

The Lost Paradise of the Tamang shaman *Origins and Fall*

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In 1988, Vishnu Tamba of Khani Gaon, a minstrel¹ living in a small Nepalese hamlet located in the heart of Mahabharata hills, sang a long story before an audience composed of five Tamang people and this writer. His recitation was the creation-story of the first shaman, Dunjur Bon, which incorporates his fall from heaven and his fight against Guru Pema, the first lama.² The shaman *bompo*, who claimed to have been the unique and the first master of the funeral ceremony, was finally defeated at the end of the song by his adversary. The song revealed the existence of three other characters: a hunter and two blacksmiths who are described as being the manufacturers of the first sacred vase, *bumpa*. At the origin of time, a huge fire which destroyed the forest was put out by a flow of milk issuing from the breasts of twelve goddesses.

Like many other stories recited by Tamang minstrels *tamba*, this song, although rhythmic and well structured, gave only fragments of an origin story in which I could detect two parallel themes, a story of origin and a song of marriage. But many links were missing, and it was impossible to reconstitute a complete sequence of events.³ For instance, I could not understand the relationship between the creation of the vase and the shaman's fall; the link between his fall and the outbreak of the forest fire, and why stories of marriage alliances on the one hand and, on the other, the first hunter and the first blacksmith, were narrated in parallel?

The recording of myths, tales and songs by the ethnologist is a hazardous task. Usually, we collect scraps of stories, truncated elements of what could be a single story, or remnants from the diminished memory of the poet, who, very frequently, has forgotten many of his words, because of the growth of literacy. Perhaps this song had been once transcribed into Devanāgarī script then hidden with other precious texts in the walls of the house. In spite of my great interest in the song, I forgot all about it until April 1998.

¹ I refer here to the *tamba*, a Tamang singer who plays several other roles among the Eastern Tamangs of Nepal. One of his main functions is to arrange the marriage ceremony and to propose riddles and present the people with riddles and enigmas, while beating his drum. See Steinmann 1987: 171-232; 1989: 127-146; 1995: 403-418; 2001.

² The transcription and the translation of the song are provided in appendix. I give my deepest thanks here to Charles Ramble and to Anthony Plowright, who corrected the English text.

³ The tradition of the singer Tamba was already disappearing when I arrived in the village in 1979. Bahadur Singh, a great *tamba*, still knew a great many songs and stories, but he was mainly occupied with his role of *talukdar* or tax collector. At that time, his two disciples had left agriculture to engage in portering work. Therefore, I became the main student of the *tamba* of Temal.

Then, when I was back in Temal, the Tamang village where I carried out most of my investigations about the *tamba*, I was given a text written in Tamang language transcribed in Devanāgarī script. It was a story that recounted the origin of the universe and of hunting. This new text suddenly threw light on the origin song of the *bompo*, sung ten years earlier by Vishnu Tamba. New links appeared between hunters, shamans and blacksmiths, and I detected a fundamental theme of the whole story which I had been unable to uncover from Vishnu Tamang's song ten years earlier. Such moments are particularly exciting and interesting in the course of an ethnological quest. Despite the fact that I could not obtain more data and verses from Vishnu Tamang, I believe I can present sufficient evidence to justify re-assembling Vishnu Tamba's song with the other separate and decontextualised text. The juxtaposition of Vishnu Tamba's verses with the manuscript reveals a new and basic source for the study of Tamang cosmology.

Although the styles and the rules of composition of the two sources are different, the mythico-historical framework appears to be the same: the song is delivered as an oratory contest between the bride's and the groom's parties during a marriage ceremony, but the substance of the song explains the shaman's ritual activity and reasons for his actual social status, his inferiority to the lama.

The written text is a story that may be recited by the shaman during house cleaning rituals, or, according to certain *bompo* informants, when they perform the « investiture by the vase » (*bumpa dhupsi*) of the neophyte shaman. In both song and manuscript, we are told how certain life-giving powers are transmitted to the shamans through the *bumpa* (*gyandap* in Tamang language).

*Vishnu Tamba's song,
the techniques of its composition and transmission*

Contrary to Bahadur Singh Tamba of Temal, a charismatic *tamba* who learnt his craft from his maternal uncle, the *asyang* (the wife-giver to his nephew), Vishnu Tamba had learnt to sing from his paternal grandfather, a *bompo*. He had wanted to be trained as a *tamba* by Bahadur Singh, but could not pay enough and returned home. Subsequently, Vishnu Tamba's apprenticeship to his grandfather imbued him with *bompo*'s origin myths. He knew very well the « song of the creation of the *bompo* » (*bompo sengbala wai*). There were no lamas in his village and Vishnu Tamba's roles were more varied than usual. He had, for instance, to play an important function in the funeral ceremonies.

The song I heard in 1988 was accompanied by the *tamba* on his drum (*dampu*). Later on, Vishnu Tamba showed me a transcription of the same song in an old copy-book, rolled together with a sample of the Hindu Legal Code, the *Muluki Ain*.⁴

The transcribed song was composed of fifteen titled and paginated sections. When we started the translation, I learned that Vishnu had « forgotten » the meaning of many words, and that any question I asked he

⁴ The 29 articles of the *Muluki Ain* are listed in: Regmi 1977, IX: 65-69.

would typically answer with another question. Consequently it took me several years before I could complete the translation with the help of my Tamang companions; I could not seek assistance from Bahadur Singh who was Vishnu Tamba's rival.

Tamba can be very possessive of their compositions, which they regard as personal property, and communication of a song has to be negotiated, usually with a *pūja* offering of rice, money and tobacco.

The different parts of the song

Three significant parts can be distinguished in this song:

First, a spatial and temporal frame, citing the actions of Dunjur Bon in ancient times. This period is described as *thungba*, the time which saw the appearance of the *la* gods, non created and spontaneously produced beings. The first action of Dunjur Bon was to make the dead dance and be obedient to him. The setting is the house, where the *bompo* usually perform their cure. The *bompo* is said to « repair » the house with incense, after it has been destroyed by hostile beings. A big quarrel bursts out between him and Guru Pema, who is painting a *thangka*. Reference is made to another ancient quarrel between the daughters of the king and the witches (*mamo*), which is resolved by Guru Pema. A fight occurs in the air: it is said that the shaman's repeated attempts to reach heaven and to metamorphose himself were thwarted by the lama. His subsequent fall to earth delineates a deep and final cut with the *thungba* time and space.

The second theme runs throughout the song: allusion is made to a contest of oratory between two parties, the *bompo* and the Guru Pema, speaking in turn. The *tamba* plays both roles, and a third brief impersonation of Guru Pema's servant called Jyokap sokap, which means « floor-cloth »! The *tamba* sings three voices, which contrasts with the ordinary two-voiced marriage songs.

The third part tells the story of the origin of the sacred vase, *bumpa sengkala wai*. It starts with the outbreak of a fire. Kiralbo Dorje (a hunter), intruded into the forest with his dogs, while Garab Khaiba Cyanse (a blacksmith), and Agri Khaiba Cyanse (a miner), start the process of smelting and forging the vase. The fire is put out by a river of milk flowing from twelve goddesses; two territories are thus delimited: the forest, the place of origin of hunting and metal-smelting, and an elsewhere, defined by implication, as the location of the goddesses' intervention with milk. A stark antagonism is set up between fire and milk. The blacksmiths' activity of casting the vase prompts the poet to allude to alliances between men (silver vases) and women (golden vases). The *tamba* told me one day that three different vases were needed during a life-cycle: one for the birth of a boy, the second for his initiation ceremony (*chewar*) and the third, for his death.

The unity of time and space in this song, its rich and expressive metaphors, with the *tamba* playing several roles at the same time, make for a theatrical play comprising three acts and fifteen scenes:

I – « The game of life and death, in the time of origin (*thungsa*) »

- 1) the *bompo* repairs the house with incense. The dead person is enslaved
- 2) The mountain Tsari, the mythico-historical place of the fight, is evoked

- 3) Presentation of the actors
- 4) The witnesses
- 5) Enunciation of the fighters' threats

II – « The battle and the *bompo*'s fall from heaven »

- 1) The confrontation between the two adversaries and the metamorphosis of the *bompo* into a bird
- 2) Interplay of natural elements: sun and light
- 3) Description of weapons (incense, *dorje dilbu*, painting)
- 4) Blinding of the *bompo*
- 5) The *bompo*'s fall into the nettles and the appearance of pollution

III – « Fabrication of the vase and rebirth of the *bompo* (*kesa*) »

- 1) Cryptic analogies (*tenbrel*) appearing with the death of Dunjur Bon
- 2) The forest: hunters and masters of the place
- 3) The flow of milk: antagonism between milk and fire
- 4) Casting of the *bumpa*
- 5) The *bumpa* as a metaphor of human alliances. Eulogy of the guru

Proceeding now to the sequence of events:

The song divides the *thungsa*, the place and time where the shamans moved earlier in company of the dead, and their rebirth, *kesa*. This last terrestrial territory is qualified as « disgusting » (*naiba*), full of nettles; it is the place where pollution (*dip*) appeared with the spurting of blood and flesh out of the body of the shaman. But before we go further with the analysis of the structure of this sequence, we must distinguish the song's archaic elements from Vishnu Tamba's modern improvisations.

Among the various styles of the *tamba*, who usually sing in competition with each other, Vishnu Tamba's song seemed to refer to an ancient cosmogonical layer in which the primal elements (sun, moon, rain, light) are personified and rendered through an amalgamation of subject and object, of which the *tamba*'s varied accents and intonations is the vector. Numerous voices come from the shaman flying in the air, the spectators' exclamations, the sound of Guru Pema's servant's music from below, and the chattering of the dead. Many of these sounds are represented through onomatopoeia, « *syarara, syururu* », « *harara, hururu* » or « *plototo* », as in the case of the « Tales of the Corpse » recounted by the dead talk. Another characteristic is the blurring of the referents' voices. The *tamba*'s style of oratory is more of a code than a literal narrative: the singer talks in a stage-whisper and alludes to « natural signs » (*tenbrel*) or auguries of events to come. The *tenbrel* is the proper mode of expression for the *tamba* who shows the secret links between his people and the world they inhabit. When, for instance, the *tamba* wants to explain how the elements are related to each other and how human beings must behave, he turns to this mode of reasoning through analogies:

Mother and child are the sign of flesh and blood; bird and tree are the sign of the teacher and the apprentice; clouds and heaven are the sign of fish and the river; the wooden cup and the wooden spoon are the sign of *suro-phuro*, people who can touch the same utensils in the house and who cannot marry one another.

The allusion to nettles in Vishnu Tamba's song, means in fact that after his fall to earth, « *bompo* will be linked to nettles as the sign of blood and death ». Through such a link, expressed in this myth of the *bompo*'s origins, we plunge into the subject of ritual prohibitions.

A second and more modern technique of delivery, or « alternating questions and answers » (*nyoiba*), is presented and interwoven with the archaic phrases recalling the beginning of time. Questions, asked throughout the song, articulate the progression of the story and lead ultimately to the singers' declaration of the rules for lawful alliances. As therapist, the *bompo*'s role is predicated by his secret links to nettles; in the same way, the laws of alliances are vested in the casting of the vase. Here, red copper stands metaphorically for gold and girls, and white iron for silver and boys. At the end of the song, it is the victory of one side over the other, assessed on the basis of the singers' skills and their ability to solve riddles, which is judged against the *bompo*'s theatrical, occult antics. While the *bompo* boasts and brags, Guru Pema's ripostes strike his adversary with superior Buddhist rhetoric. If we follow Vishnu Tamba's analogies explaining ritual prohibitions, upon the death of the shaman, we observe the advent of pollution (*dip*), the *bompo*'s rebirth (*kesa*) on earth and human procreation: henceforth, we have a clear separation between living beings and the dead, between *bompo* and lamas. The primaeval, non-oriented time of *thungsa*, identified by the *bompo*'s ability to fly, terminates with *kesa*, with his fall to earth and his dismemberment in the nettlebed. After this point, the *bumpa* may be cast from molten copper.

Archaic phrases of the first type of composition are related to non-oriented time and space, exactly like the shaman who used to « turn the exchanges towards himself », who wanted the dead to dance and foretell the future for his own needs. « The dead man was talking all the time, he said true things ». These words, permissible for the dead but forbidden to living beings, were possible in *thungsa* time, lacking of orientation; in the time of origins, there was no sense of what must be placed above or below, at the beginning or at the end, because living beings' voices were mixed together with those of the dead. In past times, one could reason only through hints and allusions. On the contrary, the second and modern kind of narrative, the interplay of contraries and oppositions, weaves an argument. The method is gradual and progressive. One cannot anticipate questions and answers because it is only the final logic of an oriented time and space which may allow life to be separated from death.

The caesura of time

The sign of time and space re-oriented towards death, is marked by an axis, the extraction of the *bompo*'s hair-lock (Nep. *tupi*, Tam. *krapi*, *lonbo*) outside his body. After people's death, it is now the lama who extracts the soul (*sembla bla*) from the hair-lock, having secured it with a thread and bound it to his sceptre; but the shamans, sitting on a mat and beating their drums, are used to sing about their hair-lock, synonymous with their soul or *bla*. This hair-lock, separated from the *bompo*'s head after his fall to earth, becomes a tangible and external sign of the separation between body and soul, between shamanic and lamaic conceptions of soul. Tamang *bompo* and clan priests (*labon*) say that the hair-lock is rooted and twisted under the mat where they sit; they refer indistinctly to the soul and to the hair-lock by the

term « *krap* » or « *lonbo* » when they enumerate the different parts of the body they bind (*bhanda garaon*) together, to fight and to protect themselves against demonic and external influences.

A second morphological sign of the oriented time is the milk flowing from the goddesses' breasts. It extinguishes the heat of the fire and allows the creation of the *bumpa*. Henceforth, the forge of the blacksmiths, fuelled with charcoal lit by a fire-stone is distinguished from the forest that is inhabited by *tse*n spirits and wild animals.

But the hunters' identity and their relationship to the shamans and to the blacksmiths is revealed only in the second manuscript discovered in Temal. We are able to discover in this story the real structure of the motifs in the Tamang cosmology and in the origin myth recited by the shaman.

Two orders of time and space: the question of substances

« In the time of the beginning of the world (*onma dangbo duyuri*), there was nothing on earth. Thanks to the vow (*thudam*) of a couple of non-created (*thungjim*) ancestors, Rikchen Sangbo and Mamwali Sangmo, two beings, *Yab* and *Yum* were born, the first on the right and east side and the second on the left and west side. They were the first living beings. Each one started to fly from East and West and they met in the middle, between heaven and earth. They got married and a great storm shook the earth. It started to rain throughout the universe. In these times, there was no ground. A great swirl took form in the waters and from the foam, Changni Buwa was created. This foam transformed itself into drops of water which rose into the sky, forming the clouds. Down below, the foam dried and formed snow and ice. Two gods appeared, Luni Karpo and Luni Gako. Luni Karpo carried a vase, *bumpa*, and Luni Gako a stone. From the contact between the vase and the stone, two flashes of light sparked in the heaven, coming from East and West. The eastern flash was called *nyjima* and the western flash *dawa*.

In the first times of the universe, there was no vegetation on earth.

(At this point there follows the story of the appearance of the first tree and of the eight categories of gods, *lasin devke*, at the roots).

In a temple (*gompo*) called Kiralbo *gompo*, there were three human beings, a miner, Agri Khaiba, a blacksmith, Garab Khaiba, and a hunter, Kiralbo Dorje Lama. Agri Khaiba and Garab Khaiba had two dogs, Hansuli and Pathuli, with bells around their necks. The hunters had obtained a bow and arrows from the roots of the indigo tree. One day, these three men went hunting with their dogs. They sent them up and down the forest, to drive wild animals out. The dogs barked and ran at full speed; the hunters went after them but they saw huge flames coming out of the forest. They were stricken with fear and could not approach the fire. Suddenly, the shaman Sele Hoikar Bon sprang out of it. He said to the hunters that the *tse*n gods were very angry at them because they had gone hunting in the forest without their authorisation. He held out to them a circular object through the flames, then he jumped back into the fire and disappeared. The three

men worried about what to do with the object. They turned towards the different gods of the four directions, North, South, East and West, but none of them could give an answer. So they decided to pray to Sele Hoikar Bon to show them what to do. The shaman took the object, and put it on a plate with grains of barley (*mone*). He discovered by divination that it was copper. Again, Sele Hoikar Bon told them that they first had to give it to Agri Khaiba. By pondering inwardly, Agri Khaiba discovered what to do with the piece of copper. He went eastward into the forest, to cut juniper trees and to make charcoal. To carry the charcoal, he also made a golden basket and brought the charcoal back home. His wife, Manchari Bomo, prepared some beer for the feast. Then, Agri Khaiba made a pair of bellows with a goatskin and set light to the charcoal. He melted the copper and tried to shape it with a hammer. Then he returned to the shaman and asked him what to do next.

Sele Bon told him to give the metal piece to Garab Khaiba. The latter took it and went westward into the forest. He collected some wood, and set light to it with the fire-stone. He too came back home with charcoal and made bellows with the golden and silver skins of animals, Changi Balang. He cast the metal and pondered to himself. Then, he conceived the idea to make a *bumpa*. With the forge and the metalpiece, he started to form the receptacle. To purify it, he offered some incense and introduced three kinds of branches in the mouth of the vase: white, purple and green (*Bauhinia variegata*). He pronounced some *mantra* to help the shamans and the lamas to use the *bumpa* thereafter, during the *rapne* ceremonies. And so the first *bumpa* was created ».

In this story, we learn that the *bumpa* is associated with the sun, the right and east side, and the fire-stone with the moon, the left and the west side. East is the source of the first form of the metal, while West is the place of its final transformation into a vase. We understand also that a fire was set because of the intrusion of hunters in the forest, and we can now retrace new links between the shaman as the first inhabitant of the fire, as the catcher of the sun rays and the owner of a burning substance which will become metal as a result of the blacksmiths' work. The blacksmiths are reaffirmed here as the first propagators of civilisation insofar as they shape the *bumpa*, a current metaphor for the human body.

Reading the themes of this story and of Vishnu Tamba's song together, let us now turn to the moment of the shaman's fall into the nettlebed. We understand that this moment introduces a partition of time into two orders, *thungsa* and *kesa*; it suggests the existence of a human territory first described as *naiba*, polluted by defilement (*dip*) due to birth and death in the house, and full of burning and stinging substances. The very shape of the human territory is defined through a sudden encounter between heaven and earth, abutting on the *bompo*'s crouching and crawling into the clump of stinging-nettles, after he has been blinded by the smoke of the lama's incense. Blood and flesh are taken out of his body because of this contact of heavenly substances (light, sun) with terrestrial ones (nettles, darkness). The shaman's metamorphosis into the birds *titihui* and *pyanguling* is the device which permits the establishment of this contact between heaven and earth at the cost of the *bompo*'s life. Being able to fly up and down, he is therefore at the

origin of the first conjunction between heaven and earth, between *thungsa*, the place of the sun, and *kesa*, the place of the nettles. Following A. Testart's morphological analysis of mythologies,⁵ we can call this type of conjunction « Conjunction number One ». It is characterised by the connection of two places (heaven and earth, sun and moon) through a same person or substance. The shaman's body, symbolised by two vertical axes, the sunrays and the hair-lock, previously linked the human body to the lost paradise of *thungsa*. This type of conjunction can be found in many other mythologies. In a well-known Indian myth, for example, the god Vishnu dives into the Ocean to bring the earth back to the surface. This kind of conjunction is also alluded to in the case of the primordial lake which shaped the Kathmandu Valley in Nepal: a lotus-tree grew on the surface of the lake, thus allowing a direct contact between the celestial place and the terrestrial waters. One should note here that the movement is reversed in the case of the shaman's body, which falls from heaven.

In opposition to this first type of conjunction, a « Conjunction number Two » may be defined. This second conjunction, illustrated in the manuscript, is a carnal and direct contact between two beings (Yab-Yum, Luni Karpo-Luni Gako) which get close to each other in order to create other living beings. These two beings share a common identity, although they can be opposed: in many mythologies, they are usually brother and sister, light and water, foam and clouds, or, as in our case, sun and moon.

In the Conjunction number One, homologies are derived from substances which are brought into contact: the shaman is a solar being, identical to the heat of the fire and to the burning of the nettles. Being himself a burning entity, full of the heat of the sun and of the power of the fire-stone from which he was created, when he falls on the nettles, the shaman is turned inside-out into his proper elements. The conjunction of like with like produces something unthinkable, unacceptable, exactly as in the case of incest between « equivalent » persons such as brother and sister. It leads to death or to an apocalypse. A burning being cannot touch another burning substance.

Let us recall here the numerous prohibitions which prevent menstruating women from coming into contact with the hearth or with the altar of the male clan gods. In many societies of hunters and gatherers, physical or visual contact with women is the cause of the men's loss of strength and luck. It is as if women's blood were identical to the quarry's blood and must be avoided on the grounds that it prevents the hunters from making contact

⁵ I rely here heavily on Alain Testart's comparative analysis of mythologies and beliefs; Testart has developed and systematised the idea of an incompatibility, among tribes of hunters and gatherers, between the woman during her menstruation and hunters, who deal with the blood of their quarry. Testart aims at establishing a general theory of prohibitions and avoidings; see Testart 1985 and 1986. Later, he defined his ideas about « antinomies » concerning blood and other substances, through an extensive analysis of myths and beliefs; see Testart 1991. I refer here particularly to the idea that social representations are structured: myths refer to different modalities of conjunction and separation between living beings and substances, a theme underlined in many cosmologies; cosmology being, according to Testart, « the intellectual act through which the world becomes thinkable » (*ibid.*: 121-130).

with game and destroys the hunt itself. This is precisely what this story tells us. The cold milk putting out the fire, constitutes a direct reference to the highly feared power inherent in the goddesses' « cold » milk and blood, and to their supposed ability to destroy men's hunting activities.

In sum, what is foremost in the Tamang's cosmological myth is a relation, the creation of a contact between two places, two substances, two beings, which also evokes an antagonism, a theoretical incompatibility. The complete set of oppositions now emerges with the last substance described in detail in the manuscript: the piece of burning and smelted metal which will become the vase (*bumpa*). This piece of metal is analogous to the fire-stone. Both come from the *thungsa* time and space and are correlated with fire. It is the first shaman who gives this piece of burning metal, a part of himself, to the blacksmiths who are going to cast it. From the *bumpa*, a strange alchemy will ensue, a result of the contact between fire and milk. Let us reason here *ad absurdum*:

If the milk of the goddesses had not put out the fire, everything would have been destroyed and life could never have happened on earth. Therefore, it is from the conjunction of antagonistic matters, milk and fire, which are also able to cancel out each other, that the *bumpa* comes. The *bumpa* is a blending of silver and gold (the skins of the animals), and of milk and fire, in the same way that the human body is the blend of these different substances associated respectively with the boy and the girl (the golden *bumpa* and the silver *bumpa*).

An important element to add here is the use of that recipient *bumpa*, one of the highest symbolic items, in ritual life. In the marriage ceremonies, one pours milk from the *bumpa*; in the funerary ritual it is water that is poured. If the shaman's hot blood poured on the nettles provokes his death, the women's blood (analogous to cold milk) poured on the altar of the clan gods provokes defilement, *dip*; similarly, any contact between stinging nettles and women in child-birth can provoke the child's death. This is why women refrain from eating nettles during pregnancy and after a child's birth.

We can now define a single kind of logic, a logic of conjunctions and antinomies which underlies the whole sequence of events and that we can formalise:

Let us call the nettles **P** (*polo*), the blood **K** (*ka*), the fire **M** (*me*), the milk **N** (*nye*) and the *bumpa* **B**. In the myth, we have a sequence of relations between **P** and **K**, and **N** and **M**:

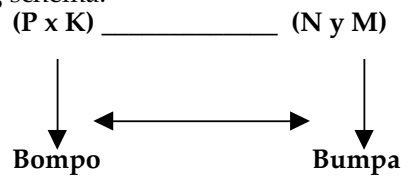
$$\{(\mathbf{P} \longleftrightarrow \mathbf{K}), (\mathbf{N} \longleftrightarrow \mathbf{M})\}$$

The comparison of these two relations shows the homology of **P** with **N** and of **K** with **M**.

If we put together these homologies, (nettles with milk, and blood with fire), **P** with **N** and **K** with **M**, and if we call *x* the property of **P** (**P** causes **K** to spurt forth) and *y* the property of **N** (**N** extinguishes **M**), then we have an isomorphism between « nettles which cause blood to spurt forth », and « milk which extinguishes the fire »:

$$\{(\mathbf{P} \times \mathbf{K}) \simeq (\mathbf{N} \times \mathbf{M})\}$$

In another way, we have the *bumpa*, **B**, which is a motif of convergence between the two opposed substances, as it is the smelting in fire of metal from the forest, together with milk, which allowed the creation after the fire has been extinguished. Milk is also poured from the *bumpa*. Therefore, if the *bumpa* is the emblem of the relation (N ----- M) and the shaman's body itself the emblem of the first relation (P ----- K), the whole situation may be summarised in the following schema:



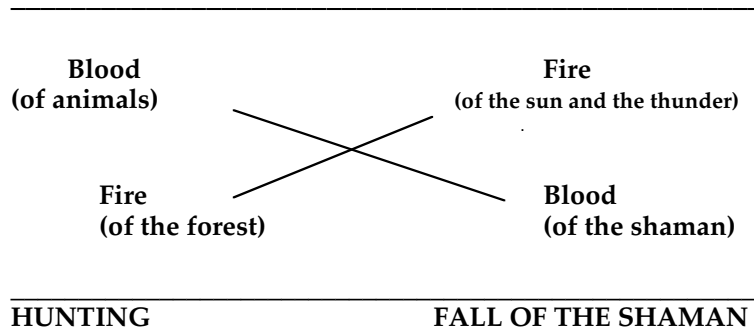
On the one hand, we have hunters who shed animals' blood, and *tsen* gods who set the fire; on the other hand, we have the action of the goddesses who put out the fire with their milk. But the song contains a similar story: the episode of Guru Pema who chastises the *bompo* and puts him to death. In view of the fact that the shaman falls from the sun, and bearing in mind the association between the shaman and the thunderstone, we would logically expect a great fire which would punish the death of the shaman. Instead of that, we find the shedding of his blood under the stinging nettles. Between Dunjur Bon and Guru Pema, we therefore have a situation exactly the reverse of the encounter between the hunters and the *tsen*, where the fact of shedding the blood of the animals provoked a fire in the forest.

We are, therefore, allowed to say that the fall of the shaman reverses the relation of blood to fire.

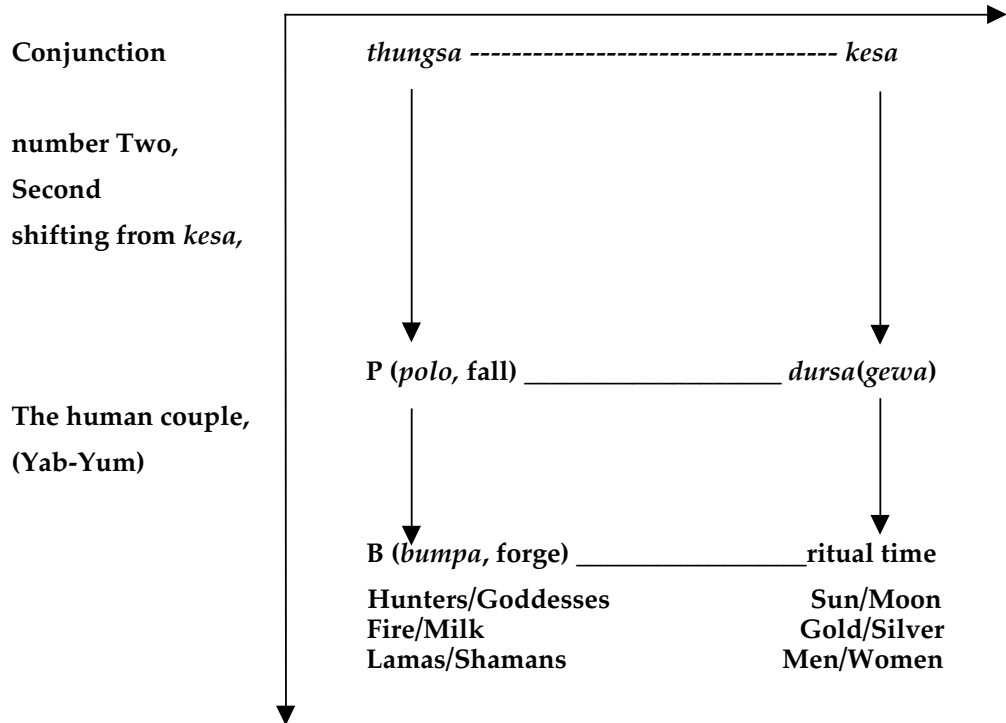
Moreover, if we remember that women in labour must refrain from eating nettles and that they must not approach the hearth when they bleed, we understand how analogous relations between shamans and women are woven through the inversion of these substances in the myth. The shaman is literally « possessed » by Guru Pema, before being recreated by him ; in the same way, we see an inversion of the time of the origins (*thungsa*), becoming the time of the creation (*kesa*).

We can represent these antinomies between identical substances and the inversion of time and space:

I - VICTORY OF GURU PEMA



II - INVERSION OF TIME AND SPACE
 Conjunction number One, first shifting from *thungsa*



In Vishnu Tamba's song, the shaman's pride causes his death but simultaneously allows his re-creation on earth. Shamans become tied to the lamas in the first shift (heaven to earth), and to the blacksmiths, in the second shift (forest to forge). Conjunction number One, (a shaman

connecting heaven to earth), is linked to a whole process of categorisation of substances and beings (gold-silver, moon-sun, light-darkness, purity-pollution, etc.), in opposed couples.

This conjunction of elements, which were separated in the origin myth has the consequence of creating a reverse mode of contact in the ritual, « a prohibition »: after the contact between heaven and earth thanks to the shaman's fall, it is no longer possible to touch certain things; exactly as death puts outside what was inside: blood and soul with respect to the body. Finally, we should add that the two shifts of time aim at a third and final one, the ultimate terrestrial death accompanied by the cremation ceremony of the corpse in the cemetery (*dursa*).

Thungsa —————→ *kesa* —————→ *dursa*

An oriented temporal schema, a shortened spatial frame: the proper space of the shamanic cure

The ancient master of the dead was dispossessed of his own sense of time on the Tsari mountain. The shaman can no longer forestall the time of his death. He is condemned to behave in a time and space which have been imposed on earth. The shaman is cut off from his roots which were anchored in the heaven. This process of fall and degradation underlies a structure which is prior to the apparition of the religious division between purity and pollution. Both women and shaman, sealed with blood, are subject to the same prohibitions because their blood, in contact with fire (hearth, forest) and nettles respectively, inappropriately evokes primordial time. It is a recurrent motive of symbolic thought to turn a natural process into a ritual interdiction through the theme of a separation (between substances or people). One of the functions of the ritual is to recall this necessity for the separation of dangerous substances, in order to allow people to live in harmony.

The order of the proper ritual space of the shaman is indicated at the very beginning of Vishnu Tamba's song, when he « repairs » the house. Similarly, when the *bompo* looks for the soul of his client, he builds up a spatial frame which is not defined by the ordinary laws of motion. As in the ancient myth, the *bompo* again jumps everywhere in search for his clients' souls. He can move from one place to another and gives the spirits names of colours (Seti Jyoho, *kalo graha*, « White Lord, black constellations »), qualities (« The Powerful one, the Kind and Benevolent one »), or forces linked to places in the body (« Lhamo of the heart, demons with cold feet and closed eyes, you who reign here and there »). The space described by the shaman who « repairs » the house is defined by forces pulling inside or outside. The shaman points at forces which fall from above or pull from below:

« Om, Guru Gom, come down, come down, Lhamo of the Earth, come up, come up! »

The space within which the shaman effects his cure is defined in terms of shaking, roaring and lightening. The spatial frame of the house is enlarged, while the shaman starts paradoxically to close it to external influences by the techniques of « ligatures » (*bhanda*) and « cleansing » (*sildap*). He then divides his body into pieces and offers these pieces in exchange for the

patient's soul. The mythical *thungsa* space and time and the shift to *kesa* are implicit in the dismemberment of the shaman's body and by the reversal of the laws of motion during the shamanic cure. Laws of cold and heat are also reversed when the shaman steps on burning ashes without feeling pain. By so doing, he shows the patient how to reintegrate himself into his experience of space, this space that has been « destroyed » (*nongba*) by the demonic beings.

Near heaven, the shaman is at large. What seems far away to everybody is close to him. Above and below are reversed as in dreams. The anxiety which presses on the back of the patient, the heart « tightened » at the sight of the demonic beings, are revealed in the shamanic dance. The shaman does not address an individual person, « Mister so-and-so », but a « destroyed space », dismantled life forces.

Conclusion: a second and final inversion, the space of modern therapeutics

In the month of April 1999, I met Shyangdan Bompo, the main shaman of Temal, and learnt from him that his favorite disciple, Maila, had died suddenly while he was dancing with other shamans⁶:

« He fell down all of a sudden, like that », he said, and he added pensively: « blood- pressure! »

The new nosology, developed in Nepal through the proliferation of health posts and the expansion of modern medicine, has spread among the people who have incorporated these modern diseases into their own local terminology. They say:

« Pressure *bhayo* » (high blood pressure), or « *gastric bhayo* » (stomach pains), where *bhayo* here means: « has occurred ».⁷

But to hear such a diagnosis from the *bompo* was quite surprising for me. He added:

« Since they have built the health post, all the villagers come to me; I have more clients than them [in the healthpost]. They [the doctors] cannot know.. ».

Blood pressure, in the *bompo*'s terms, is synonymous with « demons' pressure » which weighs heavily on the patients' backs. The myth of the shaman's fall helps us to understand the whole reverse process which again threatens the *bompo* through healthposts. Sick people are now cured by a doctor foreign to the village, a Brahman who does not speak the Tamang language and who ignores people's way of life. The *bompo* lives in the centre of the village as much as the doctor lives at its frontiers.

As far as therapeutic techniques are concerned, injections are in great favour among the people. In the *bompo*'s view, « injections » are associated with spurting of blood, provoked in the myth by the stinging nettles. This kind of therapy bears a bitter taste for him. Therefore, in the *bompo*'s words, Maila's death by « blood pressure » was the sign of the return of the myth into history rather than the effect of an excess of tobacco or fat. The shaman redefines the emotional forces which assail his client in terms of « space

⁶ See also Steinmann 2001: Third Part.

⁷ See Stacy Leigh Pigg 1989: 16-23.

within » that he repairs and that cannot be touched by « injections ». *Bompo* never experienced any confusion between external and internal forces. « Blood pressure » in this case signified the interplay of the antagonist forces of the « blood within » and the « blood outside ».

If the shaman armed with his myth knows how to recognise mens' real enemies, one may hope that, if the shaman's territory happens to be destroyed, it will never be seized.

*The song of Vishnu Tamba, from Kanigaon (Nepal)*⁸

Section 1

| | |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Ḍamphu chāla gherori</i> | On the circled skin of my drum |
| <i>Jambuling se:ro pherorim</i> | All around Jambuling, I am going all around |
| <i>Dunjur Bonsem dim kyonba</i> | Dunjur Bon repairs the house (with incense) |
| <i>Naba neba dim kyonba</i> | For the patient, he repairs the house |
| <i>Siba Chendela gewa laba</i> | For the dead Chende, he celebrates the funerals (gewa) |
| <i>Dunjur Bonla Chende siba</i> | Dunjur Bon's dead man |
| <i>Chyo:ba bimam chyo:ba bima</i> | Does everything Dunjur Bon tells him to do |
| <i>Achyo:ba bimam, achyo:bim</i> | He says « achyo », « achyo », |
| <i>Satyām sada tam pangba</i> | The dead man can say the very truth, |
| <i>Satan plototo bi-ciba</i> | He speaks all the time, |
| <i>Dinima kudi:si di:si ciba</i> | Today, he stays mute, sitting in silence |
| <i>Chendese khorkhana achyoini</i> | Chende cannot eat anymore with the group (of parents) |
| <i>Dunjur Bonse anyoini</i> | Dunjur Bon can no more ask him any questions, |
| <i>Gyoilam Dunjur Bonmi</i> | About Dunjur Bon of past times |
| <i>Ngala nga deng deng lasimam</i> | I have beaten « deng deng » on my drum, |
| <i>Dunjur Bonse na salmam</i> | Dunjur Bon made some noise through his nose |
| <i>Achyo temprel prasalmam</i> | He made the sign « achyo », according to his custom, |
| <i>Senior chyoiba dunbose</i> | Guest, take and eat this delicious food! |

Section 2

| | |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Tsari Gangla gompose</i> | The temple of Tsari Gang |
| <i>Sangge Guru Pemase</i> | The Sangge Guru Pema, |
| <i>Simal mendo char chorjim</i> | The flower of the silk cotton tree blossomed again |
| <i>Dorje dilphula ce: hende</i> | With the tip of his sceptre |

⁸ I give here all my thanks to Martine Mazaudon who gave me a copy of her Tamang Dictionary (to appear); it helped me to correct the transcription and the tones of the Tamang vocabulary of the *tamba*'s song. See Mazaudon 1998.

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| <i>Sanggese Chendela rolpinjim</i> | The Sangge has turned Chende into a dead man |
| <i>Sangge Guru Pemada</i> | For the Sangge Guru Pema |
| <i>Hātpal kho:imam</i> | (Bring) the scale for weighing (the answer) |
| <i>Theda nyoimam</i> | So he was asked (for that) |
| <i>Sangge Guru Pemase</i> | The Sangge Guru Pema (answers): |
| <i>Bhoima Chinna ngai hina</i> | I am from Tibet, in China, I am from there, |
| <i>Awari then dawari</i> | Yesterday and the day before, |
| <i>Ti:la dangbo ngawari</i> | Before, a long time ago, |
| <i>Wārīla labhu chyoi khaba</i> | One ate the radishes from the garden |
| <i>Bayul meda doikhaba</i> | One put heavy loads on the Newars' bull |
| <i>Dunjur Bon rang jyojyose</i> | Like Dunjur Bon, our brother, |
| <i>Jyokap sokapa da:bada</i> | To the servant (of Guru Pema), |
| <i>Tila bisa nyoi khaba</i> | Which question are you going to ask? |
| <i>Tilta ngada nyoi khaba</i> | Which question are you going to ask me? |
| Section 3 | |
| <i>Glelam rāni bhanrimi</i> | In the forest of the queen, |
| <i>Marmar Gyagar danrimi</i> | Down down, to India (Gyagar country) |
| <i>Sangge Guru Pemasem</i> | The Sangge Guru Pema (said) |
| <i>Gangsalmo then Chisalmo</i> | Gangsalmo and Chisalmo (the daughters of king Darsing) |
| <i>Otari bren laji ngai</i> | I put an end to such a big quarrel |
| <i>Mamo bren laji ngai</i> | I put an end to the quarrel of the mamo |
| <i>Theb hogri phyā: laji ngai</i> | Down the slope of the hill, I erected a banner |
| <i>Maṭhu Kaiṭāpa ta: laji ngai</i> | I have vanquished the demon Madhu Kaidap |
| <i>Lapci Chyukar sengjyo ngai</i> | I have built up Lapchi Chyukar |
| <i>Tsari Gang Uisamyē sengjyo ngai</i> | I have built the gompo Uisamyē in Tsari Gang (sic) |
| <i>Lapci Chyukar sengjyo ngai</i> | I have built up Lapchi Chyukar |
| <i>Bumpa Kasyor sengjyo ngai</i> | I have built the Bumpa Kasyor (stūpa of Jarung Kasyor), |
| <i>Dunjur Bonna Chendemi</i> | Dunjur Bon, this dead man Chende, |
| <i>Sat mubajim tama pangba</i> | He could make him tell right things |
| <i>Dunjur Bonna janmari</i> | Dunjur Bon (could make him) born again |
| <i>Jamman biman tabari</i> | He happened to make many promises (that he did not keep) |
| <i>Bumpa Kasyor sengjyo ngai</i> | I have built the Bumpa Kasyor |
| <i>Tam pangba Chende sa:ji ngai</i> | I have this Chende who talks to fall down, |
| <i>Manesyor then ringgala</i> | By the mane chorten and the ringga (five Buddhas) |
| <i>Dilphu dorjese chisalmam</i> | I have turned the dorje dilphu (against Dunjur Bon) |

Section 4

Calpal tala yang ngala

*Sangge Guru Pemase
Cari cungba hur sungba
Gyoila Dunjur Bonsemi*

*Sangge Guru Pemada
Tamang wai Bhoila yul thim*

Simal mendo char chorjim

Bompo lama sobala thim

*Akhamla mlet-ba ngala thim
Pipal su:si siltala*

Bar su:si siltala

*Dunjur Bonle rang sing da
Khala mise tila la?
Cari cungmam hur sungmam
Sangge Guru Pemase
Thangku rangse chomami
« Dunjur Bon Ho jyojyo!»*

*La:man bompo somami
Phyangba cari chep do:la*

We are all gathered there, talking together,
The Sangge Guru Pema
Wants to catch the bird, so he says
(Listen) to the story of Dunjur Bon of ancient times
For the Sangge Guru Pema,
The Tamang songs (are) the custom of Tibet
The flower of the silk cotton tree blossomed
(This is) the rule of the bompo and the lama
I cannot forget my own rule
If we plant a Pipal tree, there will be some shadow
If we plant a Bar tree, there will be some shadow
I am like Dunjur Bon (myself)
What can this man do?
He said he wanted to catch the bird,
The Sangge Guru Pema
Was painting a thangka,
(Guru Pema has called): « Dunjur Bon, Ho, brother!»
There are a lot of bompo living (here)
The bird flies here and there, all the time.

Section 5

Dongi namgi phep do:la

*Phyangba cari chepsami
Dungi namgiri phepsami
Carila kamei dongla nei*

La:man manba lala ngai

Bompo manba lala ngai

Jinda sudhār lala ngai

*Jambuling sambhār lala ngai
Gyoila Dunjur Bonsemi*

*Sangge Guru Pemada
Simburi mlacin cala bisi*

Jambuling hinsam tala bisi

We must reach the heaven (says the bird)
While flying here and there,
While trying to reach paradise,
The work of the bird is (the fruit) of the tree
I can do myself a lot of work (the bompo thinks)
The bompo thinks that he can do everything
I can improve human beings (Guru Pema says)
I am taking care of Jambuling!
(Listen) to the story of the ancient Dunjur Bon,
For the Sangge Guru Pema
He said he wanted to offer some raw rice to Swayambhu
And Jambuling would exist, he said,

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| <i>Lamala bubsyol bompola nga</i> | The cymbals of the lama, the drum of the bompo |
| <i>Dungi namgi phepla nga</i> | I shall go to the heavenly paradise (says the bompo) |
| <i>Dinila ce:ri phepla nga</i> <i>Gyoila Dunjur Bonsemi</i> | I shall go on the rays of the sun (Listen) to the story of Dunjur Bon of ancient times |
| <i>Sangge Guru Pemada</i> <i>Jambulingri lop hunsi</i> | For the Sangge Guru Pema In Jambuling, (the bompo) showed his greed |

Section 6

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| <i>Dunjur Bonda lop hunsi</i> <i>Simburi mlacin cala bisi</i> | Dunjur Bon is showing his greed <i>He</i> said he wanted to offer some raw rice to Swayambhu |
| <i>Dunjurda akās sahaḥān lasi</i> <i>Gwa:jim ke-o-le khala bisi</i> | To Dunjur the Guru has offered heaven « Go up there » (if you can), he said, (heaven is yours)! |
| <i>Simburi mlacin cala bisi</i> | He said he wanted to offer some raw rice to Swayambhu |
| <i>Jambuling akās tala bisi</i> | Jambuling, the heaven, are yours, he said, |
| <i>Irse en-de dahineri</i> <i>Irse phamo debreri</i> <i>Cāndra sūrje ngala ngori</i> <i>Dunjur gyamse pati la sasi</i> <i>Ṭīṭhari kang ngansi</i> | Towards the right side, it's yours Towards the left side, it's yours The moon, the sun on my forehead They stand in the way of Dunjur He got the legs of the water-bird (? Parra jacana) |
| <i>Pyangguling byap ngansi</i> | He got the wings of the « red-vented bulbul » |
| <i>Bar can sapci thansimam</i> | The seat of the god tsan (tib.) in the middle |
| <i>Ogla lu sapci thansimam</i> <i>Salām sapci Lhamoda</i> <i>Sanggo sanggo lasimam</i> <i>Satbu khasi Lhamoda</i> <i>Satbu khasi Dolmoda</i> <i>Sanggo sanggo lasimam</i> | The seat of the god klu (tib.) below The seat of Lhamo on earth, I have let the purifying smoke spread, I have killed a goat for Lhamo I have killed a goat for Dolmo I have offered some purifying smoke, let it be dispersed |

Section 7

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| <i>Namgai Nyima Lhamoda</i> <i>Syarla Dorje Sembada</i> <i>Lola Renjen Jyungneda</i> <i>Nup Nawathayada</i> <i>Jyang Doyon Dukpada</i> <i>Uila Nambar Nangjeda</i> <i>Sanggo sanggo lasimam</i> | To Lhamo of the sun in the sky To Dorje Semba of the East To Renjen Jyungne of the South To Nawathaya of the West To Doyon Dukpa of the North To Nambar Nangje of the Centre I have offered purifying smoke, let it be dispersed |
| <i>Ṣri Kandase sangsimam</i> | I have offered purifying smoke of the Ṣri Kanda |

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| <i>Sunpāti Bhairungse sangsimam</i> | I have offered purifying smoke of rhododendron |
| <i>Daling syukpase sangsimam</i> | I have offered some incense of the juniper tree |
| <i>Namgai Nyima Dawada</i> | To the Sun in the heaven, to the Moon |
| <i>Thakpa langmarse sangsimam</i> | I have offered the incense of Thakpa langmar |
| <i>Ngaccam « deng deng » lasimam</i> | Before that, I have played « deng deng » (on my drum) |
| <i>Ngaccam « dung dung » lasimam</i> | Before that, I have played « dung dung » (on my drum) |
| <i>Harara then hururu</i> | « Harara and hururu » |
| <i>Uigai chyo:ri phururu</i> | In the Centre, smoke was spread « phururu » |
| <i>Sapci mula kyururu</i> | Those (sitting) on the ground, (the people) « kyururu » |
| <i>Phurbam Dunjur Bonsemi</i> | By the sceptre of Dunjur Bon |
| <i>Sanggeda cya:bari mula kyururu</i> | Looking to the Sangge, (he makes) « khyururu » |
| <i>Sangge Guru Pemami</i> | To the Sangge Guru Pema |

Section 8

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| <i>Jambulingri muba Guru Pema</i> | Guru Pema is roaming around the world |
| <i>Jambulingri peteri</i> | In the centre of the world (Jambuling) |
| <i>Jyokap sokapa khla:ba</i> | He kept a servant (Jyokap sokap), to watch, |
| <i>Guru Pemase ci: cya:ba</i> | Guru Pema is looking after his servant |
| <i>Thangku chonse cho thanjim</i> | On the thangka, he draws with colours |
| <i>Jyokap sokapa rappase</i> | Guru Pema's servant is playing (music) |
| <i>Syu:go Sangge Remborche</i> | Please, sit down, Sangge Remborche |
| <i>Thangku chonse cho thanjim</i> | On the thangka, he draws with colours |
| <i>Phurba Dunjur Bonlami</i> | By (the power of his) ritual dagger, Dunjur Bon, |
| <i>Dongi ngamri domamji</i> | Went very near paradise |
| <i>Nyima hoisere cung damji</i> | And caught the sun's rays |
| <i>Jyokap sokapa rappase</i> | Guru Pema's servant is playing (music) |
| <i>Syarri cungba hur sungba</i> | To the East, he catches the light, so he says, |
| <i>Sangge Guru Pemase</i> | The Sangge Guru Pema |
| <i>Khaltiri muba Gugul dhup</i> | Kept some Gokul incense in his pocket |
| <i>Merim pharjim kaṣṭagi</i> | He threw it in the fire, by misfortune (for the bompo), |
| <i>Jambulingri peteri</i> | In the middle of the world (Jambuling) |
| <i>Se:gi taba Dunjur Bon</i> | Dunjur Bon is full of pride |
| <i>Darsing Gyalpola belāri</i> | At the time of king Darsing |

Section 9

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| <i>Lasem Ciprung syur do:jim</i> | The god does not let the bird (brown hill prinia?) escape |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|

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| <i>Thanba Yurung gyur do:ji</i> | He threatens him to be transformed into Yurung Bon ⁹ |
| <i>Dunjur Bonma hairān</i> | He has harassed Dunjur Bon |
| <i>Se:gi Dunjurka kahiran</i> | Tell us the story of Dunjur full of pride, |
| <i>Thanba Yurung Bonmale</i> | At the time of Yurung Bon |
| <i>Hara hara then huru huru</i> | « Hara hara » and « huru huru » (when flying) |
| <i>Syargai chyo:ri syarara</i> | Towards the East, I can go, «syarara » |
| <i>Logai chyo:ri harara</i> | Towards the South, I can go, «harara » |
| <i>Nupgai chyo:ri hururu</i> | Towards the West, I can go, «hururu » |
| <i>Jyanggai chyo:ri syruru</i> | Towards the North, I can go, «syururu » |
| <i>Uigai chyo:ri hururu</i> | Towards the Centre, I can go, |
| « hururu » | |
| <i>Harara then hururu bisimam</i> | Having made « harara and hururu » |
| <i>Se:gi laba Dunjur Bon</i> | Dunjur Bon is full of pride |
| <i>Thanba Yurung gyur do:ji</i> | He threatens him to be transformed into Yurung Bon |
| <i>Sinde cyop geri gyur do:ji</i> | He threatens him to be reborn as a ghost |
| <i>Nyalwa cyop geri gyur do:ji</i> | He threatens him to be reborn in hell |
| <i>Ciprung cari chyap do:ji</i> | Ciprung (the bird) had to be caught |

Section 10

| | |
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| <i>Nyalwa cyop geri bam do:ji</i> | He threatens him to be reborn in hell |
| <i>Bardola syang muila gyat</i> | The bell of the Bardo is a silver-work (I can do it) |
| <i>Tāmār syang runгла gyat</i> | The bell of copper is a work «to watch for» |
| <i>Ciprung cari syur do:ji</i> | (Guru Sangge) does not let the bird Ciprung escape |
| <i>Thanba Yurung gyur do:ji</i> | He threatens him to be transformed into Yurung Bon |
| <i>Thanba Yurung gyursimam</i> | Having threatened him to be transformed into Yurung Bon |
| <i>Mrapla killing khaī khajim</i> | Where is the key of the door (locked)? |
| <i>Sap chyo: lingri tai khajim</i> | On the earth, he fell full length |
| <i>Herung Gangla pīdharī</i> | In the middle of the seat of Herung Hill |
| <i>Jankhri kāṭh dongla brichyari</i> | On the biggest tree, the tree of the jhankri, |
| <i>Jankhri kāṭh dongri tai khamu</i> | The jhankri having fallen down into the tree, |
| <i>Syase ka:se chyar nijim</i> | His flesh was cut and his blood spurted out |
| <i>Milui hilui tha: nijim</i> | The body of this man has been cut up, |

⁹ The meaning being dubious, I am following here the suggestion of Anne Marie Blondeau: according to her, Yurung Bon could be an allusion to *g-yung drung Bon*, the « pure Bon », which was spread against the previous Bonpo, who were worshipping the *bdud* demons. Therefore, Dunjur Bon is threatened to be transformed into *g-yung drung Bon* by Guru Pema.

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| <i>Kha:rela pote khi:ba semi</i> | Whose necklace is that (around your neck)? |
| <i>Lasem Ciprung syurjim</i> | The god did not let the bird Ciprung escape |
| <i>Sangge Guru Pemala</i> | (The bird) of the Sangge Guru Pema, |
| <i>Grip sem krapi phyur nijim</i> | The obscured (defiled) mind-hair-lock fell off slowly |
| <i>Dumjala Mahadeu me hende</i> | By Mahadeu of the Dumja (cremation place on the riverside) |
| <i>Ralba taibam te rande</i> | Since this time, the hair-lock will fall off! |

Section 11

| | |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Thanba Yurung Bonmale</i> | At the time of Yurung Bon |
| <i>Gompo Kasyor sik pinbam</i> | Was given death at the Kasyor temple |
| <i>Sangge Guru Pemase</i> | The Sangge Guru Pema |
| <i>Jhankri kath dongbo lik pinbam</i> | Has shaken the tree of the jhankri |
| <i>Nyalwa cyop geri phrol tajim</i> | He fell down in hell |
| <i>Polo dongri ka: chyurjim</i> | The blood spurted on the nettlebed |
| <i>Guru Pemase bla hurjim</i> | Guru Pema (himself) was frightened |
| <i>Atha atha! bibajim</i> | « Atha, atha », (My god!) he shouted |
| <i>Singaro then poldongro</i> | (About) the chestnut tree and the nettles (or oak-tree) |
| <i>Bompose tenbrel seba ro</i> | One says that the bompo knows about their secrets, |
| <i>Gosaikuṇḍa gling ngamri</i> | Near the snow of Gosaikuṇḍa |
| <i>Gyoi tam danglo sem nangri</i> | Keep secret the formulas of ancient times |
| <i>Lungtam danglo sem nangri</i> | Keep secret in the mind the lama's words, |
| <i>Ti:la dangbo thungsari</i> | A long time ago, in the time of the origins, |
| <i>Pipal dongla silase</i> | The shadow of the Pipal tree, |
| <i>Bompo sengba tilase</i> | What is (the story) of the bompo's creation? |
| <i>Bompo thungba thungsal tam</i> | These are the words of the bompo's origins |
| <i>Bompo keba kesal tama</i> | The words of the bompo's rebirth |
| <i>Wari nangla sanggase-la</i> | In the field, the millet grows |

Section 12

| | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Hansuli then Pathuli</i> | Hansuli and Pathuli (the dogs) |
| <i>Pathuli biba khi:gi phyangmo</i> | The bound-one called Pathuli can fly (straight?) |
| <i>Hansuli biba korki phyangmo</i> | The one called Hansuli, with a leather strap, can fly (in a circle?) |
| <i>Kiralbo Dorjese borsimam</i> | Kiralbo Dorje has taken them (to hunt) |
| <i>Ciprung biba carada</i> | (He went hunting) the bird called Ciprung, |
| <i>Cara sikar klang nimam</i> | He went hunting the bird, |

| | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Nup then jyangla chamri mi</i> | To the West and to the North, in the heart, |
| <i>Dauram hurlam me lungba</i> | A huge fire with flames is set in the forest |
| <i>Raibar goja ke:bari</i> | One carries the knife on the side |
| <i>Gandi cungnila kyui khasai</i> | Even if the water of twelve rivers flow |
| <i>The-ma-le hurlam asaiba</i> | They cannot extinguish the flames |
| <i>Banko syauli asyauli</i> | The foliage of the trees does not exist anymore |
| <i>Khi:gi phyangmo nakhise</i> | The bound-dog flew (straight?) |
| <i>Torsul marsul tasimam</i> | He flew up, he flew down |
| <i>Sangge Agri Khaibase</i> | The Sangge Agri Khaiba |
| <i>Sangge Bandi Khaibase</i> | The Sangge Bandi Khaiba |
| <i>Hurlam saibari akhamba</i> | Cannot extinguish the fire |

Section 13

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Lamala danglo bompola thu</i> | The lama owns formulas, the bompo has magic power, |
| <i>Darsing Gyalpola jhame ku:</i> | The nine daughters of King Darsing |
| <i>Lhamo ku:la ne: dhāra ku:</i> | From the nine goddesses' breasts, nine springs of milk, |
| <i>Dauram mela hurlamri</i> | In the burning flames of a huge fire |
| <i>The-ma-le Lhamo ku:semi</i> | From these nine goddesses there, |
| <i>Dahinema paṭila ne: dhara ku:</i> | From their right side, nine springs of milk, |
| <i>Dharam ku:se se:jimu</i> | Nine springs went out, |
| <i>Choksen gompola mar bumpa</i> | The golden vase is like the axis ¹⁰ of the temple |
| <i>Gyanak yulla mui bumpa</i> | The silver vase of the Chinese country, |
| <i>Kyakar palo dong halo</i> | The yoke is made of kyakar wood (Euphorbiaceae) |
| <i>Jinba taji ngala pālo</i> | My turn is going to end, |
| <i>Mar bumpala min tila</i> | What is the name of the golden vase? |
| <i>Dongri ro:ba khalese</i> | On the tree the peaches grow, |
| <i>Sunggo jyojyo alese</i> | Elder brother, younger brother, please talk! |
| <i>Bumpa sengba tilase?</i> | What is necessary to make the vase? |
| <i>Gyango sagun nyango tam</i> | Prepare the beer offering, listen to me, |
| <i>Wari nangla sanggase</i> | In the field, the millet grows |
| <i>Pangge nana angase</i> | This was the elder sister, the younger sister's talk! |

Section 14

| | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| <i>Bhimphedi langur remba gyam</i> | I came from Bhimphedi, a very long way! |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|

¹⁰ Charles Ramble proposes to translate *Choksen gampo* as « *mchog-zung mgon-po* », « Excellent pair of protectors ». My tamang informant (a *tamba*) could not propose any translation. His commentaries suggested rather: Tib. *srog-shing*. The meaning remains unclear.

*Mra:wai singgise lengba tam
Nyansam yenam pangsem ngam*

The « Lion of Speech », has still to talk
If you want to hear to me, I'm going to talk!

*Kolmeda namthar se:ge kham
Lamala danglo bompola thu*

I can tell the history to the relatives!
The lama owns formulas, the bomo
has magic power,

Gyanak yulla gyanak ku:

From the country of China, nine
«Chinese» (clans)

Bumpala kesa pangge cu

I'm telling the story of the creation of
the vase

kesami Margi bumpa

And so, about the birth of the golden
vase,

*Dāuram hurlamse saimam
Garab Khaiba cyangsemi
Agri Khaiba cyangsemi
Bandi Khaiba cyansemi*

To extinguish the huge fire
Garab Khaiba (the skilful blacksmith)
Agri Khaiba (the skilful miner)
Bandi Khaiba (the skilful monk/
craftman?)

*Dāuram hurlamse saimam
Garab Khaibase khorbala
Garab Khaibase tha:bala
Agri Khaibase khorbala
Bandi Khaibase sengkala
Choksen gompola mar bumpa*

To extinguish the huge fire,
Garab Khaiba chisels (the copper)
Garab Khaiba cuts (the copper)
Agri Khaiba chisels (the copper)
Bandi Khaiba makes the vase
The golden vase is like the axis of the
temple

*Gyanak yulla mui bumpa
Lala jhame nana angala*

The silver vase of the Chinese country
Younger daughter of the god, elder and
younger sister

Haṭpal bāti koisi cya:ba

The scale (to weigh), the lamp to see if
the answer is adequate

*Bumpala tamgi nyoisi cya:ba
Mayna cari dhāundari*

I have asked a question about the vase
Both mynahs¹¹, close together (boy and
girl)

*Wari nangla sanggase
Nyango nana angase
Dongri ro:ba khalese
Sunggo jyojyo alese*

In the field the millet grows
Listen to me, elder sister, younger sister,
On the tree the peaches grow
Please talk, elder brother, younger
brother

*Darsing Gyalpola belāri
Bompo muba Dunjur Bon
Liccham thanba Yurung Bon*

At the time of King Darsing
There is the bompo Dunjur Bon
Then after, comes the time of Yurung
Bon

*Date, Sele Hoisere Bon
Dunjur Bonla belāri
Bompo ngacha areba
Gandi cungnila glagiri*

Now, there is the Bon Sele Hoisere
At the time of Dunjur Bon
Before that time, there was no Bon
To the place where the twelve rivers
meet

*Bumpa maibala lagiri
Sangge Kiralbo Dorjesem*

To find out the vase on the hillside
The Sangge Kiralbo Dorje (came)

¹¹ *Sturnus pagodarum* or « black headed starling ». I suggest rather « passerines », cf Steinmann: 2001, index.

Section 15

| | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Lamala danglo bompola thu</i> | The lama owns formulas, the bompola has magic power |
| <i>Chyoi lamala thegi chik hinsam</i> | If the books of the lama are right |
| <i>Mar bumpala min hinsam</i> | If « gold » is the name of the vase (she-vase) |
| <i>Mui bumpala min hinsam</i> | If « silver » is the name of the « vase » (he-vase) |
| <i>Gyanak yulla gyalpo ku:</i> | Nine kings of the Chinese country, |
| <i>Gyalpola kola Laibu</i> | The king's son is Laibu, |
| <i>Laibu then Chyoibu</i> | The son Laibu and (the daughter) Chyoibu, |
| <i>Śudham ta:ba bumpala kyui</i> | Pure water is poured from the vase |
| <i>Sayi bhuī sum Cophkat-la rui</i> | There are three earths and eighteen clans, |
| <i>Gyanak yulla mui bumpa</i> | The silver vase of the Chinese country |
| <i>Choksen gompola mar bumpa</i> | The golden vase is like the axis of the temple |
| <i>Nyankhor kolme curi thuba</i> | All the relatives and friends are gathered here, |
| <i>Nga joho asyang Remborche</i> | I am the venerable uncle Remborche, |
| <i>Ganba Khamsun Remborche</i> | The ancient Remborche of the three Worlds |
| <i>Jikten Tamchyoī Remborche</i> | The Remborche of [the book] of the « Customs of the world ». |

Glossary of the tamang terms (with terms borrowed from Nepali)¹²**Section 1**

| | |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| ³ <i>damp̄hu</i> | drum of the <i>tamba</i> |
| <i>chālā</i> (Nep.) | skin |
| <i>ghero</i> (Nep.) | circle, enclosure |
| ³ <i>se:ro</i> | syn. of <i>ghero</i> |
| ¹ <i>p̄hēp-pa</i> | to move, to go (<i>p̄hēp-pa ro</i> , indirect style) |
| ⁴ <i>d̄im</i> | house |
| ² <i>kyon-ba</i> | to repair (meaning here « to protect ») |
| ² <i>na-ba</i> | to be sick |
| ¹ <i>si-ba</i> | to die |
| ³ <i>gewa</i> | funeral ceremony |
| ¹ <i>la-ba</i> | to do |
| ² <i>chyo:ba</i> | to be sufficient, to be enough |

¹¹ I have marked four tones (1, 2, 3, 4), pointing out the highest tone until the lowest one. For an easier pronunciation of tamang words, I have made a difference between: d/t; b/p; g/k; c and ch are pronounced ts and tsh; I prefer to note « *jyojyo* », instead of ³*cjocjo*, « *bompo* » instead of ³*ponpo*, « *tamba* » instead of ¹*tampa*, etc.. (cf. M. Mazaudon, *Tamang Dictionary*). For the transcription of Nepali words, see Turner.

| | |
|--------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|
| ³ bi-ba | to tell |
| sada (Nep. sat) | good |
| satya (Nep.) | truth |
| ¹ satan | always |
| plototo | (onomatopoeia? « to speak all the time ») |
| ² ci-ba | to keep doing something |
| ² dini | today |
| ¹ ku- ¹ di:si ² ci-ba | to be quiet, sitting in silence |
| ¹ khor | group, clan (<i>khana</i> , Nep. food) « food of the clan » |
| ¹ chyoiba | to consume |
| ² nyoiba | to ask |
| gyoilam | ancient times |
| ¹ ngala | mine |
| ³ nga: | drum |
| ¹ na | nose |
| ¹ la-ba | to do |
| ¹ sal-ba | to blow through the nose, to clear throat |
| Bhairung pāti | <i>Juniperus recurva</i> |
| ⁴ pra-ba | to do usually, to know well |
| senor | delicious food? |
| ³ dunbo | guest, invited person |

Section 2

| | |
|----------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ³ gang | hill, mountain |
| ¹ sangge | the assembly of gods (<i>sangge-ri ni-ba</i> : to go to paradise) |
| simal (Nep.) | <i>Bombax</i> (silk cotton tree) |
| ³ mendo | flower (<i>mendo</i> ² <i>char-pa</i> : to blossom) |
| ² char | new |
| ¹ ce: | tip of a religious object |
| ⁴ dorje | sceptre of the lama |
| ³ hende | from, since |
| ⁴ ro | corpse, dead man |
| ¹ pin-ba | to give |
| hātpal | scale with one arm |
| ¹ kho:ba | to carry, to bring |
| -te ² (suff.) | until (and -te, suff. « like, the size of ») |
| ³ -te: (adv.) | precisely |
| Bhoi/Bhod | Tibet |
| Chinna | China |
| ³ hin-ba | to be |
| -then (suff.) | with |
| dawari (from <i>dawa</i>) | moon |
| ² ti | |
| :la | yesterday |
| ⁴ dangbo | remote past (¹ <i>onma</i> ⁴ <i>dangbo</i> ⁴ <i>dwi-ri mi</i>) |
| ⁴ ngawari | variant of <i>ngacha</i> , « before, ahead » |
| wari (Nep. Bārī) | field, garden |
| ² labhu | radish, turnip |
| ¹ chyoiba | to consume |

| | |
|------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|
| ¹ <i>kha-ba</i> | to come, to happen |
| <i>Bayul</i> | Ne |
| war country | |
| ⁴ <i>me</i> | ox, cow |
| ⁴ <i>doikhaba</i> | (⁴ <i>dod-i-khaba</i>), to load a beast, to charge |
| ³ <i>rang</i> | li |
| ke | |
| ³ <i>jyoyyo</i> | elder |
| ther | |
| ⁴ <i>da:ba</i> | servant |
| <i>Jy</i> | |
| <i>okap sokap</i> | name of the servant of Guru Pema |
| clear) | |
| ¹ <i>tila</i> or ¹ <i>tik-</i> | what? |

Section 3

| | |
|-------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|
| ⁴ <i>gle</i> | king |
| ¹ <i>mar</i> | down, downstream |
| <i>Gyagar</i> | I |
| ndia | |
| ³ <i>dan</i> | seat, support, throne |
| ¹ <i>ote:</i> | that big |
| ¹ <i>brén</i> | quarrel (?) |
| ¹ <i>the</i> (pron.) | he, she |
| ¹ <i>hog</i> (<i>ri</i>) | underneath, down |
| ² <i>phya:</i> | broom, banner, pole |
| <i>Maḍhu Kaiḍāp</i> | demons killed by Vishnu |
| <i>Lapche Chyukar</i> | a place on the mountain Lapchi Kang (Tib. Lapchi Chuwar) |
| ³ <i>seng-ba</i> | to build, to erect, to create |
| ³ <i>bumpa</i> | sacred vessel, vase |
| ¹ <i>mu-ba</i> | to be, to stay |
| ² <i>pang-ba</i> | to speak |
| ¹ <i>tam</i> | language |
| <i>janmanu</i> (Nep.) | to be born |
| ³ <i>jamman</i> (Nep. <i>jamma</i>) | a lot, all |
| ¹ <i>ta-ba</i> | to happen |
| ³ <i>sa:ba</i> | to cause to fall |
| ¹ <i>ringga</i> | the head-crown representing the five Buddhas |
| <i>chisal-ba</i> | to show, or to turn against |
| <i>chi-pa</i> (<i>chisai</i>) | to make new |

Section 4

| | |
|-----------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| ¹ <i>cal-pa</i> ² | to entertain relations with |
| ¹ <i>cung-ba</i> | to bind, to catch, to capture |
| ¹ <i>hur-pa</i> | to throw down |
| ¹ <i>sung-ba</i> | to say |

| | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|
| ³ <i>wai</i> | song |
| ⁴ <i>yul</i> | country |
| ⁴ <i>thim</i> | rule |
| ³ <i>so-ba</i> | to prepare, to make |
| ² <i>kham-ba</i> | to be able, to be healthy |
| ² <i>mlet-pa</i> | to forget |
| ³ <i>su:ba</i> | to plant |
| ² <i>sil</i> | shade |
| <i>Pipal and Bar</i> | <i>Ficus religiosa</i> and <i>Ficus bengalensis</i> |
| ³ <i>rangba, rangsing</i> | like, as |
| ² <i>khala</i> | who |
| ³ <i>mi</i> | man |
| <i>rang</i> (Nep.) | colour (Tam. <i>chon</i> , colour for <i>thangka</i> painting) |
| ² <i>cho-ba</i> (¹ <i>chon</i> ² <i>phor-ba</i>) | to paint |
| ³ <i>la:man</i> | many, much |
| ² <i>so-ba</i> | to live |
| ² <i>phyang-ba</i> | to fly (name <i>phyang-ba</i> : the bird flies) |
| ¹ <i>chep</i> ³ <i>do:la</i> | to go and return without staying, to pop somewhere |

section 5

| | |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ¹ <i>namgi</i> | space, heaven |
| ¹ <i>dongi</i> | heaven, paradise (<i>dongi dopta thi ngapta</i> , « I am the master of heaven and earth ») |
| ¹ <i>phep-pa</i> | to go, to leave |
| ¹ <i>do:la</i> | to need (to do something) |
| <i>kām</i> (Nep.) | work |
| ⁴ <i>dong</i> | tree |
| ⁴ <i>man-ba</i> | to occur to, to come to mind |
| <i>jinda sudhār</i> (Nep.) | <i>jindagi</i> : life, <i>sudhār</i> : improvement |
| <i>sambhār</i> (Nep.) | care, attention |
| ¹ <i>Simbu / Singkon</i> | Swayambunath (or Singkon) |
| ³ <i>m̄la</i> | uncooked rice (³ <i>m̄la</i> ² <i>cin</i> : flour of rice) |
| ¹ <i>ca-ba</i> | to eat |
| ⁴ <i>bubsyol</i> | large cymbals of the lama |
| ³ <i>tini</i> | sun |
| ³ <i>ce:</i> | footprint, track |
| ² <i>hun-pa</i> | to show |
| <i>lop</i> (from Nep. <i>lobh</i>) | greed, covetousness |

section 6

| | |
|------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>akās</i> (Nep.) | heaven |
| <i>sahajān</i> (Nep. <i>sahajānuu</i>) | to feel oneself at home |
| ³ <i>gwa:</i> | upper |
| ¹ <i>ke-o-de</i> (imperative only) | |
| or <i>ker</i> (<i>ker</i> ¹ <i>niu</i>) | « move out of the way! » |
| ¹ <i>khal</i> | discussion (¹ <i>khala-bisi</i> , « so he said ») |
| ² <i>ir-se</i> | this way, over there |
| <i>-en</i> (part.) | also, too |
| ¹ <i>phamo</i> | (from Nep. <i>Paṭi</i> : in the direction of)? |
| ³ <i>ngo</i> | forehead |

| | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| cāndra (Nep.) | relating to the moon |
| sūrye (Nep.) | sun |
| ⁴ gyam-se | in the way |
| pa ⇨ i (Nep.) | side, in the direction of |
| ² sa-pa | to accompany |
| ṭiṭihari | a kind of large water-bird (<i>Parra jacana?</i>) |
| ⁴ pyangguling | the red-vented bulbul (<i>Lanius bulbul</i>) |
| ³ byap | wing |
| ¹ ngan-pa | to borrow (with an obligation to give back) |
| can | god of the rocks (and trees, for the Tamang) |
| ¹ sap-pa | to become absorbed |
| ¹ than-pa | to put, to set |
| salām (Nep.) | greeting |
| ¹ sa | ground (<i>sapci</i> , « of the soil ») |
| ¹ sang-ba | to fumigate (imperative: <i>sang-go</i>) |
| ¹ sat-pa | to kill |
| khasi (Nep.) | castrated goat |

section 7

| | |
|----------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| ¹ syar-pa | to rise |
| ⁴ jyang | north |
| ¹ syar | east |
| ³ lo | south |
| ⁴ nup | west |
| ¹ ui | centre |
| Śri Kanda (Nep.) | incense of the sandal tree |
| Sunpāti (Nep.) | a kind of small-flowered rhododendron (<i>Anthropogon</i>) |
| bhairungpāti (Nep.) | <i>Juniperus recurva</i> |
| daling | spikenard (<i>Nardostachys jatamasi</i>) |
| ¹ syukpa | incense of juniper (the frame of the drum is made of juniper) |
| thakpa langmar | mythical tree |
| ⁴ ngacha | before, ahead |
| ³ chyo:ri | in the direction of |
| ¹ phurba | ritual dagger (Nep. <i>Kīla</i>) |
| ¹ cya:ba | to look, to examine |

section 8

| | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| ² pete | navel, umbilical cord |
| ¹ khla:ba | to abandon, to forget something |
| ⁴ ci:ba | to remember, to think |
| ³ rap-pa | to play music, to make noise |
| ³ syu:ba | to sit |
| ² ngam | near |
| ³ do-ka-ba | to arrive |
| ¹ cung-ba | to catch |
| ³ tam-pa | to select, to tip |
| ¹ or/orse | on that side |
| khalti (Nep.) | pocket |
| gokul dhup (Nep.) | a kind of plant, <i>Ailanthus grandis</i> |

| | |
|----------------------|-------------------------|
| ¹ me | fire |
| ¹ phar-ba | to put wood on the fire |
| kaṣṭagi (Nep.) | misfortune, trouble |
| ² se:ba | to know |
| ¹ ta-ba | to happen |
| belā (Nep.) | moment |

section 9

| | |
|-----------------------|------------------------------------------------------|
| ¹ la | god |
| ³ syur-pa | to escape |
| ¹ gyur-pa | to circumambulate, to turn round |
| hairān (Nep.) | tired, wearied |
| kahiran (Nep.) | story, talk |
| ² sinḍe | evil spirit of the dead, ghost |
| ¹ cyopgeri | (¹ cyop-pa, to damage, to bump, to dent) |
| ¹ ke-pa | to get formed, to be reborn |

section 10

| | |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ⁴ nyalwa | hell |
| ² chyap ¹ do:ji | to need to catch |
| ³ bam ¹ do:ji | shoulder blade, « to crawl » |
| ¹ bar- ⁴ do | intermediate time between death and rebirth |
| ¹ syang | flat ritual bell (of the Bonpo in Tibet) |
| ⁴ mui | silver |
| ⁴ gyat | work |
| tāmā (Nep.) | copper |
| ¹ rung-ba | to watch over something |
| ¹ kilīng, killi (Nep.) | key |
| ² mrāp | door |
| ² khaī | where? |
| ³ ling | length (of a s_ri) |
| ¹ tai-ba | to fall |
| pāḍhā (Nep.) | seat, throne |
| kāṭh (Nep.) | wood |
| ⁴ dong | tree |
| ¹ brichya | the biggest tree on a slope, the tree of the <i>jhankri</i> |
| ¹ sya | flesh |
| ² ka: | blood |
| ² chyar-ba | to be sharp, to cut |
| ³ mi | man |
| ³ lui | body |
| ² tha:ba | to cut |
| ¹ kha:re | neck |
| pote (Nep.) | necklace (given by the husband to his wife) |
| ² khi:ba | to tie up |
| ¹ kra | hair (¹ krāpui or ¹ krā-pon, « hair-lock ») |
| ¹ sem | heart, soul, mind (¹ sem ¹ ni-ba, « to like ») |
| ² grip or ² dip | shadow |
| ¹ phyur-ba | to fall off slowly, to be taken by the wind |

| | |
|---------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <i>Dumja</i> | a cremation place by the river-side |
| ³ <i>ralba</i> | tangled hair, hair-lock |
| ³ <i>rande</i> (syn. of <i>hende</i>) | since |
| <i>te</i> | like |

section 11

| | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ⁴ <i>sik pinba</i> | to give death (by cutting a tree) |
| ³ <i>lik-pa</i> | to shake |
| ² <i>phrol-ba</i> | to put into small pieces |
| ¹ <i>ta-ba</i> | to happen |
| ³ <i>bla</i> | soul |
| ¹ <i>hur-pa</i> | to throw down |
| ¹ <i>singkar</i> | species of chestnut (<i>Castanopsis tribuloides</i>) |
| ¹ <i>polo-dong</i> | nettles (or <i>poldong</i> , a kind of oak, <i>Lithocarpus spicata</i>) |
| <i>-ro</i> | one says (reported speech particle) |
| ² <i>se:ba</i> | to know |
| ⁴ <i>gling</i> | snow |
| ⁴ <i>danglo</i> | formulas of the lama |
| ⁴ <i>dangbo</i> | remote past |
| ³ <i>nangri</i> | inside |
| ³ <i>lung</i> | Buddhist teachings |
| ² <i>ti:la</i> | yesterday |
| ² <i>sil</i> | shadow |

section 12

| | |
|------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| ² <i>khi:ba</i> | to tighten |
| ³ <i>korki</i> | leather strap |
| ³ <i>bor-ba</i> | to take away |
| ² <i>sikar</i> (Nep. <i>ṣikār</i>) | hunting |
| ¹ <i>klang</i> | to play (<i>sikar klangba</i> , « to hunt ») |
| ¹ <i>cham</i> | retreat, seclusion |
| <i>dāuram</i> (Nep.) | firewood |
| <i>hur-hur</i> (Nep.) | with flames |
| ¹ <i>me</i> | fire |
| ² <i>lung-ba</i> | to burn |
| ² <i>rai</i> | rib |
| ³ <i>goja</i> | Nepalese knife |
| ⁴ <i>ke:ba-ri</i> | to lean on |
| ³ <i>gandi</i> (Nep.) | large river |
| ² <i>cungni</i> | twelve |
| ² <i>kyui</i> | water |
| ¹ <i>kha-ba</i> | to come |
| ³ <i>sai-ba</i> | to put off |
| <i>ban</i> (Nep.) | wood |
| ¹ <i>syauli</i> | foliage of trees |
| ¹ <i>nakhi</i> | dog |
| ¹ <i>tor</i> (<i>sul</i>) | up, upstream |
| ¹ <i>mar</i> | down, downstream |
| ² <i>kham-ba</i> | to be able to |

Section 13

| | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| ⁴ <i>thu</i> | magical power of the bompo |
| ² <i>ku:</i> | nine |
| ² <i>jhame</i> | daughter, young woman |
| ³ <i>ne:</i> | milk, breast |
| <i>dhāra</i> (Nep.) | spring of water |
| <i>dāhine pati</i> (Nep.) | to the right side |
| ¹ <i>se:ba</i> | to go |
| ⁴ <i>mui</i> | silver, silver jewellery |
| ⁴ <i>mar</i> | gold, gold jewellery |
| ⁴ <i>yul</i> | country |
| ³ <i>kyakar</i> | <i>Euphorbiaceae</i> |
| <i>halo</i> (Nep.) | yoke, plough |
| <i>pālo</i> (Nep.) | turn |
| ³ <i>jin-ba</i> | to finish, to complete |
| ¹ <i>min</i> | name |
| ² <i>ro:ba</i> | to come, to grow (for fruits) |
| ¹ <i>khale</i> | peach |
| ¹ <i>ale</i> | younger brother (term of address) |
| ³ <i>gyan-pa</i> | to prepare for a religious ceremony |
| <i>sagun</i> (Nep.) | offering of fermented liquor |
| ¹ <i>nyan-pa</i> | to listen, to pay attention |

section 14

| | |
|--------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| ³ <i>remba</i> | long |
| ⁴ <i>gyam</i> | path, road (<i>gyamse</i> , « in the way ») |
| ² <i>mra:wai</i> | peacock ¹³ |
| ² <i>mra:wai</i> ¹ <i>singgi</i> | <i>smra ba'i seng ge</i> (honorific title) |
| ¹ <i>leng-ba</i> | to be left over |
| ¹ <i>kolme</i> | circle of relatives (see <i>nyankhor</i>) |
| ² <i>namthar</i> | history, religious history |
| ² <i>cu</i> | this |
| ³ <i>cyang-pa</i> | to learn |
| ² <i>khor-ba</i> | to chisel |
| ² <i>tha:ba</i> | to cut (some metal or a carpet) |
| ² <i>koi-ba</i> | to be enough |
| ¹ <i>cya:ba</i> | to look |
| <i>dhāundari</i> (Nep. <i>dhaunu</i>) | to frequent, go in and out of |
| <i>belā</i> (Nep.) | moment |
| ¹ <i>liccha</i> | after |
| ¹ <i>date</i> | now |
| ⁴ <i>ngacha</i> | before (in time and space) |
| ⁴ <i>gla</i> | place |
| ⁴ <i>mai-ba</i> | to look for, to seek |
| ³ <i>la</i> | wooded hill side |

¹³ The tamang *tamba* always took the peacock (*mra:wai*) as his emblema; on the other hand, he takes the title of « Lion of Speech » (*sMra-ba'i seng-ge*, an epithet of Mañjuśrī, the patron divinity of Eloquence).

section 15

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| ¹ <i>chyo</i> | sacred book, religious book |
| ³ <i>hin-pa</i> | to be |
| ² <i>kola</i> | child, young of an animal |
| <i>śuddha</i> (Nep.) | clear, pure, chaste |
| ² <i>ta:ba</i> | to hold hands out, to receive |
| <i>bhuī</i> (Nep.) | ground, earth |
| ² <i>cophkat</i> | eighteen (clans) |
| ³ <i>rui</i> | clan (Nep. <i>thar</i>) |
| ¹ <i>nyankhor</i> | group of relatives and friends |
| ¹ <i>thu-ba</i> | to gather |
| ⁴ <i>ganba</i> | elder, old man |

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