors. During a major ritual when a *pachyu* needs the extra protection of the *pachyu* god *Pakrei Klhyesõdi Prehsõdi* in his body, he chants a 'calling' *pye* so that he can enter trance. At the end of a ritual, we chant about the success of the ritual and for the protection of the participants.

Altogether there are perhaps three or four hundred different *pye,* so this is a very rich oral tradition, perhaps one of the richest in the Himalayan region. Shamans from different villages know different *pye* or slightly different versions of the same *pye*. I know over a hundred. The *pye* are chanted in a ritual language named *Cõ Kyui. Cõ* is the Tamu place of origin. Although we now speak *Tamu Kyui*, *Cõ Kyui* is our original language. In some ways, it resembles a secret language, as nowadays few people understand or speak it. Many shamans don't know it and they just chant the texts from memory without understanding the content.

There are different types of *pye*. Some explain the origins of shamanic objects, animals, plants and other sacred things such as yeast (*prhama*) and millet wine (*pah*). Others tell the stories of gods, ancestors, famous people and famous shamans. There are also *pye* that tell of shamanic journeys and about shrines and ancestors. Others are about evil spirits, witches, stars, luck, illness, death rituals and funerals.

The *pye* also describe the Tamu past and list all the places we travelled through on our migration from

Mongolia. Some anthropologists refer to our *pye* as myths, but I do not think that this word is accurate as the *pye* contain historical facts.

The route that we walked and the importance of place names

I want to take the time to carefully explain the route that we took. It is important to me that readers should know all the names of the places that we passed and what these names mean. I also want to make it clear whether the names are modern spoken Tamu language (TK) or the ritual language which is only known to shamans like myself (CK).

We set out from my home village. In Nepali, the name of the village is Yāngjakot (Figs. 2.1 & 2.3), but we know it as Yõjku in my ritual language (CK). Villagers refer to the village as Yõju which is an abbreviation of Yõjku. The toponym derives Yõjku from the words *Yoja*, which is a clan name of an ethnic group, and *ku*, meaning 'nine'. It is thus the village where the nine Yoja brothers founded a village. The Nepali name Yāngjakot is derived from the indigenous term, and the suffix *kot* is clearly a term of Hindu provenance, likely from *kot* meaning 'guardroom, prison, station' and referring to the location that buffaloes are slain during the yearly ritual of Dasain. This Nepali term became common usage only after the rule of the Bhaise Chaubise Rājā (twenty-four kings).

Leaving Yõjku, we travelled on to Thāurõ, a word from my vernacular (TK) meaning 'a species of inedible bead derived from a fruit'. It is believed that such beads were found in this place. From there, we journeyed on to Līduce, a place name which means 'veranda of a house' in my ritual language (CK), on account of the terraced landscape which is reminiscent of such a veranda. Thereafter, the path continues on to Cā̃sũ, derived from the TK words *cā̃* 'bridge' and *sũ* 'mouth', meaning 'mouth of the bridge' or more commonly 'gate'. Thence we trekked up to Cyuhjyu Ple, which means 'wet, damp and flat place' in my ritual language (CK), and derives from *cyuhjyu* 'wet, marshy' and *ple* 'flat'. As anyone knows who has visited this location, the name is fitting and requires no further explanation.

From Cyuhjyu Ple, we walked on to Kuniholdõ, a place whose name derives from the spoken Tamu words *kuni* 'foot pestle' and *holdõ* 'mortar'. The hole in the ground is still present for all to see where grains were beaten so many years before. Thereafter we travelled on to a place with a most interesting name: Mār Chõlõ Chyāh. All of these three words derive from spoken Tamu (TK), with the following meanings: *mār* 'gold', *chõlõ* 'putting shot' and *chyāh* 'to throw, take aim'. It is said that in this place, a man who visited once found a gold shot-put on the ground. Delighted with his find, he hid the gold orb in his backpack which he then hung on a tree for safekeeping while he went to collect wood. On returning to the tree, with a full bundle of kindling, the pack had disappeared and no matter how hard he tried, he never found it back. This is how this place came by its name.

Leaving Mār Chõlõ Chyāh, we walked on to a place known as Sõgyāpũh Koyā. It is not commonly known that this place name is a mixture of ritual language and everyday vernacular: *sõgyāpũh* means 'junction' or 'crossroads' in CK, while *koyā* is a vernacular Tamu place name. This is an important junction as several paths meet here with routes leading to different villages. People walking through can bring diseases or evil spirits with them and sometimes witches pass by, so we bunch together a minimum of three and a maximum of nine thorny plants such as *palā* or *chutro*, and the eldest man — or a shaman if one is present — sweeps each person from head to toe as they leave the crossroads. This prevents bad spirits and illness following the travellers and causing trouble on the journey. At any rate, the road splits at Sõgyāpũh Koyā, which in part explains the toponym. Soon after, we reached Krasa Nẽh, another location whose name is a mixture of two languages. *Krasa* is the term for the purification ritual which a daughter conducts for her parents in the ritual language (CK), while *nẽh* is a 'resting place along the path' in vernacular Tamu (TK).

Close to this area is a stone memorial to a hunting dog. In the past, hunting was a very important activity and hunting dogs were much loved. One day a hunting dog died, and his owner was so upset that he decided to bury him on the trail instead of bringing him back to the village. This way he could see his memorial and remember him when he walked along the path to and from hunting.

After a total of six hours walking, we ended our first day of trek in Sa Pu Cyo, a place name with the following etymological components: *sa* 'clay' (CK), *pu* 'pottery' (CK) and *cyo* 'hanging' (TK). It is said that in our history, the Tamu people populated this place and produced various forms of hanging clay pottery from the local supplies of clay. The toponym derives from this activity.

The second day started with a brisk walk to Kõhkyā̃, a place name which is made up of two vernacular elements *kõh* 'upper' and *kyā̃* 'path', (both TK), and whose name is indicative of which path we took. After leaving Kõhkyā̃, we ascended to Dõth Kharka, in which *Dõth* is a proper name in vernacular Tamu and *kharka* means 'land around a village, pasture' in Nepali. The name relates to the arable land in this loca-

tion. From Dõth Kharka we continued on to Krapu Pro and thereafter onwards to Krapu itself, a total of four hours walk from Sa Pu Cyo. *Krapu* is a proper name in spoken Tamu (TK), while *pro* means 'steep ridge' in the same language. The path closely follows a ridge and then evens out at Krapu. Krapu is the highest peak in the area and at Krapu Deurāli, which is a kind of 'gateway' between the village and the wilderness, we prayed to the local gods and placed flowers on the stone offering place to ask them to help make our journey a success. On our return, we gave thanks for a safe journey and another flower offering. Deurālis are always positioned in the middle of the path and when going out, people pass on the left side and when returning, they pass on the right side.

The next location we reached is called Kudami Coh Lhidĩ, a toponym based on words from both ritual and vernacular Tamu. *Kudami coh* means 'sternum or tip of a ridge' in vernacular Tamu while a *lhidĩ* is a bamboo tent rather like a yurt in my ritual language (CK). This name refers to two sides of the path: one side resembles a ridge while the other has the characteristics of a temporary shelter. As this place is shaped like a breastbone, we say that a heart is housed inside, and we believe that if you go to the top of the peak and make an offering and pray, your *sai* or 'heart-mind' (TK) will become very strong.

Thereafter we came to Sĩyõ Kharka, known for its plentiful stocks of firewood. In the vernacular Tamu language, *sĩ* means 'firewood' and *yo* indicates availability, while *kharka* means 'land around a village, pasture' in Nepali. From Sĩyõ Kharka we moved on to Kowār Kharka, and then Phulu Kharka. *Kowār*, in the vernacular language, is a type of round bowl and the toponym Kowār Kharka describes the round pasture land in this area. In the ritual language (CK), *phulu* has the meaning 'pleasant' or 'good', and Phulu Kharka is indeed an excellent patch of land for farming.

We left the three kharkas behind us and continued on to Khũidõ Toh which is invariably cold, as its name would suggest: in the ritual language known to shamans, *khũidõ* means 'cold, freezing' while *toh* means 'village'. We spent the night in Khũidõ Toh, only moving on to Klye Pal Ti Nẽh the next morning. This is a very important location and a very interesting place name. In the ritual language (CK) as well as in the vernacular (TK), *klye* refers to the Ghale ruler, while *pahl* means 'foot, leg' in vernacular Tamu (TK), *ti* means 'to kill' and *nẽh* is a 'resting place'. In Tamu history, this location is known to be the place where the Klye Mru (Ghale Rājā) was chased by villagers, chopped in the leg and felled. There is an interesting variation in the name, which also reflects a different ending to the story of the Klye. The Lamjung Tamu refer to the place as Klye Pal Ti Nẽh 'the resting place where the Klye was chopped in the leg and killed', while the Yāngjakot people use the toponym Klye Pal Tu Nẽh 'the resting place where the Klye was chopped in the leg and wounded'.

Leaving Klye Pal Ti Nẽh, we moved on to Chyomsyo Yosĩ, a toponym derived from the ritual (CK) word *chyomsyo* 'nun' and the vernacular (TK) word *yosĩ* meaning 'long nail', on account of the land being so long, angular and thin in this place. Above Chyomsyo Yosĩ lie Cõmrõ Toh and Cõmrõ Nẽh. Cõmrõ is derived from Tamu ritual language *cõ* 'distant or high place' and *ro* 'to see', while *toh* means 'village' and *nẽh* is a 'resting place' in the vernacular. These places are so called on account of the long vistas.

After leaving Cõmrõ Toh and Cõmrõ Nẽh, we continued on to Ngyoi Plā Ngyoh. This complicated place name is made up of three elements of vernacular Tamu: *ngyoi* 'traditional woman's dress', *plā* 'to wash by beating' and *ngyoh* 'lake, pond'. It is told that this location was used our foremothers in the Kromchaĩ clan to wash their soiled clothes after giving birth. On account of the blood pollution, Kromchaĩ clan members may still not drink the water. As a Kromchaĩ clan member, visiting this location was very powerful for me. Slightly above Ngyoi Plā Ngyoh lies Cikrẽ Toh, *Cikrẽ* being a proper name and *toh* meaning 'village'. This place was originally inhabited solely by members of the Kromchaĩ clan, which explains why their womenfolk would wash their clothes in the lake below.

Moving on from Cikrẽ Toh, we came to Põmrõ Hāju Toh and Põmrõ Hāju Nẽh. *Põmrõ Hāju* is simply the proper name of this settlement which lies essentially opposite Kohla, although separated by a river. This village was once a Tamu settlement of mixed clans. After Põmrõ Hāju, we came to Taprõ Toh and Taprõ Kharka. *Taprõ* means 'crow' in the ritual language (CK), so the place names could be translated as 'Crow Village' and 'Crow Pasture' respectively. From there we moved on to Mihjãĩ Toh, a village by the name of *Mihjãĩ*, and thereafter Ladã̃ Lidã̃ Ngyoh, a pond or lake called *Ladã̃ Lidã̃*. This then lead to Ngyoh Kõh, a pond or lake shaped like a *kõh*, a 'backbone, spine' in the vernacular Tamu language. At the next stop, Sa Pu Nẽh, there is a fork in the path, one of which leads to Kohla. The place name Sa Pu Nẽh derives from the ritual terms *sa* 'earth', *pu* 'pottery' and the vernacular *nẽh* meaning 'resting place'. It is said that people used to make clay and earthenware pottery there. Soon thereafter we reached Kohla Sõmpre Toh, the destination of our journey. *Kohla* is the place name, *sõmpre* is made up of the elements *sõ* 'three' and *pre* 'part', while *toh* means 'village'. The combined meaning is thus 'the village of Kohla in three parts'.

Leaving Kohla, we travelled to Kokar Kharka in which *Kokar* is a place name in our ritual language (CK) and *kharka* is the Nepali word for 'pasture'. Thereafter we walked on to Naudi Pakh, a term derived from Tamu ritual language *naudi* 'steep, uphill' and from Nepali *pākho* 'side, hillside, land', and from there on to the steep pasture land at Naudi Nẽh. From Naudi we made our way on to Sāurõ Kharka, *Sāurõ* being a proper name in the ritual Tamu language (CK) and *kharka* meaning 'pasture' in Nepali. Soon after Sāurõ we came to Nghedku Nẽh, a toponym derived from the term *nghedku* in our ritual language meaning 'plentiful milk, fertile' on account of the excellent pasture in the area.

We arrived in Sāurõ Syõ on Tuesday, July 24, 1990. This place derives its name from its first settler, a Tamu by the name of *Sāurõ*. *Syõ* means 'river' in the ritual language (CK), and true enough there is a stream which runs through the land. The following place we came to is named Kane Kõ, two words in our ritual language which refer to the outstretched body of a large animal lifting or arching its back. The hill is so named because it has the form of such an animal. From there we travelled on to Talle Coh, derived from *talle* 'sharp, long, fine, pointed' in the ritual Tamu language and *coh* meaning 'ending, summit' in the vernacular (TK). This place name accurately reflects the topography in this place, and it is plain for all to see why our ancestors named the place Talle Coh.

From there, we walked on to Kudrẽ which means 'winding hill' in our ritual language, and then onto Khẽbi which carries the meaning of 'den or resting place for wild animals, a territory occupied by wild animals who roam'. From Khẽbi we moved onwards to Khẽ U, so named because it refers to a nest or resting place for wild birds in our secret ritual language (CK). From the wild territories, the path levelled out in Khudi Kharka, in which *khudi* means 'flat river bank along the source of a river' and *kharka* is a borrowed word from Nepali meaning 'pasture land'. We then turned uphill once again to reach Sargẽ, a toponym meaning 'a steep uphill or winding path to a summit' which perfectly described the path we took. After Sargẽ we came to Puhrju Nẽh which derives its name from *puhrju* meaning 'holy, pure, sacred' in our ritual language and *nẽh* meaning 'resting place' in Tamu vernacular. Leaving Puhrju we came to Pagrẽ, the name of a very powerful ancestor spirit after which the hill has been named. Leaving Pagrẽ we came to Thurchu, a rather even pasture whose name fittingly means 'flat place' in our ritual language. The last part of our journey led us from Thurchu to Homa Nghaĩru Ngyoh which is now a place of pilgrimage for Hindus and known in Nepali as Dudh Pokhari. In our ritual language, *homa* is a holy word or mantra, *nghaĩru* means 'white, milky water' while *ngyoh* is a 'pond' in the Tamu vernacular. This 'holy pond of milky water' is so named on account of the consistency of the lake and is a very spiritual place.

My own thoughts on reaching Kohla

I was naturally very proud and excited to locate all these places and to see them with my own eyes. Our *pye* describe the landscapes of different areas, but I didn't know exactly where these places were. Before my father Pachyu Parsing passed away, he and I had many discussions about the landscape mentioned in the *pye*. While I visited these places spiritually, I had never seen them physically and so I wondered if these places really existed and also in the order that we chant them. Because of my doubts, my father suggested that I travel into the mountains to try to find them. Each evening after we set up camp we sat around the fire discussing the match between the *pye* and the landscape. It was very interesting for us: while Buddhimān knew the landscape, he didn't know the *pye,* and while I knew the *pye*, I didn't know the landscape. Putting them together was really exciting and I was very impressed. I had studied the *pye* for 25 years, since I was a young boy, and had often argued with my father as I had strong doubts about whether these places actually existed. Now I could finally say that I had seen them for myself.

It was particularly important and meaningful for me to visit the villages from which my own clan ancestors had migrated, and it gave me an excited chill inside to think that I may have been the first person from my clan to touch the places that we shamans chant about in our rituals. Finding Kohla also gave me more respect and appreciation for my father and what he taught me, and his unwavering belief that these ancestral villages existed on our plane and not in the heavens. Aside from the existence of Kohla, it was amazing to find all these ruined villages, to walk through what I think English people might call the 'sacred geography' of the past, and to see the layout of the whole region. It is natural that the finding of Kohla should be given some priority given all the incidents narrated in our history which deal with the place and the historical importance and prominence of the then Klye chieftain, but we also uncovered many other villages which we should investigate. The *pye* which I chant mentions 80 habitations in Kohla at that time, and the village ruins that we found were quite substantial with some surrounding land, indicating a large settlement. Since visiting Kohla, many people have asked me whether I felt as if I was on a pilgrim-

age as I walked up the hill that first time in search of the ancestral settlements. The answer is that I was not on a pilgrimage or on a spiritual journey in any sense. I do enough of this in my chanting, so I know what journeys into the ancestral realm are like. No, the trek to Kohla was something very physical and actual. On spiritual journeys a shaman reaches his destination by chanting, on physical journeys you get somewhere by walking and sweating. For me, this whole first expedition was because I was simply interested to discover whether the places which I sung about in my ritual texts actually existed. Having left the army, with the time and resources to do so, I was able to prove to myself that they did.

Going up the mountain and going back in time

In certain ways, going up the mountain was equivalent to going back in time. This was primarily on account of the practicalities of the travel and the hardship of the journey. While quite used to living without comforts, it was an adventure to sleep in caves and have to search for firewood to cook our meals. All of us in the group marvelled at how our ancestors could have survived, and even flourished, in such a place. Every time that we came to a new settlement, the first thing that we thought of was where the graves of our ancestors might lie. I would often stop and meditate on the locations of such graves and also try to find some connections to the bodies of individual forefathers. Working out the pattern of the settlements was not always easy since shepherds had more or less destroyed what was left of the settlements for useable resources such as firewood, stone or larger rocks. On trek, I and others in the party would attempt to get in touch with ancestors in our dreams. Many ancestors spoke to members of the group in our dreams, pointing us in the directions of their graves, but we never actually found the specific locations of graves.

Both Bālā Singh and I often went into trance during the journey, even though Bālā Singh was not a shaman, he was accepted by the main god *Pakraĩ* who entered his body and made him go into trance. In such cases, we felt that the best thing to do would be to make a fire and burn some incense. Our guide, Buddhimān, had thoughtfully brought some fuel with him in case I should go into trance in a remote location where wood was hard to find or when it was too wet or windy to make a fire. By the time that we reached Homa Nghaĩru Ngyoh, Bālā Singh and I were in trance. Buddhimān was used to seeing trance and knew what to do, but Khorā wasn't and was quite afraid. Buddhimān, then 60 years old, insisted on bathing in the freezing lake three times to purify and cleanse himself.

My relationship to archaeological knowledge

Over the years, the Tamu people have met and worked with many anthropologists, but not with archaeologists. On returning to Pokhara after visiting Kohla, we started having meetings with other Tamu who were also interested in our history, religion and culture. In Kārtik 2047 (October–November 1990), we founded an official organization to study Tamu cultural traditions and our indigenous shamanic religion, the *pye-tā Lhu-tā.* Almost all of the founding members are ex-Gurkha soldiers and officers. Our organization is called *Tamu Pye Lhu Sangh* (TPLS). All Tamu-mai are welcome to become involved in TPLS and help us study and preserve our cultural traditions, language and indigenous religion which are now endangered. The study of shamanic history is also very important as it tells us that there are no 'higher' and 'lower' clans among the Tamu-mai. Nowadays, many people, especially the young, thankfully no longer accept these old ideas that have caused such problems in our society.

Some months after we founded TPLS, we met Judy Pettigrew, a social anthropologist, who was a student of Professor Alan Macfarlane at the University of Cambridge. At that time, Judy was doing research for her PhD on Tamu cultural traditions.

In August 1992, TPLS organized a trip through the districts of Kāski, Lamjung, Manāng and Mustāng to discover if the places listed in the *pye* existed in the geographical landscape. The first part of the journey retraced the downward migration route of the Tamu-mai with the overlapping upward ritual journey route along which shamans guide the souls of the dead in the *pai laba* death ritual. We wanted to travel the entire length of both routes, but for practical and financial reasons it was only possible to trace those sections of the journeys that lie within the districts of Kāski, Lamjung and Manāng. The ritual journeys of shamans from different villages merge in the high pastures of Thurchu.

Prior to Thurchu, shamans from different villages have their own routes. As on our previous journey, we followed the route of the shamans from the village of Yāngjakot. At a point on the trail known as Māijyu Deurāli, where the soul journey goes up and over the large rock at Oble, we continued following the downward migration trail which overlaps with the landscape referred to in several different *pye.*

Of all the journeys I have been on, this was the greatest as we found many ancestral settlements and each time a place was mentioned in the *pye* it was there in the land. We were a large group so many people had a chance to see the correspondence between the landscape and the *pye*, and this delighted me. At Kohla I video-taped a conversation between Judy and TPLS treasurer Major Hom Bahādur Tamu during which

Hom Bahādur said that he thought we should get people to come to Kohla to dig it up and put the proof in the *kohĩbo*, our Tamu cultural and social centre in Pokhara. Judy suggested that if anyone was going to dig things up then there should be archaeologists involved, as they are the experts in doing this kind of work. When I heard her talking about developing a research project and getting archaeologists to work with us it felt like a dream, as previously I had no idea how we could involve archaeologists as I had never heard of such people before. Amazingly, this was a dream which came true!

This was actually my first visit to the settlement of Kohla as on our previous trip we hadn't quite reached it. I was naturally very excited to finally see such a famous place. At all the important places on our journey, the *klehbrĩ* shaman and I chanted our respective *pye* referring to the specific location we were in. At Kohla I couldn't chant as I was hyper-sensitive and could hardly even touch the stones without shaking and getting other pre-trance sensations.

I really didn't know anything about archaeology, what it was, how it worked or what kinds of information archaeologists collect, before I met Chris Evans. I had a sneaking suspicion that archaeology had something to do with baking breads in large ovens. Perhaps they bake their 'data' in large ovens! In my opinion, and this is only my perspective, archaeologists are looking for proof and evidence while anthropologists are more on the look out for stories, tales and history. I see archaeology as studying facts, and anthropology as studying ideas and memories. Scientifically, then, it strikes me that archaeologists are more rigorous in their methods. Since they don't ask living people any questions, they are not so often deluded by their local 'guides'. Anthropologists, on the other hand, are far more contingent on their guides and can only represent what people tell them. Archaeology is therefore more likely to be truthful. But there is another side to this also: while anthropologists have to be smarter and more critical to be able to differentiate between truth and lies, archaeologists can just rely on their machines to sort out the wheat from the chaff for them, as they just have to collect the facts. While archaeology is more scientific, I think that you have to be smarter to be a really good anthropologist.

This is how archaeologists follow leads, find data and form their ideas: they work methodically, step by step, formulating ideas, opinions and thoughts, and they test them out at every point along the way. This is not how shamans work. Shamans, like me, just know things. We believe things since they are written in our texts, and more often than not, we are proven right. Archaeologists are particularly helpful and useful in uncovering and understanding small things such as pottery shards and pieces of necklaces. When we find them, we simply have no idea what they are, but archaeologists can read such kinds of data far more accurately than shamans can. In fact, archaeologists and anthropologists are pretty similar, like related cousins really. The only difference is that anthropologists can write what and when they want, but archaeologists have to find things first before they can write about them.

Archaeologists are not always satisfied with my historical accounts and the stories in my ritual texts. They find them interesting, but as they are proper scientists, they can't just trust my oral history about how many houses there are in Kohla, for example. Well, I told them that there would be 80 habitations in Kohla, but they found more than one hundred. So my aim was right, but they ended up excavating more details than my texts had told me. There are other examples of the difference in approach between my kind of knowledge and that of archaeologists. One particularly interesting example was when they found some rocks in a cluster and then some human bones nearby. When I asked the archaeologists what they had found, they thought that it might be a cemetery. I disagreed since I know that we Tamu people do not bury people within the boundary of a village, but rather outside of a settlement in a northerly direction, as this is the direction of heaven. Then they thought that it might be a burial site for children, but still I disagreed since I know that we just don't do that. I wanted to find the *chogõ* 'cemetery' so that we could locate the bones of our ancestors and offer them proper respect and make sure to not disturb them during our work. We searched every part of the village and the surrounding area but we were not able to find the *chogõ*. This puzzled me, but Chris felt that we were unlikely to find our ancestors bones, as there is so much acidity in the ground at Kohla and also lots of erosion. During the excavation season in 2000, the ancestors told me in a dream where they were buried and I found the cemetery hill, but large trees had grown on top of it and it was quite inaccessible. I took Chris to the location and he agreed that I might be right, but as they did not have time to excavate, I was not able to get actual proof. I was very disappointed not to get a physical reminder of the ancestors.

On Kohla expeditions, with one anthropologist and a team of archaeologists, my role was actually pretty minor. After all, I already had found my interest and calling, then anthropology found me, and together we found archaeology. I was the shaman — the holder of oral history — and I gave information whenever it was needed. Obviously, many of the things I know

are secret and I don't give such information away. I make careful decisions about what information to make public, but too many shamans have taken their knowledge to their grave and then it is completely lost. To save our traditions and to help people learn more about our true history, nowadays it is important to share our knowledge. During Kohla Project trips, I was also a kind of co-ordinator or manager, making links between people, keeping everyone happy, explaining to villagers what we were doing and why. In the army we would call this job a quartermaster. This is not a very glorious role, but it is an important one, since I helped to make things happen.

On our archaeological trip, the first thing that I did when we arrived at a location was to burn *pru-mai* 'herbs' to the local *sildo naldo* 'god of the area' and to the *khe-ma* 'ancestors' to let them know that we respected them and also to ask their permission to do our research in their area. The first time we visited Kohla was during the monsoon and because the grass was so high, it was difficult to see clearly. When we re-visited, I immediately saw *um-ta-te*, the very large stone from which the village caller would send out his messages. *Um-ta-te* is mentioned in the *pye*. Nearby there was a small rock cave where we found the body of a dead cow. Chris thought that this was a shrine as he felt that the space was laid out in a formal manner as one would expect in a ritual place. He thought that maybe the cow had been sacrificed. I don't believe that it is a shrine. The dead animal must have been old and not able to keep up with the others, so the cowherders probably left it in the cave with grass and water and that's where it died. On the 1992 visit, at one of the other places that Chris called a 'shrine', I started having pre-trance shakes. I believe that this place must have been the house of a *pachyu* shaman. I agree with Chris that the place on the other side of the village is indeed a shrine.

En route to Kohla during the 1992 TPLS trip and the Kohla project survey in 1994, we hit a very bad hail storm, and on both occasions I conducted a ritual to control the weather. It hailed because we made too much noise and disturbed the ancestors and the locality gods. They are sensitive and you shouldn't speak loudly in the uplands. In 1992, the gods were angry because a TPLS colleague and I had an argument about Tamu history, and in 1994 our large team of porters were noisy and made the place dirty. After that I spoke to the porters and told them to be quieter and to be especially careful about where they went to the toilet. I also spoke to the ancestors and the locality gods and asked them to excuse us if we had done something wrong and I explained to the ancestors that we were coming to learn more about their lives and the places in which they lived, and in this manner I asked for their protection and assistance.

During our trips to Kohla, I spent a lot of time alone in the forest. When I was on my own, I ran with the locality gods and with other jungle spirits. They beckoned me with their secret calls and I followed them. I ran all over the jungle with them but I never got lost as they always brought me back safely to where I started. When I run with spirits I get a special kind of energy and I feel very good. This energy helps me afterwards when I am doing healing rituals. Above Kohla is a long flat piece of ground where our ancestors used to race horses. Several times, I ran with the spirits in this area. I found a tree that had been split by lightning. I gathered wood from this tree as it is especially good for making tools such as the weaving implements that women use. If you keep a piece of wood from a tree like this in your home, your house will be protected against lightning. I also took some of the bark of the tree as it can be used as a medicinal herb and also for making amulets.

During our survey trip to Kohla, my father told me in a dream that before we started excavating, we must sacrifice a goat and present it to the ancestors and the locality gods. He told me that if we did this, then we could excavate the village without problems. So when we returned in 2000 to excavate, we brought a goat with us and sacrificed it on the first morning of work before we started digging. There was also a visiting shaman present on that day and we both chanted after the sacrifice and before the work began. Because of this, I believe that our work was successful and we didn't experience any problems.

In terms of what the archaeologists actually did, I am happy with their findings. They worked hard even though the conditions were difficult, and did their dating on two objects. I do think, however, that we should not stop here but continue to dig deeper since this is where older artefacts are likely to be preserved. After all, they only excavated in one place, in the centre of the village, and very little is still known about the outlying villages. The charcoal which they found was tested and found to be around 1000 to 1200 years old. I believe the settlements in the area to be much older, perhaps between 1600 to 1900 years old. I have my own scientific reasons for believing this, which I explained to the archaeologists when they asked me for my opinion on the dates. My father told me that the texts of the Tamu people predate our civilization and our establishment as a stable and unique ethnic group. These sacred texts existed before letters and writing were invented, when the Tamu people were still living like wild men in the jungle. There are trees in Kohla which are most likely more than 1000 years

old. I believe that these trees would only have been planted, or sprung up, after humans settled there. The humans settled there before the trees, so the site is surely older than the dating shows.

I would like to return to Kohla from time to time, as it is a very important place both spiritually and historically. We need to do further archaeological research but given the present political situation and the activities of the Maoists, this is impossible. In the future, I do hope that the Kohla Project will resume. We need to talk to Tamu people about what should be done with Kohla. It could become a site for pilgrimage, or even a healing centre as it is an area where many and varied verbs are grown. The future of Kohla is for all Tamu people to decide and it will be important to have consultations with as many of our community as possible.

The nature of recording: a glimpse into a shaman's diary

In my field log book or diary, I wrote down an exhaustive account of each and every day: what time I got up, when I left the tent, how long we walked, what problems we encountered and whether I conducted protection rituals for the group in cases of high risk or danger. While I was writing this down, others were recording the situation with a video camera. I noted down the things that happened, such as the big hail storm which threatened to slow us down. For us to continue, the hail storm had to stop, so I conducted another ritual for this.

I wrote down all of these events and wrote about how they affected me and the efficacy of the expedition. There was another added danger: since we might be walking on decomposed bodies and perhaps even digging near the bones of the ancestors, they could have reason to be angry with us. I had to pacify the spirits and explain what we were doing and why, and part of this meant burning herbs in the evenings and praying. I simply had to inform the ancestors that we were coming and that we meant them no harm and no disrespect, and whenever I conducted a ritual of this sort, I noted it down in my book. Other times, during discussions between the archaeologists and the village elders, I took notes on how they presented their views. Often I would make an effort to meet with the village elders and headmen of the places we came through in order to explain what we were doing and to reassure them that the foreigners were not tourists but researchers, and were conducting important work. Sometimes these discussions took the form of lectures or little speeches, and I would often make some notes in my book beforehand to make sure that the event went smoothly and to ensure that I didn't forget to mention any important points.

Another topic on which I took notes on was the health of the group. If people got ill, which they did, I would write down what they were feeling, what they were eating and also try and keep an eye on their physical and mental state. I was very concerned about the food, both in terms of making sure that our group members were eating enough and also checking that what we were eating was healthy and clean. My occupation with the health of the group concerned all members: from the foreign archaeologists to the porters whom we had hired. All of this writing about the daily routine of our group meant that my note books read more like a trip log than a research diary. I didn't usually write down much about the research itself, although if there were particularly interesting finds or events I would jot those down. My part of the scientific documentation project was using the video camera to capture the moments on film. The archaeologists were less interested in the video than I expected them to be, but then I suppose they have their own way of recording facts. For me, the video camera was a way of setting in stone the reality of what we saw, and showing others the footage means that no-one can ever say that it was different. I take video footage and photographs in the way that I like, and use the images as visual proof in a way similar to the way that archaeologists use the finds that they dig up from the ground. When people later ask the archaeologists what they did, Chris and his team can show them the bits of broken things which they found and this counts as their proof. When my villagers and community ask me what I did on this project and what we found, I want to be able to show them the video proof. Taking a camera, tape and batteries along was not the archaeologist's idea, it was Judy's and my idea and this should be seen as a contribution that I made towards the scientific documentation of what we did. The first video camera belonged to Judy and the second one belonged to my brother while the still camera was my own. Archaeological photography is very different to how I take photos. Archaeologists measure things and use photography only as a tool for their science, while I use photography and video both as a way to document a scientific proof and also for my own personal reasons, to record where we went and how. Dates and places are very important to me.

On anthropological responsibility to the community

Many PhD degrees have been granted to foreign scholars, many of them anthropologists, who have worked with the Tamu communities of Nepal. While these people then call themselves Doctor, we Tamu cannot say that we benefit in practical ways from their knowledge and few, if any, of the scholars have

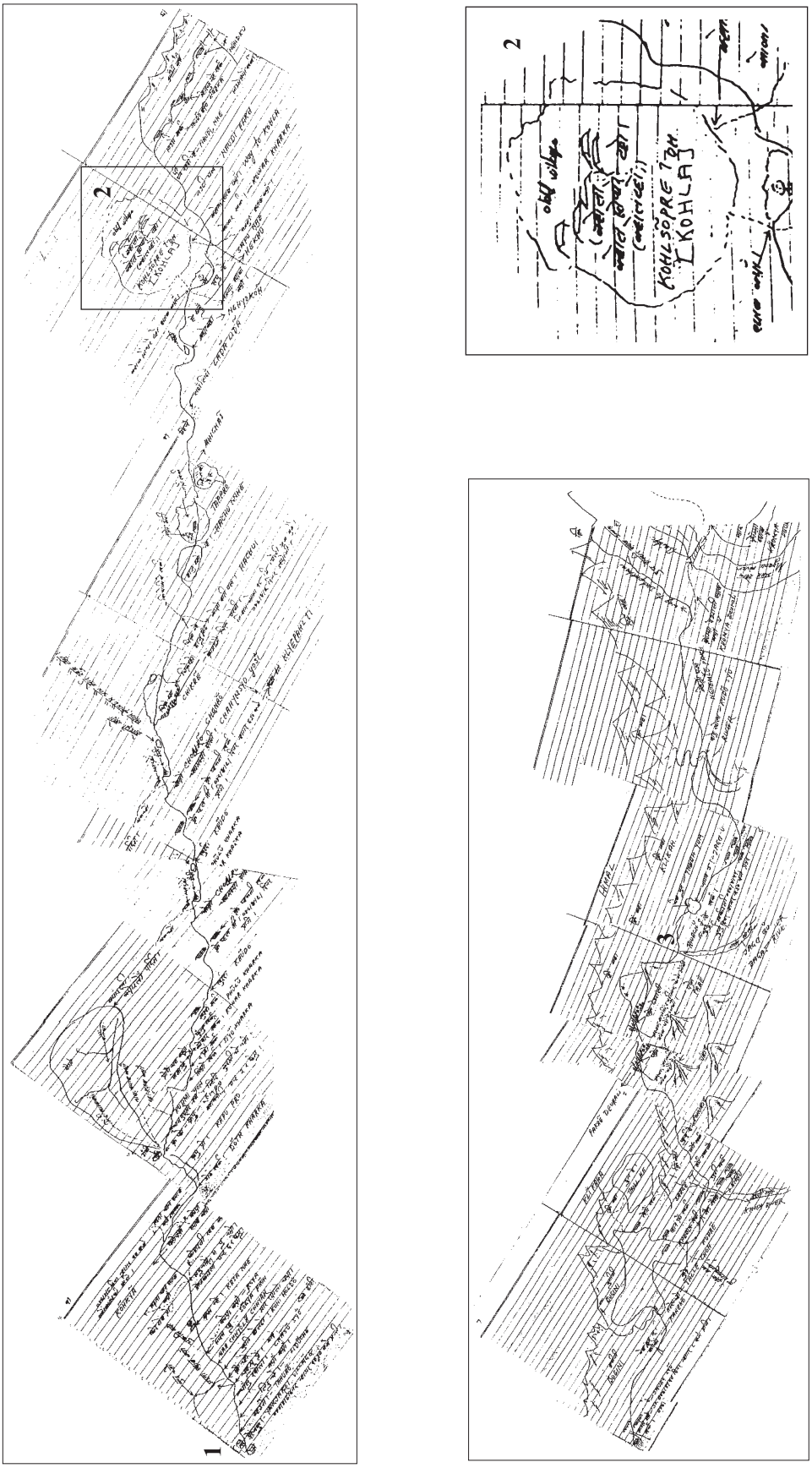


Figure 2.4. *Yarjung's depiction of the migration route of the Tamu-mai (part I; southern length): 1) Yangjakot; 2) Kohla (with enlarged inset lower right); 3) Thurchu.*

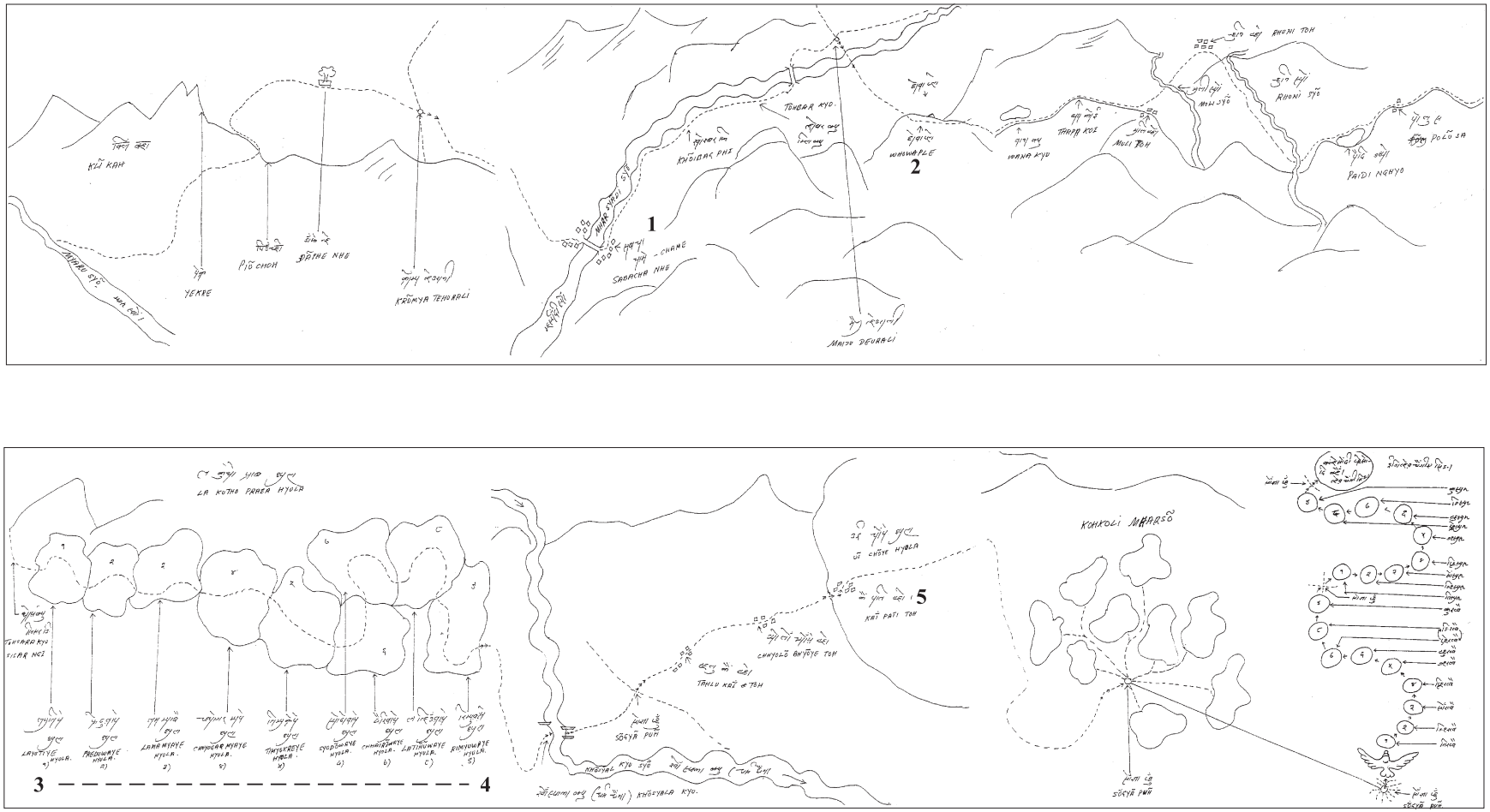


Figure 2.5. *Yarjung's depiction of the migration route of the Tamu-mai (part II; northern length with origin of world lower right-end): 1) Chame; 2) Whowaple/ Oble; 3–4) Lines 85–101 of the* pye *referring to 'countries' or 'homelands'; 5) Kai Patiye, Line 39 ('Kai Pati Toh').*

worked really collaboratively. Judy Pettigrew is the first anthropologist to have listened to what the community wanted and worked in an equal way with local people to help them get what they wanted: in this case, we wanted the archaeologists. You see, we Tamu had no idea where to find these archaeologists but Judy did, and she brought them to us. This is a point which must not be forgotten.

Some of my scientific findings

The full name of the village we reached is Kohla Sõ Pre, and this has an interesting and important local meaning in my language. *Sõ* means 'three' while *pre* means 'part, division', thus the full meaning of Kohla Sõ Pre is 'Kohla of the three parts'. The archaeologists gave these parts the names KI, KII and KIII. But what is the meaning of these parts? To this day, there are little streams which separate the three parts of the village, and this may give us some indication as to what once happened there. In fact, the text of the Tamu *pye* tells me the meaning:

Ha Ha Kohla Sõpre Tohmiyā Suji Cũmaiba?
Ha Ha Yoja Kohl Lemmai Nohmae Khemaiji Kohla Cũmaibā!

Question*: Who founded the village of Kohla?*
Answer*: The founders of Kohla are the ancestors of the three clans known as Yoja, Kohl and Lemmai!*

The story that I know goes like this: the three ancestors did not each settle one section of the village, as many people think, but rather settled and lived together at the beginning. They happened upon the location of Kohla one day when hunting, and they chased a deer into the clearing which is the present site of Kohla. As they entered, they witnessed the fantastic location and decided to settle there after killing the deer. The hunters had carried some grain with them in their quivers, which they immediately planted at Kohla. They reasoned that if it sprouted and did well, then the location was habitable and fertile. Next year, when they returned to see how their crops had grown, they found a herd of animals eating the succulent crops. Realizing that the land was fertile, they decided to live there and promptly set off to call their families and villagers who were living higher up the mountain at Rabrõ Toh above Kohla. Kohla is known as 'the three villages' on account of the many people who came to settle there after our ancestors first moved there. The settlement soon became so large that it had to be divided into three sub-divisions. Many people think that Kohla is the first place that our ancestors all lived together, but the reality is really the opposite. Kohla is actually the last village at which all our ancestors were gathered together in one place and is the final village on our historical migration route. Our ancestors had been living together for a very long time before they all moved to the fertile lands of Kohla. This is why I believe that Kohla may be much 'younger' from an archaeological perspective than other ruins of villages higher up the mountain from which our ancestors migrated.

To be quite clear, the first settlement in the whole area for the ancestors of all the Tamu people was Cõ or Ũicõ Hyul. When our ancestors were here, they were not known as Tamu or Gurung but rather as *mihnāku*, a term which has no meaning to my knowledge. (According to Turin, the first element of this interesting ethnonym, *mih*, may be a reflex of the well-attested Tibeto-Burman lexical item *mi* 'man, person, human'. Moreover, it is worth noting that a settlement north of Kangding, in dkar mdzes/Ganzi prefecture in Tibet, is known as 'Mynak', written Tibetan *mi nyag*. The area is known to be inhabited by nomads and agriculturalists, and is home to many Buddhist monasteries of the Sakya school which is also the sect overwhelmingly represented in Mustāng gompas. Originally the home of speakers of the now extinct Tangut language, who were known as Minyag by the surrounding Tibetans, there are still some speakers in Mynak who speak a little-known Tibeto-Burman Qiangic language notable for its phonemic tone.) Only after our ancestors came down the hill and settled in Sa Pu Ti Kyhālsā did they come to be known as *Tamu*, through interbreeding with other people. There is a detailed explanation for this, all of which is mentioned in the *pye*, but some of it is secret. Only after our ancestors settled in Kohla, did they come to be known as *Gurung*. This name was given to the Tamu people by the local Hindus, who wanted some way to distinguish between their own Hindu *guru* 'learned one, teacher, religious practitioner' and Tamu shamans, which they called *Gurung*.

The tale of the two sisters

One day, many years ago, two Tamu sisters were lying asleep together. At midnight, the elder sister called Kali Gyhāmu stood up and walked off in her sleep, got lost and turned into the Kāli River. In Nepali, this river is known as the Kāli Gandaki, while we Tamu still refer to it as Kali Syõ because Kali Gyhāmu walked quietly and the river also moves silently. Anyway, in the early morning, the younger sister called Mharsyõ Gyhāmu arose, noticed that her sister had gone, and crying copiously, set off to find her. As she ran, she made lots of noise and screamed loudly, and she turned into what the Nepali speakers call the Marsyangdi river, which in Tamu is known as Mharsyõ Syõ. This explains why the Kāli Gandaki is such a silent river, while the Marsy-

angdi is so noisy. All of this is also explained in the *pye*. The parents of these two sleeping sisters are the direct ancestors of the Thakāli people, since they lived in this valley. In the Tamu ritual language (CK), *tha* means 'to reach, find', and *Kali* was the name of the daughter they were looking for.

The story and origin of the Klye (Ghale)

The man popularly referred to as the Ghale Rājā 'the Ghale king' or 'king of the Ghales' was actually the bastard son of Guru Rinpoche and a nun. Guru Rinpoche was ashamed of having impregnated a nun, so he asked her to say nothing of this event to anyone else. The nun emerged pregnant from a long period of meditation, and when questioned about her state, she explained that a mouse had made two holes in the walls of the mountain cave in which she was meditating and that sunlight from one side and moonlight from the other shone on her stomach at the same time, causing her to become pregnant. To this day, the Klye's ancestors are know to the Tamu people as 'sunbeams' and 'moonbeams'.

At the time of Kohla's prominence, there were many other branches of Tamu peoples living in villages and settlements of a smaller size. The man known as the Ghale Rājā was not really a king—he was just the village leader in one of the places that Tamu people settled — and he quickly demanded their loyalty. In the Tamu ritual language (CK), the Ghale Rājā was first known as Kyālbu Ruju, then he became known as Kyālbu Krõh and finally as Klye Mrũ. The meanings are as follows: *kyālbu* is a clan name, *ruju* literally means 'horn', but also has the metaphorical meaning of 'someone who fights with others and shows his strength', *krõh* means 'leader, headman of a village', while *mrũ* indicates someone who is a visionary and has foresight or who is a born leader.

Long before Kohla was settled, Klye Mrũ wanted to become king and leader of the area. The Tamus didn't like him nor did they accept him as their undisputed leader, so they left the five villages of Lisõ Yhul in Manāng to settle in the primarily Ghale village of Maiju where they intermarried with the Ghale people. One day, there was a massive landslide in Maiju, after which the Tamu people were completely dispersed and settled in different places. The Klye Mrũ nevertheless demanded allegiance, and while most Tamu clans gave in and agreed, two or three clans resisted and were forced to leave the area to settle elsewhere. After Kohla was settled, the Klye Mrũ became angry since people were settling in and around Kohla and establishing new settlements without accepting his sovereignty of the region and also without clearing their movements with him first. The Klye Mrũ insisted that all the villagers pay tax to him in exchange for his permission to settle in the area. In Kohla, serious disagreements emerged between Tamu ancestors about whether or not to ally with the Klye Mrũ. The Tamu eventually got rid of the Klye Mrũ and in Klye Pal Ti Nẽh, below Kohla, they chopped off his leg as described above.

The Klye Mrũ was the first king under whose control our ancestors came, and it was by no means a positive experience. Our Tamu people had leaders and headmen, but not kings, and the clans and social divisions in Tamu society predate the arrival of the Klye Mrũ. The fractions and tensions in our society date to the period of the rule of the Klye, and artificial divisions were created in Tamu society at this time causing tensions and disagreements which exist to the present day. We have the Klye Mrũ to thank for the tensions and divisions in Tamu society today. As a historical footnote, I should add that the Tamu people only came under the control of the kings of Kāski and Lamjung after the destruction of Kohla.

Lẽmakõ Rõh Pye

Judith Pettigrew, Yarjung Kromchaĩ Tamu & Mark Turin

Lẽmakõ Rõh Pye is chanted by the *pachyu* shamans in the *serga* ritual on the third day of the *pai laba* death ritual and is part of the process of sending the dead to the Afterworld. It is a 'question' and 'answer' *pye* as the shamans form two groups with one group chanting the questions and the other the replies. *Lẽmakõ* is one of the longest *pye* and differs from other texts in terms of topic and content. Most *pye* relate the story of specific local events and people. *Lẽmakõ*, on the other hand, is an epic as it speaks of human and animal origins, the names of the places the Tamu-mai migrated through, deals with conquest, affiliation and resistance as well as recounting a series of events in Kohla and its environs.

Lẽmakõ Rõh Pye is 509 lines long and can be subdivided into a series of different sections. Lines 1 to 15 are preparatory. They explain the significance of the *pye*, why it should be performed and what will happen if it isn't. Whatever their topic, *pye* begin with the creation and origins of the main actors and the subsequent section recounts the creation of humans, a people called the *minakuju*, animals and birds.

In the following sequence, the *minakuju* look out over their locality and then they move (Figs. 2.4 & 2.5). There are no explanations as to what prompted them to relocate, although we are told that they moved in a southwards direction and that members of the group scattered out in different directions. At Kaipatiye, they changed their name and become *mhinakugi*, which according to Yarjung is because they split off from a larger group. Lines 42 to 79 recount the meeting with

a man named Nochani followed by a series of discussions regarding his origins, his ancestors, what food he ate, his physique and what work he did. He asked to stay with the *mhinakugi*, was given permission and married and had children. His children were named Lam, Lem and Kon and they were the ancestors of the present-day Sõgi clans. At this point in Sa-Pu-Ti Kyhalsaye, the group became Tamu.

Line 80 marks the beginning of another series of migrations which took the Tamu-mai through a series of named but undescribed localities (see Fig. 2.5 above). By line 110 they had reached Muchhitrachamgoye (Muktinath). In Upper Manāng (Lho Mantāng) they encountered a Tibetan king named Khamba Rājā. This meeting is not included in Yarjung's version of *Lẽmakõ Rõh Pye* below, however, some *pachyus* have stories about this ruler. The Tamu-mai moved into present-day Manāng where they met the Klye (Ghale) chieftains who ruled the area. The biggest Tamu village in the area was Maiju where they lived for a long time as it is surrounded by good hunting forests. Following a landslide at Maiju (which is the place where the paths of humans and those of the dead separate), the pattern of reconnaissance and migration continued and they moved down towards Kohla. The Klye followed them, and on top of Ekrai Mountain (which is above the town of Chāme in Manāng) demanded that they subjugate themselves to him. Some clans agreed and remained behind but others did not and moved away.

Line 144 describes how some clansmen came across Kohla when they were hunting. Line 150 describes the founding of the village and the arrival of the Klye ruler. Lines 155 to 171 provide descriptions of the number of houses in the various villages in the wider area. In line 186, the Klye announces the introduction of taxes. The remainder of the *pye* (lines 187 to 492) deal with the story of Lẽmakõ, the chieftain's assistant, who was appointed tax collector. The story chronicles the difficulties he faced when trying to collect taxes from his mother's brother, his curse, his death, the incorrectly perfomed death rituals which led to his inability to reach the Afterworld, his subsequent redemption and the redoing of his death rituals which freed him from liminal purgatory and enabled him to reach the Afterworld (for a summary of this story see Pettigrew & Tamu 1999).

Lẽmakõ Rõh Pye, chanted on the third day of the three-day core ritual of Tamu life, the *pai laba*, serves as a reminder that the rituals of death cannot be performed without certain essential objects, the co-operation of kin and the performance of appropriatedly trained ritual specialists. The consequences for deviating from these prescriptions are severe as the deceased does not reach 'heaven' or become an ancestor. Rather, such deceased are trapped 'betwixt and between' the world of the dead and the living and between the human and animal form. *Lẽmakõ Pye* recounts the story of the beginning of taxation, how the social relations of hierarchy changed and how people resisted that change. Despite the emphasis on the importance of reciprocal kinship relationships, this *pye* also draws attention to individual agency as people sometimes go against what is believed to be the correct way to behave towards kin. Lẽmakõ was the last event that was made into a *pye*.

Interviews conducted in 2001 with 90 shamans confirmed the centrality and consistency of this text as they all have it in their repertoire. While some referred to the *pye* as *Chyumi Huidu Pye*, in all cases the story remains the same, although the perspective from which it is told may be different. In the version presented below, the story recounts the experiences of Lẽmakõ. When the *pye* is titled *Chyumi Huidu*, the emphasis is on the story of Lẽmakõ's mother's brother named Chyumi Huidu.

1 *sula sumaye pye sele? pedã klhyemaiba*
Which *pye* to chant? *Pedã Klhyemaiba*[1]

2 *sula sumaye lhu sele? lhudã klhyemaiba*
Which *lhu* to chant? *Lhudã Klhyemaiba*[2]

3 *tamu hyalsa hyulsaye pye sele pedã klhyemaiba*
Let's chant the *pye* about the Tamu countries

4 *tamu hyalsa hyulsaye lhu sele lhudã klhyemaiba*
Let's chant the *lhuda* about the Tamu countries

5 *lẽmakõ rõhmaye pye sele pedã klhyemaiba*
Chant the *pye* of Lẽmakõ Rõh

6 *lẽmakõ rõhmaye lhu sele lhudã klhyemaiba*
Chant the *lhuda* of Lẽmakõ Rõh

7 *tamu hyalsa hyulsaye pye aasesyã khaiju tamoba?*
If we do not chant the *pye* about the Tamu countries, what will happen?

8 *lẽmakõ rõhmaye lhu aasesyã khaiju tamoba?*
If we do not chant the *lhu* of Lẽmakõ Rõh, what will happen?

9 *targi la nibai mhargi tihrõ chohlo aakhãbago*
We cannot reach Targi La Nibai Mhargi Tihrõ[3]

1 This *pye* is owned by *Pedã Klhyemaiba* (a guru, teacher, master). *Pedã* refers to the chants.

2 *Lhudã* refers to the shamanic techniques, rules, guidelines, ways of behaving, being, concepts, etc.

3 Two of the many names for 'heaven' in *Cõ Kyui.*

10 *tamu hyalsa hyulsaye pye sesyã khaiju tamoba?*
If we chant the *pye* about the Tamu countries, what will happen?

11 *thori nghaisõye nasarõ chohlo khãbago?*
Can we reach Thori Nghaisõ?

12 *tamu hyalsa hyulsaye pye sedo pedã klhyemaiba*
Chant the *pye* of the Tamu countries

13 *tamu hyalsa hyulsaye lhu sedo lhudã klhyemaiba*
Chant the *lhu* of the Tamu countries

14 *lẽmakõ rõhmaye pye sedo pedã klhyemaiba*
Chant the *pye* of Lẽmakõ Rõh

15 *lẽmakõ rõhmaye lhu sedo lhudã klhyemaiba*
Chant the *lhu* of Lẽmakõ Rõh

16 *tela mhide sõmade kemmnãmĩ khanarõ kemaiba?*
Where were human beings created?

17 *mara krõngai nasarõ mhi kekhamai*
Humans were created in Krõngai[4]

18 *singai nasarõ mhi kekhamai*
Created in Singai[5]

19 *tohngai nasarõ mhi kekhamai*
Created in Tohngai[6]

20 *sangai nasarõ mhi kekhamai*
Created in Sangai[7]

21 *sangai nasrõ khanarõ kemaiba?*
Where in Sangai?

22 *ta uĩ chõye hyularõ mhi kekhamai*
Humans were created in Uĩ Chõye country[8]

23 *uĩ chõye ye hyularõ toh kedimai*
Villages were created in Uĩ Chõye country

24 *uĩ chõye ye hyularõ syõ kedimai*
Groups of villages were created in Uĩ Chõye country

25 *kyhãye kyhũye chahmaiji syõ plĩdimai*
Rivers filled up with fish

26 *pãhnam phonama chah maĩji kõh plĩdimai*
Jungles filled up with animals

27 *mhiye kõhjaye chahmaiji hyula plĩdimai*
The country was filled with humans

28 *chyah kõhjye chahmaĩ ji syõdõ nãdõ plĩdimai*
Trees and bushes filled with birds

29 *ta chõye hyalsa hyulasaye tõhrõmi khaijyu tamaiba?*
What happened in Chõye country?

30 *chõye hyalsa hyulsaye tõhrõmi mhinakuju tadimai*
Mhinakuju were created in Chõye country

31 *mhinakuju rõhmaye chãmaiji hyula plĩdimai*
The country was inhabited by the *Mhinakuju*

32 *chõye hyalsa hyulsaye tõhwaji ple nghyo khamai*
They looked out from their village in Chõye country[9]

33 *chõye hyalsa hyulsaye syõwaji ple nghyo yumai*
They looked out from their location in Chõye country

34 *ta uĩ chõ whamaye hyularõ khaijyu tamaiba?*
What happened in Uĩ Chõ country?

35 *syaje, nhuje, lõje, chyõhwaje mhinakuju pũh yãmai*
East, west, south, north, the *Mhinakuju* spread out in all directions

36 *mhinakujuye khemaimi khaiju nghegaiba?*
What about the ancestors of the *Mhinakuju*?

37 *mara lõchhyobai tĩhsa waji ple nghyo yumai*
They looked towards the south

38 *mara kaĩ patiye hyulara ple nghyo yumai*
They moved down to Kaĩ Patiye country

39 *kõhri syõride thoy umai mhinakugimai*
The *Mhinakugi* crossed rivers and travelled through different landscapes[10]

40 *sa-pu-ti kyhalsaye tohrõmi ple nghyo yumai*
They saw and moved down to Sa-Pu-Ti Kyhalsaye

41 *sa-pu-ti kyhalsaye tohrõmi suni tohmaiba?*
Who did they meet at Sa-Pu-Ti Kyhalsaye?

42 *nochani rõhmaye kheni charõ tohmaiba*
They met Nochani Rõh

43 *kyõmi sula sumaye puh bhiji ngyoisu lamaiba*
They asked him who his family was

44 *kyõmi sula sumaye puh bhiji põsu lamaiba*
They talked to him about his family

4 The first stage of creation. All animate things move through this and the following stages.
5 The second stage of creation.
6 The third stage of creation.
7 *Sangai* is earth. When beings and things are created, then they create other beings and things on earth.
8 *Hyula* is a *Cõ Kyui* word which is now also used in *Tamu Kyui* to mean 'country' or 'homeland', but in this context it means 'locality' or 'territory'.
9 *Ple nghyo khamai* refers to 'reconnaissance' and looking for another place to move to.
10 At Kaĩ Patiye, nine ancestors separated from the larger group, the *Mhinakuju*, and became the *Mhinakugi*.

45 *kyõmi khanai pachhaĩ khalo, nochani rõhgo?*
'Where have you come from, Nochani Rõhgo?'

46 *kyõmi khanai mha chhaiñ khalo, nochani rõhgo?*
'Where have you wandered from, Nochani Rõhgo?'

47 *marõ lõchhyobai tĩhsa waje ple nghyo khalo*
'I have come from the south'[11]

48 *kyõye khe mai mi khaiju nghegaiba*
They walked about the ancestors

49 *kyõye khemãmi sugo bhimaĩba?*
'Who were your ancestors?'

50 *thebse thebai khemi mayãm di goba*
'My most senior ancestor was Mayãm Di'

51 *chahye prhirbaye khemi masyãm di goba*
'Next was Masynãm Di'

52 *chaye prhirbaye khemi paim nhãgyã goba*
'Next was Paim Nhãgyã'

53 *chaye prhirbaye khemi paim tihrgyõ goba*
'Next was Paim Tihrgyõgo'

54 *chaye prhirbai khemi nhanãba khorlo goba*
'Next was Nhanãba Khorlogo'

55 *nhanãba khorloye chahmi nochani rõh goba*
'Nhanãba Khorloye's son is Nochani's Rõh'

56 *nochani rõhmi ngasyo mhinakugimai*
'*Mhinakugimai*, I am Nochani'

57 *kyõye chabai kãi jumi khaiju nghegai ba?*
'What food do you eat?'

58 *kuhlu whamaye syami ngaye kãigo ba*
'I can eat a whole goat or sheep in one go'

59 *kuiñdi kuboye nhojumi ngaye khugo ba*
'I can drink a large pot of wine'

60 *nhaju whamaye rijumi tino prĩmõ ba*
'One of my ears reaches to the ground and I sleep on it'

61 *nhaju whamaye rijumi neon prĩmõ ba*
'One of my ears covers me when I sleep'

62 *kyõye kedã kejumi khaiju nghegai ba?*
'What kinds of things can you do?'

63 *kaiñdu waji khabai pahleñ koilo khãmo ba*
'I can stop the monsoon streams which come from above'

64 *kyoro waji khabai nhãmru ya koilo khãmoba*
'If a hurricane comes from below, I can stop it'

65 *kyõye toh nibai syõrõde chhyonõ pinoba*
'Let me stay in your village'

66 *tille, nghille, sõlle plhille, nhalle, nghachhyãbu timai ba*
He stayed for one, two, three, four, five years

67 *tuhlle, ngille, prehlle, kulle, kuchhyãbu timai ba*
He stayed for six, seven, eight, nine years

68 *ngeñbu teñhbu de kramo bhimai nochanirõhmi*
Nochani said 'I would like to marry'

69 *ngeñbu teñhbu de krano priñmai nochanirõhji*
Nochani got married

70 *ngeñbu krabai lisõra khaiju tamaiba?*
What happened after the marriage?

71 *puhja puhmaide khãno priñmai nochani rhõ la*
Nochani had children

72 *chahsõ wamade khãno priñmai nochanirhõ la*
Nochani had three sons

73 *lam, lem, kõnade khãno priñmai ba*
Lam, Lem and Kõn were born

74 *klhyapai phipaide tano priñmai sa-pu-ti kyhalsõ ra*
There was a *pai* at Sa-Pu-Ti Kyhalsaye

75 *tagrã hogrãde tano prĩmai sa-pu-ti kyhalsõ ra*
There was an argument at Sa-Pu-Ti Kyhalsaye

76 *kugi rõhmaye khemaini ngiya kõbago*
'Can we join the *Kugi* ancestors?'

77 *tamu whamade aata bisi tãju chhomaiba*
They had a meeting to decide 'yes' or 'no'

78 *tamu wamade tamu bisi tãju solaje*
They discussed this at a meeting

79 *sa-pu-ti kyhalsaye hyulaji tamu põ chhyãmai*
From Sa-Pu-Ti Kyhalsaye they became Tamu

80 *sa-pu-ti kyhalsaye hyulaji ple nghyo yumai*
They looked down from Sa-Pu-Ti Kyhalsaye

81 *syaje, nhuje, lõje chyõhje tamu põhyam ai*
East, west, south and north the Tamu-mai spread out

82 *chhyõlõ bhyõba ye nheni tahlu kaiñ ye hyularõ chohyu je*
They arrived in Chhyõlõ Bhyõba country

83 *khõsyala syõrõ ple nghyoyu mai*
They saw the river of Khõsyala and moved down

[11] *Nochani* arrived from a place that was south of where the *Mhinakugi* were settled at that time.

84 *kohñri syõride tho yumai tamu rohñmai mi*
Tamu people crossed many rivers and hills

85 *riñmyũwaye hyularõ ple nghyoyu mai*
They saw Rimyũwaye country and moved down

86 *kohñri syõride tho yumai tamu rohñmai mi*
Tamu people crossed many rivers and hills

87 *la tihiũwaye hyularõ ple nghyoyu mai*
They saw La Tihiũwaye country and moved down

88 *kohñri syõride tho yumai tamu rohñmai mi*
Tamu people crossed many rivers and hills

89 *chhairiñ waye hyularõ ple nghyoyu mai*
They saw and moved down to Chhairiñ country

90 *kohñri syõride tho yumai tamu rohñmai mi*
Tamu people crossed many rivers and hills

91 *sydõ waye hyularõ ple nghyoyu mai*
They saw and moved down to Sydõ Waye country

92 *kohñri syõride tho yumai tamu rohñmai mi*
Tamu people crossed many rivers and hills

93 *timyu kreye hyularõ ple nghyoyu mai*
They saw Timyu Kreye country and moved down

94 *kohñri syõride tho yumai tamu rohñmai mi*
Tamu people crossed many rivers and hills

95 *chyõhgara myaye hyularõ ple nghyoyu mai*
They saw Chyõhgara Myaye country and moved down

96 *kohñri syõride tho yumai tamu rohñmai mi*
Tamu people crossed many rivers and hills

97 *lam myabai hyularõ ple nghyoyu mai*
They saw Lam Myabai country and moved down

98 *kohñri syõride tho yumai tamu rohñmai mi*
Tamu people crossed many rivers and hills

99 *phreduñ waye hyularõ ple nghyoyu mai*
They saw Phreduñ Waye country and moved down

100 *kohñri syõride tho yumai tamu rohñmai mi*
Tamu people crossed many rivers and hills

101 *layutiye hyularõ ple nghyoyu mai*
They saw Layutiye country and moved down

102 *kohñri syõride tho yumai tamu rohñmai mi*
Tamu people crossed many rivers and hills

103 *sisarangi ni thõsara kyurõ ple nghyoyu mai*
They saw Sisarangi Ni Thõsara river and moved down

104 *polusa polunghyorõ ple nghyoyu mai*
Saw Polusa Polunghyorõ lake and moved down

105 *kohñri syõride tho yumai tamu rohñmai mi*
Tamu people crossed many rivers and hills

106 *rhuni toh rhunisyõra ple nghyoyu mai*
They saw Rhuni village and Rhuni river and moved down

107 *kohñri syõride tho yumai tamu rohñmai mi*
Tamu people crossed many rivers and hills

108 *muli tõhnibai mulisyõra ple nghyoyu mai*
They saw Muli village and Muli river and moved down

109 *kohñri syõride tho yumai tamu rohñmai mi*
Tamu people crossed many rivers and hills

110 *muchhitra chahmgõye tohrõ ple nghyoyu mai*
They saw and moved down to Muchhitra Chahmgõye[12]

111 *kohñri syõride tho yumai tamu rohñmai mi*
Tamu people crossed many rivers and hills

112 *thĩni kyhalsõye hyulami ple mrõkha mai*
They saw Thĩni Kyhalsõ

113 *thĩni kyhalsõye hyulami ple nghyoyu mai*
They saw Thĩni Kyhalsõ and moved down

114 *thoye hyalsa hyulsa waji ple mrõkha mai*
They saw the area of Thoye[13]

115 *thoye hyalsa hyulsa waji ple nghyoyu mai*
They saw Thoye and moved down

116 *syõye hyalsa hyulsa waji ple mrõkha mai*
They saw a river area

117 *muchhitra chahmgõ waji ple nghyoyu mai*
They saw Muchhitra Chahmgõ and moved down

118 *manõ hyalsa hyulsa ple mrõkha mai*
They saw the area of Manõ[14]

119 *manõ hyulaye tohrõmi khaiju tamaiba?*
What happened in the area of Manõ?

120 *uiñ sõye hyulara paihju mruñ tamaiba*
Uiñ Sõye country[15] had a Tibetan king

121 *lisõye hyulara klyeju mruñ tamai*
The low country had a Klye king

122 *tagrã hogrã de tano priñmai manõ hyulara*
In Manõ there was an argument

[12] Present-day Muktināth.
[13] Present-day Thāk Kholā.
[14] Present-day Manāng.
[15] Present-day Lho Mantāng.

123 *mhina kumaiye khemaimi charõ chohyu mai*
The *Mhinakugi* ancestors arrived

124 *mhina kumai chohbai lisõra khaiju tamai ba?*
What happened after the *Mhinakugi* ancestors arrived?

125 *klyejuwhamaye rujuri mruñ tadimai ba*
The Klye became king

126 *prahaaga, nghawala, kyuruye tohmai ya charõ tadimai*
There he founded the villages of Prahāga, Nghawala and Kyuru

127 *tagrã hogrãde tano prĩmai manõ hyulara*
In Manõ there was an argument

128 *manõ hyalsa hyulsaye tohwaji ple nghyokha mai*
He looked out from Manõ

129 *maiju whamaye hyularõ ple mrõyu mai*
He saw and moved down to Maiju country

130 *toh nibaisyõa chyõnõ prĩmaiba*
He made a village

131 *maiju whamaye hyularõ khaiju tamaiba?*
What happened in Maiju country?

132 *tyudã tyuijuji myarno priñmai maiju hyulami +++*
A landslide covered Maiju country +++[16]

133 *lhaju phrebai hyula tano prñimai maiju hyula mi*
At Maiju the routes separated

134 *maiju whamaye hyulaji ple nghyokha mai*
Looking out from Maiju and moving down

135 *tara yekre ye lharõmi khaiju tamaiba?*
What happened on top of Ekrai?

136 *klyeju mruñmi charõ chohdi mai*
The Klye king was there

137 *yuñma tãteñye chohrõmi pahlju theñmai ba*
He planted his feet wide apart on two stones on the path

138 *ngaju koiñbaye mhi maimi khõji kyulyado*
'Those who accept me, pass between my legs'

139 *krõmchhaiñ, mhauchhaiñ, kyapchhaiñ, lhegaiñ, yobchhai, kubchhaĩn ye khemaimi mha aã kyulago +++*
Krõmchhaiñ, Mhauchhaiñ, Kyapchhaiñ, Lhegaiñ, Yobchhai and *Kubchhaĩn*[17] ancestors did not pass between his legs +++

140 *hyurplã plenade toyamai mhinakuju mai*
The *Mhinakuju* returned

141 *thurchu wamaye toh waji ple nghyokha mai*
Looking out from Thurchu and moving down

142 *rabrõ whamaye toh waji ple mrõkha mai*
Looking out from Rabrõ

143 *rabrõ whamaye tohwaji ple nghyokha mai*
Looking out from Rabrõ and moving down

144 *kohla sõpreye tohmaiñ ya ple mrõkha mai*
Looking out to see Kohla Sõpreye

145 *kohla sõpreye tohmi ya suji chuñmaiñ ba?*
Who founded Kohla Sõpreye?

146 *pammai, kohlmai, lemaiye khe maiji kohla chuñmaiñ ba*
The *Pammai*, *Kohlmai* and *Lemai* founded Kohla[18]

147 *phaiblõ barõde nheyuma charõ chohyumai*
They discovered it while hunting

148 *mrõmrõ toride mrõnõ priñmaiba?*
What did they see?

149 *cheplã hyabaye hyulade mrõnõ priñmaiba*
They saw a flat place

150 *tohde syodenga de syonopriñmai kohla tohrõmi*
They made a village

151 *klyeju whamaye mruñju mi charõ chohyu mai*
The Klye king arrived

152 *tela kohla sõpreye tohrõmi khaiju tamai ba?*
What happened in Kohla?

153 *klyeju whamaye rujui mruñ tadi mai*
The Klye became king

154 *lẽmkõ hamaye rohñmi dware tadi mai*
He made Lẽmko his assistant

155 *kohla sõpreye tohrõmi kuñju mi khaiju tamaiba?*
How many houses were at Kohla?

156 *kohla sõpreye tohrõmi prechyu kuñ chyomai*
At Kohla Sõpreye there were 80 houses

157 *kohla hyalsa hyulsaye tohrõmi khaiju tamaiba?*
What happened in Kohla?

158 *kohla hyalsa hyulsaye tohrõmi tõhju chyuñmaiba*
In the area of Kohla villages were founded

159 *ma krapu kohgarai tohromi khaiju kuñ mumai?*
How many houses were at Krapu?

[16] This line is followed by some secret lines which are only known to initiated shamans and have therefore not been translated.

[17] These are clan names. This line is followed by untranslated secret lines.

[18] This refers to the three clans who founded Kohla.

160 *ma krapu kohgarai tohromi nghyusyu kuñ chyomai*
In the area of Krapu there were 20 houses

161 *khuñidõ whamaye tohromi khaiju kuñ mumai?*
How many houses were at Khuñidõ?

162 *khuñidõ whamaye tohromi chyu kuñ chyomai*
In the area of Khuñidõ there were 19 houses

162 *chõmrõ whamaye tohromi khaiju kuñ mumai?*
How many houses were at Chõmrõ?

163 *chõmrõ whamaye tohromi pre kuñ chyomai*
In the area of Chõmrõ there were eight houses

164 *chikreñ whamaye tohromi khaiju kuñ mumai?*
How many houses were there at Chikreñ?

165 *chikreñ whamaye tohromi nghyusyu kuñ chyomai*
In the area of Chikreñ there were 20 houses

166 *pamrõ, hachu, mhichuye tohromi khaiju kuñ mumai?*
How many houses were at Pamrõ, Hachu and Mhichu?

167 *pamrõ, hachu, mhichuye tohromi sõchyu kuñ chyomai*
In the area of Pamrõ, Hachu and Mhichu there were 30 houses

168 *naudi rabrõye tohromi khaiju kuñmumai?*
How many houses were there at Naudi Rabrõ?

169 *naudi rabrõye tohromi ngago kuñ chyomai*
In the area of Naudi Rabrõ there were five houses

170 *lelkhu whamaye tohromi khaiju kuñ mumai?*
How many houses were there at Lelkhu?

171 *lelkhu whamaye tohromi chyu kuñ chyomai*
In the area of Lelkhu there were 10 houses

172 *tasa whamaye khowarõmi khaiju nghegaiba?*
What was at Tasa Khowa?

173 *tasa whamaye khowarõmi ta chyõmaiba*
Horses were kept at Tasa Khowa

174 *ta thullheye tohromi khaiju nghegaiba?*
What was at Thullhey?

175 *ta thulheye tohromi rabrõ, kyubrõde chyono priñmaiba*
Goats and sheep were kept there

176 *taprõ mhijyaye tohrõmi khaiju tamaiba?*
What happened at Taprõ Mhijya?

177 *chyumi huñdu ye khemi charõ chohdimai*
Chyumi Huñdu's ancestors arrived

178 *sula sumaide bisi ngyuisu lamaiba*
'Who are you?', asked the villagers

179 *sula sumaide bisi põsu lamaiba*
Villagers talked about who they were

180 *ngami lẽmakõ rohñmaye aasyõ kumaiba*[19]
'I am Lẽmakõ's mother's brother'

181 *chharga puhrga de sõnõ primai aasyõ kumaiji +++*
Mother's brother introduced himself +++

182 *nhasõ whamaye padõra khaiju tamaiba?*
What happened after that?

183 *kyalbo whamaye rujuimi chharga sõmaiba*
Kyalbo made an announcement

184 *kyalbo whamaye rujuimi puhrga sõmaiba*
The Kyalbo chieftain gave information

185 *chu kohla sõpreye hyulami ngaye hyulago*
'The Kohla Sõpreye area and country is mine'

186 *sermã whamade sailado hyulai mhimaiba*
'Villages have to pay tax'

187 *sermã sõmade saila pago lẽmakõ roh-mai*
'Lẽmakõ will collect the taxes'

188 *sermã sõmade saila pago dware rohñ mai*
'My assistant will collect the taxes'

189 *hyarplã plenade toyamai lẽmkõ rohmai ba*
Lẽmkõ went

190 *hyurplã plenade toyamai dware rohñmai ba*
The assistant went

191 *ma krapu kohñgarai tohrõmi lẽmkõ chohnimai*
Lẽmkõ reached Krapu village

192 *tagrã hogrãde tano primai lẽmkõ rohmi*
There was an argument with Lẽmkõ

193 *sermã sõmade sailal khãmai lẽmkõ rohji*
They paid tax to Lẽmkõ

194 *hyarplã plenade tokhaje lẽmkõ rohmi*
Lẽmkõ returned

195 *chohma khanarõ chohkhaje lẽmkõ rohmi*
Where did Lẽmkõ go?

196 *kya pomrõ hachuye tohrõmi lẽmkõ chohnimai*
Lẽmkõ reached Pomrõ Hachu village

197 *sermã sõmade sailalado tohngai mhimai ba*
He asked the villagers for tax

[19] *Āsyõ* means 'wife giver' and refers to those who have given a daughter in marriage to Lẽmkõ's lineage.

198 *sermã sõmade sailalado aangi chyõmai ba*
He asked Āngi Chyõma [mother's brother] for tax

199 *aasaila whamade aasaila lẽmkõ rohmai ba*
'No, no, won't give it to you, Lẽmkõ'

200 *tãju chhono priñmai tohngai mhimaini*
Villagers discussed this

201 *sermã sõmade aapiñmai aangi chyõmaimi*
Āngi Chyõma didn't give tax

202 *hyarplã plenade toyaje lẽmkõ rohmaimi*
Lẽmkõ returned

203 *kohla sõpreye tohrõmi lẽma chohnimai*
Lẽma reached Kohla Sõpreye

204 *sermã sõmade sailalano primai kohla sõrami*
He asked for taxes in Kohla Sõra

205 *tagrã hogrãde theno priñmai kyalbo ruji*
He argued with Kyalbo

206 *kyalbo rujuye ngarõmi lẽma chohnimai*
Lẽma returned to Kyalbo

207 *chharga puhrgade seno priñmai kyalbo rujuni*
He told Kyalbo what had happened

208 *kyõjabai tohrõmi khaiju nghegaiba?*
What happened in the other villages?'

209 *pomrõ hachuye tohrõmi khaiju nghegaiba?*
'What happened in Pomrõ Hachuye?'

210 *tagrã hogrãde theno priñji kyõjabai tohrõmi*
'There was an argument in the other villages'

211 *kyõye aasyõ kumaye sermãmi khaiju nghegaiba?*
'What about mother's brother's tax?'

212 *aasaila wamade aasaila aasyõ kumaila*
'I didn't bring it, I didn't bring [tax] from mother's brother'

213 *tagrã hogrãde theno priñji pomrõ hachura*
'There was an argument in Pomrõ Hachu'

214 *sermã whamade saila pago aasyõ kumaila*
'You should bring tax from mother's brother'

215 *sermã whamade aasailasyã khaiju nghegaiba?*
'If I don't bring tax, what will happen?'

216 *kyõye kahuride pehñ wamo lẽma roh go*
'I will sack you, Lẽma, from your position'

217 *khaila khailade tanoprĩmai lẽma rohmi*
Lẽma wondered what to do

218 *hyarplã plenade toyamai lẽma rohmi*
Lẽma went

219 *ma chhyodo wamaye syõrõmi lẽma chohnimai*
Lẽma reached the river of Chhyodo

220 *aangi wamaye chyõmaini lẽma chohnimai*
Lẽma reached Āngi Chyõma

221 *tagrã hogrãde tano priñmai chhyodo syõrami*
There was an argument in Chhyodo Syõrami

223 *hyarplã pleñnade toyamai lẽma rohmi*
Lẽma left

224 *ta pomrõ hachuye toh rõmi lẽma chohni mai*
Lẽma reached Pomrõ Hachu

225 *tagrã hogrãde tano priñmai aasyõ kumai ni*
He had an argument with mother's brother

226 *tagrã hogrãde tano priñmai toh nibai syõni*
He had an argument with the villagers

227 *kyãju thobaiye tãju chhomai lẽma rohñmi*
'Lẽma, this will be the end of our relationship'

228 *mhikareñ chokimai khuno priñmai lẽma rohñji*
Lẽma called the village leaders

229 *pahaye kuiñdi de krãnõ priñmai aasyõ kumaila*
They charged mother's brother one pot of millet wine

230 *mghebai mejude pehnõ prĩmai aangi chyõmaila*
They charged Āngi Chyõma one milk cow

231 *tibai kregi ni hyobai kahyade pehno priñmai aasyõ kumaila*
They charged mother's brother one *kregi* [turban]

232 *syõrbai chhyodo whamade phuno priñmai aangi chyõmaila*
They destroyed Āngi Chyõma's water mill by the river

233 *chihdõ whama de thonõ priñmai aasyõ kumaila*
They punished mother's brother

234 *ngheju whamade thonõ priñmai aangi chyõmaila*
They punished Āngi Chyõma

235 *mudõ tihrbaye tagrã tano priñmai lẽma rohmaini*
The argument with Lẽma could be heard in the sky

236 *sadõ tihrbaye hogrã tanõ priñmai sasyõ kumaini*
The argument with mother's brother could be heard in the river

237 *tagrã hogrãde tabai lisõra khaiju tamaiba?*
What happened after the argument?

238 *hyarplã pleñna de toyamai lẽma õrohõ mi*
Lẽma returned

240 *sabu tihrbai krolu jhonõ priñmai aangi chyõmaimi*
Āngi Chyõmaimi cried very loudly

241 *mbu tihrbai krolu jhonõ priñmai sasyõ kumaimi*
Mother's brother cried very loudly

242 *pahrje sõmade põnõ priñmai aangi chyõmaiji*
Āngi Chyõmaiji put a big curse on him

243 *pahrje sõmade põnõpriñmai aasyõ kumaiji*
Mother's brother put a big curse on him

244 *kyõmi kohla sõpreye tohrõmi mha aa chohdo ba*
'You will not reach Kohla Sõpre'

245 *kyalbo whamaye rujuni mha aa tohdoba*
'You will not meet Kyalbo'

246 *neye chhainibai rhñye chhaini kyõ tohdoba*
'You will get a horrible disease'

247 *nhãgabai nã aa nhõbaye padõra kyõ mhadose*
'You will get lost before sunrise'

248 *ngesabai nã aa riñ bai padõra kyõ sidose*
'You will die before sunset'

249 *kohla sõpreye mhimaini mha aa tohdoba*
'You will not meet the people from Kohla Sõpre'

250 *chhyodo syõrbai mõmaini kyõ tohnese*
'You will meet the ghost of the water mill'

251 *pahrje sõmaje põnõ priñmai aasyõ kumaiji*
The curse given by mother's brother

252 *pahrje sõmade põnõ priñmai aangi chyõmaiji*
The curse given by Āngi Chyõmai

253 *pahrje sõmade põbai lisõra khaiju tamaiba?*
What happened after the curse?

254 *neye chhai nibai rhiñye chhaini lẽma tohnimai*
Lẽma met with a horrible disease

255 *mõnibai hãniga lẽma tohnimai*
Lẽma met a ghost

256 *tuñje ryuino ga tayamai lẽma rohñmi*
Lẽma began to vomit

257 *muñje syalano tayamai lẽma rohñmi*
Lẽma began to get diarrhoea

258 *tahñyã koiba mhaiñsa phyobade tano priñmai ba*
The sun could not help him, the night could not help him

259 *thaami syomide nghyonõ priñmai lẽma rohñ mi*
Lẽma's eyes became glazed

260 *Mharsõ khlyo khlyo de noyamai lẽma rohñ mi*
Lẽma died

261 *Mharsõ khlyo khlyo de noyamai lẽma rohñ mi*
Lẽma died

262 *kohla sõpreye tohrõmi mha a chohmaiba*
He could not reach Kohla Sõpre

263 *nhãsõ raye padõra khaiju tamaiba?*
What happened after that?

264 *mhingaĩ mhichhyõde tanõ priñmai kyalbo rujumi*
Kyalbo was very upset

265 *klhye paipde lẽmo bhimai kyalbo ruji*
The Kyalbo chieftain performed a *pai* for Lẽmo

266 *pachyu ni pahiñbo mhai chyõmai*
He didn't call a proper *pachyu or pahĩbo*[20]

267 *syaje mhaimãmi syaje aãyõmai*
He looked to the east, but couldn't find one

268 *nhuje mhaimãmi nhuje aãyõmai*
He looked to the west, but couldn't find one

269 *chyõhje mhaimãmi chyõhje aãyõmai*
He looked to the north, but couldn't find one

270 *pachyu mhaimãmi pachyu aãyõmai*
He looked for a *pachyu,* but couldn't find one

271 *pahiñbo mhaimãmi pahiñbo aãyõmai*
He looked for a *pahĩbo*, but couldn't find one

272 *khaiju whamaye pye tasi chu tamai?*
Why did this happen?

273 *aasyõ wamade aapa bisi chu tmai*
Mother's brother didn't come

274 *syõla syõkõide aayõna chu tamai*
He didn't receive a gift of cloth from mother's brother, so it happened

275 *aoli kaiñde aayõna chu tamai*
He didn't receive a gift of rice from mother's brother, so it happened

276 *sundo chyu de aayõna chu tamai*
He didn't receive a gift of millet from mother's brother, so it happened

277 *nhasõ wamade padõra khaiju tamaiba?*
What happened after that?

278 *ma lõji khabai syõla pachyuye chahriya charõ chohh khamai*
From the south, a strange *pachyu* arrived

[20] This is the CK word for *klehbrĩ.*

279 *tãju wamade chhono priñmai kohla tohrami*
They gossiped in Kohla

280 *tagrã hogrãde tano priñmai kohla tohrami*
There was much discussion in Kohla

281 *pohñgi kaigide tano priñmai kohla tohra mi*
There was an argument in Kohla

282 *negai chhaigai de tano priñmai kyalbo rujuni*
Some people shouted at the Kyalbo

283 *syõla pachyuye chahjimi pai chyõmaiba*
The strange *pachyu* did the *pai*

284 *nha aa syobai mi aa syobai paijumi charõ ladimai*
A *pai* that had not been seen or heard before

285 *thẽhchu kyakyãde achõna pai chyõdimai*
The *pai* was done without the offer of a *thẽhchu kyakyãde*[21]

286 *kohkyu thukyude aapina pai chyõdimai*
The *pai* was done without the offer of a *kohkyu thukyu*[22]

287 *playõ kaiñ chanõ charõ ladimai*
The *pla* was made to eat rice[23]

288 *playõ tãseno charõ ladimai*
The *pla* was made to talk

289 *playõ kyu thunõ charõ ladimai*
The *pla* was made to drink water[24]

290 *tiro whamaye pai lamai syõla pachyuji*
This strange *pachyu* did a one-day *pai*[25]

291 *pye aa rhiñbai pai lamai syõla pachyuji*
This strange *pachyu* did a *pai* without *pye*[26]

292 *lhu aa rhiñbai pai lamai syõla pachyuji*
This strange *pachyu* did a *pai* without *lhu*[27]

293 *nha sõraye padõra khaiju tamaiba?*
What happened after that?

294 *hyarplã plenade toyamai syõla pachyumai*
Syõla the *pachyu* left

295 *targila nibai mhargi tharõ lẽmko mha aa chomaiba*
Lẽmko could not reach Targila and Mhargilharõ[28]

296 *khebreñ la nibai mhabreñ lani mha aa chomaiba*
He couldn't meet the male and female ancestors

297 *thori nghaiñsõye hyularõ mha a chohmaiba*
He couldn't reach Thori Nghaiñsõye

298 *khaiju whamaye hyularõ lẽmko chohnimai?*
What kind of place did Lẽmko reach?

299 *ta heni nhobai chhajarõ lẽmko hcohnimai*
Lẽmko reached a place between the mountains and the high pastures

300 *mhiji aachyobai chyhjyude leñmã chyõdimai*
He lived with creatures that people have never seen

301 *khaiju whamade chyõdimai leñma rõhmi*
What kind of a body did Lẽma have?

302 *suñmi chyhsuñde payh dimai lẽma rõhmi*
Lẽma's mouth looked like a bird

303 *pahle siñye pahlju payhdimai lẽma rõhmi*
Lẽma's legs looked like wooden legs

304 *kohmi mraye kohjude payhdimai lẽma rõhmi*
Lẽma's body was like a door

305 *chabai kaijude ayõna meye kli chadimaiñ*
He couldn't get food, so he ate cow dung

306 *thuñbai kyude ayõna mye kuñ thuñdi mai*
He couldn't get water, so he drank cow urine

307 *peñju wamade peñjuli charõ nghedi mai*
The sound of the voice was 'peju, peju'[29]

308 *kõhidulu mara khabai padõra pyedã klhyemaiba*
At the beginning of the monsoon, Pyedã Klhemai

309 *pyhadulu tusyuñ ye padõra, lhudã klhyemaiba*
At the beginning of the summer, Lhudã Klhemai

310 *chyhõmchhyobai tihsa waje pyedã klhyemaiba*
From the north, Pyedã Klhemai

311 *muchhitra chahmgõye hyulaji lhudã klhyemaiba*
From Muchhitra Chahmgõye, Lhudã Klhemai

312 *pachyu ngi nibai paihbo kumai ya charõ chohyumai*
Seven *pachyu* and nine *paihbo* arrived

21 The *thẽhchu* is a goat that is sacrificed by *pachyu* at the beginning of a *pai*. The *kyakyãde* is the goat that is sacrificed by the *klehbrĩ* during the first night of a *pai*.

22 A *kohkyu* is a sacrificial sheep which represents the deceased and the *thukyu* is the 'friend' sheep who acts as a companion on the journey to the Afterworld.

23 The *pla* is an effigy of the deceased.

24 These goings-on were considered to be bizarre. In a usual *pai,* activities such as eating and drinking are undertaken by representatives of the dead person such as a sheep.

25 The *pai laba* is a three-day ritual.

26 It is not possible to conduct an activity in a shamanic ritual without describing it first.

27 This refers to the shamanic objects without which it is impossible to perform.

28 Part of 'heaven'.

29 A strange, high-pitched noise.

313 *peñju wamade peñj li nghenõ themaiba*
They heard the sound 'peju, peju'

314 *na kõ wamade mi kõ charõ lamaiba*
They listened carefully with their ears, looked carefully with their eyes

315 *mrõ mrõ toride charõ mrõmaiba?*
What did they see?

316 *suñmi chyhasuñ de mrõnõ primai pa-chyu ngimai ji*
The seven *pachyu* saw that its mouth looked like the beak of a bird

317 *pahle sñye pahle mrõnõ primai paihbo kumai ji*
The nine *paihbo* saw that its legs looked like wooden legs

318 *mraye kohdõya charõ mrõmaiba*
They saw a body that looked like a door

319 *kyõmi sula sugode bisi ngyoisu lamaiba?*
They asked 'who are you?'

320 *kyõmi sula sugode bisi põsuñ lamaiba?*
They said 'who are you?'

321 *ngami ma kohla sõpreye hyularbai lemã rõhgo ba*
'I am Lẽma Rõh from Kohla Sõpreye' [he replied]

322 *kyõmi khaiju taside chu taloba?*
'How did this happen to you?' [they asked]

323 *ngami aasyõ kumai ye pahrje ji mharsõ khlyoyalo*
'I died from the curse of Āsyõ Kumai'

324 *aangi chyõma ye pahrjeji mriñsõ noyalo*
'I died from the curse of Āngi Chyõma'

325 *aasyõmai syõla syõkõide aayõna chu tasimo*
'I didn't get the special cloth from mother's brother, so this happened'

326 *kyãju wamade aatõna la kyã aayõmai*
'The route wasn't clear so I didn't find the way to La Kyã'

327 *thehëchu aayõna nghikyã aayõmai*
'I didn't sacrifice the goat, so I couldn't find Nghikyã'

328 *kohju, thujude aayõna thu aayõmai*
'I didn't sacrifice the sheep, so I didn't get a friend'

329 *syõla syõkõide aayõna tuhi nibai whai aayõmai*
'I didn't get Syõla Syõkõide, so I don't get warmth and shade'

330 *ngaye kohdã sõmaiya mha aa yõgoba*
'I didn't get a sheep to represent the body'

331 *targi la nibai mhargi tihrõ chohlo mha aa yõgoba*
'I couldn't reach Targila and Mhargi'

332 *thori nghaisõye hyularõ chohlo mha aa yõgoba*
'I couldn't reach Thoringhaisõye'[30]

333 *pabai pachyude pago bhimami*
'A real *pachyu* should have done it'

334 *aapabai syõla pachyude pano priñmaiba*
'The unreal *pachyu* did it'

335 *pabai paihbode pago bhimami*
'A real *paihbo* has to do it'

336 *aapabai syõla pachyude pano priñmaiba*
'An unreal Syõla *pachyu* did it'

337 *kyãju, tihju,nheju, mha aa yõgoba*
'Couldn't find the correct route and the resting-places along it'

338 *pye aa rhiñ bai pye laje syõla pachyuji*
'Syõla *pachyu* did it without a *pye*'

339 *lhu aa rhiñbai lhu laje syõla pachyuji*
'Syõla *pachyu* did it without a *lhu*'

340 *lhoyo wamade musyãna pachyu ngimaiba*
'Be kind', seven *pachyus*

341 *lhoyo wamade musyãna paihbo kumaiba*
'Be kind', nine *paihbos*

342 *marõ kohla sõpreye tohrami chharga sõbino*
'In Kohla Sõpreye village, chant the story'

343 *marõ kohla sõpreye tohrami puhrga sõbino*
'In Kohla Sõpreye village, explain the problem'

344 *phyoguru nhig gade lanõ primaiba*
The creature bowed to them seven times

345 *hyrplã pleñnade toyamai pa-chyu ngimai mi*
The seven *pachyu* went

346 *hyurplã pleñnade toyamai paihbo kumai mi*
The nine *paihbo* went

347 *ma kohla sõpreye tohrami pa-chyu ngimai chohni mai*
The seven *pachyu* reached Kohla Sõpreye village

348 *ma kohla sõpreye tohrami paihbo kumai chohnimai*
The nine *paihbo* reached Kohla Sõpreye village

349 *sõgyãpuhñye kohisõra pa-chyu ngimai chohnimai*
The seven *pachyu* reached the village crossroads

[30] Part of 'heaven'.

350 *sõgyãpuhñye kohisõra paihbo kumai chohnimai*
The nine *paihbo* reached the village crossroads

351 *tõkhu syõkhu tano priñmai sõgyã puhñrami*
The villagers gathered at the crossroads

352 *paimo wamade aapaimo toh ngain mhimaiba?*
'Did anyone die in this village?'

353 *mhaimo wamade aa mhaimo syõngai mhimaiba?*
'Was anyone from this village lost?'

354 *tõimo wamade aatõimo toh ngain mhimaiba?*
'Did anyone from this village leave?'

355 *ngyoisu põsu de lano priñ mai toh ngain mhimaini*
They asked the villagers

356 *aapa wamade aapaimo pachyu ngimai ba*
'Nobody died, seven *pachyu*'

357 *aamha wamade aamhaimo paihñbo kumai ba*
'Nobody died, nine *paihbo*'

358 *aatõ wamade aatõimo pachyu ngimai ba*
'No one died, seven *pachyu*'

359 *tõimo, mhamo, paimo de bhino priñmai pachyu ngimaiji*
'Someone must have died, must have died', said the seven *pachyu*

360 *leñmã rohñ ride pano priñlo pachyu ngimaiba*
'One Lẽma died, seven *pachyu*'

361 *leñmã rohñ ride mhamo priñlo paihñbo kumaiba*
'One Lẽma died, nine *paihbo*'

362 *lẽmã rohñ ride tõno priñlo pachyu ngimaiba*
'One Lẽma died, seven *pachyu*'

363 *klhyapai phipaide lanõ priñje kyalbo ruji*
'Kyalbo did the Klhyapai Phipaide'[31]

364 *targi la nibai mhargithirõ chohlo khãjegõ*
'He reached Targi La and Mhargithirõ'

365 *thedo wamade thedose tohngaiñ mhimaiba*
'Listen, listen villagers'

366 *thedo wamade thedose syõngaiñ mhimaiba*
'Listen, listen friends'

367 *targi la nibai mhargithirõ lẽmã mha aachohgoba*
'Lẽma did not reach Targi La and Mhargithirõ'

368 *thori nghaisõye hyularõ mha aachohgoba*
'He did not reach Thori Nghaisõye'

369 *kheni wamaye mãniyã mha aachohgoba*
'He did not meet the male and female ancestors'

370 *ta heni nhobaye chhajãrõ leñmã chohnimu*
'Lẽma is not between the mountains and the high pastures'

371 *suñmi chyhasuñde pyhadimo leñmã rhoñla mi*
'Lẽma's mouth looks like a bird's beak'

372 *kohmi mraye kohjude pyhadimo leñmã rhoñla mi*
'Lẽma's body is like a door'

373 *pahle siñye pahlede pyhadimo leñmã rhoñlami*
'Lẽma's legs look like wooden legs'

374 *chabai kaiñjude aayõna myakli chadimu*
'He has no food, so he eats cow dung'

375 *thuñbai kyude aayõna myakuñ thuñdimu*
'He has no water, so so drinks cow urine'

376 *peñ ju whamade peñjuli charõ nghedimai*
'He cries "peju, peju"'

377 *lasu sebaye padõra kyalbo choh khaje*
During this story Kyalbo arrived

378 *shharga sõmade selo khãje pa-chyu ngimaiji*
The seven *pachyu* finished telling their story

379 *puhrgade sõmade selo khãje pahibo kumaiji*
The nine *pahibo* finished telling their story

380 *chharga puhrgade seba ye lisõra khaiju tamaiba?*
What happened after the story?

381 *tagreñ wamade kreno priñmai kyalbo rujumi*
Kyalbo got on a horse

382 *hyarplã plenade toyamai kyalbo rujumi*
Kyalbo went

383 *yhurplã plenade toyamai kyalbo rujumi*
Kyalbo went towards that place

384 *chohmami khanãrõ chohnimai kyalbo rujumi*
Where did Kyalbo go?

385 *ta heni nhobai chhajarõ kyalbo chohnimai*
Kyalbo went to the place between the mountains and the high pastures

386 *peñju wamade peñjuli nghenõ thimaiba*
He heard the 'peju, peju' sound

387 *kyõmi ngaye leñmã rhñgode bisyãga*
'If you are my Lẽma' [he said]

[31] CK word for *pai*.

388 *phyoguru lajide kohibora syokho se*
'Bow to me and come to my lap'

389 *chharga wamade sõji khadu hyapyõmai*
He said this and threw down the shawl

390 *kuthu wamade kuthuli phyoguru lamaiba*
He bowed nine times

391 *khadu wamade puhrõmi lẽmã syokhamai*
Lẽma came to the shawl

392 *hyarplã plenade toyumai kyalbo rujumi*
Kyalbo returned

393 *hyurplã plenade toyumai kyalbo rujumi*
Kyalbo returned

394 *ma kohla sõpreye tohrõmi kyalbo chohyumai*
Kyalbo returned to Kohla Sõpreye village

395 *khaima khaijude lababisi tãju chhomaiba*
He organized a meeting to decide what to do

396 *klhyapai phipaide labo tãju chhol khãmai*
We will have to do the *pai* again

397 *pachyu nibai pahibõ maini ngyoisu lamaiba*
He asked the *pachyu* and *pahibo*

398 *Pachyu nibai pahibõmaini põsu lamaiba*
He requested the *pachyu* and *pahibo*

399 *syõla syõkõide aayõsyã sipai mha aa tagoba*
'Without a cloth from mother's brothers, we cannot conduct the death ritual'

400 *kohdã sõmade aayõsyã rhipai mha aa tagoba*
'Without a sheep to represent the body, we cannot conduct the death ritual'

401 *thechu, kyakyãde aayõsyã sipai mhaa ta*
'Without a sacrificial goat, we cannot conduct the death ritual'

402 *kohkyu thukyude aayõsyã syopai mhaa ta*
'Without a companion sheep, we cannot conduct the death ritual'

403 *aasyõ kumaye hãsyulu sodo kyalbo ruju*
'You have to invite mother's brother, Kyalbo chieftain'

404 *tohkhu syõkhude ladose kyalbo ruju*
'You have to invite the villagers, Kyalbo chieftain'

405 *mhõkhu synokhude ladose kyalbo ruju*
'You have to invite the relatives, Kyalbo chieftain'

406 *riñni chahmimai khudose kyalbo ruju*
'You have to invite the female relatives, Kyalbo chieftain'

407 *tahkhu ngeñ khude ladose kyalbo ruju*
Kyalbo gathered his relatives

408 *chharga puhrgade sõlo khãje pachyungimaiji*
The *pachyu* gave the messages

409 *chharga puhrgade sõlo khãje pahibokumaiji*
The *pahibo* gave the messages

410 *hyarplã pleñnade toyamai kyalbo rujumi*
Kyalbo went

411 *hyurplã pleñnade toyamai kyalbo rujumi*
Kyalbo went

412 *kya pnomrõ hachuye tohrõmi kyalbo chohnimai*
Kyalbo reached Pomrõ Hachuye

413 *yodõ whamade aakurna chihdõ kurnimai*
He started to bow

414 *ra ru whanade aakurna kyu ru dõ kurnimai*
He bowed like the horns of a sheep

415 *kehñti pahtide noyamai kyalbo rujumi*
Kyalbo took bread and wine

416 *mar te mai tede noyamai kyalbo rujumi*
Kyalbo took gold and silver

417 *kregi kohilide noyamai kyalbo rujumi*
Kyalbo took a turban

418 *phyola phokurude lano priñmai kyalbo rujumi*
Kyalbo bowed again

419 *syõla syõkõide nonose aasyõ kumaiba*
Give the cloth, mother's brother

420 *syõla syõkõide nonose aangi chyõmaiba*
Give the cloth, Ãngi Chyõmaiba

421 *syõla syõkõide mha aa pimai aasyõ kumaiji*
Mother's brother did not give the cloth

422 *syõla syõkõide mha aa pimai aangi chyõmaiji*
Ãngi Chyõmaiji did not give the cloth

423 *hyarplã plenade toyamai kyalbo rujumi*
Kyalbo left

424 *hyurplã plenade toyamai ukyalbo rujmi*
What happened next?

425 *kya kohla sõpreye tohrõ kyalbo chohnije*
Kyalbo reached Kohla Sõpreye Tohrõ

426 *nhasõ whamaye padnora khaiju tamai ba?*
What happened next?

427 *phaanle warabai rohñride thahnõ priñmai ba*
He chose a cunning person

428 *pobaji tõhaa korbai padõra kyalbo ruji*
Before dawn, Kyalbo chieftain

429 *chyahbra chyuhbaruji hyul aa korbai padõra kyalbo ruji*
Before the birds wake, Kyalbo chieftain

430 *obaji nã aa nhõbai padõra kyalbo ruji*
Before the cock crows, Kyalbo chieftain

431 *mhainõ baye padõra kyalbo ruji*
At midnight, Kyalbo chieftain

432 *warbai rhõriya kulnõ primaiba*
He sent the cunning person

433 *hyarplã plenade toyamai warbai rhõ mi*
The cunning person went

434 *kya põmrõ hachuye tohrõmi chohno priñmaiba*
He reached the village of Põmrõ Hachuye

435 *asyõ kumaiye tohrõ chohno priñmaiba*
He reached mother's brother's village

436 *klhyaye mharbasõra chohnimai Asyõ kumaila*
He reached mother's brother's house

437 *phiye mriñsõra chohnimai angi chyõmaila*
He reached Āngi Chyõmaila's house

438 *kiñ kiñ toride kino priñmai warbai rhoñji?*
What did the cunning person take?

439 *rheñdo myurbai naaride kinõ priñmaiba*
He took a little bit of left-over millet from the hole in the centre of the quern

440 *rheñdo phyolude kinõ priñmaiba*
He took a small piece of cleaning cloth from the quern

441 *kundõ dhuñrbai suiñngrã de kinõ priñmaiba*
He took a little bit of left-over rice from the foot grinder

442 *hyurplã plenade toyumai warbai rhñmi*
The cunning person left

443 *kohla sõpreye tohrõmi warbai chohkhaje*
The cunning person reached the village of Kohla Sõpreye

444 *kohla sõpreye tohrõmi khaiju tanaiba?*
What happened in Kohla Sõpreye?

445 *klhyapai phipaide tanõ priñmai leñmã rhõla mi*
The *pai* began[32]

446 *sipai rhopaide tano priñmai leñmã rhõlam*i
The *pai* began[33]

447 *kohidi kohipade chhono primai leñmã rhõlami*
It was arranged for Lẽma

448 *kohidi kohiside dhõnõ primai leñmã rhõlami*
It was arranged for Lẽma

449 *rhalmõ rhiñye mhajimi kyã tõmaiba*
The soul of a goat was sent as a friend

450 *rhalmõ rhĩye mhajimi teh chumai ba*
The goat started the ritual[34]

451 *lhuye whamaye kohñjaji koh chyuiñmaiba*
The sheep represented him

452 *lhuye whamaye kohñjaji thu chyuiñmaiba*
The sheep became his friend and porter[35]

453 *rheñdõ myurbai naariji sundõ chyu lamaiba*
Millet from the centre hole of the quern was given as special grain

454 *rheñdõ wamaye phyoluji syõla syõkõi lamaiba*
A piece of cloth collected from quern was used as mother's brother's cloth

455 *kuni dhuñrbai suiñngrãji oli kaiñ lamaiba*
Rice from the foot grinder was cooked and made into rice offering

456 *tabai wamaye rhijega rhitemai*
Doing the correct ritual

457 *rhalmõ wamaye rhiji mai chyõmai*
Completed with the goat

458 *chyhane kone rhiñji ne kõmai*
Completed with the birds

459 *klhyapai phipai lano khãmai leñmã rhõlami*
Lẽma's *pai* was finished

460 *targi la nibai mhargi tihrõ leñmã chohnimai*
Lẽma reached Targi La Nibai Mhargi Tih

461 *aaji khenibai aajimãni leñmã chyhlni mai*
Lẽma joined Āji Khe and Āji Mã[36]

[32] The type of *pai* which is conducted immediately after death and in a house with an ancestral shrine.

[33] The type of *pai* which is conducted some time after death and for a house that does not have an ancestral shrine. This *pai* is less elaborate and less expensive.

[34] This refers to the sacrificial goat without which a *pai* cannot begin.

[35] This refers to the 'friend' sheep and is different from the one which represents Lẽma. The role of this sheep is to act as a friend and porter to carry his things on the way to 'heaven', and to assist and make things easier for him.

[36] The male and female ancestors from the place of creation.

462 *khebreñla nnibai mhabreñla ni leñmã chyhlni mai*
Lẽma joined Khebrenla and Mhabreñla[37]

463 *lakuti nibai nghikutini leñmã chyhlni mai*
Lẽma joined the nine moon and the nine sun ancestors

464 *thori nghaisõye hyularõ leñmã chyhlni mai*
Lẽma reached the area of Thori Nghaisõye

465 *iñji tehwa chaiñgiye singarõ leñmã chyhlni mai*
Lẽma reached Iñji Tehwa Chaiñgiye Singa[38]

[The next three lines are secret. They explains that unless this text is chanted, it is impossible to reach heaven]

466 *chaye wamaye pyerõ +++*

467 *chaye wamaye lhurõ +++*

468 *pũhda jhõnn +++*

469 *nhãsõ wamaye padõra khaiju tamiaba?*
What happened next?

470 *tagrã hogrã de tano primai kohla hyularõ*
A fight began in Kohla Hyula

471 *põhgi kaigide tanõ primai kohlai hyhular*
An argument began in Kohla Hyula

472 *negai chhaide tanõ primai kohlai hyular*
That fight got worse in Kohla Hyula

473 *põmrõ hachuye tohwaji põhgi chhaimaiba*
The argument reached Põmrõ Hachu

474 *chigreñ whamaye tohwaji põhgi chhaimaiba*
The argument reached Chigreñ

475 *chõmrõ khuñidoye tohwaji põhgi chhaimaiba*
The argument reached Chõmrõ

476 *krapu kohñgarai tohwaji põhgi chhaimaiba*
The argument reached Krapu

477 *ta naudi nghidkuye tohwaji põhgi chhaimai ba*
The argument reached above Naudi Nghidku

478 *rabarõ lelkhuye tohwaji põhgi chhaimai ba*
The argument reached above Rabarõ Lelkhu

479 *chharga sõmade chhomaiba hyulai mhimaiji*
People all over the Hyula knew of the argument

480 *põhda kaidade tano primai ba*
The argument continued

481 *khaiju whamade tsiga negai tamaiba?*
Why did this fight happen?

482 *khaiju whamade tsiga chhaigai tamaiba?*
Why did this argument happen?

483 *kyalbo whamaye rujumi mha aa khoibago*
Kyalbo did not understand

484 *kyalbo whamaye rujuji kõichhyã aalabago*
Kyalbo did not care

485 *sermã sõmade syoji chamaiba kyalbo ruji*
Kyalbo took the taxes and ate them

486 *khwaye whamaye nhõrõmi theñlo mhaibago*
He wanted to put everyone under his feet
[i.e. dominate them]

487 *chabai saimaiye ruju tahñmaiba*
The headman selected the best food

488 *thuñbai whamye kyu ruju tahñmaiba*
The chieftain selected the best water

489 *nhasõ whamaye padõra kyalbo rujumi*
Next day, Kyalbo chieftain

490 *tiryai tano primai kyalbo rujumi*
Kyalbo was alone

491 *miryai tano primai hyulai mhimaimi*
Separate from the people of the area

492 *mhainhobaye padõra kyalbo rujumi*
At midnight, Kyalbo chieftain

493 *Parawa mharawa kiside plena de pleñ yamai kyalbo rujumi*
He took his family and left

494 *tiro, nghiro, sõro, pliro, ngaro roli kyalboye parawa mhachyõ mai*
First, second, third, fourth and fifth of Kyalbo's family[39]

495 *syaphre tõhlode khãnõ prĩmai tohngai mhimai mi*
Villagers looked to the east, west, south and north

496 *nhuphre tõhlode khãnõ prĩmai tohngai mhimai mi*
Villagers looked to the east, west, south and north

497 *lõdohre tõhlode khãnõprĩmai tohngai mhimai mi*
Villagers looked to the south

498 *chyõhphre tõhlode khãnõprĩmai tohngai mhimai mi*
Villagers looked to the north

499 *chhyopliye nhõsõwaje klyemai nhechyõmai*
They looked in all four directions for the Klye family

[37] Other male and female ancestors from the place of creation.
[38] A part of 'heaven'.
[39] This means they disappeared and were not seen for this number of days.

500 *ma khuiñdõ whamaye tohrõmi klyeri syamaiba*
They caught the Klye in Khudo

501 *klye whamaye pahlride chonõ primai ba*
[The Klye] had broken his leg

502 *klyeju whamaye puhmaimi syara chohnimai*
The Klye's family went east

503 *klyenilamriye chahmai mi syara chunimai*
His sons went east

504 *kaasi whamaye chahmi rimi lõji chu nimai*
The youngest daughter went south

505 *nhasõ rhaye padõra khaiju tamaiba?*
What happened next?

506 *syaje nhuje lõchhybai tiñhsarõ tamurhõ pũhya mi*
East, west and south, the Tamu people spread out

507 *Lẽmkõ rhõmaye pye seje pyedã klhyemai ba*
Chant the Lẽmkõ *pye*

508 *Lemakõ rhõmaye lhu seje lhudã klhyemaiba*
Chant the Lẽmkõ *lhu*

509 *Bundsa khedu* +++

Looking back — looking forward
Judith Pettigrew

The Kohla Project began with my conversation with Hom Bahādur Tamu that opened this chapter. How then do those who 'commissioned' the project evaluate it thirteen years later? In December 2005, I put this question to Yarjung, who replied:

> The Kohla Project was important, but because it was cut short we didn't really achieve very much. We identified our ancestor's villages and we found some material culture which originated from the north which helped provide proof of our northern origins. We dated some objects, but I do not think these were a good sample, and I think that the actual age of Kohla remains unknown. I am very excited that the numbers of houses at different villages listed in the *pye* make sense when calculations are done based on our contemporary population. This is fantastic and provides additional evidence for the historical accuracy of our oral texts. In the future, some of our young educated people will hopefully carry this work on. Nowadays no one is really interested in this research, people don't talk about it and they don't think about it. Maybe once our books are published they will become interested. I hope so. There are many Tamu-mai living in different parts of the world and I feel that we should be able to support such work ourselves. There is no reason why the Tamu-mai cannot raise funds for this research. They can, and I believe that to preserve our cultural heritage, they must.

Despite Yarjung's relatively modest evaluation of the impact of the project, I think that there are achievements that he has overlooked. The Kohla Project is an example of a successful multi-disciplinary collaboration between community activists, foreign and Nepali archaeologists, a social anthropologist and a linguistic anthropologist. Multi-agency and professional-activist collaborations along these lines are relatively rare and have not previously taken place in Nepal. The Kohla Project opened up new ways of working for local communities, archaeologists and anthropologists, and plotted a potential route for how ethnic communities might collaborate with government archaeologists in the study of their past.

The project has undoubtably made a unique contribution to the study of Tamu ethno-history as the detailed archaeological findings of this book clearly attest. It was at times difficult to define a clear role for ethnographic research and this was made more complex by the findings of oral history interviews which provided little or no significant data. Furthermore, there were tensions both in the fieldwork and in the production of the text, as the project was overwhelmingly archaeologically orientated, which at times diminished the more implicit achievements of ethnographic enquiry. Despite the high profile of the archaeology, however, anthropology was intrinsic to the development and success of the work as it was dependent on the networks, linkages, cultural understandings, insights and brokerage skills that developed out of in-depth and long-term ethnography.

Political insecurity as a result of the Maoist insurgency prevented planned research on the *pye* in different districts. The meeting of shamans in December 2002, however, provided an alternative which enabled the essential comparative work on *Lẽmkõ Pye* to be undertaken. Further work on the *pye*, and its associated cultural knowledge, remains an essential element of research on the Tamu past, and a documentary project on the *pye* is due to begin in 2009. As additional work is undertaken, the full extent of the resource becomes clearer and the depth of the contribution it can make to understanding the history of the Tamu-mai better appreciated. The work undertaken to date has an important role to play in reminding Tamu-mai, regardless of their clan affiliations, that their coalesence as an ethnic group is rooted in antiquity. As the *pye* illustrates, clan tensions and arguments are not new. However, the ongoing over-attention to the Hindu-authored genealogies and their impact has distracted attention from the longevity and depth of these alliances formed

in antiquity. Tamu-mai of *all* clans share a long history of collaboration, migration and co-existence. They have been together for a very long time, and there is much to celebrate in their shared past.

The involvement of linguistic anthropologist, Mark Turin, in the latter stages of the project highlighted the need for ethnolinguistic analysis, and this remains an important avenue for future exploration. The major publications arising out of the Kohla Project, this manuscript, and a planned anthropology-led book, should not be seen as the conclusion of the work but rather a catalyst for additional research. Furthermore, if Yarjung is correct, then publications such as these will continue to engage the Tamu community, thus increasing the possibility that further studies will be undertaken.

Grounding knowledge/walking land

Archaeological research and ethno-historical identity in central Nepal

Tracking knowledge down to ground — concerned with trail-based archaeology, journeys and histories, this is a volume of both 'firsts' and 'thick context'. At face-value it documents almost a decade of ground-breaking investigations within the Annapurna highlands of Nepal. Including survey recording of fort and settlement sites, from the outset the project's focus was the extraordinary ruins of *Kohla Sombre* — Kohla, The Three Villages — the ancestral settlement of the Tami-mai (Gurung) community, who hosted and instigated the fieldwork programme.

Ultimately, only a single season's excavation was conducted, before the project was cut short by the political insurgency within the country. It concluded with holding a great shamans' meeting in Pokhara in 2002, at which their historical 'oral texts' were presented. Narrating the long migration of the Tamu-mai into the region and down from a distant north, the present volume includes the full translation of one of these oral epics, the *Lẽmakõ Rõh Pye*.

The project represents a unique collaboration between archaeologists, anthropologists and a shaman. Including interviews with upland inhabitants, the volume encompasses the diverse voices of both its immediate participants and the local community. Fulsome in its presentation of the archaeological data and rich in ethnographic source-material, not only is this book crucial for Himalayan culture studies generally, but also relevant for any concerned with the construction and context of the past in the present, and the active forging of ethno-historical identities.

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Aside from widely publishing on the history of archaeology, Christopher Evans has, since 1990, been Executive Director of the University's Cambridge Archaeological Unit. Having directed local fieldwork campaigns for more than 25 years, he has also been responsible for other collaborative projects in Nepal, China and, most recently, Cape Verde.

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