

PUBLICATIONS OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM

*Ethnographical Series. Vol XI, Part I*

---

# THE LEPCHAS

*Culture and Religion of a Himalayan People*

PART I

by

HALFDAN SIIGER

NEPAL  
RESEARCH CENTER

THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF DENMARK

---

*Copenhagen 1967*



NATIONALMUSEETS SKRIFTER, ETNOGRAFISK RÆKKE, XI, I  
*The Publications of the National Museum, Ethnographical Series, Vol. XI, Part I*

---

From  
The Third Danish Expedition to Central Asia  
Sponsored by  
The Carlsberg Foundation

# THE LEPCHAS

*Culture and Religion of a Himalayan People*

PART I

Results of Anthropological Field Work in Sikkim,  
Kalimpong, and Git.

by  
HALFDAN SIIGER

THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF DENMARK

---

*Copenhagen 1967*

*The Carlsberg Foundation*  
*has generously contributed to the expenses of the*  
*production of the present volume*

PRINTED BY  
BJANCO LUNOS BOGTRYKKERI A/S  
COPENHAGEN

## CONTENTS

	Page
Preface .....	9-11
Foreword .....	13-14
Introduction.	
The Country of the Lepchas. The Race of the Lepchas. The Rendering of Lepcha Words and Names .....	15-16
Investigation of the Lepchas. A Brief Historical Survey .....	17-22
Lepcha Scriptures.	
Mainwaring's Information on Existing Lepcha Books and Scriptures. Grünwedel's Translations. Manuscripts Acquired by the Author .....	23-25
The History of the Lepchas. Selected Particulars .....	26-35
The Author's Field Work. Lepcha Informants .....	36-42
The Tingbung Area. The Locality Investigated .....	43-61
1. The Village of Tingbung .....	46-50
2. The Village of Payel .....	50-51
3. The Village of Kesong .....	52-55
4. The Village of Namprik .....	55-57
5. The Village of Nung .....	57-59
6. The Hamlet of Sangvo .....	59
7. The Village of Langku .....	59-61
Annual Ceremony of the Village of Tingbung (Text No. 1) .....	61-62
The Lepcha House .....	63-67
A Tingbung House. The Hearth Room. Household Goods Acquired in the Tingbung Area. The Altar Room. Acquired Rugs and Small Tables. The Ordinary Kalimpong House.	
Ceremonies when Building a House.	
Initial Precautions. The <i>mün</i> Decides the Place of the House. The <i>mün</i> Purifies the Place. The Carpenter Begins Work. The Carpenter's Prayer (Text No. 2). The <i>mün</i> Purifies the House Ceremonially. The Carpenter's Ceremony for the Protection of the House (Text No. 3). Annual Sacrifice of a Bull to <i>li rüm</i> , the House God. A <i>mung</i> Ritual Associated with the House (Text No. 4) .....	67-70
Clothes, Ornaments, etc. Acquired Articles of Clothing, etc. ....	70-75
Calendar. The Day. The Week. The Months. The Years .....	76-81
Agriculture. The Chief Crops. Rice. Maize. Millet. Wheat. Barley. Oranges. Bananas. Cardamom. Mushrooms. Bamboo. Potatoes. Yams. Garden Crops .....	82-85
Agricultural Routine. The Cycle of the Agricultural Year. Acquired Agricultural Implements. ....	86-88
Agricultural Ceremonies and Rituals. Initial Ceremony to <i>mung</i> (Text No. 5). Agriculture and the <i>mă yel rüm</i> . The <i>mă yel</i> Legend. Ceremonies to the <i>mă yel</i> Beings: 1. At Tingbung (Texts Nos. 6 and 7). 2. At Kalimpong (Texts Nos. 8 and 9) .....	89-93

	Page
Animal Husbandry. Oxen. Goats. Pigs. Fowls. Dogs. Cats. Ceremony to Zamola <i>rām</i> for the Domestic Animals (Text No. 10).....	94-95
Hunting and Fishing. Hunting and Trapping of Birds. Acquired Implements Used in Hunting and Trapping Birds. Acquired Implements Used in Hunting and Trapping Animals. Hunting Methods. Ceremonies and Omens Associated with Hunting: 1. At Tingbung (Text No. 11), 2. At Git. — Fishing. Acquired Fishing Implements. Prayer Associated with Fishing (Text No. 12). Poison Used in Hunting and Fishing.....	96-100
The Blacksmith and the Carpenter. I. The Blacksmith. The Blacksmith's Yearly Prayer to <i>sā hyor rām</i> (Text No. 13). The Retiring Blacksmith's Ceremony and Prayer in Favour of His Son (Text No. 14). — II. The Carpenter.....	101-102
Nutrition and Meals. Ancient and Present Diet. Daily, Seasonal, and Festive Meals. Drinks. Famines. Mealtime Prayers (Texts Nos. 15 and 16).....	103-106
Society. The Family. Inheritance. Parental Authority. Adoption.....	107-109
Family Ceremonies. Tingbung Ceremony to <i>pā dīm rām</i> (Text No. 17). Kalimpong Ceremony to <i>sā tsūk rām</i> (the Sun-God).....	110-111
Lineages. The Myth of the Creation of Mankind (The Tingbung Version). The <i>pū tsho</i> Institution. The Legend of the Origin of the Various <i>pū tsho</i> (The Kalimpong Version). Many Male and Female <i>pū tsho</i> are Associated with Various Localities in the Himalayas. Ceremonies of the <i>pū tsho</i> . Biannual Ceremony of the Tamsangmu <i>pū tsho</i> . Biannual Ceremony of the Female <i>pū tsho</i> . <i>pū tsho</i> Ceremonies Conducted by Lamas. The <i>pū tsho</i> and Society.....	112-117
Officials. The Mandal. The Muktair. The <i>gya pán</i> . The Youni. — Taxes. Crimes. Minor Crimes. Local Punishments. Murder. The Court of the Maharajah.....	118-120
<b>THE LIFE CYCLE.</b>	
The Child. Precautions during a Woman's Pregnancy. Childbirth. Midwives. The Placenta. The New-born Child. Ceremony for the New-born Child (Text No. 18).....	121-125
Personal Names. Many Persons are Known by Several Names. The Family Prefers to Use Kinship Terms. Nicknames. The Baby's First Name, Given by the Lamas. The Name Given to the Baby by Some Member of the Family. Later the Child Is Often Given a Nickname. Cover Names. Lists of Some Names Arranged according to their Meaning. Names of Men and Boys: 1. Names Indicating Physical Characteristics or Peculiarities, 2. Names Associated with Plants and Animals, 3. Names Associated with Implements, etc. 4. Names Associated with the Calendar, 5. Miscellaneous Names, 6. Tibetan Names. Examples of Nicknames. Cover Names. — Names of Women and Girls: 1. Names Indicating Physical Characteristics and Peculiarities, 2. Names Associated with Plants and Animals, 3. Names Associated with the Calendar, 4. Miscellaneous Names. Nicknames. Cover Names.....	126-130
Marriage. Marriage as a Social Institution. The Legend of the Origin of Marriage (the Kalimpong Version). Selection of Spouse. Age at Marriage. Types of Marriage. Widowers and Widows. Divorce.....	131-135
Wedding. Information from Kalimpong: Initial Steps. First Wedding Ceremony, the <i>pā nol</i> . Second Wedding Ceremony, the <i>a shek</i> . Third Wedding Ceremony.....	136-140
Wedding Prayer Recited at the Second Wedding Ceremony (the Tingbung Version) (Text No. 19).....	141-142
Illness. The Lepcha Fear of Diseases as Caused by the <i>mung</i> . Examples of Ceremonies Performed to the <i>mung</i> in order to Avert Diseases: 1. The Sacrifice of Seven Bulls (Kalimpong), 2. The Offering of Vegetables etc. and the Sacrifice of a Hen to the <i>mung</i> (Tingbung), 3. The Sacrifice of a Bull or a Cow (from Git) (Text No. 20), 4. Sacrifice	

of a Couple of Hens (from Tingbung), 5. Sacrifice of a Bull to Pantor (from Tingbung) (Text No. 21), 6. The Lamas and the <i>bong thing</i> or the <i>mün</i> Cooperate, the Lamas Offer a <i>lor ma</i> , the <i>bong thing</i> or the <i>mün</i> Sacrifices a Pig and a Hen. (From Tingbung) (Text No. 22). — Examples of Offerings to the Serpent God because of Diseases (from Kalimpong)	143-147
Medicines and Treatments. Preparations and Applications of Locally Prepared Medicines for Ordinary Wounds, Bites of Dogs, Swellings, Fever, Stomach-ache, Cough and Cold and Epilepsy, Dysentery and Diarrhoea, Eye Diseases and Smallpox . . . . .	148
Death and Funeral. The Red Sect Lamaism has Influenced the Funeral Customs. The Obsolete Custom of Burying the Dead in Graves. The Present Cremations. — Description of a Lepcha Funeral Ceremony at Singhik (east of the Tingbung area). Attended by Mr Tsering, and Conducted by the Lamas. The Arrangement of the Altar Room of the Family for the Ceremony. The Proceeding of the Ceremony. Subsequent Ceremonies. — The Exorcising of <i>mak nyóm mung</i> on the Third Day after a Death (from Kalimpong). Some Details Concerning the Ancient Funeral Customs. Examples of Stated Cases of Reincarnation of the Soul of the Dead. — The Use of Thread-Crosses and the Description of Some Acquired Thread-Crosses. . . . .	149-154
—————	
Amusements. Music, Dances, Songs, and Sports. Acquired Musical Instruments. — Short Notices on Songs and Dances: The Song of the Life of the Dry Rice. A Historical Battle Song. A War-Dance. A Song of the Marriage of Two Sikkim Rivers. Love-Songs. Chain-Dances. — Sports: Shooting Arrows at a Mark. Throwing Stones at a Mark . . . . .	155-157
Warfare. Now Obsolete. Ancient Preparations for Warfare. Acquired Specimens from Ancient Warfare. The Warrior's Ceremony before Departure on Warfare, His Offering and Prayer (Text No. 23). The Family's Ceremony and Prayer for Man on Warfare (Text No. 24). The Warrior's Ceremony on His Return and His Prayer (Text No. 25). — Accounts of War Incidents . . . . .	158-160
<b>PRIESTS AND PRIESTESSES</b>	
In General: Their Social Origin, Their Titles, and Historical Note on Their Origin.	
The <i>bong thing</i> . Vocation and Equipment. The Duties of the <i>bong thing</i> . The Annual <i>sá gi</i> Ceremony (Texts Nos. 26 and 27). A Ceremony for an Injured and Ill Male <i>mün</i> (Text No. 28).	
The Female <i>mün</i> . Particular Duties of a Female <i>mün</i> . Equipment of the Female <i>a nan mün</i> . "Black Magic". The Female <i>nyen jo mo</i> . Vocation, Duties, Equipment etc. An Acquired <i>nyen jo mo</i> Headgear. A <i>nyen jo mo</i> Dancing Ceremony . . . . .	161-171
—————	
Conception of the World. Tales of Creation and Origin. Four Versions . . . . .	172-176
The Jungle. Local Accounts of Dangerous Experiences in the Jungle, Attributed to the Evil Activities of the <i>mung</i> . Apotropaeic Vegetable Offerings and Pig Sacrifice to the Malignant Jungle <i>mung</i> , Called <i>läng ji mung</i> (Texts Nos. 29 and 30). A Pig Sacrifice to the Dangerous Jungle <i>mung</i> , Called <i>lyang rüm</i> . Sacrifice of a Billy-Goat to the Night <i>mung</i> , <i>a mik ká ta bo</i> . . . . .	177-181
The Application of the Distinctions between <i>a tsóng</i> (clear, clean) and <i>a jen</i> (unclear, unclean). Various Methods Used for Removing the State of <i>a jen</i> from Different Persons.	182-183

## GREAT RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES

The New Year Ceremony (from Kalimpong) 1. Ceremonies of the Last Day of the Old Year: 1. The Common Meal, 2. The Ceremonial Figure of the Old Year, 3. Purification of the Members of the Family, 4. The Casting Out of the Evil and the Old Year. 5. The

	Page
New Year Feast and the Vigil. II. New Year's Day. III. The Second Day of the New Year. IV. The Period from the Third to the Sixth Day of the New Year. V. The Seventh Day of the New Year .....	184-187
The Cherim Ceremonies (from Tingbung). The Local Cherim Sites. The Ceremony at the Cherim Place of Tingbung (Text No. 31). Another Cherim Ritual (Text No. 32) .....	187-190
The Great <i>kong chen</i> Ceremony of Tingbung. The Importance of <i>kong chen</i> to the Lepchas. The Priest of <i>kong chen</i> . The Ancient <i>kong chen</i> Cult Legend. The <i>kong chen</i> Priest's Altar Room and Altar. The Shrine <i>hla thu</i> with the two Groups of Ceremonial Stones. — The Individual Stages of the <i>kong chen</i> Ceremony: 1. The Initial Ceremony with the Presenting of the Sacrificial Yak in the Palace Grounds of the Maharajah. The Prayer to <i>kong chen</i> (Text No. 33). 2. The Yak Is Led in Procession from Gangtok to the <i>hla thu</i> Shrine. The Processional Hymn (Text No. 34). 3. The Nocturnal Ceremony in the Priest's Altar Room. The Priest's Prayer (Text No. 35). 4. The Sacrifice of the Yak at the <i>hla thu</i> Shrine. The Priest's First Prayer (Text No. 36). The Killing of the Yak and the Priest's Accompanying Prayer. A longer Version of this Prayer, as given by the <i>kong chen</i> Priest Himself (Text No. 37). A Shorter Version of the Same Prayer, as Given by One of the Ordinary Lepchas (Text No. 38). The Priest's Recital While Smearing the Yak's Blood on the Top of the Stones of the <i>hla thu</i> Shrine (Text No. 39). 5. The Common Meal on the Remainder of the Yak and the Priest's Final Prayer. 6. One or Two After-Ceremonies .....	190-201

#### LEGENDS AND STORIES

I. The Story of <i>gye bu</i> . From Singhik (Lepcha Version of the Kesar or Gesar Legend) .....	202-214
II. The Story of <i>ra zo pũ nũ</i> . From Singhik .....	214-218
III. The Story of Kathak Lokde <i>pũ nũ</i> . From Singhik .....	218-220
IV. The Story of <i>ryót kũp pũ nũ</i> . From Singhik .....	220-223
V. The Story of the Orphan Boy. From Tingbung .....	223-224
VI. The Story of <i>hlã bú pũ nũ</i> . From Singhik .....	225-227
VII. The Story of <i>dang bo pũ nũ</i> . From Singhik .....	227-229
VIII. The Story of <i>lãng dã pũ nũ</i> . From Singhik .....	230-234

---

Epilogue .....	235
Abbreviations .....	236
Addenda et Corrigenda .....	236
Bibliography .....	237-246
Index .....	247-251

#### ILLUSTRATIONS

Photographs of the Lepchas .....	Plates I-VII
Sketch-map of the <i>hla thu</i> Shrine .....	Plate VIII
Collected Items of Material Culture. Figs. 1-71 .....	Plates IX-XVII
(Sketch-map of the Tingbung Area, see page 45.)	



## PREFACE

With the gracious permission of his Majesty the late King Christian X of Denmark the Third Danish Expedition to Central Asia was placed immediately under his patronage with His Royal Highness Prince Axel of Denmark as president and with the late Danish explorer Henning Haslund-Christensen as leader.

This scientific mission was the third in a series of three expeditions, of which the previous ones went to Manchuria (1936-37) and to Mongolia (1938-39), with Henning Haslund-Christensen as the leader of both. During the years 1940-45 Haslund-Christensen lived in Copenhagen, planning the third expedition, the first team of which arrived in India in November 1947. It was later followed by other teams, but as it proved impossible to visit all the places envisaged by Haslund-Christensen, the Mission had to confine its work to the countries accessible, viz. Afghanistan, Pakistan, and India.

The Carlsberg Foundation granted the funds for the maintenance of the entire Expedition in the field. The East Asiatic Company provided free passage for the members of the Expedition, and many other private companies as well as individual Danes living at home and abroad supported the Expedition. The Danish Government met the expenses of the acquisition of collections.

The late Professor Kaare Grønbech acted as the head of the Expedition at home, supported by a board of scholars and scientists, of whom Dr Kaj Birket-Smith, Keeper of the Ethnographical Department of the National Museum, Copenhagen, was the representative of the ethnological section.

Any one familiar with field work will know to what an extent a successful result depends on conditions beyond one's own immediate control, conditions which range from governmental permissions, the granting of official facilities, and the benevolent interest of scientific institutions to individual help and advice. The final publication of such field work gives the field worker a welcome opportunity to thank all those who helped him in so many different ways. I hope that the following lines may be able to convey a little of the gratitude I feel for benefits readily conferred and assistance cheerfully given.

The greatest debt I owe undoubtedly to the Government of India, which approved the plans for my travels and studies, and to His Highness the Maharajah of Sikkim and to his Government that graciously granted me the necessary permission to stay and work among the Lepchas of Sikkim.

My warmest thanks go to Dr B. Patabhi Sitaramaya who let me benefit from his interest in anthropological field work, and I desire also to thank Professor Rao and his Department of the University of Delhi for advice and for the honour of inviting me to give an informal lecture to the staff of the Department. My thanks go also to the Anthropological Institute of the University of Calcutta and to its head, Professor K. P. Chattopadhyya for a similar honour and for the pains the latter took to make me familiar with anthropological field work in the

Indian countries. My best thanks are also due to Dr B. S. Guha for anthropometrical advice. When I was in Calcutta I had the opportunity of meeting Professor Giuseppe Tucci, whom I wish to thank for much good advice.

I am deeply indebted to Mr H. Dayal, Political Officer of Sikkim, Mr John S. Lall, Dewan of Sikkim, Mr Tashi Dadul Densapa Barmiak Kazi, Prime Minister of Sikkim, for help and advice unstintedly and wisely given. I wish also to thank Mr Tseten Tashi Rhenok Kazi, Secretary to the Maharajah, and Mr Tsering, Secretary to the Political Officer, for much practical assistance.

Mr David Macdonald of Kalimpong, well-known for his writings on Tibetan culture, went out of his way to help me, and generously placed his wide knowledge of local cultures at my disposal. I am also grateful to Fr Brahier for his hospitality and help during an excursion to the Lephas of Git, and my thanks go to Dr A. Craig, Head of the Church of Scotland Mission Hospital of Kalimpong, whose help greatly facilitated my anthropometrical work. I wish also to thank Mr K. Sprigg, M. A., whose companionship I enjoyed, and who so readily placed his expert knowledge at the disposal of the phonetician who contributed the parts on Lepcha phonetics to Part II of the present publication.

During my stay in Sikkim His Royal Highness Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark joined our Expedition as the leader of a section. When we later met in Kalimpong, Prince Peter took great interest in my work and helped me in a multitude of ways, for which I am very grateful.

I owe a special debt of gratitude to Mr Harry Tøyberg-Frandzen, the Danish Minister to the Government of India, to the Danish Consuls in India, and to many individual Danes for much help and kind hospitality.

As all field workers I have had to have the assistance of guides and interpreters, and I have been fortunate indeed in the experts who put their knowledge at my disposal in this way. Mr R. Rahul, M. A., who has accompanied so many mountaineering expeditions, joined me in New Delhi and went with me to Sikkim, where he for some months let me profit from his wide experience of travelling in the Himalayas. Mr Pollo Tsering Lepcha of Gangtok was my interpreter during most of my stay in Sikkim, and gave me so much help that I feel that almost everything in this publication concerning the Sikkimese Lepchas I owe to his never-failing co-operation. Mr Kharpoo Tamsang of Kalimpong and the late Mrs Mohan of Kalimpong, official representatives of the Lepchas, helped me in collecting material from the Kalimpong area. It will appear from the publication what I owe to them and to the other Lepchas who assisted me in various ways, but I wish here specifically to express my gratitude to them for the help they gave me.

The main part of this publication was written in my spare time during the years I was assistant-keeper at the National Museum of Denmark. This great institution, comprising so many interrelated subjects of study, forms an ideal research centre. It gives me great pleasure to express my gratitude for the help and co-operation I have received while being a member of its staff. I wish particularly to thank my former colleagues of the Ethnographical Department and its Keeper, Dr Kaj Birket-Smith. His exceptionally wide ethnological knowledge, his masterly handling of scholarly problems, and his personal and friendly advice and encouragement made it an inspiration to work under him.

Mrs Inger Aethon Dix, formerly illustrator to the National Museum, has added considerably to the value of the text by her clear and accurate illustrations, and I wish to thank her for the pains she took over them.

I owe also a debt of gratitude to the late Professor Kaare Grønbech, the former Head of the Department of Central Asian Philology and History, the University of Copenhagen, for allowing me to draw upon his expert knowledge in these fields and for his kind advice and unfailing support both while I travelled as a member of the Expedition, and when later I came to work up the material; and I wish to thank the members of his Department, and especially Mr Erik Haarh, M. A., Lecturer in the University of Copenhagen, who has placed his time and knowledge of Tibetan philology at my disposal. My best thanks go also to the staff of the Royal Library of Copenhagen, and particularly to the late Mr Leo Buschardt, M. A., Chief Librarian of the Oriental Department, and to his colleagues in the Department for the patient help they never failed to give me. I am also gratefully indebted to the State Library, Aarhus, and to the India Office Library, London, for many kind facilities.

As for my English, I am most grateful to those who have been kind enough to help me in that respect. Major C. L. Bayliss of the British Embassy, Copenhagen, has corrected the first draft of the manuscript, and many chapters have greatly benefitted from corrections and improvements suggested by my former colleague in the National Museum, Mr Hans Helbæk (Hon. D. Sc. Reading; Dr. phil. h. c. Lund). But my colleague in the University of Aarhus, the late Professor G. Hort, Ph. D. (Cantab.) has read the whole manuscript of Part I in detail. Thereupon Professor Hort spared no time and trouble in discussing problems of style and presentation with me in order to achieve the greatest possible degree of clarity. It has been a most strenuous task, for which I cannot adequately express my thanks. Consequently I had no scruples in accepting the kind offer of Mr Donald Hannah, M. A. (Nottm.), Reader, Dept. of English Studies, University of Aarhus, to proof-read the manuscript for me before it went to press. I wish to thank him for his kindness in doing so.

Quite apart from the above-mentioned circumstances nothing contributes more to the field worker's happy state of mind and capacity for work than a conscience not burdened with anxiety for the members of the family he has left behind. In that respect I have been singularly favoured by the way in which my wife cheerfully took all the family duties upon herself. And when on my return I had to lead the solitary life of a student for years bent over his manuscripts and books, her inspiring and friendly interest has been invaluable to me, just as has the practical support given me by her late uncle, Director Just Falbe-Hansen, Randers, and his late wife Mrs Cathrine Falbe-Hansen, for which I wish to record my gratitude.

I cannot finish these lines without recollecting with admiration our leader Henning Haslund-Christensen, whom an untimely death in Kabul, September 13th, 1948, prevented from seeing the results of his plans and efforts. As for his important contributions to Danish scientific expeditions I may be allowed to refer to what I once wrote about him, while I, for my own part, shall always feel grateful that I had the good fortune to work under so great a man<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> From the Third Danish Expedition to Central Asia. Ethnological Field-Research in Chitral, Sikkim, and Assam. Preliminary Report by Halfdan Siiger. (Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser udgivet af Det Kongelige Videnskabernes Selskab, Bind 36, no. 2, Kobenhavn 1956).



## FOREWORD

For practical reasons it has been found advisable to publish the results of my field work in three separate parts. Part I gives the description of the background necessary for an understanding of Lepcha society, i. e. a description of the natural environment of the Lepchas, some details of their history, and a short account of the most important books and articles so far published on their culture. The major part of it records, however, what I saw and heard during my stay in Sikkim, supplemented by details concerning the Lepchas of Kalimpong and Git.

A description like the one sketched above may be given in one of two ways: The author may either proceed in a strictly chronological way, relating what happened from day to day, or he may arrange his material according to subject and present it under special chapter headings. Each way has its own advantages and disadvantages. There can be no doubt that the former way allows the reader to feel the constantly changing situations of daily life, and so to speak makes him a companion of the investigator. Given an author with a natural gift for close-up descriptions the reader may gain so vivid an impression of what is going on that he may almost imagine himself present. But one may also put the emphasis on the culture as such, and try to present its component parts as details in a whole. The present author has decided on the latter way of presentation, as being more consonant with his training and his approach to the subject.

It should scarcely be necessary to draw attention to the fact that only few anthropologists have worked among the Lepchas, and that therefore many aspects of Lepcha culture still remain to be recorded. It is to be hoped that they will be recorded before it is too late.

In order to make Part I accessible to the general reader interested in the subject I have confined myself to giving the rituals only in translation in that part. Those more specifically interested in the rituals are referred to Part II, where they will find a transliteration into Roman script of the Lepcha texts as given me in the original Lepcha script by my interpreters together with an interlinear word for word translation. Each text is followed by a word for word or line by line commentary, primarily based on local information, but frequently supplemented by references to the results of other investigators and by philological, cultural and religious comparisons with information from neighbouring peoples. After the commentaries to each line is added an English translation as given by my interpreters in consultation with the local informants. It is this English translation which has been used in Part I.

Finally, it should perhaps be added that to the best of my knowledge the thirty-nine ritual texts given have never before been written down but existed only as oral tradition. Whenever we therefore came across any of these rituals we took particular care in recording them as accurately as possible.

Furthermore, ten of the longest texts together with one consisting of some personal information taken down by Mr Tamsang were later recorded on gramophone by Mr Tamsang so that we might have some material for phonetic studies. Thanks to the phonetician Mr Jørgen Rischel, M. A., it has been possible to produce a preliminary phonological study of the Lepcha language, and to provide the above-mentioned eleven texts with a phonetic rendering, inserted below the appropriate Lepcha words in the eleven texts. Mr Rischel has also written an introductory chapter to Part II on the phonemic studies and the results obtained.

Part III will be devoted to an analytical study of the religion of the Lepchas.

## INTRODUCTION

*The Country of the Lepchas.*<sup>1</sup> The Lepchas live in the State of Sikkim and in the neighbouring districts of Kalimpong and Darjeeling. Sikkim is situated between 27°5' and 28°9' N. and 87°59' and 88°56' E., and comprises an area of 2818 square miles, with 73 miles as the extreme length from north to south, and 55 miles as the extreme width from west to east. To the north it borders on Tibet, to the west on Nepal, to the east on Bhutan, and to the south on India.

Owing to the great beauty and variety of its natural features Sikkim is often cited as one of the most beautiful countries in the world: towering mountains and deep valleys, foaming rivers with thundering cataracts, forest-clad ridges, an abundance of flowers, especially of magnificent many-coloured orchids,—and above all the snow-covered summits and peaks of the Himalayas on the northern horizon, glittering proudly in the sun, tranquil: an eternal, unapproachable sphere of beauty shimmering in the silvery rays of the moon.

This is how the country presents itself to the stranger, but to the indigenous Lepchas it has quite different and less attractive characteristics which dominate their spiritual horizon and determine their conception not only of their homeland, but of the whole world.

Sikkim is above all a mountainous country, and there are few patches of level ground. Steep escarpments cut deeply into the northern part of the country, while the southern part is lower and more open. The two main rivers, the Rangit and the Tista, form the main channels of drainage, and the valleys cut by these rivers and their largest tributaries are often several thousand feet in depth. The principal villages and the monasteries are situated at elevations ranging from 4000 to 6000 ft.

Sir John Hooker, the eminent botanist, divided the country into three botanical zones: the tropical zone, extending from the lowest level to about 5000 ft.; the temperate zone extending from about 5000 ft. to about 13000 ft., the upper limit of vegetation; and the Alpine zone from about 13000 ft. to the snow-line.

It is frequently said that Sikkim can boast of a flora of all climatic zones from the tropics to the poles. There are about twenty species of bamboo, large fig trees, many species of oak, chestnut, cherry, laurel, maple, birch, and conifer; there are some thirty species of rhododendron, thirty to forty species of primula and magnolia; the orchids are represented by 350–400 species. The vast majority of the Sikkim trees and shrubs are evergreen. It is estimated that the actual number of species of flowering plants and ferns is very nearly four thousand.

As far as the fauna is concerned the usual estimate gives about eighty-one species of mammals. The tiger visits the country only occasionally, but the leopard (*Felis pardus*) and

<sup>1</sup> The account of the country given below is based on extracts from *Gaz.* pp. 80 ff. (J. Gammie and G. A. Gammie); *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. XXII, New Ed. Oxford 1908, pp. 365 ff.; *The Administration Report of the Sikkim State of the Year 1931–32*, Kalimpong 1935; Gorer pp. 51 ff., as well as on my own observations.

the clouded-leopard (*Felis nebulosa*) are permanent residents and fairly common. The snow-leopard (*Felis unica*) inhabits the high altitudes only. The jackal is not uncommon. The Himalayan black bear (*Ursus torquatus*) is common between 4000 ft. and 11000–12000 ft. In the higher altitudes the brown bear (*Ursus arctus*) may be found.

Between 500 to 600 species of birds have been registered. I shall only mention the gigantic lammergeyer, about 4 ft. in length and with a wing span of 9.5 feet, the fork-tails, the red-start, the whistling thrush, the verditer fly-catcher, the scarlet minivet, and the cock bird. About a dozen species of cuckoos visit Sikkim.

Nearly 600 species of butterflies have been registered, many of them of wonderful colours and with splendid designs on their wings. The various species of moths are said to number nearly 2000.

Snakes are not infrequently met with in the lower valleys, among them the dreaded cobra and krait. The innumerable leeches, mosquitoes, and sandflies are troublesome, to say the least.

The Lepchas belong to the Tibetan type of the Mongoloid race<sup>1</sup>. I made anthropological and anthropometrical investigations of some 200 persons some of whom were women. These investigations were carried out according to the method used by the late Dr Kurt Brøste, Head of the Physical Anthropological Institute of the University of Copenhagen, and have been published separately by Dr J. Balslev Jørgensen and the present author.<sup>2</sup>

*Lepcha Words and Names.* The European transliteration of Lepcha words and names has always suffered from a lack of consistency, mainly owing to two facts: first, although the Lepchas for centuries have had their own alphabet, proficiency in reading and writing is rare, and the orthographical skill is generally low. Even a careful investigator will frequently be unable to ascertain a universally accepted spelling of a word, and pronunciation may differ from speaker to speaker. Secondly, the explorers and investigators have often applied different systems of transliteration, hence most authors have their own Lepcha orthography. Naturally this creates many difficulties for the student. However, in spite of the many orthographical inconsistencies, it is usually quite easy to recognise the words, and I have therefore not attempted to alter the spellings of the authors quoted, even when this results in some inconsistencies. When I have been able to obtain an original Lepcha spelling in the Lepcha alphabet, I have rendered it according to the system given in Part II and printed the word in italics; when a Lepcha spelling could not be secured or was questionable, I have given the word in a common and approximate rendering; these words are printed in Roman characters.

For the convenience of the reader I shall give some brief, preliminary explanations of a few, frequently occurring, Lepcha words; the fuller meaning will be dealt with below.

*bong thing*, a Lepcha priest – *cen*, a demon or devil – *cí*, local beer – *düt*, a superior demon or devil – *gya pán*, a village leader – *kong chen*, the holy mountain Kanchenjunga – *mün*, a Lepcha priest or priestess – *mung*, a demon or devil – *pū tsho*, lineage – *rūm*, a deity, generally speaking.

<sup>1</sup> Guha 1937, p. 137.

<sup>2</sup> Jørgensen, J. Balslev and Halfdan Siiger, 1966.



# INVESTIGATION OF THE LEPCHAS

## A BRIEF HISTORICAL SURVEY

The earliest published European reference to Sikkim is probably that of Ippolito Desideri, S. J., who visited Tibet in the first decades of the eighteenth century. He refers to the existence of Brêe-mê-jong (i. e. Sikkim) as a province of Tibet, paying tribute to Lhasa<sup>1</sup>. However, it was not until the end of the century that Europeans obtained more knowledge of this area through officials of the East India Company, and later from British officers campaigning in the country during the first decades of the nineteenth century, and it was not until J. D. Herbert published his "Particulars of a Visit to the Sikkim Hills" in 1830 that the country and its inhabitants were introduced to the world of scholarship<sup>2</sup>.

About a decade later Captain A. Campbell, having travelled in these areas, published a series of articles on various Himalayan peoples and cultures in the course of which he dealt also with the Lepchas. From among the latter articles the following ones should be specially mentioned, "Note on the Lepchas of Sikkim with a Vocabulary of their Language" (1840); "A Journal of a Trip to Sikkim 1849" (1849); "Diary of a Journey through Sikkim to the Frontiers of Tibet" (1852). Reference may also be made to several other publications as for instance B. H. Hodgson *Articles on the Aborigines of the Sub-Himalayas* and E.-D. Thompson *Himalaya Occidental and Tibet* (1852).

This sudden literary activity was due to the fact that it was about this time that the country became known to travellers, and obviously British officers and others delighted in describing their extraordinary experiences in the hitherto unknown country. Their publications are often in the form of fairly short articles, but even so, they contain much detailed information about the nature of the country and the life and customs of its inhabitants. These investigators brought with them an open mind and a keen eye for peculiarities, and as they, moreover, had the good fortune to arrive at a time when the Lepchas still lived an isolated mountain life, their publications still remain of value, and record much which has vanished since their time.

About the middle of the century Sir Joseph Hooker finished his important survey of the Central Himalayas, the results of which he published in his *Himalayan Journal I-II* (1854), now the classic travel book of the region. Hooker was of course principally interested in the flora of the Central Himalayas, but his keen mind registered everything he saw, and he was an extremely clever investigator despite the difficulties placed in his way by the local authorities. His book is full of scattered but most valuable observations of the life and customs of the people among whom he travelled, and it remains one of the greatest, and most enjoyable, travel books in the English language.

<sup>1</sup> Desideri, revised edn. 1937, pp. 118 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. van Manen, 1932, p. 210.

3 The Lepchas.

It was also about this time that scholars began to be interested in the various Indian languages. Already Campbell had published a short list of Lepcha words, and now Beames in the appendix to his *Outline of Indian Philology* etc., 1868, gave a list of the Lepcha numerals. The demand grew for more comprehensive and comparative ethnographical material relating to the little-known region, and in 1872 E. T. Dalton devoted a whole chapter to the Lepchas in his *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*.

A particular contribution was made by the Christian missionaries who about this time took up work among the Lepchas, as they did among so many other indigenous Indian peoples. As it was essential for them to know the language of the people among whom they worked, and as they also established schools for the Lepchas, one result of their work was a furtherance of the knowledge of the customs, and especially of the language, of the Lepchas<sup>1</sup>.

The most colourful person who has ever studied the Lepchas is undoubtedly General G. B. Mainwaring. He devoted many years of his life to teaching the Lepchas, and thus he obtained a personal and practical familiarity with the Lepcha language which he developed in his *Grammar of the Róng (Lepcha) Language as It Exists in the Dorjeling and Sikim Hills* (1876). It is a strange work, instinct with the author's admiration of the Lepchas as "the sons of the forests" and their, in his opinion, prehistoric language: "The language is . . . unquestionably far anterior to the Hebrew or Sanskrit. It is preeminently an *Ursprache*, being probably, and I think, I may, without fear of misrepresentation, state it to be, the oldest language extant . . . In the structure of the Lepcha language, I have discovered the system on which, I consider, all language is based . . ." (p. xx). The result is more than one hundred and forty pages devoted to an analysis of Lepcha grammar, but unfortunately, General Mainwaring made the structural grammatical principles of Latin the foundation for his analysis and tried to make Lepcha conform to Latin. This is, of course, impossible, and it has earned him a great deal of ridicule, but his book contains a large number of Lepcha sentences (besides many extracted from the missionary translations of the Gospels), and as a collection of sample phrases his book serves a useful purpose. This book was followed in 1884 by B. N. Shaha's *A Grammar of the Lepcha Language*<sup>2</sup>.

By 1880 the Lepcha language was now well on its way to becoming known. K. Faulmann had included specimen passages of Lepcha in his *Illustrierte Geschichte der Schrift* (1880, pp. 425 ff.), and minor articles dealing with the language continued to appear from time to time, as for instance the article by W. Schott: "Über die Sprache des Volkes Róng oder Leptscha in Sikim" (1881), and J. Avery's article "On the Language of the Lepchas in Sikim" (1885). However, as no original Lepcha texts were available, the authors had to content themselves with the Gospels as translated into Lepcha.

Apart from the interest which missionary activity always stimulates in the people who contribute to the missions the general public was made aware of the existence of the Lepchas and their country by a series of travel books written by various visitors to the country. Although these books give vivid accounts of personal experiences, the actual contact of their authors with the population among whom they travelled was far too slight to enable them to throw any light on ethnographical questions; nor is much knowledge to be gained from the various shorter notices that appeared from time to time in the anthropological journals of the West,

<sup>1</sup> Their first publications were *The Gospel of John in Lepcha* (1872); *The Book of Genesis and Parts of Exodus in Lepcha* (1874); and *A Lepcha Primer* (1874).

<sup>2</sup> Not available to me. The same applies to G. Sandberg, *Manual of the Sikhim Bhutiya Language*, (1888 and 1895).

and the same is unfortunately also true about the various official government publications dealing with Sikkim.

Matters change, however, considerably when we reach the last decade of the century. In 1892 L. A. Waddell published "Place and River-Names in the Darjiling District and Sikkim." In this article Waddell gave a number of Lepcha place-names together with semantic analyses. While the latter are mostly of rather doubtful value indeed, the article itself fills a gap in our knowledge, and is still today indispensable for any student of the country. In the following year two widely different but equally important books made their appearance. The first one was H. H. Risley's *Tribes and Castes of Bengal* (2 vols., 1892), which contains an excellent section on the life and customs of the Lepchas. The second book was A. Grünwedel's pioneering work entitled *A Rong-English Glossary*, which gives us the first detailed glossarial analysis of the Lepcha language, based on a Lepcha translation of a Tibetan book. Besides these two books there appeared also a number of papers dealing in one way or another with the Lepchas, as for instance the articles by S. C. Das, of which "The Origin of the Tibetans" (1892) and "The Marriage Customs in Tibet" (1893) should be specially mentioned as well as K. K. Das's article "The Lepcha People and their Notions of Heaven and Hell" (1896). The chief contribution to the study of the Lepchas and their country from this period is, however, *The Gazetteer of Sikkim* edited with an introduction by H. H. Risley (1894). All of the contributors to this volume were experts within their respective fields, and as the book covers a wide range of subjects such as geography, botany, zoology, agriculture, law, etc., it will easily be seen how valuable it is to all students who for one reason or another want to know something about the country and its inhabitants. From our point of view the two most important chapters are those by L. A. Waddell on "The History of Sikkim and its Rulers" (pp. 5-38) and on "Lamaism in Sikkim" (pp. 241-392). These chapters bring much valuable information concerning the Lepchas and their culture and religion with specially valuable sections on the relations between the government of the Maharajahs and the Lepchas, and the relations between official Lamaism and the people.

The German scholar A. Grünwedel began in 1896 his publications of Lepcha texts translated from Tibetan sources, *Ein Kapitel des Ta-she-sung* (1896); *Drei Leptscha Texte* (1896); *Buddhistische Studien* (1897); and finally *Leptscha Übersetzung des Mandarava Legende* (1898).

But at the same time as Waddell was working on his contribution to *The Gazetteer of Sikkim* he was also engaged in revising the dictionary of the Lepcha language on which General G. B. Mainwaring had been at work at the time of his death. This dictionary appeared in 1898 under the title of *A Dictionary of the Lepcha Language. Compiled by the Late General G. B. Mainwaring. Revised and Completed by Albert Grünwedel*. It is an extraordinarily comprehensive dictionary, especially considering the early date of its appearance. It is further remarkable for the very large number of everyday sentences and phrases which it contains, and while it is true that some of these are of missionary origin, and therefore open to question as truly Lepcha, they are easily recognised, and allowance can be made for them. Although both Waddell (1899) and Gorer (p. 41) are rather critical of the Dictionary, I can only state that I have found it of inestimable value, and that on the whole my field work tends to confirm the translations which it gives.

Since the appearance of the above two publications not much work has been done on the Lepcha language as such; on the other hand anthropological work continued for some time. From the earlier period we may mention such papers as K. K. Sen, *The Sacred Books of the Lepchas* (1896); K. K. Das, *The Limbus* (1896) and *Tibetan Funeral Ceremonies* (1897) by

the same author, and in 1899 L. A. Waddell published his paper entitled "The Lepchas or Róng and their Songs". This article is quite short, of not more than seventeen pages, but it gives the first Lepcha songs to be published<sup>1</sup>. There are nine Lepcha songs in all, given in Lepcha script, accompanied by a fluent translation and a commentary on the origin and culture of the Lepchas. Unfortunately, the paper does not contain any detailed analyses of the texts, the lack of which, however, is compensated for to some extent by occasional notes. The next year saw the publication of another and very different book from the hand of Waddell, entitled *Among the Himalayas*. This book gives an account of Waddell's long sojourn among the Lepchas and in the neighbouring regions of the Himalayas.

In the same year as the Dictionary appeared, L. Feer published his small paper "Spécimen de la langue Lepcha (ou Rong)". This article was based on translations made by missionaries, and though it is very useful from that angle, it is of course quite overshadowed by the Dictionary.

The first quarter of the present century is singularly barren in publications on the Lepchas, although several books and articles deal with them in connection with other subjects. From among these books and papers it will be necessary to mention only the more important ones, such as P. L. Bodsohn, *Reise im unabhängigen Sikkim* (1901); E. Drouin, "Spécimen de textes leptcha" (1901); W. Mackean, *A Lepcha Primer* (1907); J. C. White, *Sikkim and Bhutan: Twenty-one Years on the North-East Frontier, 1887-1908* (1909); A. Grünwedel, "Padmasambhava und Verwandtes" (1913); E. v. Eickstedt, "The Races and Types of the Western and Central Himalayas" (1926); L. Scherman, "Ethnographisches aus Sikkim" (1926). Moreover, *the Linguistic Survey of India* (vol. 3, part 1, 1909) contains also a chapter on the Lepcha language in which G. A. Grierson classifies it as belonging to the Tibeto-Burman family and gives as specimen of the language a series of translations from the Bible (pp. 233-249) together with a comparative table of standard words and phrases in Lepcha (pp. 254-271).

In 1927 there appeared, however, Mrs. C. de Beauvoir Stocks' paper "Folk-lore and Customs of the Lap-chas of Sikkim". This book marks a new departure in the study of the Lepchas, as it is a collection of Lepcha myths and legends to which are appended a short treatise on the life and culture of the people and a table of kinship terms. Assisted by local interpreters, Mrs. Stocks collected the myths and legends herself in Sikkim, and noted them down in English for her book, although she also gives a few songs in the original language. The book has been rather severely criticised<sup>2</sup>, and it cannot be denied that all too frequently the accuracy of the rendering of her material is open to doubt. But for all that "Folk-lore and Customs of the Lap-chas of Sikkim" remains a most valuable book, containing, as it does, the largest collection of Lepcha myths and legends to date, and, if handled with care, it gives an astounding mass of information unobtainable from other sources.

About ten years after the appearance of Mrs. Stocks' book Geoffrey Gorer, the well-known journalist and anthropologist, set out for India. After having spent some months at Kalimpong to learn the Lepcha language, he arrived at the beginning of March 1937 at Lingthem, where he was joined by Colonel Morris, the experienced Himalayan traveller, and together the two anthropologists made Lingthem their headquarters for the three months which they spent

<sup>1</sup> The *Róng-sa váu. Lāpchā-gīta-samgraha* (1893), not seen by me, is said to be a missionary hymn-book in Lepcha.

<sup>2</sup> Gorer p. 41 "... I came across a number of the stories Mrs. Stocks had printed and though many of them had been bowdlerised almost out of recognition (probably through the prudery of her interpreter) the almost word-for-word similarity of passages of no particular dramatic interest was striking. Mrs. Stocks also added some notes on Lepcha customs which correspond in practically no particular with my observations. . . ."

among the Lepchas, investigating their life and culture according to the newly introduced anthropological methods. The two anthropologists succeeded, in the course of these months, in collecting a truly amazing number of data on the social and daily life of the people among whom they lived, together with much knowledge of ceremonies and myths hitherto either not known at all or only very imperfectly known. They published their results the following year in two widely different books, entitled respectively *Himalayan Village* and *Living with the Lepchas*.

In his *Himalayan Village* Gorer gives a detailed account of different sides of the life of the Lepchas, dealing with such subjects as the Lepcha house, Lepcha food, trade, law and order, rules of kinship and of marriage, local Lamaism, the Mun, the mythical people of Mayel, birth and childhood, sex, marriage, maturity, death. In addition, scattered throughout the book we find several life histories of individuals as told to Gorer by the persons themselves together with Gorer's own comments and elucidations; indeed, Chapter 16 is entirely taken up with four such interesting life histories. The book concludes with a series of appendices giving various statistics, kinship terms, horoscopes, and some Lepcha stories, sacred and profane, together with three delightful fables. The book ends with a note on the Lepcha language and a short vocabulary.

Gorer has his own approach to the study of anthropology as, indeed, he states quite frankly in the last chapter of his book, where he writes as follows:

"My own interest in anthropology is primarily due to the fact that it is a discipline capable of enabling us to understand our own society. . . . I have a certain admiration for . . . detached scientists . . . but my interest in anthropology is pragmatic"<sup>1</sup>.

It is with this in mind that one should read Gorer's book, and when one does so, one finds it highly stimulating and full of out of the way information. This should be stated clearly, because, in spite of Professor J. H. Hutton's introduction, not sufficient allowance has been made for Gorer's special approach, and *Himalayan Village* has been severely criticised, not least by educated circles in Gangtok and Kalimpong. It may be worth while to dwell a little on this, as it shows so clearly one of the dangers of anthropological writings, when the author does not keep strictly to his subject, or states quite unambiguously and prominently what he wants to do when he strays from the subject or deals with it in an unusual way.

In his *Himalayan Village* Gorer deals again and again with sexual practices among the Lepchas; he does so in detail, and, as has already been said, he writes well and vividly, without making his book overtly learned. The result is that the local authorities in Sikkim feel very strongly that Gorer in his book has held the Lepchas up to international ridicule, and they consequently suspect him of having had ulterior motives in his study of them. Fortunately, this has not made them inimical to anthropologists in general, but when one comes to know them, one must be prepared for a discussion of Gorer's book, the sexual element in which, as they rightly say, is well to the fore. Such discussions are always difficult, and they were not rendered any easier in my case by the fact that my own studies were of quite a different nature, and I really had not the time to branch off into so large and intricate a subject as sexual relations and practices. I defended Gorer's book as well as I could, pointing out that similar investigations are carried out among the Europeans themselves, and that Gorer, moreover, so far from intending to hold the Lepchas up to ridicule, had intended his book to be an indirect attack on the European attitude to sex, which he considered hypocritical. Usually I was met with a polite smile, but in a few cases also with the remark that this

<sup>1</sup> p. 436.

apparently critical attitude to domestic European and American conditions was merely a cloak for a sexual thriller. Thus one aspect of the book has, inevitably it must be added, received far more attention than it deserves, to the detriment of the rest of the book, and has obscured for many readers the excellent and detailed anthropological material which it offers and the comprehensive view it gives of the problems with which it deals.

As has already been said *Living with the Lepchas* is a very different book from *Himalayan Village*. Naturally, Colonel Morris also uses anthropological methods in his research and field work, but at the same time he also draws upon his experience as a traveller and mountaineer in the Himalayas. The result is a book which is of value both as a travel book and as a contribution to anthropology. The subjects dealt with are arranged under such headings as 'The People', 'Magic and Spells', 'Family Life', 'Sex', 'Festivals', and there are many subjects on which the book throws fresh light, either by providing new information or by detailed and interesting descriptions supplementing previous ones. Moreover, Colonel Morris has provided his book with a most comprehensive bibliography, which is of interest not only to the professional anthropologist but also to all those who are interested in travelling, mountaineering, and generally in that part of the world with which his book deals.

The *Himalyan Village* and *Living with the Lepchas* appeared on the eve of the Second World War, and, naturally, the War caused a gap in the production of anthropological books. It was not, in fact, until 1950 when the Austrian anthropologist and Tibetologist, Dr René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, settled in Kalimpong that a return was made to the anthropological study of the Lepchas. Dr Nebesky-Wojkowitz lived for some years in Kalimpong during which time he made several excursions into Sikkim. In the course of his investigations he collected not only valuable material for his Tibetan research (published in his *Oracles and Demons of Tibet* (1956)), but he succeeded also in acquiring several important and rare objects relating to the material and religious culture of the ancient Lepchas. The result of his research has appeared in a series of papers, as for instance "The Use of Thread-Crosses in Lepcha Lamaist Ceremonies", 1951 (with Gorer); "Ancient Funeral Ceremonies of the Lepchas", 1952; "Hunting and Fishing among the Lepchas", 1953, etc. Owing to his intimate knowledge of the Tibetan language and religion, Nebesky-Wojkowitz has been able to explain many obscure Lepcha words and religious customs.

Another well-known Tibetologist, Dr Matthias Hermanns, published his book *The Indo-Tibetans* in 1954. Dr Hermanns devotes the greater part of his book to the Lepchas, and it brings much new and valuable material on the Lepchas of the Darjeeling-Kalimpong area, especially as regards their ceremonies and rituals. The book is also notable for its fresh and far-reaching theories; whether one will agree with them or not is of course a different matter. From the point of view of the present book the most important part of *The Indo-Tibetans* consists in the Lepcha prayers which the author gives in full as well as in the numerous mythological references to be found throughout the book. It gives us a picture of the rich supernatural world characteristic of the area, and suggests very forcibly that much more research and field work are needed.

J. F. Rock's *Excerpts from a History of Sikkim* (1953) consists mainly of hitherto unpublished portions of *The Royal Sikkimese Chronicle*, and thus adds greatly to our knowledge of this local source. A valuable, modern, general survey can be found in A. K. Das and S. K. Banerjee *The Lepchas of the Darjeeling District* (1962).

## LEPCHA SCRIPTURES

Quite a number of Lepcha "books" or scriptures written in Lepcha script are known, and still more are said to exist or to have existed (cf. p. 28). Almost all known Lepcha scriptures are translations of Lamaist books or strongly influenced by Lamaism, and should probably be listed under Lamaist missionary publications. This applies certainly to the scriptures published by Grünwedel, and Dr Nebesky-Wojkowitz has told me that the same holds good about the books collected by Dr van Manen, now in the custody of the Leiden Museum.

The scriptures collected by me bear the same stamp, except perhaps for a few odd ones. The latter are very concentrated and difficult to understand, and although the Lepcha Mr Tsada Tsering of Kalimpong has done good work in translating one of them for me, it still remains so full of obscure points that I have been compelled to leave it out of consideration.

As the Lepcha scriptures are very important historical and religious sources, attention should be drawn to them, and presumably some of the scriptures enumerated below, as well as others, may still be obtainable in Sikkim and Kalimpong, perhaps in different versions.

I. *Mainwaring's Information on Existing Lepcha Books or Scriptures* (cf. Dict. 90).

(Brackets indicate translations which I venture to suggest).

1. *king-tsum-sã cho* (The Book of Fate).
2. *kyán-sã cho* (A Book of Fate, cf. Dict. 31a).
3. *ngó-gyóng-shāng-sã cho*: "The Book of Enchantment"<sup>1</sup>.
4. *cho-ten-sã cho* (The Book of Chorten?)<sup>2</sup>.
5. *tã-she shāng-sã cho*: "Ta-she's History" (Padmasambhava or Guru Rimpoche).
6. *thu-klón-shāng-sã cho* (The Book of Magic Power?)<sup>3</sup>.
7. *kre mik-kün dūn-sã cho*.
8. *dāk-da-bo-sã mat-shāng-sã cho*: "Instructions for the Curing of the Sick".
9. *dik-po lã-yo tó-shāng-sã cho*: "The Guide for the Cleansing of Sins".
10. *dū-nót tsók-shāng-sã cho*: "Book to Prevent Being Hurt by Disease".
11. *nam-ryu-lã zuk-shāng-sã cho*: "Book Showing how to Ensure Prosperous Seasons".
12. *ne-yuk-sã cho*.
13. *po-mu nang-se-sã cho*.
14. *bi-ro-tsa-na-sã cho*: "Book of Moral Instructions".
15. *fyān mung tsók-shāng-sã cho*: "Book to Guard Against Enemies and Evil Spirits".
16. *mã-rūm nyí-shāng-sã cho*: "Book for Lengthening the Allotted Period of Life".
17. *mak-ba lóm frón-shāng-sã cho*: "Book for Showing After Death the Path Whither to Go".
18. *mung nan-shāng-sã cho*: "Book for Holding in Dominion Evil Spirits".
19. *mung ryak-shāng-sã cho*: "Book for Casting Out Evil Spirits".
20. *tsu-pe-sã cho*.
21. *rūm fat-shāng-sã cho*: "Book of Instructions in Offerings to God".
22. *lyang sũ-sã cho*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dict. 63b *gyóng* . . . *ngó gyóng* to pronounce magic words, and Dict. 423b: *shāng*, postp. of the verb; a gerundial particle in the sense of future participle, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dict. 91 b. *cho-ten* s. a monument, a sacred building.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Dict. 154a *thu* 3 s. magic power . . . *thu klóng* vb. to bewitch.

23. *lyang a-kyet zuk-shāng-sā cho*: "Book for Keeping a Country in Peace".
24. *sā-tap tsók-shāng-sā cho*: "Book for Preventing the Pouring of Hail".
25. *sāng-gye shāng-sā cho*: "Book of Buddhist Religion".
26. *so tsók-shāng-sā cho*: "Book for Preventing the Pouring of Rain".
27. *sak-cín sám kyet-sā cho*: "Book for Showing How to Have Tranquillity of Thought".
28. *'ayóng kǔk-shāng-sā cho*.
29. *a-kūp mā-nyin-nā-ba nyí-lǎ zuk-shāng-sā cho*: "Instruction How to Obtain Children".
30. *sā-kon de-lok*: "The Resurrection of Sakon" (Mentioned in Dict. 177b, de 4.).

## II. Albert Grünwedel's Translations.

1. "Ein Kapitel des Ta-she-sung" (*Festschrift für A. Bastian*, Berlin 1896, pp. 461–482).
2. "Drei Leptscha Texte mit Auszügen aus dem Padma-Than-Yig und Glossar" (*T'oung Pao A. Vol. 7*, 1896, pp. 526–561).
3. "Leptscha-Text mit Übersetzung" (*Buddhistische Studien*, I, pp. 118–126, Veröffentlichungen aus dem Königlichen Museum für Völkerkunde zu Berlin, Band V, 1897).
4. "Padmasambhava und Mandarava. Leptscha Übersetzung der Mandarava Legende" (*Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. 52, 1898, pp. 447–461).
5. "Padmasambhava und Verwandtes" (*Baessler-Archiv*, Berlin, Vol. 3, 1913, p. 1 ff.).

III. During 1949–50 I acquired the following Lepcha manuscripts in Kalimpong, most of them being translations from the Tibetan or displaying a strong Lamaist influence<sup>1</sup>.

1. MS: concerning the origin of the world. Ff. 1–17; 10 lines to the page (some lines are lacking). Size of sheets: 16.5 cm. by 20.5 cm.
2. MS: *tā she thing* (Padmasambhava). Fragments of the legend of this saint. Ff. 1–5, 1–2, 1–2, 1–5; 10 lines to the page. Size of sheets: 42 cm. by 15 cm. (Cf. above Grünwedel's translations no. 1, and Waddell 1939, p. 166).
3. MS: Advice to mankind, given by a minister of the gods. Ff. 1–9; 8 lines to the page. Size of sheets: 26.5 cm. by 10 cm.
4. MS: *king tsum dar mít*. Moral instructions, given by the goddess *dar(mít)*, including punishments and rewards, and the appearance of the thunderbolt in the world. Ff. 1–11, 1–5; 6–7 lines to the page. Size of sheets: 31.7 cm. by 9.7 cm.
5. MS: Lamaist prayers for the soul of a deceased person, and instruction concerning the soul's wanderings in the heavenly regions. Ff. 1–17; 7 lines to the page. Size of sheets: 33.2 cm. by 9.7 cm.
6. MS: Prediction of the last days of the world and the disappearance of mankind. Ff. 1–30; 7–8 lines to the page. Size of sheets: 16 cm. by 17 cm.
7. MS: Instructions concerning ceremonies intending to propitiate demons who cause diseases. Ff. 1–11; 8–9 lines to the page. Size of sheets: 22 cm. by 11 cm.
8. MS: *sā mik dye lok*. Account of a person who recovered from a disease and relates his experiences in the other world. Ff. front page + 11 sheets (writing only on the recto of the sheets); 6 lines to the page. Size of sheets: 24.3 cm. by 8.5 cm.<sup>2</sup>  
Cp. Mainwaring's List no. 30.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Siiger 1956, p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dict. 177b, de 4 . . . *de-lok* . . . resurrection and Waddell 1939, pp. 100 and 166, the Lamaist De-lok or the ghostly returning, a type of literature depicting flying visits of mortals to Hades and used for encouraging people to behave well.



9. MS: Observances for travellers. Ff. 1–13 (writing only on the recto of the sheets); 6–10 lines to the page. Size of sheets: 14 cm. by 9.7 cm.
10. MS: Book of Prophecies. Ff. 1–38; 5–7 lines to the page. Size of sheets: 21.6 cm. by 10.6 cm.
11. MS: Man's character and fate disclosed by the spots and marks on his body. Ff. 1–7 + 1 (writing only on the recto of the sheets); 8–9 lines to the page. Size of sheets: 21.5 cm. by 10.5 cm.
12. MS: The narrative of the ants. Ff. 1–12; 6–8 lines to the page. Size of sheets: 34 cm. by 10.4 cm.
13. MS: Lepcha Primer. Ff.: front page + 21 sheets; 6 lines to the page. Size of sheets: 25 cm. by 10 cm.

# THE HISTORY OF THE LEPCHAS

## SELECTED PARTICULARS

Due to lack of material it is impossible to write a history of the Lepchas. But despite this we are not left completely in the dark concerning their life during the last three centuries or so, whereas for the time prior to that period we have to content ourselves with legendary traditions and anthropological suggestions.

From a strictly historical point of view we know hardly anything about the Lepchas until about the year 1600 A.D., when a branch of the Tibetan Minyag dynasty from the eastern Kham Province took part in the great migration of Tibetan nobles, entered Sikkim, and some decades later made themselves kings.<sup>1</sup> Reaching back to that time there is a royal Sikkimese Chronicle recording the main events in the history of the Maharajahs of Sikkim and their dealings with the inhabitants of the country and the neighbouring states. This Chronicle represents the events from an overlord point of view, and although the conquered Lepchas figure little in it, yet here and there we catch some revealing glimpses of them and their mode of life.

The Chronicle itself exists in two type-written versions in English, presumably translations of a Tibetan original. The one is the well-known version published in *The Gazetteer of Sikkim* and based on the tradition of the Royal Court of Gangtok. I shall therefore call this version the Chronicle, Gangtok Version (abbreviated: Chron. GV.). The other version, an unpublished type-written manuscript, which was shown to me at Kalimpong, proved to have been composed mainly on the lines laid down by the Gangtok Version, but as it contained certain additional information particularly informative as to the history of the Lepchas, I made extracts from it. I shall refer to this version as the Chronicle, Kalimpong Version (abbreviated: Chron. KV.).

As far as the origin of the Lepchas is concerned the indications are that they were not the original inhabitants of Sikkim. An ancient Lepcha tradition reported by Mackean states that the Lepchas came from the east in company with the Jimdars (who went on to Nepal and who share this tradition) and the Meeh (who settled in the plains at the foot of the hills)<sup>2</sup>. This tradition thus indicates a similar origin to that advanced by Waddell according to whom the Lepchas are of Indo-Chinese origin, and entered their present country from Further India by way of the Assam valley. On this basis the Lepchas may be regarded as an outlying member of the group of tribes loosely known by their Indian name of Naga. Within

<sup>1</sup> The assumption of power by the remote and alien Minyag dynasty becomes more comprehensible in the light of Prof. Tucci's investigations: A wave of migration of nomadic Tibetan aristocracy, coming from the east or the north, spread little by little southwards and westwards, subduing the aboriginal populations. Traces of this migration become particularly clear in Ladakh, in Spiti, in high Bashahr, and in Guge (Tucci 1949 a, II, p. 737).

<sup>2</sup> Mackean, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. by J. Hastings, vol. XI, 1920, p. 511: Sikkim.

this group the Lepchas seem to be closely related to the Arleng or Mikir-Nagas of the Garo and Kasia hills to the south of the Brahmaputra valley, while they have also much in common with the Ching-po or Sing-pô—the Kachins of the Burmese—as well as with that branch of the Malayan Indo-Chinese which Captain Forbes called the Mon-Anam family<sup>1</sup>.

This point of view, which Waddell supports with evidence from his anthropological investigations and knowledge of the Lepcha language, has to a certain degree been strengthened by the results of my own anthropological measurements. While staying among the Boros of northern Assam I learnt of an ancient Boro tradition according to which the Lepchas were originally a branch of the Boros who had migrated westwards and settled in Sikkim, whereas another branch had settled in eastern Nepal. Be this as it may, there are ancient traits of various kinds contributing to the suggestion that the Lepchas originally came from the east.

On entering Sikkim the Lepchas found three tribes already in possession of the country, viz. the Na-ang or Na-ong, the Chang, and the Mon, of which the Na-ong were the earliest inhabitants<sup>2</sup>. Most traces of these tribes disappeared rapidly, so we may assume that they were completely absorbed by the Lepchas. The Na-ong, however, are still remembered as a foolish people (*nã óng*), and one Na-ong family, possibly the last of them, still survived at the beginning of this century.<sup>3</sup>

Different traditions are current regarding the earliest Lepcha kings or chieftains. According to Tamsang, who represents an ancient Kalimpong tradition, the earliest known Lepcha king, called *tūr ve pã no*, reigned about A.D. 1400. His minister, Thikung Men Salong, invented the present Lepcha script. Tamsang insisted that this was the true origin of the Lepcha alphabet contrary to the general supposition that the Lepcha script was invented by the third Maharajah.<sup>4</sup>

King *tūr ve pã no* had three successors, *tūr sǒng pã no*, *tūr 'aeng pã no*, and *tūr 'aek pã no*. During the reign of the last king a married couple *tí kung tek* and *nyí kung ngal*, were the chief priest and priestess of the royal family.

According to Mainwaring<sup>5</sup> the earliest king *tūr ve pã no* (about A.D. 1425) was followed by *tūr sang pã no*, *tūr 'ageng pã no*, and *tūr 'agek pã no*. The same tradition can be found in Hermanns, who, however, states that he also met with another tradition according to which the name of the first king was Geb-a-dyak.<sup>6</sup>

On the death of the last Lepcha king power passed to an immigrating branch of the Tibetan Minyag dynasty. This assumption of power by an alien dynasty was, of course, an epoch-making event in the history of Sikkim, and consequently the traditions dwell on it. The Chronicles stress that the event was confirmed not only by the lamas but also by the Lepcha chief priest, whereas the Lepcha tradition, according to Tamsang, look at it from another point of view. As some important ceremonies associated with this transfer of power illustrate ancient Lepcha customs we shall deal with them in some detail, beginning with the Lepcha tradition.

According to Tamsang *zo khe bu* with some men came as the first Tibetans to Sikkim during the reign of the last Lepcha king. This Tibetan, who had left his home country owing

<sup>1</sup> Waddell 1899, pp. 42 f.

<sup>2</sup> Das, Kali Kumar, 1896 a, Appendix I, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Gaz.* p. 42; *Dict.* 189 b; *Gram.* p. xx; Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1953 a, p. 892, cp. Stocks 1927 p. 359.

<sup>4</sup> *Gaz.* p. 13; *Dict.* p. IX; the Chronicles. Erik Haarh advances weighty arguments in favour of an early origin of the script, cf. Haarh 1959, p. 113.

<sup>5</sup> *Gram.* pp. x f.

<sup>6</sup> Hermanns 1954, p. 111.

to the pressure exerted by the Chinese and Mongols,<sup>1</sup> asked the chief priest *ti kung tek* and the chief priestess *nyi kung ngal* for a blessing for himself and the children he might beget. The chief priest and the priestess were very kind and pious, and *ti kung tek* prophesied that he was going to have three sons, and gave him his blessing for these children.

Thereafter *zo khe bu* went back to his own country, but after many years he returned with his three sons to convey his gratitude to the chief priest and the priestess. By this time *ti kung tek* and *nyi kung ngal*, by virtue of their supernatural powers, knew that these three sons would bring evil upon their country and the Lepchas. Realising his mistake in giving the blessing to the sons, *ti kung tek* now talked with *zo khe bu* and made him promise that neither he nor his sons nor their descendants should ever attempt to invade or conquer the country or rule the Lepchas.

In spite of the assurances *zo khe bu* gave him the chief priest did not believe him, and so he took *zo khe bu* and his sons to a place called Kabi. There he erected nine large stones facing *king tsum zóng bu* [i. e. the Kanchenjunga] as an everlasting sign of the covenant. Then he killed a big bull, filled a large pot with blood from the slaughtered animal, and put the pot on the blood-stained hide. *ti kung tek*, *nyi kung ngal*, *zo khe bu* and his three sons stood together knee-deep in the pot facing *king tsum zóng bu*. The chief priest and the priestess took a cup smeared with butter on three sides and filled it with the blood of the bull. They then prayed to their guardian spirit and swore an oath over the blood, calling the guardian spirit as witness that hereafter *zo khe bu* and his three sons and their descendants were not to invade or conquer the country or harm the Lepchas. *zo khe bu* then returned to Tibet together with his sons.

Eventually the Lepcha king *tür 'aek pã no* died, leaving no heir, and the chief priest became chieftain.

Later the three sons of *zo khe bu* and their families came down to Sikkim with their followers, invaded and conquered the country, thus breaking their most holy and sacred oath. At that time Lamaism had nearly reached its peak in Tibet, and the second son of *zo khe bu* and his two brothers introduced it into Sikkim. They collected all the Lepcha manuscripts and books containing the historical records, mythology, legends, laws, literature etc. of the Lepchas, and burnt them. They took the ashes to the high hills and blew them into the air and built Lamaist monasteries on the hills from which they had scattered the ashes of the burnt Lepcha books. Besides doing this, they also forced the Lepcha scribes to translate the Lamaist scriptures into Lepcha and made them read and venerate them as holy scriptures.

Although the Tibetans broke their promise, the Lepchas still meet at Kabi Long Chok on the 15th day of the ninth month to celebrate the covenant, offering rice, flowers, etc. to the north of the nine stones, erected by their chief priest and priestess. This monument is still in existence. The covenant is commemorated by all Lepchas whether or not they go to Kabi Long Chok. The tradition runs that the chief priest and his wife were heartbroken and disappeared from that day. The Lepchas still believe that they are alive somewhere in the Himalayas, and when the time comes they will reappear and save the Lepchas as once they destroyed them by giving the blessing to the sons of the Tibetan chief.

Chron. GV.<sup>2</sup> tells of the same event in the following way [the name Khyé-Bumsa being identical with the above-mentioned *zo khe bu*]: "Being childless, Khyé-Bumsa consulted his

<sup>1</sup> These words probably refer to the events of about 1566.

<sup>2</sup> *Gaz.* p. 8 f.

Lamas and was told to propitiate the heads of the Lepcha people. Accordingly, with a following of seventeen persons only, he crossed the Yak-la and Penlong and reached Sata-la near Rankpo: here he enquired who were the heads of the Lepchas and was informed that they were Thekong Tek and his wife, Nyekong-Nal, but where they dwelt he failed to ascertain. Proceeding towards Gantok, they came across a very old man quite black from tilling his recently burnt field, but could get nothing out of him. Suspecting he knew more than he chose to tell, the Tibetan party hid themselves, and when the old man left off work, followed him secretly to a house which he entered. Obtaining at last an entrance, they found their old man clad in a robe adorned with animals' heads and seated in state on a daïs, worshipped by the other inmates, and thus discovered that he was the veritable Thekong Tek they were in search of. Khyé-Bumsa offered him many presents, and finally obtained a promise that he should become the father of three sons. He also prophesied that Bumsa's descendants should become lords of Sikkim, while his own people should become their raiyats [This last sentence is added in a footnote]. With this assurance he returned to Chumbi, where three sons were born to him. On making a second visit to Sikkim via the Chola, Thekong Tek met them at the cave of Pyak Tsé below Phieungung and worshipped them . . .".

Chron. KV. (p. 21) has the following interesting account: ". . . An eternal friendship was made between Gyad-dBhum-gSags<sup>1</sup> and The-Kong Tek. They agreed by this that all the males should be considered to be related to the sons, and all the females to the daughters. This friendship was cemented by a ceremony at which several animals, both domestic and wild, were sacrificed, and all the local deities were invoked to bear witness to this solemn contract of friendship, binding the Lepchas and Bhuteas in an inseparable bond. They sat together on the raw hides of the animals, entwined the entrails around their persons, and put their feet together in a vessel filled with blood, thus swearing the blood troth to each other. The-Kong invoking all the Sikkim local spirits, asked them to witness this solemn contract, invoking blessings on those who observed them faithfully, and curses on those who broke this eternal hereditary and national contract between the two races. Thenceforth the Lepchas gradually came under the influence of the strangers."

The official Chronicle later recounts how the first Maharajah was installed and crowned, first and foremost on the initiative of the Lamaist monk Lhatsün Chhembo.<sup>2</sup> But Chron. KV. (p. 31) contains some interesting information testifying to the influence of the Lepcha chief priest at the reception of Lhatsün Chhembo in Sikkim. The account runs as follows: ". . . The manner in which Lha-bTsun came into Sikkim . . . is said to agree literally with the prophecies contained in the dGong-hDus. For the The-Kong Sa-lang, a Lepcha wizard, by divine direction went to receive Lha-bTsun and met him at Chukar Pang-shong the first time. Next, when Lha-bTsun had opened the pass and was coming down, he met him again, and acting as guide brought him over Khrag-thung-rong, Phagmo Rong, Lhari-mying-phug and Yamsang-phig, down to Dechu-phug, which is known as the great cave, besides showing him several others of smaller note . . . The-Kong Sa-lang is believed to have lived about 300 years and to have possessed supernatural powers, though of a benignant kind. Hence [his] miraculous traces at Lhar-nyinh-phug, the dent made by the lower end of his bow in the boulder, his foot print at Khrag-thung Rong, the clump of Bamboo planted by him, and the tobacco plant, as well as his own grave, are still pointed out, and visited with reverential interest . . .".

<sup>1</sup> Gyad-dBhum-gSags is identical with the above-mentioned Khyé-Bumsa or *zo khé bu*.

<sup>2</sup> *Gaz.* pp. 248 f.

During the reign of the first Maharajah (1641–1670) the Lepchas were not without influence, and it is reported that twelve Bhutia Kazis and twelve Lepcha Jongpens (i. e. local governors) were elected. Chron. KV. (pp. 22 ff.) states that the Lepchas soon came under the influence and the power of the new Maharajah. “. . . One Lepcha retainer Nang-gZang, called Sambar, became the favourite of the chief among the Lepchas. From that time the Lepchas flocked to the service of the new chief, and those who proved themselves the most trustworthy were appointed in the household establishment of the Raja, while others were entrusted with posts of responsibility and honour in the state. Gradually, as the Lepchas of Tashi-teng-kha and Sang-deng also came under the direct influence and control of the chiefs, they were called ministerial Lepchas (Monpas). Those not much in the chief's confidence and favour were employed as traders to carry goods, were called Tshon-skel Monpas, and used for outdoor services, etc.”.

Later in the Chronicle we hear that “. . . having brought all the Lepchas and the Bhuteas under his direct power he [i. e. the Maharajah] selected twelve Kazis from amongst the twelve Bhutea clans then existing, and likewise he selected twelve Lepcha Jongpens from amongst the superior families of the Lepchas of Sikkim . . .”.

It is also reported in Chron KV. (p. 32) that “. . . the great Lha-bTsun lama at one time even allowed one Yugthing Tishay [a Lepcha and the ancestor of the Barphung Putso] also to partake in the initiation into the mystic rites of Rig-hZio Srog-Hgrub (Rigzinsogdub) in which only the three lamas themselves, the Raja and twenty-one persons were allowed. These persons were hereafter known as Chos-bDog (religious authorities) of that text . . .”.

Chron. KV. (p. 36) also tells us that “. . . about this time [i. e. during the reign of the third Maharajah (c. 1700–1717)] there was a Lepcha Tumyang (headman) called Tasa-Aphong who was a descendant of the former Lepcha chief, The-kong Tek, serving under Raja Tensung Namgyal, who was residing at Barphag. Once while he was away on an errand of the Raja's at Dobta in Tibet, his wife Nambong was seduced by the Raja, and the offspring of this illicit intercourse was called Yugthing Arup. He was appointed head of the Lepchas, and subsequently became Chagzod . . .”<sup>1</sup>

It was also during the reign of the third Maharajah that the Bhutanese invaded the country, and the Maharajah was forced to flee to Tibet, where he stayed for several years. When he eventually returned, the Bhutanese retained what is now the Kalimpong district as far as Tegonla.

This Maharajah is reputed to have been a scholarly person who “among other works wrote a book on monastic discipline . . . composed a religious dance, Rong-Chham, in honour of Takpo or warlike demons, and designed an alphabet for the use of his Lepcha subjects.”<sup>2</sup>

As far as the Lepchas are concerned we have an interesting account in Chron. KV. (p. 44) of the wars with the Bhutanese. It runs as follows: “. . . At that time the son of Yugthing Tishe, called Yugthing Aroop, being left in charge of the Rabdentse Palace, at the head of the Bhutea and Lepcha subjects of Sikkim, was captured by the Bhutanese force . . . Yugthing Aroop was made prisoner and sent to Bhutan to the Deb Raja called Sayshing, who, regarding him as the person who stood in the way of their fulfilling their wishes, wanted to wreak their vengeance on him by killing him. So they threw him into a dungeon, and proceeded to kill him, but while they were looking for him there, Aroop had performed the

<sup>1</sup> *Gaz.* p. 14 reports this illicit union with the second Maharajah, but adds a footnote to the effect that the subject is obscure.

<sup>2</sup> According to Tamsang this alphabet was designed by Thikung Men Salong, a minister to the earliest Lepcha king (see p. 27).

miracle of appearing in two forms. One Aroop was seen coolly taking a bath at the spring nearby, while the other was still in the dungeon. Besides that, the spears and swords flung at him were seen to have knotted into reef knots. The keeper of the prison, observing these miracles, reported them to Deb Sayshing who took him out and granted him an interview, on which occasion Aroop took a turquoise stone from the hair on the crown of his head, and offered it to the Deb Raja as a Nazir. The Deb Raja laid two swords before Aroop and said: You are credited with possessing various magical powers, exhibit them now, or else you shall be killed! On this Aroop knotted up each of the two swords, and on a piece of stone being handed him, he squeezed it into morsel, as if it had been soft clay or dough (leaving the impression of his finger thereon), upon which the Deb Raja was pleased to recognise him as a hero, who possessed more than mortal power for the purpose of defending the sacred place of pilgrimage which was his home (viz. Sikkim) . . .”.

It is also reported, Chron. KV. (p. 46), that the lama Jig-med poa at Pasak “. . . collected a body of 14 male and female Bijuas and Bijuanis of the Lepcha race called Bonbons. These he employed to work mischief by means of the black art (sorcery), but this produced no effect on the Raja . . .”.

According to Chron. GV. (see *Gaz.* p. 15) the fourth Maharajah (c. 1717–1734) became “more and more inclined to the Lepchas and their form of worship. Five of their priests, who gave themselves out to be the incarnation of Tesi (the Lepcha Guru Rimpoche), obtained immense influence over the Raja, and treated him in a most contemptuous manner, and arrogated so much to themselves that the Tasongs rose and successfully expelled them, the Raja himself being convinced that they were Mu-thepa or impostors. Throughout this commotion the Raja harried and distressed his Limbu subjects so much by calling them out unnecessarily to fight and again to build forts and walls, that in despair they threw off their allegiance and joined Nepal, so thus Sikkim began to lose the Limbu country.”

Presumably the same event is referred to in Chron. KV. (pp. 49 f.): “. . . five Lepchas appeared who pretended to be the incarnation of Tashi-thing, the great ancient Lepcha wizard chief, [and] imposed upon the credulity of the Raja, who knowing the Lepcha language and writing, was rather favourably inclined towards them. These five impostors pretended that they could make the tops of the Rabdentse Palace and Pemionchi [meet together], and tie a fountain into a knot, suspend a stone in the sky, and draw figures upon the surface of waters, and spin sand into a rope. The king was credulous enough to believe them, and spoke with undue pride of these miraculous powers to the Lamas of Pemionchi.

Once when the Raja and the Lamas were looking on the sight from Cho-chat-gang below Pemionchi, the Lepcha Bongthings (seers) were engaged in showing the people the sight of making the tops of the monastery and the palace meet together, the Raja being under their influence saw the sight as they wished he should see, but the Lamas saw that they had only two empty baskets. From this they knew that the Lepchas had no miraculous powers and sights. But they said that the time had not yet arrived. Then the Trapas of Pemionchi insisted upon their showing the miraculous powers, or else they would show the Lepchas physical powers; and they each took out a stone from their pockets and began to belabour the impostors with them [and] in spite of their attempting to run away, they were pursued and killed . . . The Raja himself was convinced of their imposition and trickery and that he had been duped by heretics and impostors . . .”.

Further, Chron. KV. (p. 52 f.) “. . . During the reign of this Raja, a Lepcha subject of Sikkim, living on the plain frontier, called Tishe Bidur, pretending to be the incarnation of

Guru Rimpoche, exhibited some miraculous powers in the way of necromancy and divinations. He acquired such a notorious fame as to collect around him several followers, until he was powerful enough to stop the Raja's revenues from the plains with impunity; he also sought the aid of the Mangar Raja and tried to raise a rebellion, upon which Yugthing Desit was sent with a force to quell it by arms, which he accomplished successfully, and killed all the Teshes at Chakung. Yugthing was seriously wounded by a poisoned arrow shot by the Teshe . . .”.

The fifth Maharajah (1734–c. 1780), who was the illegitimate son of the fourth Maharajah and a nun, was only one year old when his father died, and trouble arose during his minority (*Gaz.* pp. 15 ff.). It appears that the Lepchas at this time exercised some official influence.

Tamdi, head of one of the fourteen leading Sikkimese families, refused to acknowledge the legitimacy of the young Maharajah, and assumed the reins of government. For three years or so Tamdi and his party were successful, but finally the Lepcha or national party in favour of the Maharajah gained strength, and Tamdi was forced to flee to Tibet.

The Lepchas also obtained a greater share of the administration than they had had hitherto as Tumiyang or superintendents of cultivation, and some fixed system of revenue was devised. The names, still surviving, are:

- (1) hBah-pa.
- (2) bZo-lung, a tax on forest produce.
- (3) Tshong-skyed, customs or income tax.

At this time a Lepcha minister, Changzed Karwang, is also mentioned. In a later proclamation, dated 1826, it is recorded that Karwang was really a slave, though his mother gave out that he was the illegitimate son of the Raja. Karwang became so great that he entirely superseded the Maharajah, and he gradually evicted all the old Jongpens from their offices and installed his own sons in their stead. Karwang finally joined the Limbus, and thus caused the invasion of the Gurkhas.

During the 1770's Sikkim suffered from frequent invasions both by the Bhutanese and the Nepalese. About 1770 the Bhutanese overran all Sikkim east of the Tista, but the whole country rose, and the Bhutanese were utterly defeated and expelled from the country.

For several years after 1776 the Nepalese waged war on Sikkim, and during this war Changzed Chothup, a son of Chanzed Karwang, greatly distinguished himself and was given the Lepcha honorific name of Athing in commemoration of his seventeen victories over the Gurkhas. The war ended with the defeat of the Nepalese.

It is recorded (*Chron.* KV. p. 61) that during the reign of this Maharajah “when the lama Jig-med Pao came in the 6th month of the Chag-Drug (Iron-Dragon) year secretly by the Melong Pang, Lambang La passes, the local spirits of Talung are also believed to have come to greet him. He strolled all over Talung land, and sought out the caves and grottos that abound in the upper and lower places of the Talung glen, and declared them all open to future pilgrims, as places of pilgrimages . . .”.

The sixth Maharajah (ca. 1780–1790) married a daughter of his Lepcha minister Changzed Karwang; she became the mother of the succeeding Maharajah. In 1788–89 the Gurkhas of Nepal again invaded Sikkim, and the Maharajah and his family had to flee to Tibet. Here the Maharajah died, and the Tibetans sent back his son, when it was reported from Sikkim that the country had been freed.



The seventh Maharajah (ca. 1790–1861) was a small boy when he succeeded to the throne. In 1791 Nepal made war on Tibet, but was defeated. During this war (according to *Gaz.* p. 19) the popular party in Sikkim successfully and without any outside help prevented the Gurkhas from crossing the Tista. However, at the peace treaty the Sikkim Government was not represented, and Nepal kept western Sikkim while Tibet occupied some localities to the north.

These eighteenth century wars were often conducted with extreme cruelty, and the unhappy population suffered much from the hostilities and from famines.

In 1814 the Gurkhas again waged war on Sikkim,<sup>1</sup> but this time Britain came to her assistance; the Gurkhas were defeated by the British troops, and by the treaty of 1817 all the country that had been occupied by the Nepalese and Tibetans was restored to the Maharajah.

The Maharajah had a quarrel with his uncle, the minister Bho-lod. In 1826 Bho-lod was murdered, and his cousin Yuk-Lhat, fearing a similar fate, fled Sikkim and took refuge in Nepal with some eight hundred of his Lepcha tribesmen.

Chron. KV. (p. 84) says: “. . . So when Bolod was assassinated on the Maharajah's order, his nephews, the son of Kataba Kungla named Datung and Jerung Denon and Kazi Gorok, left Sikkim, taking with them about 800 houses of Lepcha subjects from Chidam and Namthang, and went away towards Illam, and settled there . . .”.

It should be mentioned that several Maharajahs are said to have married Lepcha women.

In 1834 Lepcha refugees in Nepal made inroads upon the Sikkim Terai. The British Government interfered, and the refugees were forced to return to Nepal. In 1835 the Maharajah ceded Darjeeling to the British Government for which he was later granted an annual sum of money, and in 1861 the final treaty between the British Government and the Sikkim State was concluded.

According to the Census of 1951 the population of Sikkim amounted to 135,646 of which 70,961 were males and 64,685 were females, i. e. an increase of about 11.5 per cent since the Census of 1941. It is estimated that this represents a population density of 39 persons to the square mile.<sup>2</sup> (If the uninhabited areas are excluded, Sikkim would have a density of about 100 persons to the square mile).

However, it is not quite certain how many of these people are Lepchas. The Census of 1931 registered 25,780 Lepchas, but this number also includes the Lepchas of the Darjeeling district of India. It is generally estimated that the number of Lepchas in Sikkim amounts to about 13,000.

In 1931 the Lepchas thus constituted only a small minority of the total population of Sikkim, 13,000 out of some 110,000; and today the balance is perhaps still more to the disadvantage of the Lepchas, even though their numbers may have increased, as they did during the period 1891–1931, when there was an increase of 20,018 (Census of 1891:<sup>3</sup> total population of Lepchas 5,762 of which 2,362 were males, 2,399 females, and 1,001 children).

The majority of the Sikkim population consists of Nepalese, Hindu and Tibetan immigrants. In the places where the last-mentioned have intermarried with the local population, their offspring is called Bhutia. The Nepalese are especially numerous, and in order to prevent them from completely taking the land from the Lepchas, the Sikkim Government have

<sup>1</sup> Morris pp. 49, 51 ff. records interesting incidents from this war.

<sup>2</sup> *Indian and Pakistan Year Book* 1952–53, pp. 10 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Gaz.* p. 27.

<sup>5</sup> The Lepchas.

reserved a particular district by name Jongu in the central and northern part of the country for the Lepehas.

Apart from the Hindus, the majority of whom live by trade, the inhabitants of Sikkim earn their living by agriculture, the main crops being maize, rice (there are said to be twelve kinds of rice), millet, buckwheat, wheat (five kinds), dhal or pulse (three kinds), mustard (three kinds), and cardamom. Among the cultivated fruits may be mentioned orange, mango, peach, walnut, bread-fruit, citron, lemon, guava, apple, pomegranate and pineapple. The following vegetables are also cultivated: sugar-cane, pumpkin, chilli, cucumber, tomato, radish, turnip, garlic, ginger, potato, yam, and others.

Up to recent times His Highness the Maharajah of Sikkim was the holder of all authority in Sikkim, both legislative, administrative, and judicial, while, regarding foreign relations, defence, etc. the country was under the protectorate of the Government of India. A Political Officer with residence in Gangtok represented the interests of the Government of India. In the middle of 1949 at the request of the Maharajah the Government of India lent the service of an officer with the title of Dewan<sup>1</sup> to the Government of Sikkim. The Dewan was to be in charge of the administration of the State, as Sikkim was threatened with disorder. In December 1950 a treaty was signed between the Government of India and the State of Sikkim, the salient feature of which is that Sikkim shall continue to be a protectorate of India, but shall enjoy autonomy in internal affairs. Changes may have taken place since then, but they are of no importance in this connection.

All land is crown land and belongs to the Sirkar, i. e. to the Government of Sikkim. The people pay rent either in kind according to the size of their holding, or a fixed rent in money. As there has been no proper survey of the country, an acre is determined by the seed or sowing capacity of the land. There are certain fixed limits to the area which a man or a family may possess, and therefore Sikkim is essentially a country of smallholdings.

The superior administrator nominates his subordinates. The chief administrative class are known as the kazi, the hereditary ministers or landowners. The kazis nominate the mandals who administer a group of villages. The office of the mandal is hereditary within the extended family. The mandal is responsible to the Government for the villages within his district. Below him is the *gya pán*, who is the chief administrative officer of each village. He is nominated for three years, and the office is held in turn by the men of the village. The *gya pán* collects the taxes, arranges for communal ceremonies, etc.

The revenue of the state is mainly derived from direct and indirect taxation. Direct taxation comprises house tax and income tax. On the whole the taxes are not considered to be heavy.

Crime is said to be rare, the most frequent crime being theft, and even that is rather rare in comparison with the number of inhabitants. The lower officials deal with minor offences, but serious crimes are referred to the Court at Gangtok.

The Red Sect Lamaism of Tibetan Buddhism is the religion of the ruling family and the official religion of the country, with thirty-eight major monasteries and several smaller temples. The Red Sect, representing the oldest branch of Lamaism, has the Tibetan Saskya Lama as its supreme head; its monks have retained the privilege of marriage, and many Sikkimese monks are married. They live with their wives and children on their farms, devoting regular periods, for instance one week every month, to religious services in the monastery to which

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *The Indian and Pakistan Yearbook and Who's Who for 1952-53*, compiled by *The Times of India*, Bombay, p. 5.

they are attached. Numerically Hinduism is superior in Sikkim because of the many immigrant Nepalese who profess this religion. There are some hundred converts to Christianity, converted by the Scottish and Finnish missionaries active in the country.

There are Buddhist seminars and ordinary schools; in 1932 these were reported to have 669 pupils. In Gangtok there is a High School which in that year was attended by 214 boys. There is also a missionary school for girls in Gangtok.

Reference was made above to the Jongu reservation. This is situated in Central Sikkim where the Maharajah established it as a kind of sanctuary for the Lepchas. Here they can live undisturbed, and settlements of non-Lepcha origin are strictly prohibited. The Jongu reservation is administered directly by the Government; in theory, it belongs to the Maharani. Because the Jongu Lepchas live a fairly isolated life, their area is the one best suited for anthropological field work. North of Jongu, beyond the Talung river, there are a few Lepcha villages which, although geographically outside Jongu, form a part of it administratively. The inhabitants of these villages, e. g. the Tingbung people, are considered still more conservative than the people of Jongu proper.<sup>1</sup> They therefore afford the very best opportunity for anthropological field work.

Although isolated, the Jongu and Tingbung Lepchas visit the neighbouring bazaars, selling their products to the local merchants and buying clothes, kitchen utensils, etc. In this way the life of the people is modified, and new inventions are imported and adopted. But development proceeds slowly in Jongu and Tingbung, and together they constitute the major Lepcha area in which the old traditions still flourish. The main spiritual influence in Jongu has come with Lamaism and the missionary work undertaken by the Lamaist monasteries. In many places, e. g. Tingbung, or in Lingthem, studied by Gorer and Morris, the lamas perform their ceremonies while the local Lepcha religious persons perform theirs. Some ceremonies may be performed by each group, while others are performed jointly. Serious strife between the leaders of the two groups seems to be rare. In many cases a kind of co-operation is established.

Outside the Jongu reservation the Lepchas live among the other inhabitants, just as they do in the districts of Darjeeling and Kalimpong. In some places they keep up their old traditions, more or less influenced by their neighbours, in other places they have almost completely adopted the local mode of life. From the following account it will be seen that many old Lepcha customs still survive among the Lepchas of the Kalimpong district. I have, of course, concentrated on the original Lepcha material of these areas, as my purpose was to collect as much as possible of what remains of the ancient Lepcha culture before it becomes too late.

As the similarities between the culture of the Jongu Lepchas and that of the Kalimpong Lepchas are more conspicuous than the differences, I have not hesitated to treat them under the same headings. But I have always indicated from which group the observation or the information is derived.

I have not studied the Darjeeling Lepchas nor have I ever visited Nepal, and in consequence I have no personal knowledge of the Lepcha branches living in these areas. They will therefore not be considered in the present book.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Gorer, pp. 53 f.

## THE AUTHOR'S FIELD WORK

As a member of The Third Danish Expedition to Central Asia I left Kabul during the last months of 1948, having spent the spring and summer among the Kalash or Black Kafirs of Chitral. I went via Peshawar, Lahore, Amritsar, Delhi, and Calcutta, and arrived at Gangtok towards the end of December and took up my lodgings in the Government rest-house.<sup>1</sup>

My intention was to study the Lepchas, and the first months of 1949 went on with the necessary preparations for field work. I managed, however, also to pay several visits to the various monasteries of the Red Sect in Sikkim, e. g. to the monasteries of Gangtok, Enche, Pemayangtse, and Rumtek, and took notes of the ceremonies and dances of the Lamas. I also made a trip to Kalimpong, where I had an opportunity to investigate a troop of Tibetan dancing pilgrims.<sup>2</sup>

Jongu, the Lepcha reservation of Sikkim, was, however, my goal, and during March I made excursions from Dikchu to several Lepcha villages west of the Tista. These excursions were, however, only designed to give me enough first-hand knowledge of the people and their villages to enable me to decide where best to make my headquarters. The end of March found me at Gangtok, where the Government officials most courteously put their great knowledge of local conditions at my disposal, and thus after a series of short, personal visits, and in consultation with the Government officials I decided to make Tingbung my headquarters, a decision I never came to regret.

The next step was to select an interpreter, and here again the Government helped me greatly in that they recommended Mr Pollo Tsering Lepcha to me. A very short interview for my purpose was sufficient to convince me that in Pollo Tsering Lepcha I had found the right man for that important office, and Tsering and I soon agreed that he was to enter my service as field interpreter. From that time onwards, and throughout my stay in Sikkim, Tsering accompanied me on all my journeys and went later with me to Kalimpong.

I could scarcely have found a better interpreter. Tsering was a wide-awake young Lepcha, twenty years old, eager to learn, ready to understand what it all was about, and to do his utmost to help me in my work. There was no shirking of tiresome duties where Tsering was concerned, and his patience seemed as great as his determination to interpret fully and correctly. I have watched him often as he sat with me in my tent, taking down what my informants dictated to him, and noticed how conscientiously he tried to understand the full meaning of the frequently difficult and archaic words they used, and how he coaxed our visitors to tell him all they knew. He had besides a natural gift for getting into contact with people and persuading them to come and be interrogated. Naturally, as Lepcha was his mother tongue he spoke the language fluently, and was also able to take the dictation down

<sup>1</sup> For a preliminary report on my expeditionary work, see Siiger 1956, pp. 1 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See Siiger 1951, pp. 1 ff.

in Lepcha script. As he was well acquainted with Lepcha customs, and as it did not take him long to learn the basic method of field work, I came in course of time to regard him less as my interpreter than as a valuable fellow investigator. Once, when we sat alone together in my tent in the intervals of work, he told me something of his life, and as it is both revealing for his character and abilities, and the milieu from which he comes, I shall tell it here.

Tsering had no recollection of his very early years, but when he was seven years old his parents sent him to the local Lepcha day school. His way to school led through wooded country with copses and clumps of trees; he was much afraid of wild animals because he was all by himself. There were seventeen children in the school, both boys and girls, and the schoolmaster was a kind man who treated his pupils with the utmost consideration, never beating them. After a few years his parents took him away from school, and put him to herding cattle, and he then used to go with his friends and their cattle into the jungle. During this period he forgot much of the knowledge he had acquired at school, and spent his free time playing with the other boys. At that time, i. e. 1936–37, it happened that one day he was alone in the house, as his parents had gone to the bazaar in the next village. About 3 p. m. an earthquake shook the ground heavily, it sounded like heavy thunder, and the air became filled with dust. Never before had he experienced an earthquake, and naturally he was very frightened; when the dust cleared away, he discovered that some hills had disappeared.

In that year his parents moved to another place, and he was sent to a missionary school. At first he was very displeased, because he had less time to play than before, but as his teachers were kind he gradually came to like going to school again. Fortunately the schoolmaster liked hunting, and twice a month he used to go hunting, taking the boys with him.

Some time later his elder brother, who had studied at Kalimpong and qualified as a teacher, was appointed schoolmaster somewhere in western Sikkim. For some ten months Tsering stayed with him as a pupil. Once while living there he went into the jungle; he lost his way, and night found him still wandering about. He had to seek shelter under some large trees, where he made himself a bed of twigs and leaves. But he could not fall asleep for fear of wild animals and the malignant devils (*mung*) that always lie in wait for human beings in order to devour their flesh and suck their blood. For the next three days he wandered about until at last he found his way back.

Some time later he became a temporary junior assistant teacher at a school for small children, and stayed there for nine months. Then his father took him away and sent him to Gangtok, to the Gangtok Girls' School which also received boys. At his former schools the teaching had been confined to reading and writing, but now he was taught not only Lepcha, but also geography, history, and English. To begin with it all seemed very difficult, and he often used to rise early in the morning to prepare his lessons. But later things went better, and after a year he was transferred to the Gangtok High School for Boys, and was there for four years. During this time he also acquired a knowledge of Tibetan, Nepalese, and Hindi. He had just left the Gangtok High School when he joined me, but he hoped later to study forestry, and enter the forest service of Sikkim.

But to return to my journey. On April 9th I left Gangtok with Tsering, the Sherpa Angdava, my good and faithful cook, and twelve bearers, whom I had engaged to carry my outfit; we reached Dikchu that evening, and spent the night there. Next day we went to Mangan and from there to Singhik, where we spent the second night, and early in the morning

of the third day we crossed the Tista river by the bridge leading from Mangen into Jongu.

We now had to walk in single file along a path which first led northwards, then westwards along the right bank of the Talung river. Here the ground was boggy and covered with dense jungle. The bearers at the head of my small caravan had again and again to use their jungle knives to hack a way for us through the tangled mass of branches and creepers. It was hot, and the ground moisture produced an intense, clammy and unpleasant heat in the narrow tunnel formed by the luxuriant leafy canopy overhead. The humid heat made it difficult to walk, and now and then I had to call a halt, lest every one should get too exhausted. The naked feet and legs of the bearers were covered with leeches, often as many as twenty to thirty of them would be clinging to a man, swelling visibly with the blood they sucked. It was out of the question simply to tear them off, as that would have resulted only in a bleeding sore; but the men had their own remedy with them in the form of a stick to which was tied a small pouch of salt at one end, and when the leeches became too bad, the men would press the pouch of salt on to them. This made the leeches loose their hold, and they dropped off without leaving any sore. The burning end of a cigarette, I discovered, proved equally efficacious, but in spite of frequent application and in spite of my stout gum boots my feet and stockings were one mass of blood and crushed leeches in the evening. However, at noon we were over the worst, and crossed the Talung river by a suspension bridge of bamboo and began the ascent of the steep slope on its left bank to a plateau. Later the path turned westwards, here and there leading through straggling hamlets of Lepcha houses. Late in the afternoon we arrived on the outskirts of Tingbung and stopped. I sent one of the bearers into the village to get hold of one of the inhabitants. He returned with a peasant, whom I asked for permission to enter his village; after some hesitation he agreed to let us in; he then took us through the village and allowed me to camp on a barren field on its western outskirts quite close to the jungle. Next morning I sent the bearers back, and was ready for work.

During the first days the Lepchas were somewhat scared of personal contact with me. Later I learnt that this was due to their innate fear of the *mung* who are supposed to follow every person; and of course they were particularly afraid of the *mung* in the train of a strange foreigner. Many of them had never seen a European before. I had therefore to be very careful to begin with, but when Tsering had succeeded in establishing friendly relations with *rig zing*, the local *gya pán* (headman), and we had had him to dinner, we were able to call upon the leading men. As the weeks passed we came to know most of the inhabitants of Tingbung, and many of them became our firm friends.

At the same time as we visited the various villages in the Tingbung area and called upon the individual families there, we made preliminary ethnographical surveys, taking down what we saw and heard. Later we invited the most experienced and communicative people to my tent, and began our interrogation. Most of our records of rituals, prayers, songs, etc. were taken down in my tent during these visits, and later Tsering checked many of them several times, asking other informants the same questions. It was slow work, which often went on for hours on end day after day, and on some occasions we had to resort to peculiar measures to persuade the men to share their secret knowledge with us (cf. e. g. the *kong chen* priest, pp. 191 f.).

I think that any one living among the Lepchas for any length of time will have the same experience as I had and come to grow as fond of them as I did. Their way of life is peaceful,

they are by nature extremely kind, and when they lose their immediate fear of a stranger and gain confidence in him, they meet one with a lovely smile, and an open mind and, above all, with friendliness. I enjoyed my frequent visits to their homes, they received me hospitably, invited me to sit with them around the hearth or in the altar room, and altogether they made me feel at home while a bamboo bottle of local beer or a cup of tea was served. After the initial customary greetings they soon began chatting with me, they showed me whatever I wanted to see, and usually they answered gladly all my innumerable questions.

I have observed the Lepchas working in their fields, at their meals, and at festivities in their homes; I have listened to their prayers and songs, and have attended several of their religious functions and festivals. They were usually willing to talk of their customs, lives, and thoughts, and if my question was too odd, it would simply provoke a faint smile; when they discovered that I did not resent that, they would frequently burst out in a gay laughter in which we then all joined.

During the whole of my stay at Tingbung the Lepchas were busy with their work, and consequently I could not engage any one as a full time informant. I succeeded, however, in making arrangements with several men, who then in turn acted as informants. In the following description the names of the informants will be given, except in the case of quite ordinary statements.

*rig zing* (see p. 47, Tingbung House No. 1) was the most prominent and frequent of my informants. He was a middle-aged man with a large family. As already said he held the office of *gya pán*, and as such he had extensive connections and far-reaching influence; as he also officiated regularly as a *mün* man, he possessed a wide knowledge of religious ceremonies. *rig zing* had a good brain; the other villagers looked up to him, and it is my impression that many went to him for advice both in secular and religious matters. I soon discovered that he used to officiate on such important occasions as childbirths, weddings, etc., and therefore I concentrated on these ceremonies in my work with him. He knew many important religious invocations and prayers by heart and was willing to spend hours reciting them for me. In spite of his great ability he was occasionally unable to satisfy my demand for an exact explanation of some word or phrase which was used in the ancient prayers he recited. When then I pressed for an explanation, he would finally acknowledge that the wording had been handed down of old, and that he was obliged to use that wording even when he was ignorant of its original meaning.

*rǔng jí* (see p. 57, Nung House No. 1), was sixty-eight years old; he too was a communicative person, ready to help me when he had time to spare, and he frequently turned up of his own accord and began recounting and reciting over a cup of tea. He possessed a fairly good knowledge of different aspects of local culture, and he would often be able to provide information on points unknown to the others.

Junggi (see p. 58, Nung House No. 2), was seventy-five years old; he was the priest of *kong chen*, and a serious type of man. He was shy by nature, and as he was also sole heir to a high religious office which carried with it an exceptionally close relationship with the supernatural powers, he was obviously anxious not to have too much to do with secular affairs. He was not an easy man to contact at the best of times, and when occasionally I succeeded in my efforts to make him consent to answer questions, Tsering usually had to drag the words out of him. But when he did accede to my requests, and began to talk, his statements and recitals were exceedingly valuable. He therefore ranges among my most important informants.

*hlam bo* (see p. 49, Tingbung House No. 6) was sixty-one years old, and an experienced *mün*; he was a taciturn person, who kept himself aloof from his neighbours. It was only once, and after several attempts at persuasion, that he consented to repeat his recital of the Cherim prayers (see pp. 187 ff.) and to supply me with explanatory details. Since that time I somehow lost contact with him, presumably because he resented further questions on rituals which contained invocations of the dangerous *nung*.

I had also several occasional informants, such as Rapgyor, *kã lók*, Marji, and others, who helped me in many ways and provided me with much information on various subjects. Among our informants the old Cusemo, being a *nyen jo mo* priestess, occupied a special position and her contribution will be dealt with in detail on pp. 167 ff.

As the weeks passed the monsoon season began to make itself felt, and the rain increased day by day. About June 20th the rains had become almost incessant and rather heavy, the villages became veritable seas of mud, and it proved a major undertaking to go anywhere. Our tents could not keep the damp out, and water seeped in through the canvas floors, while everything which could become mouldy did so. In addition came malaria, which now made its first attack on the Lepchas. My companions and I were protected by Paludrine tablets, but the threat of malaria had a bad effect on the villagers, and a common fear seemed to seize them, and made work difficult. It was to be expected that further investigations would soon be made impossible by rain, mud, and malaria, and when it was reported that a bamboo bridge across the Talung had been carried away by the rushing waters of the steadily swelling river, I decided to return to Singhik before being cut off entirely from the outside world. On June 27th we left Tingbung by the same route by which we had arrived, and I dismissed the bearers, but kept Tsering.

From June 28th to August 2nd we stayed comfortably in the Singhik rest-house. We obtained good contact with the Lepchas of the neighbourhood and took down many legends, stories, the procedure of a funeral ceremony, etc., and had excellent opportunities for taking anthropological measurements.

We had several informants in Singhik, three of whom ought to be mentioned especially: Adir, the Lepcha mandal, was a most valuable informant and provided us with much knowledge of different kinds, especially about the daily life of the Lepchas in the days of his grandfather. Adir was a big man, smiling, vivacious, talkative, and energetic. In his youth he had worked first as an ordinary road mender, but later he was promoted to be foreman of his gang. After this period of his life was over, he travelled in the mountains with a party of surveyors, his duty being to provide them with food. On his return he had settled in his native village as an ordinary peasant, and after some years he was made mandal (see pp. 118 ff.). Adir was by far the most accomplished of my informants; he had travelled much, had met many people, and experienced the most varying circumstances. Indeed, he was rather proud of his knowledge of the outside world and liked to boast of his numerous adventures.

Jukne, a sedate peasant and a kind-hearted father, lost a young, grown-up son during our stay at Singhik. Nevertheless, despite his sorrow, he was ready to work with us, and for many days he recounted the long Lepcha version of the legend of *gye bu* (see pp. 281 ff.). He was of a meditative temperament and obviously liked to ponder on matters of religion and culture, and I profited much by his genuine interest in his work as an informant.

Baknar, a young man of Singhik, was the most intelligent of all the uneducated Lepchas



I have met. His father was guard at the rest-house, and Baknar, who regularly helped him with his work at the rest-house, had learnt much from the various Government officials who had stayed there on their tours of inspection. He had picked up some knowledge of English from them, and was even to some extent able to read English. He said that he had learnt it by himself after brief and occasional instruction. In spite of his youth he had a good knowledge of Lepcha culture and religion, and it happened more than once that Baknar was the person who settled a disputed question.

From August 2–16th Tsering and I made an excursion to Lachung in north eastern Sikkim, visiting some Lepcha families en route. In Lachung we collected specimens of material culture from the Bhutia population. The results from Lachung will be published separately.

From August 17–30th we stayed again at Singhik resuming our work with the local Lepchas.

Thereafter we returned to Gangtok, and I stayed in the rest-house working up my notes with Tsering and contacting some local Lepchas.

Later I went to Kalimpong and stayed at the Himalayan Hotel where Mr David Macdonald kindly placed his wide knowledge of the local cultures and his many contacts at my disposal. I had also the great pleasure of meeting the representatives of the modern General Lepcha Association, Darjeeling District, Head Office Kalimpong, who showed great interest in my investigation of the ancient traits of the Lepcha culture. I am indebted to Mrs Mohan, Kalimpong, a leading member of the Association, who not only provided me with much information, but who also many years later was so very kind as to write me a most appreciative letter expressing her delight at my brief paper on the Kanchenjunga cult of the Lepchas, submitted to the Anthropological Congress of Vienna, 1952.<sup>1</sup>

During my stay at Kalimpong, the phonetician Mr Keith Sprigg<sup>2</sup> and I made a joint excursion to the Lepchas of Git, where Father Brahier most kindly put us in touch with the old *bong thing* Ongdi Buru. Despite his conversion to Roman Catholicism Ongdi Buru was able to provide us with much knowledge of important features of the ancient Lepcha religion.

In Kalimpong Dr A. Craig kindly placed facilities at my disposal for taking anthropological measurements on the Lepchas in the Church of Scotland Mission Hospital and in the Hospital's clinic in the bazaar.

In October I left Kalimpong for Assam to work for some months among the Boros, but when, in February 1950, I returned to Kalimpong I resumed my work among the Lepchas, and concentrated on supplementing my notes in the time left to me before my final departure from Sikkim in March. In April 1950 I was back in Copenhagen, having been away for two and a half years.

During the summer of 1952 I spent a month in London, working in the museums and libraries, and consulted Professor Christoph von Furer-Haimendorf, Department of Cultural Anthropology, School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London. At that time Mr Kharpoo Tamsang of Kalimpong, head of the General Lepcha Association, was working as a research assistant to Mr Sprigg at the School of Oriental and African Studies. With the kind permission of the School, Mr Tamsang recorded on gramophone some of my Lepcha prayers, songs, etc. The result of this co-operation will be dealt with in Part II. In his spare time Mr Tamsang also provided me with much information, and kindly placed

<sup>1</sup> See Siiger 1955.

<sup>2</sup> See Part II.

some provisional typewritten notes on the Lepcha culture at my disposal.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, Mr Tamsang read my field notes from Sikkim, and made several comments on them. These comments will be found below in the appropriate places. I am greatly indebted to Mr Tamsang for permission to publish them and for the most stimulating discussions I had with him. I may perhaps add here that he confirmed my own impression that we have not nearly exhausted the material found in Sikkim for the culture and religion of the Lepchas. May it be collected before it is too late.

<sup>1</sup> Excerpts from these notes form the basic information concerning the customs of the Kalimpong Lepchas. They are given in the respective chapters.

## THE TINGBUNG AREA

### THE LOCALITY INVESTIGATED

Tingbung is the official name of a conglomeration of villages situated on the northern hillsides of the Talung river. The name Tingbung is used for a village as well as for the surrounding district including several other villages and hamlets. The local people pronounce the name Tungvung.<sup>1</sup> According to the local tradition Tingbung is a very old settlement, while according to the Chronicle there were already Lepchas here seven hundred years ago. The reference to Tingbung in the Chronicle occurs in connection with an account of Na-t Wang-Ton-Grub of Kham, who some time after 1264 travelled southwards from Sakya in Tibet to seek his fortunes in Sikkim, and settled at Talung. His son, Tsé-t Wang-rNam-rGyal moved to Tung-sBong (Ting-bong), where he married a Lepchani wife.<sup>2</sup> As there is no indication that this woman lived among strangers, and as we do not hear anything about Lepchas being evicted from and later re-occupying Tingbung, it does not seem too hazardous to suggest that the local tradition is correct, and that in Tingbung we have a district which has been continuously inhabited by Lepchas from the earliest time of their history as a people.

As the Lepchas are extraordinarily aware of and sensitive to their geographical environment, it seems reasonable to begin with this, and investigate the impact which it has had on them, and the influence it has exerted on their imagination.

Let us first turn towards the northwest. Here we encounter the holy mountain *kong chen* or Kanchenjunga on the summit of which resides the famous *rūm* of that name. Far away to the west and to the north the numerous peaks, the *vik* or soldiers of *kong chen*, tower on the horizon. Beyond any doubt the summit of *kong chen* exerts a powerful influence on the Lepchas, and not only on them. Kanchenjunga is also the official war god of the State of Sikkim, and as such he is the protector of the entire country; regular ceremonies are performed to him in the Lamaist temples of Sikkim, and especially at the court temple of Gangtok.<sup>3</sup> A recent incident will illustrate the sacred character of him and his mountain. In spite of several energetic assaults the Kanchenjunga was not conquered till 1956. The successful team pledged themselves beforehand not to "go beyond the point on the mountain at which we were assured of a route to the top, and not, however high our reconnaissance might take us, to desecrate the immediate neighbourhood of the summit".<sup>4</sup> Thus the Sikkim Government carefully guards the most holy residence of its patron god from the sacrilegious presence of human beings.

West of the Kanchenjunga lies the Kingdom of Nepal. The Nepalese have frequently waged war on Sikkim and invaded the country, and there has also been a more peaceful

<sup>1</sup> *u* pronounced like *u* in 'full'. Cf. also the Lingthem pronunciation, Morris, p. 56: Toong Voong.

<sup>2</sup> *Gaz.* p. 33.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. p. 191.

<sup>4</sup> Band 1956, pp. 38 and 54.

Nepalese infiltration; many Nepalese immigrants have settled in the lower Sikkimese districts, where they have proceeded to take possession of jungle country that belonged to the Lepchas and convert it into arable land.

To the north, beyond the Himalayas, lies the vast plateau of Tibet, a country full of mysteries not only to the far-off Europeans, but also to the near-by Lepchas. In fact, the age-old cultural and religious influence and the political superiority of Tibet dominate the historical outlook of the Lepchas. Padmasambhava, the Tibetan saint, usually called Guru Rimpoche, the great propagator of ancient Lamaism, is to the Lepchas the outstanding mysterious personality of Tibetan religion. The imprints of his soles can be seen on a rock in the jungle north of Langdyang. A strange mixture of defence, fear, and awe characterises the attitude of the tiny Lepcha culture towards Tibet, this great neighbour to whom for centuries the small Lepcha nation has felt inferior.

The Red Sect Talung Monastery to the north of Tingbung is the nearest representative to the Lepchas of Tibetan religion. The present monastery, said to have been built in 1789<sup>1</sup> and reported to contain the mausoleum of the Lepcha kings,<sup>2</sup> exercises a notable influence over the whole neighbourhood. Red Sect lamas may marry, and several Lepcha men of the Tingbung region, who for a time have lived as monks in this monastery, now celebrate Lamaist ceremonies before the house altar in their homes.

The track by which we arrived at Tingbung is the normal route to the main parts of Sikkim. For quite a distance it follows the Talung river which during the rainy season becomes a foaming, roaring stream, often overflowing its banks and sweeping away the flimsy bamboo suspension bridges. Many gruesome legends are told of this gorge, the haunt of evil spirits, who shower avalanches and rocks on the people who dare to penetrate into its lonely depths.<sup>3</sup>

Further eastwards, beyond the Sikkim border, lies the Chumbi valley, which used to be Lepcha territory, but which now belongs to Tibet; east of that again we have the Kingdom of Bhutan, whose inhabitants have several times made war on Sikkim and have carried off captured Lepchas as slaves. With Bhutan we have reached the eastern geographical horizon of the Lepchas.

When now we turn to the south, we come first to Jongu, the Lepcha reservation; beyond that we have the lower Sikkimese districts, now mainly settled by Nepalese farmers. To the south-east lies Gangtok, the capital and administrative centre of the Sikkim State.

Southwards are the Indian districts of Kalimpong and Darjeeling, and then, beyond them, the vast Indian plains. The Lepchas have only a vague idea of what India really is, but they do know that its culture is very ancient, and that it is a most powerful country. The Tingbung Lepchas' personal knowledge of Indians is usually confined to the Indian bazaar merchants with whom they trade.

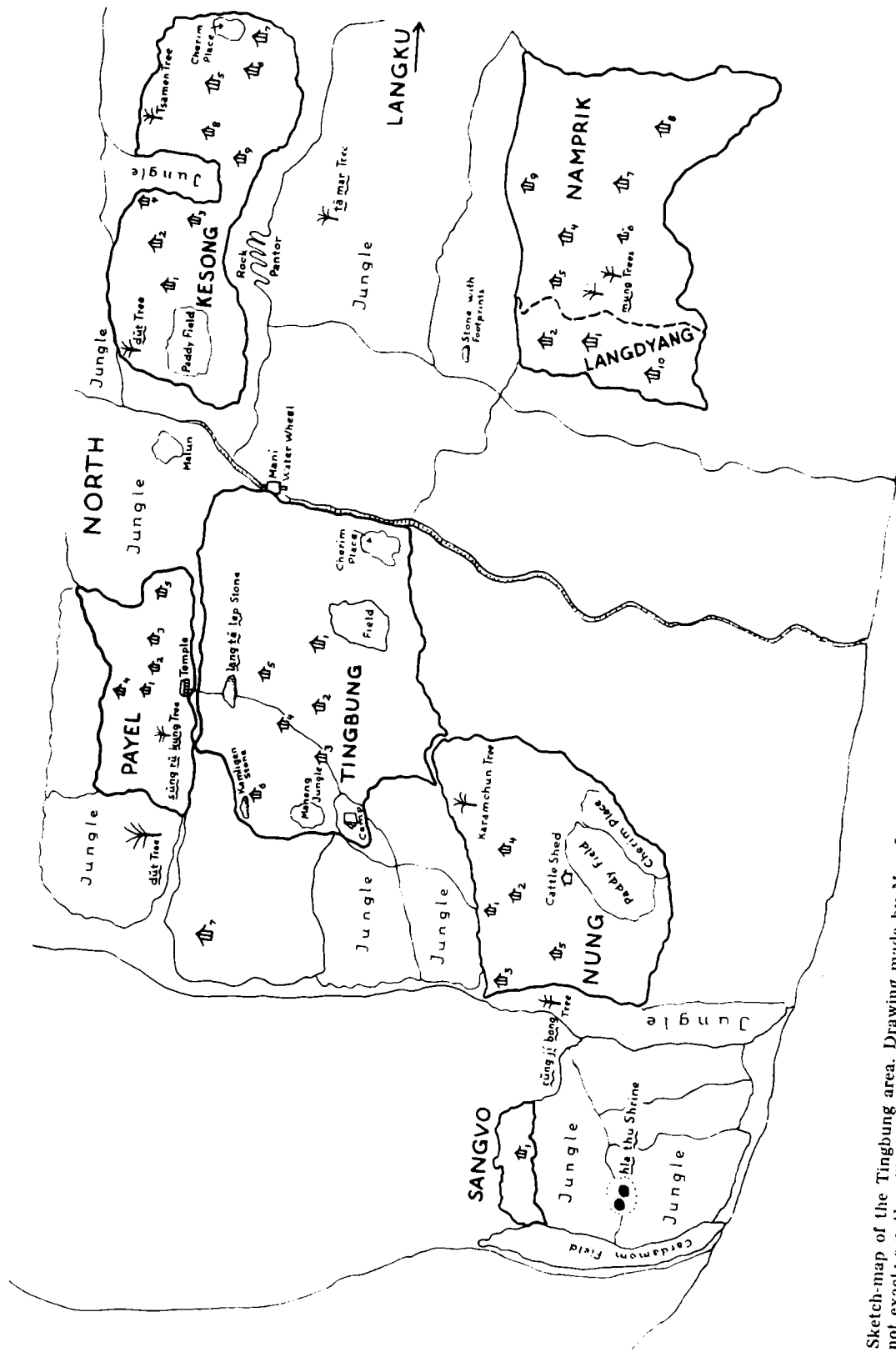
After this brief survey of the wider geographical horizon of the Tingbung Lepchas, we shall now focus our attention on the locality itself. The Tingbung area comprises six villages and hamlets in all with the village of Tingbung as their centre, viz. to the north Payel and Kesong, to the east Nampruk (with Langdyang), to the south Nung, and to the west Sangvo.

On the south the Tingbung area is bounded by the steep bank of the Talung river, on the north by rocky hillsides and impenetrable jungle. Communication with other Lepcha villages

<sup>1</sup> Waddell 1939, p. 285.

<sup>2</sup> Waddell 1900, p. 156.

<sup>3</sup> Waddell 1900, p. 156.



Sketch-map of the Tingbung area. Drawing made by Mrs. Inger Aclon Dix, according to a rough drawing made by the author in the field. The scale is not exact; e.g. the villages of Kesong, Namprik and Langdyang are situated further to the east than shown on the map. To the south the slope towards the Talung river begins.

is either along the track eastwards which was mentioned above, or along a track which runs westwards south of Sangvo and down to the river; there is a bridge here and a path leading to Lingthem. I have not seen the bridge myself, as I never went outside the Tingbung area, my Government permission not extending beyond that locality. A mountain brook separates Payel and Kesong, dividing the area into a western and an eastern part. On its way this stream turns an ordinary Lamaist water wheel, *Mani*, whose vertically rotating cylinder contains long scrolls of paper with printed prayers.

### 1. *The Village of Tingbung.*

I had my camp in the western part of the village of Tingbung. House No. 1 (see Map), is situated almost in the middle of Tingbung village and belongs to *rig zing*, the *gya pán* or local headman. I made this house my starting-point for a survey tour of the whole district, using some of the local men as guides.

First turning eastwards and walking on the low artificial, earthen ridges separating the small wet rice fields, we directed our steps towards the Cherim place, the holiest place in the village. It is a flat hillock, covered with rocks and stones, with an open space surrounded by tall bamboos on the top. At regular intervals the villagers collect here to pray for the protection and benevolence of the *rām*, requesting them to avert the attacks of the evil *mung*. Every Lepcha village of importance has its own Cherim Sanctuary, considered the holiest place in the tiny community.

We went back the way we had come and on to the end of the village. On the way we passed the semi-ruins of a house which some time previously had been abandoned by its owners. It made a miserable sight with its broken beams, its sagging, half-rotten walls, with the gaping holes in its roofs, and no door. The picture of utter desolation, of life abandoned, was further emphasised by the agricultural tools lying scattered on the ground outside the house, while weeds were trying to smother it all. An uncomfortable silence hung over the place, haunted by *mung*.

Our guides hurried from the spot, and we walked on until we reached an isolated patch of jungle called Manang. When we were about thirty feet from it, our Lepcha guides stopped dead, and catching us by the arms they prevented us from going any nearer. They told us that this jungle is the home of a terrible *mung* who punishes all who trespass on its property with deadly fever.

Somewhat further northwards we came to a large rock named *kam li* or *kam li gen*. The family of the neighbouring house (House No. 6) is in some way intimately connected with it, and believe that all human beings originate from *kam li*; others, however, believe that it is only the people of Tingbung who stem from this rock.

From the *kam li gen* stone we followed the path northward towards Payel, and then east until we reached a track going south, which would take us back to our camp. Shortly after turning off the Payel road we had again to walk circumspectly, this time because we had to pass a big stone *lāng tã lep*, which harbours a much-feared *mung*.

*The Villagers.* The inhabitants of a Lepcha village form a small community which is closely united by common administrative duties, mutual help, and such occasional important events as communal religious ceremonies; but the common suffering from such disasters as avalanches, landslides, diseases and epidemics, also contribute their part to the strong spirit of solidarity which characterises Lepcha society. Moreover, the Lepchas are an easy-going

people, not given to quarrelling, and the general atmosphere is one of gentleness. Naturally a European, staying in a village for a couple of months, has only a limited opportunity of becoming acquainted with the more intimate life of the community, and presumably many incidents have never come to my knowledge; but even so, it is surely significant that during my entire stay with the Tingbung people I seldom came across any incident witnessing to any real, overt or hidden, strain between two individuals, let alone factions and strife, within the community.

After these preliminary remarks I shall now proceed to an examination of the individual families. To make the picture complete, I shall, as far as possible, give the age stated, *pū tsho* (lineage), birth place, property, livestock and the like, of the family and its individual members. It will be noticed that I also give details relating to children who have died in infancy or later, as without this one would get a distorted impression of the actual birth-rate among the Lepchas. My chief informants were *rig zing* of Tingbung, House No. 1; *kā lók* and Choder of Tingbung, House No. 3; Namehut of Nung, House No. 1; and Danun of Payel, House No. 3.

*House No. 1: 14 persons.* This house, being the largest and best built in the village of Tingbung (for a detailed description of this house, see pp. 63 f.), stands at a place called Sahor *dā*, the name of a small pond which dried up many years ago. This house belongs to *rig zing* ("Clever Fellow"), 55, of Ram Bachet *pū tsho*, a rather short, but vigorous man with great powers of endurance; even when he had worked in his fields for the whole day, he was able to sit for hours in my tent during the evening sharing his knowledge of the Lepcha culture with Tsering and me. He is a *mūn* and officiates as such on many important occasions; it is for instance he who performs birth and wedding ceremonies. He is also the *gya pán* or headman of Tingbung. He stated that his father was 65 years old when he died, his mother 86 years old, his grandfather 74 years old, and his grandmother 67 years old. *rig zing* is married to Botid, who comes from a place called Panto in the village of Rangom above Mangen. Her father, called Galden, died when he was about 70 years old, her mother Chuso died when she was about 50 years old.

Children:

- (1. A daughter, died 3 days old).
2. *nor den* ("Wealthy"), 27, educated as a lama at Talung Monastery, now acting as a village lama and officiating regularly at the village temple of Payel and at occasional village ceremonies and festivities. He is married to Sam Putid from a village outside the Tingbung area, and they have 3 children: a girl, 6; a boy (age ?); and a boy, 5 months old. They all live in this house.
3. Rapgyor, son, 26, married to Bimbo from a place called Kalu. They have one child, a girl, 7 months old.
- (4. A daughter, died 2 years old).
5. Sangta, daughter, 22, married to Ongto of Nyen Rongmo *pū tsho*. They live outside the Tingbung area in a village called Tung.
6. Put, son, 18, unmarried.
7. Bogtiv, son, 17, married to a *kít* ("Peaceable") from Singhik. Although they have been married for two years she still lives with her parents, but will soon move to her husband and live with him.

8. Norse, daughter, 12, unmarried.
9. *hlak bo* ("Wednesday"), son, 8.
- (10. Karmo, daughter, died 2 years old).

On his ground *rig zing* has built a small house for his old sister, Shubet, a *nyen jo mo* priestess (see p. 167) and her husband.

Property: 4 cardamom fields, 6 paddy fields, 4 dry fields, 1 orange tree, 1 bamboo stand.  
Livestock: 4 bulls, 5 cows, 9 calves, 4 goats, 6 pigs.<sup>1</sup>

*House No. 2: 9 persons.* I was told that many years ago there was a small pond, called Mangkyang *dã*, quite close to this house. The pond dried up long ago, but its name has been retained. The *mung* Chamen who lived near this pond is still associated with the place and the house, and sometimes the local lamas burn incense and recite prayers from their books to this *mung*.

The father, *nã chat*, 63, of Damro *pũ tsho*, a brother of *hlam bo* ("Tall") (Tingbung House No. 6), is married to Nangdyangmo, 55. They have an only son Shambrek, 30, married to Sangvomo, 25. Shambrek and Sangvomo have 6 children:

1. *pãk* ("Short"), son, 12. He is adopted by *hlam bo*, his grandfather's brother (Tingbung House No. 6), with whom he lives.
2. *hlak bo* ("Wednesday"), son, 10.
3. Atep, son, 8.
4. Botdao, son, 6.
5. Zimi, daughter, 4.
6. *a pót*, son, 2.

Property: 2 cardamom fields, 2 fields with crops, 1 paddy field, 3 peach trees, 3 banana plants.

Livestock: 4 bulls, 3 cows, 3 calves, 3 goats, 6 pigs. *nã chat* has a small cattle shelter in the mountains.

*House No. 3: 9 persons.* This house is owned jointly by two brothers of the Ram Bachet *pũ tsho*, sons of Ashul, who died at the age of 63. *kã lók* ("Rat"), the elder brother, 30, is married to *phem bo* ("Saturday"), who comes from a village above Singhik. They have one child, a son, Dendia, 9.

The younger brother, Choder, 21, is married to Gormu Nyom, 19, who comes from a place above Dikchu. They have no children.

In the house live also: 1. The brothers' old mother, Nazap Rimo, 70–80 years old and a *mũn*; 2. Nagu, a son of their paternal aunt, 25, of Bachen *pũ tsho*; 3. Nagu's wife, Nyermo; 4. Daï, a brother of Nagu, 16. Nagu, his wife, and Daï live in this house because their parents have died.

Property: 1 rice field, 3 dry fields with maize, millet, and cardamom, 1 barley field. 3 orange trees, 2 banana plants. They also cultivate onion, chilli, and peas.

Livestock: 2 bulls, 3 cows, 2 calves, 4 goats.

<sup>1</sup> Most Lepchas keep about a dozen hens, a few cocks, a couple of cats, and a couple of dogs. These will not be registered.



*House No. 4: 5 persons.* The father, *tūk po* ("String"), 53, of the Ram Bachet *pū tsho*, first married to Tayakmu, who died about 7 years ago at the age of 56. They had no children. He then married her younger sister Langkomo, 33, by whom he has 3 children.

Children:

1. *pā thok*, son, 4.
2. Pedum, daughter, 2.
3. *kā lók kyong* ("Village Rat"), son, 6 months.

Originally *tūk po* lived at Payel, but as his wife and his brother's wife could not agree, he moved to Tingbung and built this house. The place is called *kól bung* after a big *kól bung* tree (walnut) near by. According to Tamsang the Lepchas extract a brown dye from the bark of this tree.

Property: 3 cardamom fields, 2 paddy fields, 2 fields with crops, 2 apple trees.

Livestock: 3 bulls, 4 cows, 3 calves, 5 pigs.

*House No. 5: 6 persons.* The father, Kaching, 44, of the Ram Bachet *pū tsho*, is married to Kodu, 33, who comes from a place called Tsandenbong, close to Lingthem.

Children:

- (1. A son who died 2 years old).
2. *kā lók it* ("Excrement of Rat"), daughter, 12.
3. Pache, son, 10.
4. Ching, son, 8.
5. Pasang, son, 6.

Kaching's father, Choden, who is a brother of Cusemo, the *nyen jo mo* (see pp. 167 ff.), lives in Namprük (Namprük, House No. 1). Originally Choden lived in the family house at Tingbung, but handed it over to Kaching, and moved to Namprük.

Kaching has a sister, Dyemo, 33, living with her husband at Singhik.

Property: 2 cardamom fields, 2 paddy fields, 2 dry fields with crops, 1 orange tree, 3 peach trees, 1 apple tree, 4 bamboo stands.

Livestock: 1 cow, 2 calves, 3 pigs, 1 goat.

*House No. 6: 4 persons.* The father, *hlam bo* ("Tall"), 61, of the Damro *pū tsho*, who is a *mün*, is a brother of *nā chat* (Tingbung, House No. 2). His wife, *dā kam* ("Short Sleep"), 43, comes from a place called Nampong in the village of Laven, across the river, opposite Tingbung.

They have no children of their own, but seven years ago they adopted the boy *pāk* ("Short"), 12, a son of Shambrek (Tingbung, House No. 2) and a grandson of *nā chat*, a brother to *hlam bo*. About six years ago this boy was married to Bringmu, 21 (!).

*hlam bo* and his family feel intimately connected with the rock *kam li* or *kam li gen* (see p. 46).

Property: 2 cardamom fields, 2 paddy fields (one is new), 1 dry field with crops, 2 banana trees, 3 peach trees, 3 bamboo stands.

Livestock: 1 bull, 3 cows, 2 calves, 3 pigs.

*House No. 7: 2 persons.* The father, Shilang, 60, of the Ram Bachet *pū tsho*, is married to *tshe ring i* ("Long Life"), 55, who comes from a place called Vol in a village below the Talung Monastery. They are childless. Shilang is the youngest brother of Choden (Namprik, House No. 1).

Shilang's house stands in a field west of Tingbung, outside the original Tingbung village; this field is a piece of cleared jungle, later added to the village area.

Property: 1 cardamom field, 1 dry field with crops, 1 paddy field, 1 field with yams, 3 banana plants, 3 bamboo stands.

Livestock: 1 goat, 2 pigs.

## 2. *The Village of Payel* (often pronounced Payer).

Leaving Tingbung village and following a path northwards we ascended a hillside covered with dense jungle, and arrived at a plateau with fields and a few houses; this was the village of Payel.

We first paid a short visit to the local Red Sect temple, serving the entire Tingbung area, and used for the regular monthly ceremonies celebrated by the local lamas. It is a small rectangular building, built on the usual pattern of such temples. The main room was decorated with a few old and rough scrolls (thankas) among which I recognised one with a picture of Guru Rimpoche or Padmasambhava and his two wives. Some prayer flags were standing outside.

In Payel there is a big *sūng rñ kung* tree<sup>1</sup>, and west of Payel a *dūt* tree stands in a patch of uncleared jungle.

*House No. 1: 4 persons.* The father, Yakpa, 50, of the Ram Bachet *pū tsho*, and a paternal uncle to *kā lók* (Tingbung, House No. 3), is married to Chunir, 55, from Kesong. They have no children of their own, but they have adopted a boy and a girl. The boy, who is called *she rap* ("Wise Man"), 31, is the son of a sister of Chunir married to a Lepcha from a village outside the Tingbung area; the girl Daomo, 15, is the daughter of Yapka's younger sister. *she rap* has been married, but his wife died when she was 19 years old.

Property: 6 cardamom fields, 1 paddy field, 3 dry fields, 1 peach tree, 1 banana plant, 1 small chilli garden.

Livestock: 2 bulls, 2 cows, 5 calves, 5 pigs.

*House No. 2: 2 persons.* The father, Shambriol, 60, is married to Temo, c. 54, who comes from a place called Lavong. Her father was nearly 90 when he died. Their only son Tadung, died at the age of 26–27.

Property: 4 cardamom fields, 2 paddy fields, 2 dry fields.

Livestock: 1 cow, 1 calf, 2 pigs.

*House No. 3: 7 persons.* The father, Mayuk, who calls himself Danun, is said to be of Tibetan stock. He is c. 60, of the Dut Dyamiyong *pū tsho*, and married to *ka zár* ("Smiling"), c. 50, who came from Langku. Up to some years ago they lived in Tingbung, but left and settled in Payel; their old house in Tingbung is now completely dilapidated. His father Sangfri died at the age of 80.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Diet. 412b *sūng-rñ kung*, s. a tree, *Xanthoxylum alatum*.

## Children:

1. Kanyung, son, 19, married to Akyik, (daughter of Ladup of the Sariyong *pū tsho*, and Atyok).
2. Gabu, son, 18, unmarried.
3. Pitmo, daughter, c. 16.
4. Chukbum, daughter, more than 12 years old.

Two daughters died when small.

Property: 5 cardamom fields, 2 dry fields, 2 paddy fields, 2 fruit trees (one of which is an apple tree), 1 bamboo stand.

Livestock: 1 bull, 1 cow, 3 calves, 3 pigs.

*House No. 4: 6 or 7(?) persons.* The father *gár bu* ("Solid"), 56, of the Sangdyang *pū tsho*, is married to *nam pūt* ("Born after the New Year"), 48, who comes from a place called Naveng, across the river, opposite Tingbung. His father Nadign (?) is said to have attained the age of 100, his mother died when she was 60 years old.

They have three children living; a son, Tempo, died at the age of 17. Their two elder children are daughters, but I could not discover who was the elder, presumably because of the obscure family relations.

## Children:

1. *jíp* ("Flatten Out, Smoothing"), daughter, 18, has for 8 years been married to *ta la bo* ("Crab"), 38, from Gor in the neighbourhood of Dikchu. He belongs to the Daryang *pū tsho* and his father Dangdar is 60 years old.
2. Sheb, daughter, age ? (between 15 and 25), has a daughter, father unknown. She has stubbornly refused to reveal the father's identity; Tsering suggested that the father might be of her own *pū tsho* (*pū tsho* incest). For about a year she has been engaged to *ta la bo*, her sister's husband, who, according to rumours, had forced her to intercourse.
3. Tingring, son, 16, engaged to Shuten, 15, who comes from a place called Sangtok on the other side of the Dikchu. Her father, called Naluk, 63, is of the Hiyong Miyong *pū tsho*; her mother, called Anjimo, is 50 years old.  
*gár bu* has 3 brothers: 1. Bru, 48, married to *ít í* ("Bad Smell"); 2. Ladachobu, 25, married to Changgyomu, 25; 3. *she rap* ("Wise Man"), 15, married to Tumo, 25.

In this house live: *gár bu*, *nam pūt*, *jíp*, Sheb, Sheb's daughter, and Tingring. It seems that *ta la bo* does not live in the house, but I am not sure.

Property: 3 cardamom fields, 1 paddy field, 2 dry fields, 1 apple tree, 1 peach tree, 1 tomato plant, 1 tea plant.

Livestock: 3 pigs.

They have in their fields a Loshing (cactus), a plant often dedicated to the Serpent-God.

*House No. 5: 2 persons.* The father, Songpomo, c. 50, is married to Dalu, c. 40. He comes from Kafyer above Dikchu, his *pū tsho* is unknown. Her father is unknown; her deceased mother used to live with her parents in a small house near the water wheel, called Mani. They have no children.

Property: 1 small cardamom field, 1 dry field.

Livestock: 1 pig.

Being poor people they often go into the jungle to collect wild fruit and edible roots.

### 3. *The Village of Kesong.*

Going eastwards through the jungle and evading the dangerous Malun place infested by evil powers we arrived at the village of Kesong, bisected by a long patch of jungle. A large *dūt* tree stood in the north-western corner of the village, and the much feared Tsamen (Chamen) tree in the north-eastern corner. (This tree is possibly identified with *tā mar cyo men*, mentioned on p. 190 below, Text No. 31,66). In the south-eastern corner was the local Cherin place.

*House No. 1: 9 persons.* The father, *tūk po* ("String"), ca. 50, is married to Tayam, 55. His father is *kha tak* (see Kesong, House No. 3). Her father *gra fā lo* (also the name of the Warrior's god), is married to Nanyid. *gra fā lo* is from Pandom village in the vicinity of the Tumlong Monastery.

Children:

1. Sangehom, son, 15.
2. Hlamcham, son, 10.

In the house live also *sūng vo* ("River"), 24, a brother of *tūk po*, his wife Fokpongmo, 22, and their 3 children: 1. Sagni, son, 8; 2. Banyet, son, 6; 3. Shupot (sex unknown), 1.

Property: 4 cardamom fields, 3 paddy fields, 2 dry fields, 1 apple tree.

Livestock: 1 bull, 2 cows, 3 calves, 4 goats, 2 pigs.

*House No. 2: 6 persons.* The father, *tsóng tūk* ("Quiver"), c. 50, is married to Barji. His father is *kha tak* (see Kesong, House No. 3), and his brother is *tūk po* (see Kesong, House No. 1). Her father *la vo* ("Moon"), 80, of the Darvong *pū tsho* is married to *a jāk* ("Last Child"), 88.

Children:

1. Sangtyuk, daughter, 21, married to Dafuk, 15, of the Tarbong *pū tsho*. They have no children. His father Shambrek is 38, his mother *tshū hlam mo* ("Long Life") is 40.
2. Samo, daughter, 17, married.
3. *cíng* ("Think"), son, 12.
4. *kyab thyók* ("Protector"), son, 11.
5. Sahu, daughter, 8.
6. *le tūp* ("Fulfiller of Work"), daughter, 6.

In the house live: *tsóng tūk*, Barji, *cíng*, *kyab thyók*, Sahu, and *le tūp*.

Property: 6 cardamom fields, 3 paddy fields, 5 dry fields, 1 apple tree, 1 peach tree, 1 small chilli garden.

Livestock: 4 bulls, 8 cows, 15 calves, 6 pigs, 5 goats.

*House No. 3: 2 persons.* The father, *kha tak* ("Jug"), 80, of Zamiyong *pū tsho*, is married to Himo, 71. His father *kri bo* ("Bell") died at the age of 90, his mother Naten died at the age of 71.

Children:

1. *tsóng tūk* (see Kesong, House No. 2).
2. *tūk po* (see Kesong, House No. 1).

3. Songnomo, daughter, 45, is married to Nadyep, 60. (His first wife Shanti died when she was 30 years old). They have no children. His father's name is Chombo Anir (?) of the Kamzet Kamin *pū tsho*, his mother is called Kaleb.
4. *sung bo* ("Charmbox, Amulet"), son, 30, married to Tingpok, 25. They have one son, Nadi, 9. Her father Dajun is 60, her mother *jing mo* ("Girl that Cries and Weeps Much") is 50.

In this house live only *kha tak* and his wife.

Property: 7 cardamom fields, 5 paddy fields, 3 dry fields, 1 peach tree, 1 *lūk blo* banana plant.<sup>1</sup>

Livestock: 2 bulls, 3 cows, 7 calves, 5 goats, 3 pigs.

*House No. 4: 6 persons.* The father, Ngaje, 25, of the Sanggar *pū tsho* is married to Jokmo, 24. His father *a tūp* ("Able") is married to *gyá lū* ("Lazy"), 55. His grandfather Nangyong (said to be the name of a god) died when he was 80 years old. Jokmo's father *hla rí bo* ("Artist, Painter") had died the year before my visit. He lived at Panang and was stated to have attained the unusual age of 108 years. Her mother *ong mo* ("Blessing") died when she was 82 years old. (A comparison between the stated age of *hla rí bo* and *ong mo* on the one hand, and the age of Jokmo on the other hand, causes some difficulty. They were possibly her step-parents or grandparents.)

Children:

1. Ongtso, son, 7, dumb.
2. Dangbluv, daughter, 3.  
(Two children have died).

In the house live: Ngaje, Jokmo, *a tūp*, *gyá lū*, Ongtso, and Dangbluv.

Property: 3 cardamom fields, 1 paddy field, 3 dry fields, 1 bamboo stand, 1 walnut tree, 1 chilli garden.

Livestock: 2 bulls, 1 cow, 2 calves, 2 pigs, 2 goats.

*House No. 5: 3 persons.* The father, Themba, 78, of the Sangdo *pū tsho* had three wives successively; the first two died, but the third, Cheda, 35, is still living. His father Hlampen died at the age of 80 years, and his mother *bang mo* ("Short and Stout") died when she was about 70 years old. Cheda's father Porchuk, 80, lives at a place above Singhik, his wife *jing mo* ("Girl that Cries and Weeps Much") is 70. Themba has a sister *pā ting* who is married to *pūn sól* (see Langku, House No. 3).

Themba and his wife have no children of their own, but they have adopted a girl, Nyerkit, 15.

Property: 2 cardamom fields, 1 dry field, 1 fig tree.

Livestock: 1 pig.

*House No. 6: 3 persons.* The father, *pā kí cu*, 60, of the Darling *pū tsho*, is married to *sóng mo* ("Heavy"), 70. His father Chosang is about 100 years old; his mother Mamdar died when she was about 80 years old. Her father Rabne is about 86 years old, and her mother Sangke about 90 years old.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dict. 351 a *lūk-blo*, see Dict. 131 a *tūk-blo*, the wild plantain tree (*Musa*) species of *re-ling*, Dict. 338 a, *Musacea*.

*pā kī cu* and *sóng mo* have no children of their own, but they have an adopted daughter, Kungik, 16.

Property: 4 cardamom fields, 2 paddy fields, 1 dry field, 1 chilli garden.

Livestock: 2 bulls, 2 cows, 7 calves, 3 pigs.

*House No. 7: 9 persons.* This house is divided into two parts A and B.

*Part A, the larger part.* The father, Naklub, 70, of Nanggyen *pū tsho*, is married to Pacher, 60. His father Takbyek died when he was 80 years old, his mother Chunggu died when she was about 60 years old.

Children:

1. Chakguv, son, 40, married to Zangti. They have one daughter Nima, 7.
2. Ashang, son, 25, married to Durmo, 19. Her father Chole is about 80 years old, her mother Jigmo about 60 years old. They have two children: 1. Jingul, son, 6; 2. Klakub, daughter, 2. (They had a son in between these two, but he died.).

*Part B, the smaller part.* The father, Thakse, 62, is a brother to Naklub (Part A). Thakse is married to Kayik, about 50. They have no children of their own, but have adopted a girl, Inyer, 8.

In this house live: Naklub, Pacher, Ashang, Durmo, Jingul, and Klakub (Part A) + Thakse, Kayik, and Inyer (Part B).

Property: 5 cardamom fields, 4 paddy fields, 3 dry fields, 1 fig tree.

Livestock: 4 bulls 4 cows, 10 calves, 5 pigs.

All property and livestock belong to Naklub (Part A).

*House No. 8: 6 persons.* The father, Sangmo, 45, of the Bachen *pū tsho*, is married to Sherim, 40, of the Bachim *pū tsho*. His father, Marji, died when about 85 years old, his mother, Gyakar, died when about 60 years old. Sherim's father, Banta, died when about 80 years old, her mother, Manong, died at the age of 60.

Children:

1. Aklob, daughter, 15, unmarried.
2. Thafu, daughter, 8.
3. Tashong, son, 6.
4. Lukig, daughter, 3.

Property: 3 cardamom fields, 2 paddy fields, 1 dry field, 1 banana plant, 1 chilli garden.

Livestock: 2 cows, 3 calves, 2 pigs, 2 goats.

*House No. 9: 5 persons.* The father, *kri bo* ("Bell"), 30, of the Sumchung *pū tsho*, is married to Kachen, 23. His father, Darbo, died when about 80 years old, and his mother, Naktik, when about 70 years old. Kachen's father, Nanglik, is 60, her mother, Kibu, 60.

Children:

1. Darchig, son, 7.
2. Datuk, son, 5.
3. Inok, daughter, 4.
- (4. Daughter, deceased).

Property: 2 cardamom fields, 2 paddy fields, 1 dry field, 1 chilli garden.

Livestock: 1 bull, 2 cows, 4 calves, 3 pigs, 4 goats.

In order to reach the village of Namprük we had to cross a large patch of jungle with dense thickets, tall trees, and swampy in places. In this jungle is a weird rock protruding from a small hill, the home of the very dangerous *mung* Pantor; he looks like a ferocious bull and causes diseases and epidemics (cf. p. 146 below and Text No. 21).

South-east of that place was the *mung* tree called *ta mar* (cf. Text No. 31,66) and further southwards the guides led us through tangled undergrowth, where they frequently had to cut a way for us with their Lepcha swords (*ban*) to a small spot in the heart of the jungle. Pointing at a large flat stone with two oblong depressions on the surface, they explained triumphantly that these were the footprints of Guru Rimpoche (Padmasambhava), dating back to the days when he visited Sikkim. This memorial of the Lamaist saint was obviously a highly regarded relic, and the whole place was considered sacred.

#### 4. The Village of Namprük.

The village of Namprük<sup>1</sup> consists of two parts, the westernmost and smaller part being known as Langdyang.<sup>2</sup> Two much feared *mung* trees, the Chiumbo and the Karamchun, occupy important places within the village area.

*House No. 1: 2, 4 or more persons.* The father, Choden, about 70, of the Ram Bacht *pū tsho*, is married to a *fōng* ("Green", "Fresh"), 68, who comes from Patung, above Talung.

His father is known under two names: Lentsong and Gantab; his mother, called Paliung or Ache, of the Atem *pū tsho*, attained the age of 80 or more.

His wife's father, Natam, died when he was about 58 years old, and her mother, Chumanmo, died when she was about 60 years old.

It is not quite clear how many children they have, but they have one son *có ro* ("Boiled Tea Leaves"), 38, married to *nom bo* ("Caught"), 33.

The number of persons living in this house is uncertain.

Property and number of domestic animals are not known.

*House No. 2: 5 persons.* This house is owned jointly by two brothers, each having his own part with his own hearth. They hold the property and the livestock in common.

*Part A.* The father, Dechen, 67, was first married to Achig, who died when she was 66 years old. They had no children. Now he is married to Miangli, 30, from Rangshol, below the Talung Monastery. They have no children.

*Part B.* The father, Namgye (birthname), also called Nadyep (nickname), 63, is married to Songnombo, 60. They have one son, Karchok, adopted by *pā tek* (Namprük, House No. 10) and they have adopted a girl, Zumi, 5.

The brothers belong to the Hiyong Miyong *pū tsho*.

<sup>1</sup> Mr Tamsang later explained that Namprük is the name of a species of beetle, cf. also Diet. 196b *nām-prük fo* or *nām-prek fo*, s. n. of bird, the munia, *Munia acuticauda* . . . *nam prek*, *Pyrrhula nepalensis*, cf. Gaz. p. 218, No. 748: Bulfinch.

<sup>2</sup> According to Tamsang meaning: cone-shaped. Perhaps associated with *läng jäng*, large rock, cf. Diet. 345a; if so it should be spelt differently on the map.

Property: 4 cardamom fields, 1 paddy field, 3 dry fields, 1 chilli garden, 1 banana tree, 1 orange tree.

Livestock: 2 bulls, 1 cow, 1 calf, 4 pigs, 3 goats.

*House No. 3* is not marked on the map. It was only a small bamboo hut, obviously empty. I was told that some time ago the inhabitants had moved to the village of Lik.

*House No. 4: 7 persons.* This is the largest house in Nampruk. The father, Targe, 50, of the Ram Bachet *pū tsho*, has two sisters as wives: 1. Kinza, 30; 2. Kinjok, 25.

Children:

1. Gidut, daughter, 15 (by the first wife).
2. Yangchenmo, daughter, 8 (by the second wife).
3. Nagri, son, 6 (by the second wife).
4. A son born April 1949 (by the second wife).

Property: 4 cardamom fields, 2 paddy fields, 3 dry fields, 1 orange tree, 3 bamboo stands, 1 apple tree, 1 chilli garden.

Livestock: 1 bull, 3 cows, 3 calves, 5 pigs, 4 goats.

*House No. 5: 4 persons.* The father, Tabu, 30, of the Ram Bachet *pū tsho*, is married to Tsinglamo, 25. Her father, Banangmo Hlari, about 80, is still alive (1949).

They have no children, but his mother, Namped, and his brother, Koched, who is dumb, live with them.

Property: 3 cardamom fields, 4 paddy fields, 2 dry fields, 1 orange tree, 1 apple tree, 1 bamboo stand.

Livestock: 1 cow, 1 calf, 2 pigs, 3 goats.

*House No. 6: 2 persons.* The father, Tenle, 73, of the Ram Bachet *pū tsho*, is married to Sangdumo, c. 80. They are childless.

Property: 2 cardamom fields, 1 dry field, 3 paddy fields, 1 banana plant.

Livestock: 1 cow, 1 calf, 1 pig, 2 goats.

*House No. 7: 3 persons.* The father, Banghun of the Zangkar *pū tsho* died at the age of 55. His wife, a *pīt* ("Narrow", perhaps meaning Difficult Delivery), 58, lives in the house with 2 of their 5 children.

Children:

1. Kaching, son (has moved from the house).
2. A son (has moved from the house).
3. Nag, son, 21, married, but his young wife has left him because of difficulties with her mother-in-law.
4. Zemo, daughter, 25 (has moved from the house).
5. Sangtir, daughter, 19, unmarried. Her right arm is paralysed.

Property: 3 cardamom fields, 1 paddy field, 2 dry fields, 1 banana plant.

Livestock: 1 bull, 2 cows, 2 calves, 1 pig.



Note: A sinister fate seemed to rest over this family, obviously associated with the character of a *pít*. She had a very bad reputation, and some people even described her as a wicked, criminal person. However, it testifies to the gentle character of the Lepchas that she was the only person whose behaviour was harshly judged.

*House No. 8: 7 persons.* The father, *kā li* ("Squirrel"), c. 60, of the Salong *pū tsho*, is married to Pemkyid, 62. They have only one child, a son, *tūk fyil* ("Ant"), 42, married to Chambyu, 27. *tūk fyil* and Chambyu have 3 children:

1. Lakdun, daughter, 10.
2. Piden, son, 7.
3. Basang, son, 5 (almost deaf-and-dumb).

Property: 5 cardamom fields, 2 paddy fields, 4 dry fields, 1 orange tree, 1 walnut tree.  
Livestock: 2 bulls, 5 cows, 5 calves, 4 pigs, 2 goats.

*House No. 9: 3 persons.* The father *pro* ("Bhutanese"), c. 36, is married to Handye, 26, from a place beyond Mangan. They have one child, a girl, Karze, 14.

Property: 3 cardamom fields, 2 paddy fields, 2 dry fields, 1 bamboo stand.  
Livestock: 1 bull, 1 cow, 1 calf, 2 pigs.

*House No. 10: 6 persons.* The father *pā tek* ("Vessel"), 41, married to Zumtid, 38. His father, Nampong, died when 48 years old, her father, *gye bo* ("Victor"), at a similar age. They have no children of their own, but have adopted a boy, Karchok, son of Namgye (Namprík, House No. 2, Part B), 27, married to *a kít* ("Peaceable"), 19; they have no children, and I do not know where they live. In the house live also a brother of *pā tek* called Jongkud, his wife, Songmo, and their two children Sangromo, girl, 2, and a boy, recently born (1949).

Property: 4 cardamom fields, 2 paddy fields, 2 dry fields.  
Livestock: 2 pigs, 4 goats.

##### 5. *The Village of Nung.*

Leaving Namprík we walked westwards, and crossed the brook to arrive a little later on the outskirts of the village of Nung where we first passed the local Cherim place. In the village of Nung is the Karamchun tree, the home of a dangerous *mung*. Approach to this *mung* place is strictly forbidden to every one, except those who sometimes put leaf plates with edible offerings at the foot of the tree as gifts to the *mung*.

*House No. 1: 4 persons.* The father, Namchut, usually called by his nickname *rūng jí* (the name of a tree), and sometimes by his other nickname *na dōng* ("Person Who is in Search"), 68, presumably of the Bachen *pū tsho*, is married to Majid, 57, who comes from a place called Nambong across the Talung river. His father, Glum, died when 60 years old, his mother, Jumo, died when 67 years old. (For the history of Namchut's family, see p. 102). Her father, Satad, died at the age of 80, and her mother, Nahong, at the age of 65. Namchut has a sister called Nazap Rimo (see Tingbung, House No. 3), and two brothers, Kaze, 67, married to Youngmo, (childless), and Takud, 38, who has moved out of the Tingbung area.

Two of Namchut's brothers have died: the eldest brother, *phur bo* ("Thursday"), died at the age of 78, another brother, Damchu, died when he was 25 years old.

Children:

1. Dapu, daughter, 32, married to Guling, 22, of the Salong *pũ tsho*. He comes from Nampong across the river, where they live. They have one son.
2. *a tũp* ("Able"), son, 24, married to a girl who lives in her father's house, beyond Dikchu. They have no children.
3. Chadun, (sex unknown), 17.

Property: 3 cardamom fields, 2 paddy fields, 1 dry field, 1 pear tree, 4 banana plants.  
Livestock: 3 bulls, 2 cows, 1 calf, 4 pigs.

*House No. 2: 6 persons.* The father, Yangkyok, generally called Junggi, 75, of the Gar Garsum *pũ tsho*, is married to Champi, 41, who comes from Rakluy across the river. She is also called Kihimu, being born at a place called Kihim, i. e. the woman from Kihim. Junggi is the most revered priest of the neighbouring *hla thu* shrine (see pp. 194 f.).

Junggi's father, called Namchu, was said to have died at the age of 85, and his grandfather Zegbu was said to have reached the age of 101. Yangkyok had a brother Kilu, who died when he was 27 years old; his widow Chuso lives in the house.

Children:

1. Samdrup, son, 21, married to Kachep, 19. They have no children.
2. Sangdyam, adopted son, 18. It was commonly said that Junggi had adopted this boy in order to obtain help for his work.
- (3. A son (or grandson?), 1, who died immediately after my arrival at Tingbung, see p. 191).

Property: 7 cardamom fields, 2 paddy fields, 2 dry fields.

Livestock: 1 bull, 2 cows, 3 calves, 2 pigs, 1 goat.

*House No. 3: 6 persons.* The father, *che ring* ("Long Life"), 47, of the Sumchungmo *pũ tsho*, is married to Nakjut, 41. His father, Adal, died when 78 years old, and his mother, Chep, at the age of 61. Her father, Bolo, died at the age of 77, and her mother, *a kit* ("Peaceable"), died when she was 48.

Children:

1. Ahil, adopted son, 19, married to *a kit* ("Peaceable"), 21, from Langdun. They have one son, Shamshu, 1.
2. Proyok, daughter, 11, unmarried.
3. Chopel, son, 8.

Property: 4 cardamom fields, 2 paddy fields, 4 dry fields.

Livestock: 6 bulls, 8 cows, 6 calves, 5 pigs, 2 goats.

*House No. 4: 6 persons.* The father, Mabcha, (nickname Dubo, given him by his parents when he was a small boy), 38, of the Ram Bachet *pũ tsho*, is married to Igvikmo, 36, who comes from Langdong beyond Mangen. His father, *gye bo* ("Victor, King"), died when 46 years old, his mother, Nazub, died when 41 years old.

Children :

1. Namchobo, son, 16, unmarried.
2. Achit (nickname Tsunom), daughter, 5, adopted.
- (3. Kuzubu, son, died when 2 years old).

Mabcha's brother called *kǎ lók pa nyóm* ("Old Rat") and his wife, Mashodemo, also live in this house.

Property: 2 cardamom fields, 1 paddy field, 1 dry field.

Livestock: 1 bull, 1 cow, 1 calf, 1 pig, 7 goats.

*House No. 5: 3 persons.* The father, *nyó* ("Loan"), 38, of the That Samiyong *pǎ tsho*, is married to Kazeb, 37, who comes from Sakyong. His father, Nadak, died at the age of 39, his mother, Madol, at the age of 58. She came from Laven, and her father, Purting, died when 40 years old; her mother, Zumtit, is said to be 49 (!) years old.

They have no children of their own, but they have adopted a girl Shambret, 6.

Property: 1 cardamom field, 1 paddy field, 2 dry fields.

Livestock: 1 cow, 1 calf, 2 goats.

Note: It proved impossible to obtain any particulars of the house and the family of Shulang, the blacksmith (see p. 101). Consequently, his house has not been marked on the map.

6. *The Hamlet of Sangvo.*

Walking westwards and crossing a jungle in which stands the tree called *rūng jí bong*, we arrived at a small locality called Sangvo. There was only one house, but the area was considered an independent hamlet called Sangvo.

*House: 7 persons.* The father, Gunum, 37, is married to Dermo, 17. They have no children. In this house also live Achim, a brother to Gunum, his wife, Nirsong, and their children: a daughter Anok, 2, and a son, Nokmo, 8 months. Gunum's mother lives also in the house.

Property: 3 cardamom fields, 2 paddy fields, 1 dry field.

Livestock: 1 bull, 3 cows, 3 calves, 2 pigs, 1 goat.

Further westwards is the unique *hla thu* shrine, the most important sanctuary of the entire Tingbung area. Junggi (see Nung, House No. 2) is the priest of this shrine, which will be dealt with in detail below (see pp. 194 ff.).

7. *The Village of Langku* (only four houses registered).

A short distance to the east of Tingbung stands the village of Langku. Although this village does not actually belong to the Tingbung area, the people of Tingbung feel themselves in many ways attached to the inhabitants of Langku. We paid only one visit to Langku.

*House No. 1: 7 persons.* The father, Machen, 55, of the Baki *pǎ tsho*, is married to Nimo, 40, who is his second wife, and comes from Satong above Mangen. His father, *kǎi bo* ("Bell"), died when about 60 years old, his mother, Lukmo, died when about 80 years old. Her father, Therbo, is said to have attained the age of 105 years, while her mother died when she was about 60 years old.

Children by the first wife (whose name is unknown):

1. *pót* ('Fruit'), son, 37, is married to Ongdun, 19, from Punang on the other side of Lingthem. They have two small children, and live at Lik.
2. *sā nyim bo* ('Giver of Alms'), nickname, *a hryān* ('Long'), son, 35, married to Nyamsong, about 30, from Punang on the other side of Lingthem. They have 2 children: 1. Tsamyim, son, 15; 2. Zenmo, daughter, 13, both married.
3. *tā 'ayū* ('Woman'), daughter, 23, married.

Children by his second wife Nimo:

1. Shondo, son, 14, engaged.
2. Rangri, daughter, 13, engaged.

In this house live Machen, Nimo, *sā nyim bo*, Nyamsong, Tsamyin, Shondo, and Rangri. Property: 5 cardamom fields, 2 paddy fields, 3 dry fields, 1 walnut tree, 1 apple tree, 1 orange tree, 1 banana plant, 1 chilli garden, 1 bamboo stand. Livestock: 2 bulls, 3 cows, 6 calves, 4 pigs, 5 goats.

*House No. 2: 4 persons.* The father, Kyordong, 40, of the Baki *pū tsho*, is married to Damzen, 24, from Hi near Gyatang. His father, Shutud, died when about 70 years old, his mother, Nirmo, when about 60 years old. Her father, *phur bo* ('Thursday'), died when about 60 years old, her mother, *fóng* ('Green'), died when about 58 years old. Damzen has a large goitre, and half of her face is dark red (birthmark?).

Children:

1. Dermo, daughter, 5.
2. Dapu, son, 1.

Property: 3 cardamom fields, 1 paddy field, 2 dry fields, 1 peach tree. Livestock: 1 cow, 1 calf, 2 pigs.

*House No. 3: 4 persons.* The father, *pūn sól* ('Straight, Long'), 70, of Sangkar Dari *pū tsho*, is married to *pā ting* ('Stick'), 60, a daughter of Hlampen (see Kesong, House No. 5).

Children:

1. Nakshing, son, 23, married to *cho ten* ('Stupa'), 17, who comes from Lik. They have no children. Her father died when 85 years old, her mother died when about 60 years old.
- (2. A daughter who died when she was 7 years old).

Property: 4 cardamom fields, 3 dry fields, 1 row of banana plants, 1 small chilli garden, 1 bamboo stand.

Livestock: 2 cows, 3 calves, 2 pigs, 2 goats.

*House No. 4: 4 persons.* The father, Pyarkuk, 45, of the Samiyong *pū tsho*, is married to Salimo, 41, who comes from Salim above Mangen. His father, Pashor, died when about 80 years old, his mother, Shurmo, died when about 60 years old. Her father, Dagyor, died when about 80 years old, her mother, Shabob, died when she was about 60 years old.

Children:

1. Agye, daughter, 8.
2. Chuduk, son, 5.

Property: 6 cardamom fields, 3 paddy fields, 2 dry fields, 1 fig tree, 1 apple tree, 1 row of banana plants, 1 bamboo stand.

Livestock: 2 bulls, 3 cows, 7 calves, 4 pigs, 6 goats.

### *The Village of Langshol.*

In the neighbourhood of Langku stands the village of Langshol. I have no information concerning its houses and inhabitants. But I was told that Marji, who sometimes worked as an informant, lived there. He was said to be a *bong thing*, but not a *mün*.

It will be seen that the population of the Tingbung area comprises approximately 190 persons, distributed as follows: Tingbung village, 49; Payel, 21; Kesong, 49; Namprük, 39(?); Nung, 25; Sangvo, 7. To this must be added the blacksmith of the Tingbung area and his family, living in Nung, see p. 59. The inhabitants of Langku are excluded from enumeration because we only succeeded in registering 4 houses; moreover, Langku is not considered an integral part of the Tingbung area.

The members of the individual households number from two to about fourteen persons, and, naturally, there are great differences in age within each family. It is my impression that the Lepchas usually have a fairly good knowledge of their age, their calendar system helping them greatly here. Despite some examples of contradictory information as to the age of a few individuals, the information I received tallied remarkably well with such other data as things remembered as well as with my own general impression, except perhaps for the very high age given in a few cases.<sup>1</sup>

It will be noticed that many of the married women come from outside the Tingbung area, e. g. from the vicinity of the Talung Monastery, from the Mangen area, from the Singhik area, from the Dikchu area, from the Lingthem area, etc. It is also interesting to observe that adoptions are rather common.<sup>2</sup>

In enumerating the respective properties, I have used the word "field". This term should, however, not always be taken in the ordinary sense of the word; it may mean what we call a field, but it may also mean merely a strip of land. The Lepcha gardens are usually small.

## ANNUAL CEREMONY OF THE VILLAGE OF TINGBUNG

Although the Tingbung area may be considered as a whole, each individual village within that whole constitutes a minor whole which, regarding religious matters, may have its own ceremonies. I shall therefore conclude this chapter by giving a short account of how the inhabitants of the village of Tingbung celebrate their annual ceremony to *pã dím rüm*.

On a *za da o* (Monday) between the first and the fifteenth day of *'ayit* or *it* (October-November) the people collect in the altar room of one of the houses. First they select a special place in the room, well away from the ordinary house altar, and dedicate it to *pã dím rüm*,

<sup>1</sup> For statistics on the Lingthem population, see Gorer, pp. 455 ff.

<sup>2</sup> For adoption, see pp. 108 f. below; for a discussion of personal names, see pp. 126 ff. below.

they clean that part of the floor, and cover it with banana leaves. They then decorate the special place with many flowers, and put a plate with a wild bird, a fish, rice and a bottle of *cí* on the leaves.

Then they kneel down and prostrate themselves before this place, and a man officiating as the leader of the ceremony recites the following prayer to *pǎ díim rǔm* on behalf of the entire village:

(Text No. 1)

- (1) “*pǎ díim rǔm* (god)!
- (2) Do not cause us trouble and pain!
- (3) Do not restrain your help!
- (4) You yourself guide (guard) us,(please)!
- (5) Do not cause us cough and cold, (please)!”.

Having finished this prayer the leader turns to the people gathered and spits on them, thereby averting diseases and epidemics.

Thereafter they eat, drink, and enjoy themselves for the remainder of the day and the following night, and next morning they return to their houses. The following year the same ceremony will be performed in another house, and in this way the ceremony will in the course of time be held in all the houses of the village.

## THE HOUSE

Almost a century ago Campbell described the houses of the Lepchas as being entirely of bamboo,<sup>1</sup> and Adir told me that in the days of his grandfather they had houses built only of bamboo, and no timber houses. In this respect the habits of the Sikkim Lepchas have changed considerably, for nowadays bamboo houses are the exception, at all events in the Tingbung area.

The Lepcha timber house,<sup>2</sup> *lí*, cannot but attract the attention of the traveller. When a visitor approaches a village and sees for the first time the houses scattered over the hillsides, he cannot help noticing how well they fit into the landscape; far from dominating or contrasting with their natural surroundings, the massive wooden structures and extended thatched roofs of the Lepcha houses seem almost to be growing out of the ground like any other feature in the landscape.

The ordinary Lepcha house is a sturdy one-storey wooden building on piles. The floor is raised about three to six feet above the ground, and in the open space between the ground and the floor the domestic animals shelter against bad weather and wild animals. When one of the occasional landslides thunders through a village, hurling hundreds of tons of stones, mud, and clay down from the mountains, it all merely rolls away under the houses without destroying them.

The piles rest on big, flat stones with a slight hollow in the centre, and as neither nails nor screws are used, the house is, so to speak, elastic; the tremors of an earthquake may cause it to sway heavily from side to side, but that is all.

### *A Tingbung House.*

The house belonging to *rig zing*, the *gya pán* or headman of Tingbung (cf. House, No. 1, p. 47) may serve as a specimen of a large, ordinary Tingbung house.

This house stands at the eastern end of the village with its entrance facing east. It is surrounded by wet fields which make the approach rather muddy in the rainy season.

The house rests on twenty-one piles, arranged in five rows, with five piles in four rows, and one pile apart; close to this isolated pile a heap of big stones replaces a supporting pile. Because the ground slopes slightly southwards towards the valley of the Talung river, the supporting piles are not of equal height; those at the southern end of the house are about 1.70 m. high, while those at the northern end are only 1.20 m. high. The circumference of one of the biggest posts is 1.53 m.

<sup>1</sup> Campbell 1869 a, p. 151.

<sup>2</sup> See also Morris pp. 165 ff. and Gorer pp. 62 ff., who have many detailed observations from Lingthem some of which have not been repeated by me. Cf. also Hermanns 1954, pp. 27 ff.

A beam with notched steps or a ladder leads to an entrance platform built into the hearth room (see below). This platform is 3.70 m. long and 1.20 m. wide, and 1.50 m. above the ground. A big mortar, *tūk tsam*,<sup>1</sup> and a pestle, *tā ling*,<sup>2</sup> have their place at the foot of the platform.

### *The Hearth Room.*

One enters the house through a low door, 1.25 m. high and 0.70 m. wide, and immediately finds oneself in the hearth room, also serving as the kitchen and ordinary living room. It is 10 m. long and 3.45 m. wide, apart from the space occupied by the entrance platform. With the door closed the room is nearly dark, as the only light comes from whatever daylight may filter through a tiny peep-hole, 50 cm. by 45 cm., in the south wall. This peep-hole is closed at night by a shutter.

A rectangular, open hearth, *pā kóm*,<sup>3</sup> 1.75 m. by 1.58 m., occupies the middle of the northern part of the room. It consists of three layers: a bottom layer of stones, a layer of clay, and bigger stones uppermost. A shelf of bamboo wickerwork is suspended from the ceiling above the hearth; it is protected from the fire by some strips of patched hides tied onto its underside, and is used for holding the current supply of fuel.

The hearth room is the centre of the life of the inhabitants of the house. Here the women prepare food and drink, here the members of the family meet for eating and drinking, and here the relatives and friends who have helped in the field-work join the family in the evening to talk and suck *cí* from bamboo bottles. The members of the family sleep on the floor, occasionally on low beds, wrapped in their working clothes, sometimes also covered by a blanket. No wonder that this room and its hearth have a sure place in their affections and form the background for many of their happiest moments. (See e. g. Texts Nos. 19 and 25).

It is also the hearth room which houses most of their ordinary household articles: clothes and blankets are kept in low boxes along the walls; vessels and pots stand on the floor, the bigger ones have their place along the walls. Some of the latter are of the ordinary Indian type which can be bought in the bazaars, others are hand-made Lepcha work. Adir told me that in the days of his grandfather many people used to make plates, cups, spoons etc. of bamboo and to prepare their meals in vessels made of the same material.

On a visit to *rig zing* I noticed in a corner of his house a circular quern, *lūng tók sum*<sup>4</sup> made of two stones of which the upper one had a wooden handle. Such querns can be seen in most houses; *rig zing* also had several long, very thick bamboo canes, used as water containers, leaning against the walls, and an ordinary bow and some arrows (see p. 97) were hanging on one of the walls. The following household goods which were acquired in Tingbung or in one of the neighbouring villages form part of the furnishings of an ordinary hearth room.

1. A winnowing basket of bamboo wickerwork (Fig. 22, C. 6358), *tā lyung*,<sup>5</sup> 62 cm. by 55 cm., also used to fan the fire.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dict. 305a *tūk-tsam* a mortar.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dict. 350a *ling* 4, *tā-ling* 1. a pestle.

<sup>3</sup> See Part II. Text No. 25,5.

<sup>4</sup> *lūng tók sum*, cf. Dict. that has two shorter forms, 141b *tók* 4 grinding, *lūng-tók* a handmill, and Dict. 351b *lūng-1* . . . *lūng-sum* a mill.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Dict. 365b (*lyung*) *tā-lyung*, s. a flat winnowing basket.



2. A cylindrical grain measure of wood with flat bottom and vegetable fibres along the rim (Fig. 33, C. 6300), *tā fri*<sup>1</sup> 18 cm. by 8 cm.
3. A cylindrical wooden dish with flat bottom and rim with vegetable fibres (Fig. 36, C. 6299), diameter 12–13 cm., height 5 cm.
4. A long, flat ladle, coarsely made of one piece of wood, for serving rice (Fig. 48, C. 6305), *tā lí*,<sup>2</sup> length 42 cm.
5. A scoop of bamboo (Fig. 49, C. 6301), *kyuk*, length 29 cm.
6. A chilli bowl with handle, made of one piece of wood (Fig. 35, C. 6298), *ká dung*,<sup>3</sup> diameter 13 cm., height 10 cm.
7. A square basket of bamboo wickerwork with turned down rims; on the back a binding of bamboo fibres in the form of a cross (Fig. 32, C. 6312). Length of sides c. 24 cm., height 8 cm. Used as a plate.
8. A cylindrical mug carved out of one piece of wood with a handle of twisted bamboo fibres (Fig. 34, C. 6313), *kha tak*.<sup>4</sup> Diameter 6.5 cm., height 10 cm.
9. A wooden hammer with handle made of one piece of wood (Fig. 47, C. 6302), *tho* or *kung tho*.<sup>5</sup> Height of the head 15 cm., length of handle 21 cm.
10. Nine sticks of wood or bamboo (C. 6355 a–i); said to be used as part of a loom; longest stick 81 cm., shortest stick 50.5 cm.
11. A rat-trap (C. 6345 a–c), *gap*,<sup>6</sup> made of a thick piece of hollowed-out bamboo with a square aperture in the middle, and a tied-on pointed bamboo stick. To the trap belongs a long bow of split bamboo with a string. Length of the trap 32 cm., length of the bow 1.12 m.

Besides, a flute (see p. 155) may sometimes also be found.

### *The Altar Room.*

The altar room, the largest room of the house, 8.30 m. long, 5.30 m. wide, and 2.05 m. high, had three independent posts supporting the ceiling.

An upright, rectangular house-altar occupied the northwestern corner. It stood on a raised platform, looking like a two-storey cupboard, the upper part being slightly narrower than the lower part. Various cultic objects were lying or standing on top of the lower part of the cupboard in front of the upper one: two amulet boxes with coarse Lamaist clay tablets, some *tor ma*, a rosary of white beads, and a bronze "thunderbolt" (Tib. *rdo rje*). Once, at our request, *rig zing* removed the detachable cupboard doors. An old, damaged, indeterminable Lamaist scroll (Tib. *thang ka*) covered the back wall of the upper cupboard, while the lower cupboard was full of smaller cultic implements, lying in confusion. A skull-drum and some ordinary Tibetan printing blocks were hanging on a post nearby. One of the blocks had a carved picture of the Buddhist Wheel of Life.

<sup>1</sup> Dict. 248a has the short form *fri* s. a measure for corn, cf. Tib. Jäs. 381b *bre* 1. a measure for dry things as well as fluids . . .

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dict. 120a *tā-lí* 2. I. s. a shovel, a spoon.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. presumably Dict. 180b *dong* 1. a vessel and 5a *ká* IV. vb. to decoct, to boil, to stir up, to stew.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Dict. 45a *kha-tak* s. a bamboo cup.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Dict. 155b *tho* 2. s. a hammer, cf. Tib. Jäs. 236b *thó-ba*, *mthó-ba* a large hammer, and Dict. 24b *kung* s. 1. a tree . . . 4. wood.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Dict. 53a *gap* vb. to cover, and the derivation *lūng-gap* s. 1. a pit-fall, a trap made by covering over mouth of hole.

<sup>7</sup> The Lepchas.

The whole arrangement showed clearly that the two elder sons of *rig zing*, educated as lamas at the Talung Monastery, occasionally celebrated Lamaist services in this room.

In the southern wall a small door, 80 cm. high and 50 cm. wide, led out to a verandah, 4.60 m. long and 1.50 m. wide.

Some boxes with clothes were standing along the walls, a big basket full of threshed corn stood in a corner, and a cowhide containing corn was hanging on one of the walls.

A long, low bench stood along the southern wall. When *rig zing* had guests he covered it with rugs, inviting the guests to take their seat on them, while tea was served on a small, low table. The rugs and the table were of the same type as the following specimens acquired elsewhere in Tingbung:

1. A rectangular rug of brown wool (C. 6363), *grüm tse*<sup>1</sup>, with patterns in strong colours, a dragon motif on a green background in the centre, and a short fringe at each end. Measurements: 80 cm. by 1.44 m. Said to be manufactured in Lachung in north-eastern Sikkim.
2. A rectangular rug of wool (C. 6364) with bluish background and patterns in blue, red, brown and white; in the centre an oblong panel with a white cross; a bluish fringe round the entire rug. Measurements (excl. fringe): 70 cm. by 1.25 m. Said to come from Lachung.
3. Small, low, coarse, table (Fig. 25, C. 6306), *shing te kũp*,<sup>2</sup> with two legs, carved out of one piece of wood. Length 14 cm., height 9.5 cm. Used for meals and tea for guests.
4. A small, low table (Fig. 24, C. 6307), similar to C. 6306, only bigger and of a yellowish kind of wood. Length 43 cm., height 13 cm.

A long, narrow, closed corridor 1.20 m. wide, with entrance from the hearth room, separated the altar room from the northern outer wall. This corridor was used as an ordinary store-room.

A beam with notched steps standing in the centre of the hearth room led up to the attic, which occupied the entire length of the house. Its floor, made of sticks, was unable to carry the weight of a person. I just had a glance at this room; it was used as a storeroom for smaller utensils, baskets, etc., which were lying scattered about. The purlin was supported by a central post, 1.85 m. high.

### *Kalimpong.*

To this may be added some notes by Tamsang on the customs of the Kalimpong Lepchas.

When building a house they first go into the forest, select some tall, straight trees of large girth, cut them down and remove the bark. Then they cut each log so as to get a regular, four-sided beam, in which they then make square holes for joints.

The ordinary Kalimpong house is built on seven piles, resting firmly on large, flat stones, a little concave in the middle so that the piles can revolve freely during earthquakes. In such cases the upper parts of the timberwork also move in their joints, often producing much noise. The Lepchas frequently pour water into the hollow of the stones to prevent the ants from climbing the piles.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Tib. Jäs. 78a *grüm-tse* a thick woollen blanket.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Diet. 429a *shing* 6 . . . *shing-te* a table or block of wood, a wooden support, cf. Tib. Jäs. 558a *shing* tree . . . wood and 221b *stegs* a stand, board, table etc. - To *kũp* see Diet. 20a-b *kũp* child . . . 7 *kũp* affixed to words to give the signification of small, little.

The Kalimpong houses are usually divided into three rooms, with a deep verandah at the back, and an attic above. The floors are made of large planks, the doors of thick pieces of wood. They employ wooden bolts for locking the doors from inside. To let in light they make small square holes in the walls, but sometimes they also have large wooden windows with rough carvings. The partitions are made of bamboo, plastered with mud mixed with straw. The floor of the attic, only used for keeping seeds, is made of split bamboo, and the same material is employed as a framework for the roof which is thatched with *nyóng*,<sup>1</sup> a kind of jungle reed. In some parts of Kalimpong these houses are now being replaced by stone houses.

## CEREMONIES WHEN BUILDING A HOUSE

Kalimpong

Informant: Tamsang

### *Initial Precautions.*

When a man has decided to build a house, he first of all tries to find a suitable site for it, and for this he has to take several circumstances into consideration.<sup>2</sup> The site must be suitable from a practical point of view, i. e. it must stand slightly higher than its surroundings. Further, the influence exerted by the supernatural powers must be taken into consideration. The prospective builder therefore usually selects three or four sites for his house in the hope that one of them will prove really suitable. Then he takes up a small clod of earth from each of these sites, and brings them to a female *mñn*, that she may tell him which kind of earth will be most suitable as the site for his house.

### *The mñn Decides the Place of the House.*

To comply with this request the *mñn* must perform a ceremony. She will sit down and sing some chants, asking her tutelary deity to answer her when she falls into a trance. During the ceremony she takes the different samples of earth into her hands and puts them close to her nose to distinguish their smells. In this way she will be able to make her prediction.

The objections against selecting a particular site may be of various kinds. It may be that the *mñn* discovers that the Serpent-God lives under the proposed site, or that a *mung* has its route close by another. But finally she settles for one of the places as the most suitable.<sup>3</sup>

A little later, during another trance, she tells the man at which corner (north, east, south or west) he must begin work, by levelling this part first. She orders the first digging to be done by a bachelor or an unmarried woman, born in such and such a year, and she fixes the day on which the digging is to begin.

### *The mñn Purifies the Place.*

On the day fixed the *mñn* is invited to the place, where she performs a purifying ceremony for the protection of the house against the evil powers. For this purpose she is provided with some milk and butter, and invokes the gods to bless the building. She invokes her own

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dict. 113a *nyóng* s. a kind of grass used for thatching.

<sup>2</sup> See also the elaborate, but more Lamaist influenced ceremonies in Gorer pp. 70 ff. and Morris pp. 165 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See also for this prediction Gorer p. 71 who states that it is done by the lamas who consult the book Tong-yoop, and cast the horoscope of the builder.

tutulary deity asking for protection for the builder. She burns the butter and throws some drops of the milk into the air for the gods, and finally she pours the remaining milk on the four lines along which the walls of the house are going to be erected. Thereafter the building can begin.

*The Carpenter Begins His Work.*

The local carpenter is then called in, and he starts his work by digging a hole for the central post of the house. Rice, coins, and bracelets are put into the hole, which is then covered by a large, flat, circular stone; this must be strong and solid, not flaky and crumbly, as it is going to carry a considerable part of the weight of the house. A small hollow is made in the middle of this stone, and small objects, similar to those mentioned above, and some pieces of quartz are placed in the hollow. This quartz is believed to prevent the lightning from striking the house. Thereafter the carpenter prays to his tutelary deity.

*The Carpenter's Prayer.*

From Tingbung

Informant: *rǔng jǐ*

Interpreter: Tsering

More detailed information on this point comes from Tingbung. According to his ability the builder provides a bull or a goat as a sacrificial animal. The carpenter kills the animal, and offers blood to the *mung*, the *dūt*, and the *cen* in order to prevent them from obstructing the erection of the house. On this occasion the carpenter recites the following prayer:

(Text No. 2)

- (1) "Do not cause us pain!
- (2) Do not cause accident by wood!
- (3) Do not cause the axe to hit us!
- (4) When we are doing our work,  
do not expose us to any bad risk!
- (5) We have given this meat, blood, and *cí* to you.
- (6) Please consume these things!"

The lumps of meat and the drops of *cí* are thrown into the air in various directions as gifts to the *mung*, *dūt* and *cen*.

According to other information from Tingbung, this ceremony is performed in honour of *tsán dǒng rǔm*, the god of the house. The carpenter performs the ceremony to this *rǔm* both before the erection of the house, and when the building is finished. This *rǔm* sits on *lí dǒng kǔng*,<sup>1</sup> the cross of the house, and if this beam is ever destroyed, the ceremony must be repeated before a new one is put up.

*The mǔn Purifies the House Ceremonially.*

Kalimpong

Informant: Tamsang

When the central post is put into place, the work on the house can begin. When the house has been built, it will remain empty, and nobody will move into it until a certain day fixed by the *mǔn* or the *bong thǐng*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dict. 18a *kǔng* s. the ridge (of house, mountain, nose etc.).

On the appointed day the *mũn* or the *bong thing* is given rice, *ci*, and a bull by the builder. The animal is killed outside the house, and then carried inside, where it is cut up, and the meat is prepared for the first meal to be eaten in the house.

The *mũn* or the *bong thing* takes some leaves and sweeps the walls and the interior of the house. He/she cuts with a sickle small chips of wood from the walls, doors, windows, floors, etc., as a kind of ceremonial cleansing of the house. All the chips are gathered and thrown outside the house. Now the house is clean, and the owner can take possession.

*The Carpenter's Ceremony for Protection of the House.*

Tingbung

Informant: *rũng ji*

Interpreter: Tsering

When the house has been erected, the carpenter performs a ceremony to his tutelary deity called *mung gum rũm* or *mung kung rũm*. He uses a hen, a green leaf, a Rupee, some paddy rice, some beaten rice, a fish and a bird. The green leaf is put on the small, low table called *shing te kũp* (see p. 66), and all the other offerings are placed on the leaf. Then he offers the following petition to his tutelary deity:

(Text No. 3)

- (1) "Do not cause pain (to the inmates of this house)!
- (2) Do not cause this built house to fall!
- (3) Do not set fire to this house!"

Afterwards the gifts offered are distributed to the children.

They said in Kalimpong that the houses were built with the entrance facing northwest, i. e. towards *kong chen*. There did not seem to be any fixed rule in Tingbung, the houses being variously orientated. I was told that the Nepalese build their houses facing east, i. e. towards the rising sun.

*Annual Sacrifice of Bull to li rũm.*

Kalimpong

Informant: Tamsang

The house has its own god, called *li rũm*, who stays in the house and protects it and the members of the family. In the month *it*, shortly after the Lepcha New Year, a ceremony is performed to *li rũm*.

The head of the family selects a castrated bull, and the *bong thing* or the *mũn* is sent for. Inside the house the officiant arranges an altar of two small bamboo tables, placed close to the wall, one in front of the other. The officiant puts a heap of rice in the middle of the table close to the wall, and places an earthenware vessel, filled with oil and used as an oil lamp, on top of the rice. Three bamboo bottles with *ci* are placed on the second table.

If the officiant is the *bong thing*, he will keep his hat in his right hand while sitting cross-legged in front of the second table. When it is the *mũn*, who officiates, she will loosen her hair and let it hang down her back, but she will not untie her plaits; and she will keep her particular headgear on her right shoulder. Then she will kneel down in front of the second table, and leaning forwards, she will say her prayers.

The officiant prays to *li rũm* on behalf of the members of the family, expressing their gratitude because *li rũm* during the past year has protected the house and its inmates, and

he/she states that the sacrifice of the bullock implies a request for protection in the year to come.

Then the officiant asks a male member of the family to kill the bullock; its eyes are covered with leaves, and a man knocks it down by hitting it with an axe on the neck. Then they skin the dead animal, cut open the body, and disembowel it.

Next they place a mat before altar no. 2 and place the legs of the bullock and some pieces of the meat on it, with the head of the bullock on top, facing the altar. The organs are kept outside the house.

The officiant requests *lí rǔm* to accept the sacrifice, to protect the house, and to bestow happiness on its members; and he/she finishes his/her invocation by promising *lí rǔm* another bullock next year. Then the officiant touches the bamboo bottles with the middle finger, sprinkles drops of *cí* on the heap of rice, lightly touches the meat and requests *lí rǔm* to consume it. Finally the members of the family take away the meat, fry it and eat it.

#### *A mung Ritual Associated with the House.*

From Tingbung

Informant: Marji

Interpreter: Tsering

The following ritual is also associated with the house; it is performed to drive away the perilous *a rôt a fǔng mung* who causes sudden and violent death. It is also this *mung* which makes wretched individuals commit suicide by hanging or by jumping off a cliff.

Unfortunately, I have no information concerning the occasion on which this ritual is used, but as it contains certain obvious references to the house, I shall quote it in this context.

(Text No. 4)

- (1) “*a rôt a fǔng mung!*
- (2) who has come and is now sitting,
- (3) (who) has come and is now sitting on the threshold,
- (4) (who) has come and is now sitting on the uppermost ridge of the roof,
- (5) (who) has come and is now sitting in the space under the eaves,
- (6) (who) has come and is now sitting on the “obstacle”!
- (7) I have now given this present to you *mung*.
- (8) When you have drunk the red blood,
- (9) when you have eaten the red meat, return!  
(i. e. return to your own abode).
- (10) From today do not cause me “obstacle” (difficulty).
- (11) From today do not trouble me!
- (12) From today go to your own abode!”.

The ritual depicts the behaviour of the *mung* (2–6), which terrifies the Lepchas. A sanguinary sacrifice is given to the *mung* (7–9) who is earnestly requested to disappear, leaving the haunted person in peace (10–12).

## CLOTHES, ORNAMENTS, ETC.

Owing to the increasing influence of the bazaars, where piece goods are sold and entire garments are made on sewing machines, the former types of clothes, as we know them from the days of Campbell<sup>1</sup> and Hooker<sup>2</sup> about a century ago, are more and more falling into disuse, and nowadays few Lepcha women know how to make the clothes of the members of the family, as they used to do. In this respect the Tingbung area is no exception, and although people do keep up some of the ancient customs, several of them have already disappeared. In the description below I shall therefore base myself on what Tamsang of Kalimpong termed "The Lepcha National Dress".<sup>3</sup>

The men do not cut their hair, but keep it in a plaited pigtail. When working in the fields they wear large hats, woven of bamboo fibres, as a protection against the sun; when they go out hunting they wear round plaited hats; when they leave their homes to visit friends, go to town, or to attend celebrations like weddings etc. they wear a black hat with a piece of coloured cloth on the crown, in the middle decorated with a round cotton knot, and in front decorated with the tail of a bird. For this purpose different kinds of feathers are used as distinctive marks. A large three-coloured piece of cloth is used as a wrap. The colours are made from vegetable dyes.

Their clothes consist of one long piece of hand-woven multi-striped material covering the body from the shoulders to the knees. It is fastened on the right shoulder by means of a bamboo pin, nowadays more often a safety pin. Underneath they wear a kind of shirt, a piece of thin cotton cloth with wide and long sleeves, turned up at the wrists. It is hand-woven and dyed a deep maroon colour.

The women have their hair plaited in two long pigtails hanging down from either side of the nape of the neck. Each of these plaits is wound round the crown of the head, making the ends of the plaits look like the parted tail of a bird. In the presence of a superior both men and women let their hair hang down as a mark of respect. The inhabitants of a house in which some one has died also let their hair hang down.

The women use as undergarments a piece of thin cloth with long and large sleeves turned up at the wrists. The top garment consists of thin woven material covering the body from the shoulders to the ankles. It is fastened on both shoulders by a long silver pin with a ring at the top, and belted at the waist with a sash. Married women wear a kind of bodice of black material, while the unmarried women wear a white bodice. The women often carry a curved unsheathed sickle thrust into the sash at the back.

They wash their clothes in ash from banana leaves. For body and hair they prepare a soap of various young leaves, roots, and creepers, mixed with ashes filtered in water.

<sup>1</sup> Campbell 1840 a, p. 383.

<sup>2</sup> Hooker I, p. 121 f.

<sup>3</sup> Regarding the present customs of Lingthem, cf. Morris, pp. 174 f., and Gorer pp. 52 f.

The men of remote villages are still experts in making vegetable dyes for their clothes. They can produce many varieties of lovely colours from the barks, young shoots, roots, and leaves of trees. But the art of dyeing is rapidly disappearing owing to the import of chemical dyes. In former days they also wove the material for their clothes from nettles and other plants, and some Lepcha women can still produce more than a score of different designs.

### ACQUIRED ARTICLES OF CLOTHING ETC.

1. *Men.* Often the men of Tingbung go bare-headed, but various kinds of caps and hats are sometimes used, as appears from the specimens I collected.

1. Cone-shaped hat (Fig. 2, C. 6317) without brim made of two layers of bamboo cane-work with an intermediate layer of dried leaves.<sup>1</sup> Bonnet string of fibres. Height 19 cm., diameter 20 cm. From Tingbung; made by *kǎ lók*.
2. Grey woollen cap (Fig. 3, C. 6318) having a round tufted crown and a broad turned-up brim. Height 17 cm. Diameter 20 cm. Called *tyām bu*,<sup>2</sup> but also "Monkey cap". From Tingbung; made by the women.
3. Circular hat (Fig. 1, C. 6316) with a crown and broad brim made of two layers of bamboo cane-work with an intermediate layer of dried leaves.<sup>3</sup> Diameter 39 cm. From Tingbung.
4. Boat-shaped black-grey hat (Fig. 4, C. 6315) with crown and brim, made of vegetable fibres. Length 35 cm., width 29 cm. Called "topee" by Tsering. From Tingbung.

The typical Lepcha garment is the *thók ró dum*<sup>4</sup> of which I acquired two specimens:

5. Garment (C. 6324) made of greyish (originally white) woven material with red and brownish longitudinal interwoven stripes; sewn together of three lengths with a fringe at both ends. Length, excluding fringes, 2.47 m.; width 1.50 m. From Tingbung.
6. Garment (C. 6325), same type as C. 6324. Length, excluding fringes, 2.57 m.; width 1.44 m. From Kesong, Tingbung area.

Some men wear puttees, particularly on journeys, such as:

7. A pair of brown, woollen, woven puttees (C. 6356 a-b) with a long woven thong in brown, red, and white. Length, excluding thong, 2.60-2.65 m.; width 8.5-9.0 cm. From Tingbung.

Most Lepchas go bare-foot, but a few men possess a pair of boots, bought in the bazaars. These are, however, seldom used, and then only on special occasions. *kǎ lók* put on his boots when I wanted to photograph him, cf. Pl. IV.

A few men wear ornaments such as:

8. A big yellow circular ear-ring (Fig. 12, C. 6330) with a turquoise rosette on one side. Diameter 4 cm. Called *'ayu*.<sup>5</sup> Such ear-rings are especially worn on journeys and are supposed to be a protection against attacks made by the *mung*. This specimen

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hooker I, p. 122: . . . broad flakes of talc between the layers and a peacock's feather at the side.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly connected with Dict. 144b *tyām* 1. vb. to wind a ball, and Dict. 257b *bū* 4, 1. vb. to bear, to carry.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Hooker I, p. 121: leaves of *Scitamineæ*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Dict. 159a *thók* 6, 1. vb. to weave, 2. s. *thók-ró* a loom, and Dict. 174b *dām* cloth, clothes.

<sup>5</sup> Generally called *'ayu* with reference to the turquoise, cf. Dict. 451b *'ayū* and Tib. Jäs. 518a *gyu* turkoi.



was acquired from Danun who said that his father had bought it in Lhasa some ten years ago, i. e. before 1939.<sup>1</sup> From Tingbung.

9. A necklace (Fig. 21, C. 6336) consisting of a string of five red stones, one 1.5 cm. long, the others 0.8–0.9 cm. long. From Tingbung.

All men and most young boys carry:

10. A sword or long jungle knife (Pl. IX, C. 6277, C. 6278, C. 6279, C. 6280, C. 6281) for all necessary purposes. The blade is usually straight, but it may be slightly curved with the edge on the concave side. The wooden hilt is generally quite rough, but finer specimens are decorated with a thin, whitish metal wire and with tiny, flat, star-shaped metal or silver plates. The sheath is made of bamboo or wood, open at one side so that the blade can be seen. Strings of bamboo fibre or metal wires are wrapped round the sheath at two points, a little above and a little below the middle of the sheath, in order to keep it tightly together. Finer specimens are decorated at the bottom with a tiny, flat, star-shaped metal or silver plate and a crescent-shaped plate of the same material. The sword is usually worn hanging down the left leg (but sometimes along the right leg) suspended from a bamboo or leather string fastened to the sheath and resting on the opposite shoulder. The lengths of the swords plus hilts 43–47 cm. Called *ban*.<sup>2</sup> From Tingbung.

*II. Women.* The women of Tingbung wear ready-made clothes bought in the bazaars. Their ordinary dress consists of:

1. Dress for woman (C. 6327 a–f):
  - a. Rectangular piece of grey shantung, hanging down from the shoulders and reaching to below the knees. Length 3.00 m., width 1.40 m. Called *dām jóm*.<sup>3</sup> (This word may also be used of the whole dress).
  - b. Skirt, bluish white, striped, of cotton; on the top two braids. Length 85 cm.
  - c. Green silk sash. Length 2.68 m.; width 57 cm. Called *nyóm rek*.<sup>4</sup>
  - d. Long, white, jacket-like garment of cotton with long sleeves. Length 1.38 m., maximum width 2.25 m. Called *ta go*.<sup>5</sup>
  - e. Blouse of cotton with stamped floral designs in red, blue and black. Length 49 cm., maximum width 1.28 m.
  - f. Almost rectangular head-dress of white cotton. Measurements: 95 cm. by 87 cm. Called *thyak tük*.<sup>6</sup>

The sashes may also be of other materials and colours such as:

2. Long, red, wollen sash (C. 6321) with fringes at both ends, with longitudinal black threads woven into it and with three long, black transverse threads at both ends. Length 2.31 m., width 19 cm. Called *nyóm rek*. From Kesong, Tingbung area.

<sup>1</sup> According to Pott 1951, p. 131 such ear-rings are worn on the right ear by Tibetan officials.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dict. 254a *ban* 3. s. a knife (of any description) etc.; many other references, e.g. Hooker I, p. 121; Risley 1892 II, p. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Dict. 174b *dām* cloth, clothes, and Dict. 103a *jóm* 2.1. to be soft, to be fine, to be thin, *dām jóm* a fine cloth.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Dict. 338a *rek* 1. vb. to bind round . . . *nām-rek, nyóm-rek, nam-rek* s. a girdle, cf. Tib. Jäs. 19a *ska-rāqs* girdle.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Dict. 124b *tayo* s. a jacket, jerkin; cf. Tib. Jäs. 223a *stod-gag* doublet of the Lamas, without sleeves (?).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Dict. 162–63 *thyak* head and 129a–b *tük* vb. to cover, *a-tük* a covering, *tük-tük* a cap.

3. Long yellow-brown woollen sash (C. 6320) with fringes at both ends; transverse woollen threads in red, green, and black are woven into it at both ends. Length, excluding fringes, 2.48 m., width 11–15 cm. Called *nyóm rek*. From Tingbung.

The women are fond of ornaments, amulet boxes, and charms, such as:

4. Long plaited ribbon (C. 6357) made of twined strings in black, blue, red and white, with a fringe at the end. Length 1.20 m. Used on festive occasions as an extension of the plait, e. g. of brides. Called *tsóm rik*,<sup>1</sup> hairstring. From Tingbung.
5. Animal (boar?) tusk (Fig. 18, C. 6334), slightly curved, at the upper end with silver fittings and a hole for a string. Length 8 cm. Called *sā pik bū*.<sup>2</sup> Worn in a string round the neck; supposed to be a charm against *mung*. From Tingbung.
6. Animal (boar?) tusk (Fig. 20, C. 6335), similar to no. 5 above. Length 7.5 cm. From Tingbung.
7. Square amulet box (Fig. 15, C. 6337) of silver, embossed and decorated with turquoises. A triangular silver fitting, decorated with turquoises and a red stone in the centre, is attached to each side. A string with 10 red and 4 black stones and a European-made button is fastened to the top. Length 10 cm. Called: *kha cung*.<sup>3</sup> From Mangen.
8. Square amulet box (C. 6338), similar to no. 7 above, with chased front and one turquoise and fittings for five other stones. A string with 9 beads of glass and 2 longish silver jewels set with turquoises is fastened to the top. Measurements at front: 7.5 cm. by 6 cm. Called *kha cung*.<sup>3</sup>
9. Four bracelets (C. 6347, C. 6348, C. 6349) (Fig. 19, C. 6350). C. 6347 of copper, the others of aluminium, and C-shaped; the surface decorated with ornamental designs; both ends faintly shaped in the form of animals' heads.<sup>4</sup> Longest diameter 6.5–7.0 cm. From Tingbung.
10. A girdle pendant (Fig. 13, C. 6339) of brass consisting of 3 rings and 4 longish plaques with ornamental designs on the front. Two of the plaques end in a hook. Length 28.5 cm. Called *ja gūk*.<sup>5</sup> From Tingbung.

### III. The following further specimens were acquired:

1. Coarse black-brown bag (Fig. 44, C. 6323) consisting of two square sides, made from vegetable fibres collected in the jungle. Measurements: 34 cm. by 34 cm. Called *tŭng gíp*.<sup>6</sup> Rare; I was told that formerly whole garments were made of such fibres. From Mangen.
2. Bag of greyish material (C. 6322), made of two pieces; below upper edge two stripes of black thread woven in the material. Thin carrying string of red material with black and white threads woven into it. Measurements, excluding carrying string, 27 cm. by 27 cm. Called *tŭng gíp*, see no. 1 above. From Tingbung.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dict. 310a–b *tsóm*, *a-tsóm* the hair of the head . . . (*a*)*tsóm-rik* s. a hair-tie, a pigtail, cf. Gram. p. 122.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dict. 399b *sā-pyūk* s. the wild goat, the ibex and 257b *bū* 4,2 to bear clothes, ornaments etc.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Dict. 44b *kha*- . . . *kha-cūng* s. a locket.

<sup>4</sup> Pott 1951, p. 132 says of similar bracelets in the Tibetan Collection of the National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden: Presumably the makarahead motif was the origin of these decorated terminals, but the ornamentation is not very pronounced.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Dict. 94b *ja-gūk* s. a sort of long clasp used by women round the waist, a hook, a buckle; cf. Tib. Jäs. 148b *taags-kyü* (books, book-language) an iron hook, esp. fishing -hook, angle. Tsering applied the word *ja gūk* to the entire pendant.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Dict. 54a *gíp*, *tā-gíp*, *tŭng-gíp* s. a bag, a knapsack, a sack cf. Tib. Jäs. 118a *sgyiu*, *sgyig-gu* bag, purse.

3. Bag of greyish woollen material (C. 6326), made of two square pieces sewn together. A little below the upper rim two stripes of red thread; the ends of the threads of the two upper corners are made into small loops. Length 27 cm., height 23 cm. Called *lǎng gíp*, see no. 1 above. From Namprik, Tingbung area.
4. A pair of identical silver brooches (Figs. 14 and 16, C. 6329 a-b). Each brooch consists of a long pin ending in an eye in which a ring is fastened. One pin is decorated at its blunt end with a turquoise. Length of pin 14.5 cm., diameter of ring 6 cm. Called *jāt*.<sup>1</sup> The pins are stuck into the garment just below the collar-bone in order to keep the long woven cloth together.
5. Ear ornament (Fig. 17, C. 6333). Tiny greenish stone with a hole through which is passed a string. Called 'ayu'.<sup>2</sup> From Tingbung.
6. Silver ring (Fig. 11, C. 6331) with inlaid oval red stone. Diameter 1.7 cm. Called *kā kyūp*.<sup>3</sup> From Tingbung.
7. Silver ring (Fig. 10, C. 6332) chased with floral design. Diameter 1.7 cm. Called *kā kyūp*, see above no. 6. From Tingbung.
8. Comb (Fig. 31, C. 6310) of bamboo with thin teeth, lashed together with strings. Length of comb 8.5 cm.; length of teeth 8.5 cm. Called *hrit*.<sup>4</sup> From Tingbung.
9. Brush (Fig. 27, C. 6303) made of a bundle of long, pointed fibres, tied together with a twined fibre string. Length 20 cm. From Tingbung.
10. Square work-basket (Fig. 42, C. 6308 a-b) of wickerwork with a lid fastened by a strap of skin. Inside some pieces of sewing thread of various colours. Length 10 cm.; height 8 cm. From Tingbung.
11. Tinder Box (Fig. 26, C. 6309) consisting of a small four-sided bag with straps. Inside 3 small flints, a piece of iron, and some shreds of easily inflammable cloth. Measurement of bag 9 cm. by 9 cm. The tinder box was called *pyó khuk*,<sup>5</sup> the piece of iron *mí pyet*.<sup>6</sup> This specimen had been made by a deceased blacksmith of the Tingbung area. The flints were said to have been found beyond the ridge north of Tingbung.
12. Pen (C. 6314) of bamboo, pointed at both ends for writing purposes. Used by village lamas when writing religious formulae. Length 21 cm. From Tingbung.
13. A pair of iron scissors (Fig. 28, C. 6304). Length 18 cm. From Tingbung.
14. Flat, oval rain-shield (Fig. 23, C. 6297) of bamboo wickerwork with an intermediate layer of dried leaves;<sup>7</sup> to the inside is fastened a strap for carrying the rain-shield on the forehead. Length 1.07 m., maximum width 70 cm. Called *tūk*.<sup>8</sup> From Payel, Tingbung area.
15. A cylindrical piece of wood (Fig. 57, C. 6344) hollowed-out. Plugged at one end with a piece of cloth. Inside is found a brownish powder. Said to be used as a snuff-box. Length of cylinder 18.5 cm. From Tingbung.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dict. 93b *jāt* III s. a pin (large), used to pin up Lepcha cloth over shoulder.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 72 (C. 6330). Note 5.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Dict. 32a *kyūp* vb. to seize hold of . . . to fix, to clasp round, to encircle . . . *kā-kyūp* a ring.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Dict. 376b *hrit* 3 vb. t. to comb . . . s. a comb, cf. Gram. p. 144.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Dict. 225b *pyó* s. tinder, cf. Tib. Jäs. 335b *sprá-ba* l. s. punk, German tinder, prepared of the fibres of a thistle (*Cousinia*) and Dict. 47a *khuk* s. a bag, cf. Tib. Jäs. 41a *khüg-ma* pouch, little bag, *me-lcags-kug-ma* tinder pouch (Milaraspa).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Dict. 225a *pyet* vb. t. to rub sharply with fingers . . . to strike fire as with steel *mí pyet*, see also 284b *mí* 5, fire . . . *mí pyet* vb. to strike fire, also s. the steel.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Hooker I, p. 122 . . . The umbrella . . . is made of platted bamboo, enclosing broad leaves of *Phrynium*.

<sup>8</sup> Presumably from *tūk* to cover, cf. Dict. 129a *tūk* vb. t. to cover over (as head with cap, umbrella).

# CALENDAR

## DAY, WEEK, MONTHS, YEARS

Informant from Tingbung: Choder  
Interpreter: Tsering  
Informant from Kalimpong: Tamsang

### 1. *The Day.*

The Lepchas have no mechanical division of the day similar to the European system depending on the clock, but they apply a series of approximate indications of particular moments or intervals of the day. These indications are determined by the changing light, the various positions of the sun, the habits of the domestic animals, etc., and consequently the intervening periods are of unequal length.

Mainwaring<sup>1</sup> mentions ten intervals, whereas the Tingbung Lepchas use twelve, comprising *sã 'ayak*, the whole day, i. e. day plus night (24 hours). The daytime alone, i. e. the time from sunrise to sunset, is called *sã nyí*, the night *so nap*.

The twelve intervals used by the Tingbung Lepchas are:

1. *nat fet*: Mid-night, i. e. the period from the last hours of the dying day until the first glimpse of the coming day.
2. *sũng fũm*: Dawn.
3. *so sɔng*: Early morning.
4. *tsũk lat*: Sunrise.
5. *tsũk zan*: The moment when the whole disc of the sun is visible.
6. *tsũk nang*: Midday, Noon.
7. *tsũk ke*: Afternoon.
8. *móng brí sɔng*: Just before sunset.
9. *tsũk ker*: The time when the sun has disappeared below the horizon or behind the mountains.
10. *hik van*: The time when the fowls go to bed.
11. *so fyɔ*: Twilight, dusk, it is just going to be dark.
12. *so la*: That time of the night when it has become so dark that one cannot identify persons.

I was told that there is also another practice among the Kalimpong Lepchas. The course of the sun in the sky, from sunrise to sunset, is divided into six equal intervals, each called *kã ka*,<sup>2</sup> originally meaning: double armlength.

<sup>1</sup> Gram. p. 140.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dict. 12a *kã-ka* s. a share, portion, division.

The above twelve intervals are not merely divisions of the day, but each has its particular characteristic, separating it from all the others. The time from *tsūk lat* (sunrise) to *tsūk nang* (noon) is auspicious for childbirth; funerals should take place between *tsūk nang* (noon) and *móng brí sóng* (just before sunset); *tsūk ke* (afternoon) is the proper time for sacrifices to the *mung*, who are supposed to be particularly active from *tsūk ke* (afternoon) until *nat fet* (mid-night).

## 2. The Week.

The Lepchas have a seven-day week with no special day of rest. I met with two different sets of names for the days, one used in Kalimpong, the other in Tingbung, the latter being almost similar to the names used by the Tibetans. These names are:

1. Sunday, Kalimpong: *mí sã 'ayak*, Tingbung: *za nyí ma*.
2. Monday, Kalimpong: *ung sã 'ayak*, Tingbung: *za da o*.
3. Tuesday: Kalimpong: *lǎng sã 'ayak*, Tingbung: *mik mar*.
4. Wednesday, Kalimpong: *nyen sã 'ayak*, Tingbung: *hlak bo*.
5. Thursday, Kalimpong: *sūk mát sã 'ayak*, Tingbung: *phur bo*.
6. Friday, Kalimpong: *fat sã 'ayak*, Tingbung: *pa sang*.
7. Saturday, Kalimpong: *pǎng jeng sã 'ayak*, Tingbung: *phem bo*.

Concerning the meaning of the Kalimpong names Tamsang offered a current, popular explanation: When the world was created, it was made of seven elements the names of which can be found in the names of the days. When the Lepchas were created, they were made of the same seven elements, and consequently the characteristics of these elements are inborn in the Lepchas.

1. *mí*: Fire. The Lepchas are worse than fire to anybody with whom they do not agree.
2. *ung*: Water: The Lepchas are as sweet as water to their friends.
3. *lǎng*: Stone. Just as stones are hard, so are the Lepchas stern towards their enemies.
4. *nyen*: Milk. The Lepchas are handsome and as bright as milk and not dark like the people of the plains.
5. *sūk mát*: Wind (*sǔng mǔt*). The Lepchas are unbendable like a strong wind.
6. *fat*: Earth. The Lepchas are as fertile as the earth.
7. *pǎng jeng*: Iron. The Lepchas are as strong as iron.

Like the Tibetans the Tingbung Lepchas attribute the names of the days to particular celestial bodies: *za nyí ma* (Sunday) to the sun, *za da o* (Monday), to the moon, *mik mar* (Tuesday) to Mars, *hlak bo* (Wednesday) to Mercury, a deity blessing by his hands, *phur bo* (Thursday) to Jupiter, the deity of the thunderbolt, *pa sang* (Friday) to Venus, the deity of peace and happiness, and *phem bo* (Saturday) to Saturn, the deity of mercy.

The Tingbung Lepchas distinguish between lucky and unlucky days of the week. Sunday, Monday and Friday are particularly lucky days; as for the other days some seem to be unlucky, some almost neutral. When planning to leave Tingbung I first suggested starting on Tuesday, June 28th, but it met with objections from *rig zing* and Tsering as being an unlucky day, and we therefore decided on Monday the 27th.

It is an auspicious omen for a child to be born on one of the lucky days, its life will be

happy, and it will seldom fall ill. It is advisable to begin work in the fields on one of the lucky days, and if a man presents something to a friend on one of these days it is fortunate.

If a man steals a domestic animal on a Tuesday, this animal will soon die. If a man sows seeds in his fields on a Tuesday, it will be useless. If a man gives away a domestic animal on a Wednesday, he runs the risk that his remaining animals will die. If a man starts on a journey to make a bargain on a Wednesday, he will obtain no profit. If a man receives a domestic animal from another man on a Thursday, the animal will soon die. If a man makes a bargain on a Thursday, he runs the risk of losing all his belongings. It is useless to go out sowing on a Thursday because the seed corn will not grow, but will be destroyed. If a man gives a domestic animal to another man on a Saturday, they both run the risk that all their animals will die. It is not advisable to start a journey on a Saturday. If a man goes out sowing on a Saturday, the plants will be small and soon wither.

### 3. *The Months.*

The Lepchas divide the year, *nam*, into two seasons, summer and winter, or the rainy season and the dry season. The year has twelve months with 30 days each; thus the Lepcha year has 360 days.

There does not seem to be any general rule for adjusting the Lepcha year to the solar year; some state that they sometimes insert a few days, while others declare that they occasionally interpolate a whole intercalary month, called *lă vo nyet*.<sup>1</sup>

The calendar of Kalimpong is regulated by the *bong thing*, not so much by observing the course of the celestial bodies as by close examination of flowers, the fresh shoots of the bamboo, the migration of birds, the behaviour of particular fish in the rivers, etc. In this way the *bong thing* decides if some few days must be inserted or an entire month interpolated. They interpolate a month simply by repeating one of the ordinary months. According to Tamsang the year 1951 had two months *blung* just after each other. Such doublings of months are rare, and Tamsang did not recollect that it had happened before in his life.

There seems to be two regular sets of names of the months to which may be added a few particular names. The latter are probably local names associated with occupational or ceremonial occurrences. With a few exceptions the names of Tingbung are identical with those of Kalimpong, whereas the people of Lingthem have their own names. When asking for the names of the months, some people begin their enumeration with the first month *'ayit* or *it* of the winter season, others with one of the two months *ra* and *mar* (cf. below), during which the Lepcha New Year festival is celebrated, and others with the months *kūr nyit* and *kūr sōng* (in Lingthem: Tangbu), coinciding with the celebration of the Tibetan New Year. A similar disparity may also be met with as far as the sequence of the months is concerned; thus I occasionally encountered some discrepancies in Tingbung, and Stocks has the ordinary sequence but gives *'ayit* (March) as the first month of the year.<sup>2</sup> In the list below I shall begin with the month which is usually reckoned as the first month of the winter season, indicating the most fundamental occupational division of the Lepcha year, but this does not mean that it might not be just as natural to begin with another month.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dict. 344a; Gram. p. 141; Stocks 1927 p. 364, Note 2.

<sup>2</sup> Stocks 1927 p. 364 f., Note 2.

<sup>3</sup> Concerning Lingthem, see Gorer p. 94.

- |                         |  |
|-------------------------|--|
| 1. (October-November)   | Tingbung and Kalimpong: <i>'ayit</i> or <i>ít</i> ;<br>Lingthem: Goobu.  |
| 2. (November-December)  | Tingbung and Kalimpong: <i>ra</i> ;<br>Lingthem: Choopu.   |
| 3. (December-January)   | Tingbung and Kalimpong: <i>mar</i> ;<br>Lingthem: Chuchikpu.   |
| 4. (January-February)   | Tingbung and Kalimpong: <i>kūr nyít</i> ;<br>Lingthem: Chunipu.  |
| 5. (February-March)     | Tingbung and Kalimpong: <i>kūr sǒng</i> ;<br>Lingthem: Tangbu.   |
| 6. (March-April)        | Tingbung and Kalimpong: <i>thón</i> ;<br>Lingthem: Nibu.   |
| 7. (April-May)          | Tingbung and Kalimpong: <i>sám</i> . (The name <i>jing</i> occurs also,<br>cf. Text No. 9, 6).<br>Lingthem: Sumgu. |
| 8. (May-June)           | Tingbung: <i>nǔm tsam</i> ;<br>Kalimpong: Tafa.<br>Lingthem: Zibu.   |
| 9. (June-July)          | Tingbung and Kalimpong: <i>blung</i> ;<br>Lingthem: Napu.  |
| 10. (July-August)       | Tingbung and Kalimpong: <i>nǔm kǔm</i> ;<br>Lingthem: Tikpu.   |
| 11. (August-September)  | Tingbung and Kalimpong: <i>pūr vím</i> ;<br>Lingthem: Dengbu.  |
| 12. (September-October) | Tingbung and Kalimpong: <i>glu</i> ;<br>Lingthem: Gebu.  |

Behind the names from Lingthem can be discerned the Tibetan system of naming the months after the ordinal numbers from 1–12, viz. the first, the second etc.,<sup>1</sup> beginning at No. 5. Tib. *dang-po*, first.

The only explanations which I have of the names used at Tingbung and Kalimpong are as follows:

1. *'ayit* or *ít*, compare the verb *'ayit*<sup>2</sup> to create, to found, to establish, to begin etc., i. e. the month which opens the year.
5. *kūr sǒng* may be associated with the name of the morning star,<sup>3</sup> which is also called *kūr sǒng*.

#### 4. The Years.

The Lepchas call a year *nam*, and like the Tibetans they arrange the years in cycles of twelve years. The single years of a cycle, *lo kor*,<sup>4</sup> are called:

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Schlagintweit 1863, p. 289 and Note 2, references.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dict. 451 a–b *'ayit*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Dict. 23a *kūr-sǒng*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Dict. 357b.

1. *kǎ lók nam*: Rat Year.
2. *lóng nam*: Bull Year or Ox Year.
3. *sǎ thǎng nam*: Tiger Year.
4. *kūm thyóng nam*: Eagle Year.
5. *sǎ dyǎr nam*: Thunderbolt Year.
6. *bǔ nam*: Snake or Serpent Year.
7. *un nam*: Horse Year.
8. *lǔk nam*: Sheep Year.
9. *sǎ hǔ nam*: Monkey Year.
10. *hík nam*: Hen Year.
11. *kǎ ju nam*: Dog Year.
12. *món nam*: Pig Year.

It will be seen that the names of this cycle correspond to the Tibetan names except for no. 4 which the Tibetans call the Hare Year, and no. 5 which they call the Dragon Year.<sup>1</sup> The year 1949 I was told was an Ox Year.

To the Lepchas the names of the years are not merely names, but certain peculiarities characteristic of the individual animals are supposed to characterise the years. Moreover, any activity or arrangement uniting in some way or other two years whose animals are mutually hostile must by all means be avoided. For instance, when some elders plan a marriage for a young boy and a young girl, they take care that the animals or symbols of their birth years are, so to speak, on good terms. Marriage is not advisable between two people one of which was born in the Tiger Year and the other in the Ox Year because the tiger likes to kill and devour the Ox. The same is the case with the Tiger Year and the Horse Year, the Eagle Year and the Hen Year. The Thunderbolt Year and the Snake Year make a bad combination because the lightning is supposed to strike and kill the snake *pǎ mól bǔ*.

Many agricultural rules are connected with the years. Some years are particularly good for field work, and in these years the harvest is supposed to be abundant. The following five years are propitious years:

1. The Rat Year. The rat lives under the ground and is always digging.
2. The Ox Year. The ox draws the plough and gives manure.
6. The Snake Year. The snake lives below the ground.
8. The Sheep Year. The sheep gives manure, and warm clothes are made from its wool.
11. The Dog Year. The reason is unknown, but Tamsang suggests as an explanation that the dog drives away the monkeys from the fields, thus preventing them from destroying the crops.

The remaining seven years are neither good for cultivation nor for fertility among the domestic animals.

3. The Tiger Year. The tiger kills the domestic animals.
4. The Eagle Year. Reason unknown.
5. The Thunderbolt Year. Reason unknown.
7. The Horse Year. The reason is presumably that the *mung* sometimes appear in the shape of a horse (Tamsang).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Schlagintweit 1863, p. 276.



9. The Monkey Year. The monkey spoils the fields and their crops.
10. The Hen Year. The reason is presumably that the hen spoils the ground by scratching (Tamsang).
12. The Pig Year. The reason is perhaps that the pig digs with its snout in the soil (Tamsang).

In every person's life there are certain unlucky years. In these years it is dangerous to undertake anything of importance, and it is advisable only to observe the daily routine of life. These years are at the age of: 13, 25, 37, 49, 61, 73, 85, etc. It is noteworthy that the intervals are constantly 12 years. But a person who is very meticulous will in addition abstain from anything of importance in the previous and the following year. In this way the unlucky periods are extended to the years: 12-14, 24-26, 36-38, 48-50, 60-62, 72-74, 84-86, etc.<sup>1</sup>

The end of an old cycle and the beginning of a new cycle is called *lo thó zak*, and this period also seems to be fraught with some danger. Mainwaring mentions that if the Lepchas have some clothes which are being made but which are not ready before the beginning of the new cycle, it is considered unfortunate, and the clothes are not worn.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> According to Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956a, p. 518 the Tibetans believe that there are two main recurring periods of danger in the life of all men: firstly, all years of age which ends with a nine (9, 19, 29, etc.) secondly, the recurrence of the name of that animal under whose sign a person has been born — an event which happens every twelve years.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dict. 357b *lo* 6. . . . *lo thó zāk*.

## AGRICULTURE

We get the first glimpse of Lepcha agriculture in the ancient tradition of the Chronicle<sup>1</sup> where it says "Proceeding towards Gantok, they [i. e. Khyé-Bumsa and his followers] came across a very old man quite black from tilling his recently burnt field . . .". This shows that what has been called swidden cultivation<sup>2</sup> was practised already in those distant days. We know from Campbell<sup>3</sup> that this form of agriculture had maintained itself among the Lepchas till as late as 1840: ". . . [the Lepchas] rarely remain longer than three years in one place, at the expiration of which they move into another part of the forest, sometimes near, often distant, and then go through the labour of clearing a space for a house, building a new one, and preparing the ground for a crop. The latter operations consist in cutting down the smaller trees, lopping off the branches of the larger ones, which are burnt, and scratching the soil with the Bān, after which, on the falling of a shower of rain, the seed is thrown into the ground."

We know also from Campbell that the favourite vegetable food of the Lepchas was rice, and next to that wheat, barley, maize, millet, murva, and a fine species of yam called "bookh".<sup>4</sup> Hooker supplements this information by adding that the rice referred to must be dry rice, and he states that the main food of the Lepchas is rice, grown without irrigation.<sup>5</sup> This agrees with Adir's statement that the Lepchas in the days of his grandfather had no paddy fields.

However, some time in the second half of the last century the wet rice cultivation seems to have spread, and Waddell<sup>6</sup> describes the land of a Lepcha farm in the following way ". . . a small plot fenced in by thorny branches, for a few gourds, turnips and chillies, and beyond this a few small crops of maize, barley, millet for beer, and a little terraced land for irrigated rice." And he proceeds: "This scanty cultivation, if it may be dignified by such a term, is usually a mere scratching of the ground, and it is done mostly by the women, while the men do the hunting." This last statement illustrates well the division of labour obtaining in a Lepcha community, besides indicating that hunting still played an important part in the life of the Sikkim Lepchas at that time (about 1900).

The practice of wet rice cultivation reached some localities rather late, as may be gathered from Morris, who in 1937 investigated the Lingthem Lepchas and wrote that: "The method of growing rice under water in terraced fields . . . was apparently only introduced in Lingthem some twenty years ago . . .".<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Gaz.* p. 8. (Cp. above p. 29).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Izikowitz p. 373 et., pp. 206 ff. . . .

<sup>3</sup> Campbell 1840 a, p. 387 f.

<sup>4</sup> Campbell 1869 a, p. 147.

<sup>5</sup> Hooker I, p. 123.

<sup>6</sup> Waddell 1900, p. 95.

<sup>7</sup> Morris, p. 177.

Nowadays agriculture, and especially the wet rice cultivation, furnishes the staple food of the Lepchas, and game plays a very minor part in their diet.<sup>1</sup>

The chief crops in Sikkim and the adjoining Lepcha areas are rice and maize. Next to these come millet, buckwheat, wheat, potatoes, radishes, and various grains and fruits, as also different sorts of green vegetables. In the lower parts of Sikkim and Darjeeling oranges and pears are grown, while peaches and apples are grown in some places at higher altitudes.

1. *Rice, zo.* Formerly, when the Lepchas practised only dry rice cultivation, they used to grow twenty-six varieties of rice, and they believed that all these varieties had been given them by the *mã yel rãm* living in *mã yel lyang*.

As for the modern wet rice cultivation I shall give briefly what was told me of the custom in Kalimpong.<sup>2</sup> Some time in May the rice seeds are sown thickly in terrace nurseries, and by the rainy season, about the middle of June, the seedlings become ready for transplanting. The whole field is then ploughed with a pointed wooden plough, drawn by a pair of oxen. From about the middle of June till the end of July the women and the girls transplant the seedlings. During this work the planters move backwards in the fields, planting three or four seedlings at a time in the same hole, making a distance of two or three inches between each hole.

The weeding is done twice, first in September, and later in October. At this time the terraces should be well flooded. The harvest begins in November, when the paddy is fully ripe. Then the women go into the fields with baskets, and select the best ears of paddy as seeds for the next year. The paddy is cut close to the root. After drying for a week in the fields the paddy is gathered by the men and tied into handy bundles. It is taken close to the house, where the ground has been cleared, and it is then stacked in a big heap for a month or more, since every man must assist his neighbours in turn. Later it is threshed, and the straw is made into bundles and stored in a dry place as cattle fodder. When the harvest is over, the cows, bulls, and goats are let loose in the fields for grazing, and here they are kept throughout the winter to manure the fields.

Before ploughing for rice and other crops, the Lepchas manure their fields with dung from cows, pigs, goats, and droppings from chicken. They even burn leaves, using the ashes as manure. The Lepchas know that since they inhabit a hilly country, all the manure is washed away by the heavy rains.

2. *Maize, kũn tsong.* The Lepchas cultivate six varieties of maize: 1. White with large cobs, 2. white with small cobs, 3. red with large, round cobs, 4. red with small, round cobs, 5. red with large flat cobs, 6. red with very small cobs.

The white maize is sown in February in the paddy terraces and is ready for harvest just before the transplanting of the paddy. The red maize is sown in the dry fields between March 15th and April 15th. When the maize begins to flower in August, the millet is transplanted into the maize fields, and both crops will ripen together in October. The plants are picked out several times before harvest, and the discarded plants are given to the cattle as fodder.

3. *Millet, móng.* Millet is sown in nurseries in May, and is transplanted into the maize fields in July. It is weeded twice, and is ready for harvest in October-November. At harvest time the panicles are cut off with an iron sickle. The straw is later cut, dried, and kept as

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 96 ff. below for hunting and its place in the present economy of the Lepchas.

<sup>2</sup> The following description, mainly based on information from Mr Tamsang, represents the manner of cultivation of the Kalimpong area. The dates change of course somewhat according to altitude. — For detailed descriptions from Lingthem, cf. Gorer, pp. 86 ff. and Morris, pp. 177 ff., 188 ff.

fodder for the cattle in winter and during the rainy season. Ten different kinds of millet are grown, not for food, but mainly for the making of *ci*.

4. *Wheat, k̄a cer.* and *Barley, k̄a kyo*, are both winter crops, sown in November, and ripe about April. They are cut in the same way as millet. Wheat and barley are mainly used for the making of *ci*.

5. *Oranges and Bananas.* Oranges are grown at an altitude of about 1000–2000 m. above sea level. The Lepchas grow a great number of orange trees, and many houses are picturesquely surrounded by orange groves and banana plantations, varying in size according to the wealth of the owner. The fruit is sold by the tree to the customers from the plains who come up to purchase it. The oranges ripen in November, and the picking is over by February.

6. *Cardamom.* Cardamom cultivation was introduced at the beginning of this century from Nepal, and nowadays cardamom is much cultivated by the Lepchas. It is grown in small clearings all over the lower slopes of the valleys. The cardamom yields no fruit for the first two years, and when the plant is nine to ten years old it degenerates, and a fresh plant must be substituted for the old one. Cardamom growing demands a great deal of work; the fields must be weeded carefully before the flowering season, and after the flowering is over another weeding is necessary, just as the fields must be kept well-watered until harvest time. This work is considered rather dangerous, as cardamom fields are often infested by snakes.

At harvest time a temporary shed is erected in the area where the people pick the cardamom from the bushes. The fruit is spread out on bamboo shelves, 2 to 2.5 m. high, a fire is made below the shelves, and then the fruit is dried for a night. Next morning people rub and roll it, mixing it with strong, dark extract of tea in order to produce a dark red colour; it is then left to dry. It is packed into sacks and brought to market where it is sold to the Indian Marwari merchants. The Lepchas often have a considerable income from cardamom.

7. *Mushrooms.* Many varieties of mushroom grow in the country, and the Lepchas know of forty-two edible varieties. The rest of them are poisonous, frequently bringing instantaneous death. By smell and taste the Lepchas can distinguish the poisonous mushrooms from the edible ones.

8. *Bamboo.* The Lepchas feel themselves specially connected with the ubiquitous bamboo, which they call *po mik po lóng*.<sup>1</sup> There are said to be twenty-eight varieties of bamboo in their country, all of which they know and use for various purposes. Bamboo seeds are used for food or, like other grains, for the making of *ci*. Also the tender young shoots are eaten. The cane supplies material for huts, bows, arrows, and traps, and is also used as fuel. The larger sections are used for water jugs of different varieties, cooking pots and pans, the smaller sections for bottles, pipes for smoking, flutes, and other musical instruments. The heavy fibres supply material for ropes to span the raging torrents, while the finer fibres are used for plaiting food covers, baskets, bags, umbrellas, hats, quivers, etc. No wonder the Lepchas believe that they could not exist without the bamboo, and that they themselves and the bamboo are coeval.

9. *Potatoes and Yams, buk*.<sup>2</sup> In the second half of the last century the potato was introduced among the Lepchas, and now it is extensively cultivated, not only for home consumption, but also for sale in the surrounding markets. The first potato crop is planted in November,

<sup>1</sup> Apparently one of those composite terms of which the Lepchas are so fond. As for the meaning of *po mik po lóng* cf. Dict. 220b *po mik* the joints of bamboo, and *po lóng* s. I. the rhizoma of bamboo.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dict. 259a *buk* 1. s. yam, applied to the genus *Dioscorea*, to all species of yam, also to the potato on its introduction . . .

and is ready for harvest in March; the second crop is planted in April, and harvested in September-October. There are two varieties, one red and one white.

The Lepchas cultivate domestic yams in scores of varieties. The domestic yams and arums are planted in March, and are harvested in December-January.

10. *Garden Crops.* Most Lepchas have small, fenced-in gardens rather close to their houses, and here they grow beans, several varieties of chilli (red pepper), cucumber, ginger, garlic, tomatoes, arums, sweet potatoes, and other domestic yams, sugar cane, and various other vegetables.

## AGRICULTURAL ROUTINE

The Lepchas prefer to do their field-work in parties or teams irrespective of whether it is ploughing, sowing, weeding, or harvesting which has to be done. Such working-parties are made up of relatives and friends who in turn work in the fields of each other. No payment is given for such mutual assistance, but the person who profits from the labour of the day is expected to provide a good meal and a fair portion of *cí* at the end of the day. Some big Lepcha farmers of Kalimpong may indeed employ labourers, both adults and children, but on the whole this is rare. An adult labourer gets four seers<sup>1</sup> of rice or maize a day, which is just enough to provide a small family with two meals; a child labourer gets proportionally less. Some poor people and those who have large families subsist almost entirely on the grain received as wages for daily labour. Nowadays many labourers of Kalimpong are paid in cash.

### *The Cycle of the Agricultural Year.*

The following survey of the cycle of the agricultural year is based on information from Choder and *kã lók* of Tingbung and from Tamsang of Kalimpong.<sup>2</sup> In spite of the differences in climate and natural conditions of the two localities, the statements on the whole agree. Consequently, minor overlappings of seasonal farming etc. have been omitted.

On April 14th, one of the first days of my stay at Tingbung, I noticed that Choder and his brother went out to cut bamboo in order to make fences for those fields which had been selected for paddy for that year. Such fences are put up to keep out both domestic and wild animals.

Later they prepared the fenced-in fields by cutting the grass and soaking the ground with water, led to the fields through long, narrow water canals. When the fields had become quite muddy, they set to work with their hoes, cutting them up into small rows and terraces. The terraces were then inundated and ploughed while under water.

One terrace was selected and prepared as a rice nursery in which the seed was sown. About six weeks later some of the rice plants were moved into the remaining terraces; this was done about June. Six months later, about December, the rice was harvested.

Close to my tent *kã lók* had a barley field which was due to be harvested in May. This field would later be sown with maize, which would be ripe for harvesting in six months' time.

During *sám* month (April-May) some of the men go out hunting, trapping, and fishing. Buckwheat is also harvested at this time.

During *nũm tsam* month (May-June), called Tafa by the Kalimpong Lepchas, the plants of the paddy rice are transplanted into fresh fields, the maize crops are harvested, and millet

<sup>1</sup> One seer equals approximately 2 lbs.

<sup>2</sup> Concerning Lingthem, see Gorer, p. 94 and Morris, p. 184.

seeds are sown in nurseries. It is also during this month that the garden vegetables are ready for consumption.

During *mar* month (December-January) the Lepchas gather firewood for the rainy season and remove the stubble of the maize, millet and barley to prepare the fields for sowing. Throughout the year the Lepchas gather the dung of oxen, goats, and pigs, and put it in a big heap. During the next *mar* month they mix it with water, carry it to their fields, and spread it as manure.

During *kūr nyít* month (January-February) they clear some of their fields for sowing buckwheat, and continue the manuring. They also fence in their gardens and collect fuel.

During *kūr sóng* (February-March) the fields are cleared, and dry paddy is sown. The paddy terraces and dry fields are ploughed, and maize is sown. The cardamom fields are weeded again, just before the cardamom comes into flower, and the Lepchas are most careful to prevent any repellent smell from polluting the air over the cardamom fields, as they say that such smells damage the flowers and spoil the fruit. It is therefore strictly forbidden to smoke, to drink *cí*, or to carry any kind of oils into the fields; menstruating women are not even allowed near the fields.

During *thón* month (March-April) wheat and barley are harvested, the gardens prepared and vegetables sown. The rice terraces and the irrigation canals are repaired.

The Tingbung Lepchas, living surrounded by jungle, often want to take virgin land under cultivation. Before selecting a patch of jungle for this purpose, they investigate the soil carefully; if it is too red, the crops will not grow tall enough; if it is too black, it cannot hold the water led on to it.

Having decided on a suitable patch of jungle, and having obtained the requisite Government permission for cultivation of this new land, they start the work in *sám* month (April-May). First they cut the weeds and the smaller plants, and let them dry until they are ready to be burnt; then they cut the bigger plants, and carry them home in order to use them as fuel; finally they cut down the big trees with their axes, and use the wood as fences around their fields. The stumps are left in the field; in two years time they will be rotten, and can easily be removed. This means, of course, that the field is not ready for cultivation for the first two years.

When the stumps have been removed, they dig the ground with their hoes, make a system of small canals, and irrigate the field. Then the whole area is ploughed, and afterwards a wooden harrow is drawn across it. Finally the field is levelled by a large flat piece of wood being dragged across it, and then it is ready for sowing.

During *blung* month (June-July) the transplanting of paddy rice continues. The vegetables, including cucumber, ripen. The maize in the dry fields is weeded.

The heavy rains of the summer season effectively prevent most outdoor work at Tingbung, and the men prefer to stay indoors, often making wickerwork articles, while those women who still keep up the old customs, make preparations for weaving the clothes for the men. The women buy their own clothes in the bazaars outside Jongu.

During *nũm kũm* month (July-August) the millet is transplanted into the dry fields under the maize crops, and the wet rice fields are weeded for the first time.

During *pūr vīm* month (August-September) the millet fields are weeded, and sheds are made for the drying of the cardamom. (Cf. p. 84 above). This is the pollination period of the maize.

During *glu* month (September-October) the rice is weeded for the second time, and the millet and the cardamom are harvested.

During *it* month (October-November) the paddy rice is harvested, and wheat and barley are sown.

During *ra* month (November-December) the pulse is harvested, and the seed stored in granaries. The straw of paddy and millet are gathered and stacked for fodder.

During the three months October-December the Lepchas have an easy time and amuse themselves with parties and weddings which are postponed till this time of the year. The men also spend this period doing repairs; for instance, they repair the canes and rafters of their roofs, the stone walls surrounding their fields, etc.; they repair their tools or make new ones, etc.

I succeeded in acquiring the following agricultural items:

1. A flat, triangular hoe (Fig. 45, C. 6290), 15 cm. by 15 cm., handle lacking. From Tingbung. This type of hoe is used for many kinds of work, but especially for weeding. According to Adir the Lepchas formerly bought their hoes in Bhutan.
2. Iron spud with wooden handle (Fig. 52, C. 6287), length 31 cm. From Tingbung. Used as a weeder in the fields.
3. Iron spud with wooden handle (Fig. 51, C. 6288, same type as C. 6287 only smaller), length 25 cm. From Tingbung.
4. Longish iron implement, crooked at the end and with an inner cutting edge. (Fig. 55, C. 6284). Fastened to a wooden handle by means of bamboo string. Length 39 cm. From Tingbung. Called *bang hur*.<sup>1</sup> Used by the women for weeding.
5. Iron implement, crooked at the end and with an inner cutting edge. (Fig. 53, C. 6285). Length 31 cm. From Tingbung. Used as a tool in the cardamom fields.
6. Long, flat iron knife with a wooden handle (Fig. 50, C. 6289); length 26 cm. From Tingbung. Used particularly when reaping cardamom. Called *bang kŭp*.<sup>2</sup>
7. Sickle of iron with a wooden handle (Fig. 54, C. 6286); total length 37 cm. From Tingbung. Called *sur du*.<sup>3</sup>
8. Iron axe-head (Fig. 46, C. 6283) with rectangular hole for the shaft. Length 16.5 cm., width of the blade 6 cm. From Payel.
9. Large pannier (Fig. 38, C. 6294) made of interwoven bamboo fibres with bamboo strap for fitting over the shoulders and onto the forehead. Height 55 cm. diameter at open end 48 cm. From Nung.
10. Large pannier (Fig. 41, C. 6295) made of woven bamboo fibres with two bamboo straps for fitting over the shoulders and onto the forehead. Height 57 cm. diameter at open end 54 cm. From Tingbung.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dict. 254b *ban hur* s. a crooked *ban*, knife, used only by the women, and Dict. 371b *hur* s. a species of knife used by women, *ban hur* or *hur ban* s. a sickle. According to Dict. 189a *nā-lī pān-dī*, the queen *Nā-lī*, wife of *rām zōng pā-no*, taught the women the art of weaving cloth and domestic duties, and she also presented them with the sickle *ban hur* and instructed them in agriculture.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dict. 254a *ban* 3, knife . . . *ban kŭp* small knife.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Dict. 415b *sūr-du hur* s. (Yakt'oomba word) a sickle.



## AGRICULTURAL CEREMONIES AND RITUALS

The agricultural activities are interwoven with many religious ceremonies some of which have been described already by Gorer and Morris.<sup>1</sup> I shall therefore confine myself to supplementing the information given by them.

### 1. *Initial Ceremony to mung.*

A sacrifice is performed at Tingbung during the summer season before the tilling of the fields for millet and maize. The sacrifice is performed early in the morning in any place where there is said to be a *mung*. Any domestic animal may be used for this purpose.

A male *mūn* selects the sacrificial animal, and the whole village proceeds to the sacrificial place where they kill the animal by cutting its throat or by thrusting a pointed bamboo stick into its heart. They fill a bowl with the blood which squirts out and with this in their hands they approach the site of the *mung*, sprinkle some drops of blood on the place and recite the following:

- (1) "We have been sitting close to you! (Text No. 5)
- (2) Do not cause us pain and trouble!
- (3) We have given this present!"

When this has been done they begin to prepare their fields. I was told that this ceremony is performed for all crops in fields which harbour a *mung*.

### 2. *Agriculture and the mā yel rūm.*

The agriculture of the Lepchas is intimately connected with a legend of the *mā yel rūm* to whom, twice a year, they perform regular agricultural ceremonies. This legend is found in several versions,<sup>2</sup> and I shall here give the version I heard among the Tingbung Lepchas.

#### *The mā yel legend.*

Informant: *rig zing*

Interpreter: Tsering

(Tsering stated that as a boy he had heard the same legend in a similar version in his own village).

"*mā yel tong*<sup>3</sup> is a place opposite *kong chen* above the Talung Monastery close to the Tibetan border, about four to five days' walk from Tingbung. It was created by *ít mu*, and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gorer p. 239 and Morris, pp. 181 ff. (spring offerings), and Gorer, pp. 240 ff. and Morris, pp. 183 f. (dry rice harvest ceremonies).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *The Court Chronicle*, Rock 1953 a, p. 939, and the Lingthem version, Gorer, pp. 236 ff. and Morris, pp. 186 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The word *tóng*, place, is probably the same as Dict. 159a *thóng* 1. *lyang thóng* s. a plain, an open space, also an unconfined country; cf. Tib. Jäs. 228a *thang* flat country, a plain, steppe.

from the beginning the crops were there, and from there the crops have spread all over the world. *mã yel tong* is surrounded by huge rocks so that nobody can go there.

At *mã yel tong* there live some peculiar beings that are very small, just like dwarfs [*rig zing* said that they could stand under Tsering's arms]. They have big goitres and have hair all over their bodies, except on the face. They speak only Lepcha. They live there, men and women together, in nine houses. In each house live a man and a woman. They are eighteen persons in all. They never die, they have no children, and the women never give birth.

*mã yel tong* is a very fertile place, and from there one can get all kinds of plants. The *mã yel* people are *rũm* as well as human beings. When the Lepchas perform agricultural ceremonies, they perform them to these beings. They are called *sã kyũ rũm*. Twice a year all the people of Sikkim, including the Maharajah, perform ceremonies to this people, the first time at the sowing of paddy rice, and the second time after the harvesting of paddy rice.

The grandfather of the chief headman of the Talung valley is the only person to have seen this people. Some years ago a European was there and took some paddy rice which is said to be very big; but he did not see the people as they became afraid of him and fled."

#### CEREMONIES TO THE *mã yel* BEINGS

##### 1. At *Tingbung*.

According to *rig zing*, the Lepchas and also the Maharajah, perform ceremonies twice a year to the *mã yel* beings,—the first time when they have finished sowing seeds of paddy rice, and the second time after the harvesting of paddy rice.<sup>1</sup>

The proper time for making the initial preparation of the rice fields is indicated by the calls of various species of migratory cuckoos, supposed to have been sent by the *mã yel* beings to announce the arrival of the right moment.

Then the *Tingbung* Lepchas taking a hen, a rupee, a fish, a wild bird, beaten rice, green leaves, *tor ma*, butter, and incense, gather in one of the houses, and perform an offering of these things to the *mã yel rũm*, singing:

- |      |   |              |
|------|---|--------------|
| (1)  | "O, You honourable <i>sã kyũ rũm</i> !  | (Text No. 6) |
| (2)  | O, You honourable <i>sã vi rũm</i> !  |              |
| (3)  | O, You honourable <i>shã rũng rũm</i> !   |              |
| (4)  | Just now the soil has become a wet field.   |              |
| (5)  | Now the waning moon has already disappeared,  |              |
| (6)  | the new moon will disappear.  |              |
| (7)  | Now we shall send the daughter-in-law,  |              |
| (8)  | we shall send the son-in-law.   |              |
| (9)  | For sowing seeds in the <i>ma lóng</i> soil,  |              |
| (10) | for sowing seeds in the <i>ma kyám</i> soil,  |              |
| (11) | the proper time will pass.  |              |
| (12) | The time for sowing seeds will pass.  |              |
| (13) | We are now ready to sow seeds of <i>cyóm pã mar</i> rice.   |              |
| (14) | In <i>ta lyũ mũ mũ</i> (i. e. the underground) we have put back <i>tã ko na lí</i> (i. e. the seeds). |              |
| (15) | Next year we shall take child and mother."  |              |

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gorer pp. 238 ff. who describes the ceremonies, but does not give the rituals; see also Stocks 1927 p. 357, Note 1.

In this ritual the *rūm*, *sā kyū* for paddy rice, *sā vi* for millet and *shā rūng* for maize are invoked. It is emphasised that it is just the right time for sowing, indicated by the condition of the soil and the phase of the moon. Both the rice and the millet are regarded as a family, the new seed of the millet being the daughter-in-law, and the new seed of the rice the son-in-law, while their grain are regarded as their children. The song finishes with the confident assurance that the coming harvest will be greater than that of last year: it will be both mother and child. The conception of a family relationship forms also the background for one of the following rituals (Text No. 8).

I was told that at the time of the sowing season the Tingbung Lepchas add another song to the first one. It is, however, not quite certain whether they sing this song in close connection with the one given above, or if they first make a new offering ceremony. This song runs as follows:

- (1) "This is our *mā yel* place. (Text No. 7)
- (2) It is your work.
- (3) You are the creator of the seeds of rice,
- (4) you are the creator of the seeds of maize,
- (5) you are the creator of the seeds of millet,
- (6) you are the creator of the seeds of wheat,
- (7) you are the creator of the yam.
- (8) *a nyít a jom* is creatress!
- (9) *shā só rāk rok* is creator!"

In this song the *mā yel* beings are praised as the creators of the fertility of the fields. It should be noted that the Lepchas call the place "our *mā yel* place", i. e. their place of fertility. Just as the *mā yel* beings have their place of fertility high in the mountains in the neighbourhood of *kong chen*, so also the people have their place of fertility, i. e. their fields. But the fertility will not materialise without the cooperation of the *mā yel* beings, hence the expression "your work".

Ll. 3-7 enumerate the five important crops: rice, maize, millet, wheat, and yam, all of which have been created by the *mā yel* beings. The creator-goddess *a nyít a jom* is the wife of *mā yel* and assists in the creating work (cf. Part II).

It is interesting to note that *shā só rāk rok*, the creator and protector of the minor domestic animals such as goats, pigs, and hen, is mentioned in this agricultural ritual.

## 2. At Kalimpong.

Up to the end of the last century dry rice cultivation was still practised in the Kalimpong area, but after the introduction of wet rice cultivation it soon fell into disuse. The ceremonies and rituals associated with dry rice cultivation have, therefore, been almost forgotten, and the present generation has only a vague idea, if any at all, of these practices. But a few old people still remember bygone days, and it is due to *ta la bo* of Chubo Bustee and his excellent memory that I succeeded in preserving the ceremonies given below. At the time of our cooperation *ta la bo* was sixty-five years old, and he said that the dry rice ceremonies and rituals were performed until he was about fifteen years old.

The first ceremony mentioned below was performed in April-May and is, according to *ta la bo*, a kind of parallel ceremony to the one performed at Tingbung (Text No. 6). When

I drew his attention to the obvious differences between the two ceremonies, ceremonial as well as ritual differences, he answered that he was well aware of them, but that they were simply due to local circumstances of minor importance.

At this ceremony, which was performed not only to the *mă yel* beings but also to *zo nyo kung*,<sup>1</sup> the grandmother of the rice, the elders of the village would officiate, using four small bamboo tubes containing respectively water, rice-beer, millet-beer, and *tham bo*,<sup>2</sup> i. e. yeast for fermenting the beer. A white cock and a hen were sacrificed to *să kyũ* and to *să nóm* for a rich harvest, and then the elders recited the following prayer:

- (1) "Let us invoke *să kyũ* and *să nóm*, (Text No. 8)  
 (2) *rũm* of birth and life (new-comer)!  
 (3) *nũng len* and *ka thóng fi*,  
 (4) *rũm* of life, fulfiller *rũm*!  
 (5) *na zóng nyu* and *fo gróng thính*,  
 (6) *rũm* of birth and life (new-comer)!  
 (7) Let us invoke them in advance,  
 (8) let us invoke them beforehand to get many blessings!  
 (9) Let us invoke them to get many blessings!  
 (10) In order to get blessings, let us make good assembly by praying!  
 (11) In order to get life(-power) and long life, we are sitting saluting and bowing down."

This prayer falls naturally into two parts, ll. 1–6 and ll. 7–11. The first part consists of a request to invoke three couples of *rũm*. First the two *mă yel rũm*, creators of agricultural fertility, are invoked; then the two gods of the Tree of Life, *nũng len*, guardian spirit of men, and *ka thóng fi*, guardian spirit of women; and finally *na zóng nyu*, the goddess of procreation, and her husband, *fo gróng thính*, the god of procreation, who are, both of them, ancestors of the Lepchas. It is noteworthy that this ritual, recited on the occasion of an agricultural ceremony, proceeds from the fertility of the fields to the fertility of the people.

The second part (7–11) consists of several requests to the people to invoke the *rũm*, to pray in assembly, and finally to salute and bow down to the gods in order to be given, firstly, blessings in a general sense, and then, more distinctly, life(-power) and a long life. There is an obvious increasing intensity in this prayer, both in the order of the gods invoked, in the requests to the gods, and in the way in which the gods are approached: from invocation, via prayer, to prostrating homage.

When the sowing was to begin four young men and four young women called *zo băt thóm*<sup>3</sup> (approximately: rice leaders that make the holes), performed the initial sowing. Each of the young men called *zo mal bo*,<sup>4</sup> rice sower, carried two sticks with which he made holes in the ground. Each young man was followed by one of the young women, who put the seeds of rice into the hole; she was called *zo lok bo*,<sup>5</sup> the person who sows the rice seeds. Afterwards all the members of the village sowed the remaining fields.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dict. 111 a *nyo-kung* s. a grandmother, an old lady, an ancestress.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dict. 260b, *bo* 2, *tham-bo* s. leaven, yeast (*tũng bór*).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Dict. 318a *zo* II. s. 1. grain of any kind but chiefly used by itself to express "rice"; Dict. 252a *băt* vb. to insert, to penetrate; Dict. 155b–156 *tho* 4, *tho-m* vb. to place, to lay, to put down.

<sup>4</sup> *zo* rice, see Note 3, and Dict. 284a *mal* 1. vb. to dibble as rice. Dict. 260b *bo*, affix when attached to the root of verbs gives the signification of noun "agentis".

<sup>5</sup> *zo* rice, see Note 3. *lok* cf. probably Dict. 358b *lok* 4 vb. to return . . . to give back; *bo* cf. Note 4. Meaning probably: one who gives back the rice seeds (implied: to the ground from where they have come).

During the sowing of rice the people used to sing the following song of the cuckoo and the rice.<sup>1</sup> As mentioned above (p. 90) the cuckoo is the migratory bird, sent by the *mā yel rām* to announce by its call that the proper time for sowing has come.

(Text No. 9)

(Tentative translation,  
see Commentary, Part II).

- (1) “*tsók dun dun* (cuckoo), *tsók dun dun* (cuckoo),  
*tsók dun dun* (cuckoo), *tūk bo* bird (cuckoo),
- (2) *tūk bo* bird (cuckoo), *tūk bo* bird (cuckoo),  
*tūk bo* bird (cuckoo), *tūk fyel* bird (cuckoo),
- (3) *tūk fyel* bird (cuckoo), *tūk fyel* bird (cuckoo),  
*tūk fyel* bird (cuckoo), the proper season (for sowing rice).
- (4) The proper season (for sowing rice) has certainly come,  
The proper season (for sowing rice) has certainly come,  
The proper season (for sowing rice) has certainly come!
- (5) *tsum po mar* (rice), *tsum po mar* (rice), *tsum po mar* (rice) sowing season has cer-  
tainly come!
- (6) It is *jing* month, sowing season, let us sow!
- (7) We relations and friends, let us go and assemble!
- (8) Just about going to work, let us assemble!
- (9) Joining this work, we join this work, let us do it!
- (10) As we have assembled and have begun to work,  
and as we are able to complete it,  
let us do it!
- (11) Being able to complete this work, let us do it!
- (12) If we are able to complete this work, it is good!”.

The meaning of this song is rather obvious. First it announces that the cuckoo, mentioned under various names, has proclaimed the arrival of the sowing season, the *jing* month; then relations and friends are invited to join in the work in the fields; and finally it is stated that if they should be able to complete it, it would be good.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Stocks 1927 pp. 478 f. where another cuckoo song is quoted.

## ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

As seen above (pp. 48 ff.) the Tingbung Lepchas keep oxen, goats, pigs, fowls, dogs and cats; the same applies to the Lingthem Lepchas<sup>1</sup> and to the Kalimpong Lepchas. The breeding of domestic animals has two major aspects: a practical one and a religious one, both of them, however, stemming from the fact that the Lepchas are in need of the meat of the domestic animals.

Generally the domestic animals are left to find their own food and pasture where best they can in the grassy jungle somewhere in the neighbourhood of the village. At night, in inclement and cold weather, and during the rainy season they shelter in the space beneath the house.

The oxen are used for drawing the plough; the Lepchas seldom drink cow's milk, but they make butter from it by churning it, and they also use it for making curry. During the winter, when the pastures of the Kalimpong area dry up, the oxen are allowed to graze in the millet fields and on the terraces of the dried-up rice fields in the daytime and in addition they are given dried straw of paddy and millet morning and evening. The oxen used for work in the fields and the milch cows are given salt and ground grain every morning and evening. The wealth of a Lepcha can be gauged not only from the area of cultivated land he possesses, but also from the number of his cattle. They said in Kalimpong that often a man had about ten head of cattle.

Goats are not much valued; they are mainly raised for food and sacrifices, and are never milked. All goats are given salt, and the rams are, in addition, given maize and the millet dregs from brewing. I was told that the Kalimpong Lepchas have, on an average, about a dozen goats each.

Pigs. The Lepcha pigs are varieties of the wild Himalayan pig; they are kept in small sties, the size of which usually does not exceed twenty square feet. They are fed on millet dregs from brewing, on chaff, kitchen refuse, and arum leaves. Pigs are raised both for eating and for sacrifice, and they are the only domestic animals which are often killed for food. The meat is much liked, and frequently a large number of pigs are kept. Pork and bacon are highly prized, more than any other meat, and the loins of bacon are not only the most acceptable gift between kinsmen and friends, but are also a recognised currency for ceremonial payments.

Fowl are kept by the Lepchas, not only for the sake of their meat, but also because of the innumerable minor sacrifices and offerings in which fowl are used. Tamsang said that hens, chickens and cocks are the only domestic animals which may be killed for daily use without any ceremonial performance. They are kept in a tiny separate wooden house on the bank of the yard of the house. These hen coops, often standing on the top of a

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gorer pp. 100 ff., and Morris pp. 191 f., and index.

raised beam in order to protect the fowl from the wild animals, have small balconies inside for the nests of the hens hatching their eggs, and at night the chickens are shut into baskets, and kept inside the coop. During daytime the hens and the chickens run about in the yard, mainly living on refuse from the winnowing baskets and the querns.

The Lepchas are fond of dogs, and most of them keep one or two watch dogs to scare away wild animals and thieves. Ardent hunters may keep as many as three to five dogs. Most Lepchas have a cat to keep down mice and rats.

According to tradition<sup>1</sup> the Lepchas consider the domestic animals as a gift from *it mu* to *tak bo thing* and *na zong ngo* when they stayed at Kohol *dã*. When they separated, *tak bo thing* went to Tibet with his share of the animals, while *na zong ngo* put her share into a basket full of holes through which the animals escaped and fled into the jungle. That is why the Lepchas to this day consider the Tibetans better off than they themselves as far as domestic animals are concerned.

When the Lepchas attempt to avert the evil influence of the *mung*, they sacrifice domestic animals in order to satisfy the perpetual hunger and thirst of the *mung* for human flesh and blood, hoping in this way to save human beings from being devoured by the *mung*. But sometimes, when approaching certain *rũm* during their religious ceremonies, they also present them with gifts of domestic animals.

Tamsang stated that the meat of bulls, cows, pigs and goats could only be eaten if the animals had been killed ceremoniously, but if an animal died accidentally it could be eaten freely without any previous ceremony.

When a domestic animal suffers from a disease, or if there is no increase in the number of domestic animals, the Tingbung Lepchas perform a ceremony to Zamola *rũm*. They offer butter, milk, cheese, and some *tor ma*, light fires in three small vessels, and recite the following prayer:

(Text No. 10)

- (1) "Let there be innumerable (domestic animals)!
- (2) Give increase of domestic animals!
- (3) Do not send (the domestic animals) into the mouths of the wolf and the leopard!
- (4) Give sufficient herds of animals!'

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 173.

## HUNTING AND FISHING

Formerly hunting played an important part in the life of the Lepchas, whilst nowadays its importance has dwindled owing to the development which has taken place in agriculture and cattle breeding. Adir told me that in the days of his grandfather many more men went into the jungle for game than nowadays, and that fishing was far more frequent then than now. Birds, hares, deer, musk deer, bears, and wild pigs are said to be hunted, partly for their meat and partly for the extraction of various medicines from their bile, liver and other organs. Leopards and tigers are hunted, but their meat is not eaten.<sup>1</sup>

At Tingbung I heard of only two men who regularly went hunting, one of them being *kā lók*, the peasant on whose land I had my camp. Two or three times during my stay at Tingbung he went into the mountain jungle for several days, accompanied by a friend from the village; but he was not a professional hunter, and hunting was apparently of secondary economic importance to him.

As Nebesky-Wojkowitz (see below, Note 1) has given a detailed description of the various hunting implements used by the Lepchas, I shall confine myself to describing the weapons and traps I either learnt of myself or acquired.

### I. HUNTING AND TRAPPING BIRDS

1. A catapult made from a forked stick to the prongs of which an elastic band of rubber is attached. It is used for shooting. Small stones or pellets of clay are shot at smaller birds with this weapon; most of them are not killed, but only stunned; later they may be strangled. Hunting birds is a pleasant pastime for men and boys, who sometimes roast the birds and eat them.

2. A pellet-bow (Fig. 66 and 67, C. 6271 and C. 6272), called *da bryó sã lí*,<sup>2</sup> is the most common weapon for shooting birds. The bow, *sã lí*, about 1.20 m. long, is made of bamboo, and the bow string is split in the middle where a small pellet-holder of skin is inserted. The pellets, *da bryó pól*,<sup>2</sup> are grey and made of clay. One of the above-mentioned pellet bows has forty-nine pellets belonging to it.

3. An ordinary bow (Fig. 65, C. 6273a) *sã lí*, 1.42 m. long, of bamboo and with a twined string. Two arrows, alike, (Fig. 63, C. 6273 b-c), *tsóng*,<sup>3</sup> about 65 cm. long, with a cylindrical bamboo tube instead of a tip. This tube is intended to stun, not to kill, the birds.

<sup>1</sup> An investigation of Lepcha hunting will be found in Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1953 c, pp. 21-27; important information on customs associated with hunting is given in Gorer pp. 84 ff., 244 ff.; Morris pp. 192 ff.; see also Hermanns 1954, pp. 47 f., 73 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dict. 169a *da* 2. s. an arrow and 401a *sã-lí* a bow; the meaning of *bryó* is not quite certain, but is presumably something like clay or earthen, cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1953 c, p. 23 and Dict. 169a *da-bryó pól* s. an earthen pellet for pellet-bow.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Dict. 309b *tsóng* 1., s. an arrow.



4. A bird trap (C. 6341 a-d, for c, see Fig. 56), consisting of four small bundles of thin strings with loops. It may be placed anywhere for snaring small jungle fowl.

## II. HUNTING AND TRAPPING ANIMALS

1. An ordinary bamboo bow, *sā li* (Fig. 64 and 62, C. 6274 a-b, similar to C. 6273 a, see above), with pointed bamboo arrows. The arrows often have three slender steering feathers at the end.

2. The hunter may use an open ring, *tūk byā*<sup>1</sup> (Fig. 30, C. 6282), 7.5 cm. in diameter, of yak horn, worn on the left wrist as a protection against the arrow, the steering feathers, and the bow string.

Sometimes the arrows are carried in a quiver, *sā lu*<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 61, C. 6275), of bamboo, 69 cm. long, with a piece of brown cloth wrapped round it in two places. When the tips of the arrows have been smeared with aconite poison, as they sometimes are, it is, of course, particularly necessary to carry them in a quiver.

3. A spear (C. 6276) *cing gi*,<sup>3</sup> 1.04 m. long, of wood with a pointed iron arrow-head. The shaft is made of yellow wood with square diagonal designs carved below the head.

4. Six bamboo stakes (Fig. 58, C. 6291 a-f) *tsu*,<sup>4</sup> 50-60 cm. long, stuck into the ground on trails of wild animals and covered with leaves as a trap.

5. Nowadays guns are often used for hunting.

## III. HUNTING METHODS

The Lepchas usually hunt by themselves or a few may band together, but now and then a real battue may be arranged. The men divide into two groups, the hunters and the beaters, and go to selected stands in the jungle. At a given sign the beaters put a finger into their mouths, produce a shrill whistle, and march forward; naturally, they make as much noise as they possibly can in order to drive the game in front of them towards the hunters, who stand ready with bows and arrows or guns on special posts. A battue is a great entertainment to the people, who afterwards return to the village with their bag and arrange a merry feast, drinking *ci* and rice wine, singing and dancing.

The people of Tingbung often sell leopard and tiger skins to Tibetan traders from Lachen and Lachung in northern Sikkim. A leopard skin will fetch six to eight rupees, a tiger skin fifteen to eighteen rupees.<sup>5</sup>

## IV. CEREMONIES AND OMENS ASSOCIATED WITH HUNTING

### 1. At Tingbung.

The hunters of Tingbung perform ceremonies to *nūng lyen no*. Whenever a man decides to go hunting, he first arranges an offering to *nūng lyen no* in his house. He places some

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dict. 131a *tūk-byā* s. a sort of bracelet, worn on the left arm to prevent the bowstring from striking the wrist.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dict. 401b *sā-tu* s. a quiver.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Dict. 79b *cing-gi*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Dict. 307b *tsu* 2, 2. s. spikes set in hole to kill game, a wild beast trap.

<sup>5</sup> For hunting cf. also Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956b, pp. 139 f.

large green leaves on a small table, puts a hen, a rupee, some rice, a fish and a bird on the leaves, and recites the following prayer:

(Text No. 11)

- (1) "Do not cause me accident while I am going among the rocks!
- (2) Let me obtain a wild animal while pursuing it (i. e. when I chase it).
- (3) Do not cause me accident while I am drawing out the bees.
- (4) Do not cause me to die while I am out hunting!"

He then takes his hunting gear and sets out. Should he kill a big animal, he offers a gift to *nǎng lyen no* in the place where the animal died. He collects some large leaves, cuts up the animal, and sacrifices pieces of its heart, liver, tongue, ear, and tail, wrapping up the pieces in leaves, and placing them as offerings to *nǎng lyen no*.

Once a year every hunter performs a ceremony in his house to *nǎng lyen no*. The offerings are the same as those given above, but in addition the hunter now places his weapons on the altar and says a prayer.

## 2. At Git.

Dendup, who lived at Git, had been a great hunter in his youth, but some years ago he gave up hunting, and now he devotes himself entirely to agriculture and animal husbandry. He remembered very well from his boyhood the first animal he caught. One day, when as a young shepherd he was walking in the forest, he set a trap in a place where there were many bees. Next morning he found a deer caught in the trap, but, afraid of approaching it, he went home and called his uncle. The latter accompanied his nephew to the trap and stoned the deer to death. Since that time he was always eager to go hunting, and just for pleasure he would often stay in the mountains for days with his dogs, which would track down the animals.

Moreover, Dendup also told me of certain precautions which are associated with hunting. Thus a pregnant woman must never touch a hunting weapon, and if she does, the hunter will be unsuccessful; the hunter may, for example, track a wild animal and wound it, but he will never be able to kill it and retrieve it. A man whose wife is pregnant is therefore never allowed to join a party of hunters.

When a man leaves early in the morning for hunting, he must look carefully for anything unusual in search of an omen. To meet a pregnant woman is a bad omen; if he sees a person carrying an empty basket or an empty water-jug, he can be sure that he will come back empty-handed; if the basket or the water-jug is full, he will be successful. It is considered a very good omen to come across a person relieving himself, because the hunter may then be sure that he will bring back much game.

Dendup said that some people are of the opinion that a hunter must not eat the meat of the animals which he has killed himself; but he added that he did not believe in this restriction, and that he himself had often eaten the meat of animals which he had killed.

He said also that the hunter's god was called Mut.<sup>1</sup> He himself was not allowed to perform a ceremony to Mut; it would be done by the *bong thing* on his behalf. It was now more than three years since he had requested the *bong thing* to perform a ceremony to Mut, for he

<sup>1</sup> Gorer p. 244 states that Moot *rum* Tseu, who is also called Pong *rum*, is (together with his wife Shing *rum*) the lord of all wild animals and the patron saint of hunters, and that every year in October a joint sacrifice has to be made to him by all the hunters of the neighbourhood.

very seldom went hunting as there was but little game. On my question why nowadays there are so few wild animals, he replied that it might be due to the fact that he had not let the *bong thing* arrange a ceremony to Mut!

## FISHING

Like hunting, fishing is becoming more and more rare among the Lepchas, and although it is possible for them to fish the whole year round, fish forms a surprisingly small part of their diet. On the other hand, fish is frequently offered to the gods and spirits, which indicates how old it is as a food among the Lepchas, and how important it used to be. The people of Tingbung fish in the Talung river and in the neighbouring rivers, where in particular they catch a fish called *ngũ ying*,<sup>1</sup> which may become about 50 cm. long.

As Nebesky-Wojkowitz has given a detailed description of different kinds of fishing tackle,<sup>2</sup> I shall only mention some specimens which came into my possession.

1. Fishing net, *sũng li*<sup>3</sup> (Fig. 39, C. 6292), made of thin strings; conical in shape when expanded; to the tip is tied a long rope. From Tingbung, used for fishing in the rivers. Length of net 1.05 m.; length of rope 3.55 m.

2. Small oblong fishing trap (Fig. 40, C. 6296) of plaited bamboo, at the open end a bamboo stick. The man grips the end of the stick and sweeps the basket through the water. Height 18 cm.; length with stick 66 cm.

3. Fishing trap, *fit* or *fyit*<sup>4</sup> (Fig. 37, C. 6293), of plaited bamboo, in shape like a three-sided pyramid; with a circular opening at the base. Height 43 cm.; width 50 cm.

When a man of Tingbung goes fishing he has to abstain that day from eating anything sour or strong, e. g. chilli. In the month *kũr sũng* each man who regularly goes fishing will perform a ceremony in the jungle to *dá mĩk*, the god of the rivers.<sup>5</sup> For that purpose he uses a fish, *cĩ*, a bird, rice, and an underground fruit; he cuts the bird and the fish into small pieces, and mixes these pieces with the rice. He then pours some *cĩ* into a vessel and, while sprinkling *cĩ* into the air, he says the following prayer:

- |     |   |               |
|-----|---|---------------|
| (1) | “ <i>dá mĩk</i> !   | (Text No. 12) |
| (2) | Give you now good <i>ngũ ying</i> and <i>ngũ mung</i> fish! |               |
| (3) | Now I have given fish, bird, <i>cĩ</i> , and fried rice.    |               |
| (4) | Now <i>dá mĩk</i> , do not be angry!                        |               |
| (5) | Eat (accept) these things!”.                                |               |

Tamsang of Kalimpong told me that formerly the Lepchas lived mostly from hunting and fishing, and that they often used different kinds of poison for killing both kinds of game. They extracted fluids from roots, bark, and creepers, prepared it as poison, and dipped their arrows in it. The men of Tingbung still use poisoned arrows. Tamsang said further that the men sometimes poured poison into the rivers, and that the women later collected the poisoned fish. He pointed out that the effects of the Lepcha poisons are quite different from the effects

<sup>1</sup> For various species of fish, see Dict. 71b *ngo*.

<sup>2</sup> Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1953 c, pp. 27 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Dict. 412b *sũng-li* s. a net.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Dict. 241 a *fit* or *fyit* s. a contrivance for catching fish *ngo-fyit*.

<sup>5</sup> Dict. 319a *zong* 2. mentions *rũm-zong pã-no* the god of waters who presented arms, the *ban*, bows and arrows to men and taught them to shoot fish.

of modern chemical poisons. When a person is poisoned by the latter, it spreads to the whole of his body and turns it dark blue, a colour which may remain even after death. But when an animal is wounded by an arrow poisoned in the old way, although the poison will spread to its whole body too, it collects again in and round the wound after death, so that all that the hunter has to do to make the animal safe for eating is to cut away the lump of meat round the wound. The skin of the animal can be used for mats, carpets, bags, etc.

Tamsang further said that the Lepchas believe that the gods have endowed them with the ability to recognise all animals, birds, fish, vegetables, fruits, etc. of the jungle and the rivers, and that they are convinced that even should the monkeys die of hunger, the Lepchas would still be able to find food and survive.

The Lepchas are experts at imitating the sounds and calls of animals and birds, which, of course, helps them to attract game. Altogether it must be said that Tamsang took an evident pride in his people's knowledge of nature, and according to him every Lepcha is a born naturalist with an innate knowledge of the habits of the beasts, birds, insects, fish and reptiles, familiar with the name of every being and plant, an expert in butterflies and orchids, and able to distinguish a great variety of different birds, trees, creepers, bushes and shrubs from each other. Besides the Lepchas know how to extract dyes and medicines from them; they know too which plants are poisonous and which may safely be eaten, and so forth.

Although Tamsang was undoubtedly carried away by his enthusiasm, his main contention that every Lepcha is a born naturalist is not far from the truth, as far as I could judge, and though this is to some extent true of all people who live in a hunting and food-gathering state of society, it also remains true that the Lepchas have preserved their knowledge, handed it down to their children, and, as I have already remarked, strike one as a people particularly sensitive to their natural surroundings.

# THE BLACKSMITH AND THE CARPENTER

## I. THE BLACKSMITH

Formerly *kar vo*,<sup>1</sup> the blacksmith, was a rather important person among the Lepchas. It was he who made their jungle knives, called *ban*, agricultural tools, arrow-heads, spears, hooks for fishing and hunting<sup>2</sup> as well as the ornaments worn by their women. Owing, however, to the import of manufactured goods from the plains, his value to the community, and with that his status, has been considerably reduced.

Shulang, the blacksmith of the Tingbung area, lived on the outskirts of Nung village; he was said to be fifty-seven years old. The people said that he was a little peculiar, and they seemed to keep away from him.<sup>3</sup> I tried my best to get an opportunity to visit him, but was always told that he was out, and nobody wanted to take me to his house.

However, I obtained some information about his work and the ceremonies he performed. The trade of the blacksmith is hereditary; Shulang's father and grandfather had been blacksmiths before him, and it was taken for granted that his great-grandfather had also been a blacksmith. Every year in the month *kūr nyit* the blacksmith performs a ceremony in his house. For this purpose he uses a goat, a wild bird, a fish, rice, and some *ci*. He keeps the same goat for years, and when it grows old, he gets a new one. During the ceremony he invites *sā hyor rūm*, the blacksmith's tutelary deity, to take his seat on this goat.

The ceremony begins by his killing the bird and the fish; then he mixes their meat and blood with the rice, and throws some pieces of the meat and rice and some drops of *ci* into the air while he recites the following prayer:

- (1) "sā hyor rūm! (Text No. 13)
- (2) Do not cause pain to my shoulder!
- (3) Do not cause pain to my hand and to my leg!
- (4) Do not cause the iron to break!
- (5) Stay in my mouth so that I may have increase (of income)!
- (6) Do not send (the customers) into the mouths of the leopard and the wolf (i. e. to other blacksmiths)!".

Thereupon he sprinkles *ci* on his tools.

### *Retiring Blacksmith's Ceremony.*

When a blacksmith has grown old and wants to give up his work, he hands over his tools to his son. On this occasion he performs a ceremony similar to that described above, but

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dict. 16a *kar vo*, a smith, and Tib. Jäs. 90a *mgār-ba*, smith.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1953c, pp. 21 ff.

<sup>3</sup> For other explanations of this avoidance of the blacksmith, see Part III.

when he has sprinkled his tools with *ci*, he takes care that some *ci* is left in the bamboo bottle. He gives this *ci* to his son who drinks three times of the bamboo bottle, while the father says the following prayer:

- (1) “*sā hyor rūm!* (Text No. 14)  
 (2) You *rūm!* Now remain with this (my) son!  
 (3) Cause him to be skilful in making iron tools!  
 (4) Cause him to live long!  
 (5) Do not let him suffer from attacks of disease and poisoning!”

## II. THE CARPENTER

Formerly the Lepchas of Sikkim lived in bamboo huts, but with the change to timber-built houses the carpenter has become an important craftsman, who performs his own ceremonies when a house is being built. I have already given an account of these ceremonies in connection with the house, but may supplement it here by adding what Namchut told me of his family history as far as it relates to the carpenter.

Namchut (nickname: *rūng jī*) and his family lived in House no. 1 in Nung village. Namchut's great-great-grandfather, Akyung Aba, came from Tibet, where he had made his living by making traps for catching birds. On migrating to Sikkim, however, he entered the service of the then Maharajah, who used to stay in Tumlong for six months of the year, and in Chumbi for the other six months. Akyung Aba was appointed hunter to the Maharajah, and became very famous because he never missed a shot.

His son Dangdyu served the Maharajah as a soldier and claimed to have been the first man to wear the military uniform of the Maharajah's Lepcha bodyguard.

His son Gyatuk and his grandson Glum both worked as carpenters on the building or restoration of several monasteries in Sikkim such as the Gangtok Monastery, the Talung Monastery, and the Lachen Monastery.<sup>1</sup> Their work on these monasteries extended over five to seven years.

I was told that when a carpenter has laid the foundation of a monastery, he will sacrifice a bull on the site and give some of its blood and meat to the *mung*, *dūt* and *cen* in order to prevent them from doing any harm to the building of the monastery. He will also sprinkle drops of the blood and throw pieces of the meat into the air in various directions as an offering to these supernatural beings, and pour some *ci* into a vessel and sprinkle drops of it round about. In connection with this ceremony he says a prayer similar to that used by the carpenter when building a house (see p. 68, Text No. 2).

<sup>1</sup> According to Waddell 1939, p. 285 the Gangtok Monastery was built in 1716, the Talung Monastery in 1789, and the Lachen Monastery in 1858.

## NUTRITION AND MEALS

Already the first detailed accounts we have of the Lepchas represent them as living on a very varied diet. According to Hooker they were gross feeders, with rice as their chief sustenance; pork was a staple dish, but they also ate elephant-meat and all kinds of animal food. When travelling they lived on whatever they could find, whether animal or vegetable. Fern-tops, roots of *Scitamineæ*, the buds of the flowers of that plant, various leaves, and fungi were chopped up, fried with a little oil, and eaten. Salt was costly, but appreciated, spices and oil were relished.<sup>1</sup> A more detailed description comes from Campbell (1840) who writes as follows: "they [the Lepchas] are gross feeders, eating all kinds of animal food, including the elephant, rhinoceros, and monkey, and all grains and vegetables known to us, with the addition of many roots and plants altogether excluded from our culinary list. Pork is their most favourite flesh, next to that beef, goat, and mutton. The yák is considered the best beef, next to that the flesh of the Sikkim cow (a fine animal) and last the Bengali and common cow. All birds are included in their list of edible game; of the carrion of wild animals that of the elephant is the most prized. The favourite vegetable food is rice, next to that wheat, barley, millet, murwa, and a fine species of yam called "bookh", which grows all over these mountains, at elevations from 1500 to 3000 feet. During the rains when grain is scarce they contentedly put up with ferns, bamboo roots, several sorts of fungi, and innumerable succulent plants found wild on the mountains." He inserts (1869) that "a large-rooted arum is much used at this season, after being soaked in water for six days to remove its acrid juice; still it often produces colic, and is poisonous." And he proceeds (1840): "Fond of fermented and spirituous liquors, they are nevertheless not given to drunkenness; their common drink is a kind of beer made from the fermented infusion of Indian corn and murwa, which is weak, but agreeably acid, and very refreshing. This is drunk at all times when procurable, and when making a journey it is carried in large bamboo chungas, and diligently applied to throughout the day . . . Tea is a favourite beverage, the black sort brought from China in large cakes being that preferred . . . milk is never taken with tea."<sup>2</sup>

According to Gammie the Lepchas also know how to make use of the big trees. About the *Caryota urens* Gammie writes that the Lepchas cut down the large trees to obtain the pith, from which a kind of sago is made, and (quoting Roxburgh via Watt) he remarks that this tree yields them an immense quantity of toddy or palm wine during the hot season. He continues by saying that the pith or farinaceous part of old trunks is said to be equal to the best sago; the natives make it into bread, and boil it into a thick gruel; this forms a great part of the diet of those people, and during famine they suffer little while those trees last.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hooker I, p. 123.

<sup>2</sup> Campbell 1840 a, pp. 382 f. and 1869 a, p. 147.

<sup>3</sup> *Gaz.* pp. 89 ff.

Gammie declares also that they eat five species of pretty coloured tree-frogs, and consider them tasty and wholesome food. They catch them at night by the light of bamboo torches, which so dazzle the creatures that they remain motionless and allow themselves to be caught. When the Lepchas make a catch bigger than they can eat fresh, they gut and smoke-dry the surplus for future use, which they will keep for years, but it becomes so hard and tough that much boiling is required.<sup>1</sup>

These graphic descriptions of the old Lepchas leave no doubt that they were extremely clever in profiting from all the possibilities offered by the country. When Campbell writes that they eat elephant and rhinoceros meat he presumably includes in the Lepcha diet what they are ready to consume when opportunity offers. At all events, it cannot refer to the Sikkimese Lepchas because there are no elephants and rhinoceroses in Sikkim. When we compare the diet sketched above with that of the Lepchas of today, we must say that the latter appear rather monotonous. This deterioration is of course first and foremost due to the adoption of wet rice cultivation and other modern practices; moreover, the regulations concerning *a jen* (unclear, unclear), prevailing among the present Lepchas of Kalimpong, rule out several of the old foods.<sup>2</sup>

Apart from festive occasions the diet of the Tingbung Lepchas of today is rather frugal, and certainly nobody today could accuse them of being gross eaters.<sup>3</sup> They rise early in the morning, about 4.30–5.30 a.m., when they have a cup of tea, made of tea dust bought in the nearest bazaar. They put some grains of salt into the tea, and sometimes they pour a little milk into it, but they never use sugar. Then they set out for their work in the fields.

In the morning the women grind corn in their querns until it is powder-like, and winnow the powder with a winnowing basket, *tā lyung* (see p. 64). They mix the powder with water in a vessel, put the vessel on the fire and prepare the mixture as chupatties, unleavened flat cakes, of different sizes. The bigger ones are for the men who have been doing the hard work in the fields, the smaller ones for the children. The men return from the fields about 8–9 a.m. for their first real meal, *zu ka*,<sup>4</sup> which consists of these chupatties. They also take some spices, such as curry and chilli, with this meal and both adults and children drink *cí* with it.

Between 12 o'clock and 1 p.m. the men again return from their fields for a short refreshment, consisting of the remnants of the morning meal, which they eat with some chilli. On this occasion they do not drink. Then they go to their fields again and work until sunset.

On coming home they get a small refreshment, usually a cup of tea, as in the early morning, but as a rule they eat nothing. After tea they settle down to talk with family and friends over some *cí*.

About 8 p.m. they take their last meal before going to bed. When the women prepare the morning meal of corn, something will be left over which cannot be ground into flour. Now, in the evening, they use these remnants, mix them with water in a vessel, boil it and fry it. With this meal they also take chilli and whatever they may have of vegetables. Some people collect and eat wild vegetables from the jungle, too. If they have any meat of oxen or of wild animals caught in the jungle, they eat it now. With this meal, which is the substantial meal of the day, they usually drink nothing.

This diet varies of course with the months. According to *kā lók*, who is my informant on

<sup>1</sup> *Gaz.* p. 190.

<sup>2</sup> *Cf.* pp. 182 f.

<sup>3</sup> Regarding Lingthem, *cf.* Gorer pp. 83 ff. and Morris pp. 188 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Cf.* *Diet.* 318a *zo* II. s. 1. . . . *zo ka* one's portion of food, food.



these questions, rice predominates in the meals all the year round. In this connection *kā lók* mentioned not only rice from paddy fields, but also *tūk mar*, a kind of rice grown in dry fields. When preparing *tūk mar* the women first fry it in a vessel, then pound it in a mortar, and finally boil it. With this they take chilli, cucumber, and other vegetables.

When they have no more rice they use maize and barley. Maize is prepared in the same way as rice. When preparing barley they first separate the ears from the corn. Then they fry the corn in sand, put it into a vessel and separate out the sand. Next they put the corn into a mortar and pound it in order to separate the chaff from the kernels, and finally they grind the kernels to flour in a quern. When the flour is ready they prepare it as chupatties. With these barley chupatties they eat meat, chilli, peas, and other vegetables. From barley they also make barley *cí*, which they drink with this meal.

On festive occasions such as New Year, weddings, etc. they invite their relations and friends with their children and give them a costly and delicious meal, consisting of one or two dishes. The first dish is chupatties made of millet. When they have been made, they are spread with a thick layer of butter, and then pieces of fried meat, chilli, onion and other vegetables are heaped up on them. Then each of the chupatties is made into a roll, and put for some time into a vessel with boiling water, before it is served. With this dish the guests get as much *cí* as they like. The second dish consists of maize, prepared in the same way as rice. Tea will be served with this. Later in the evening *tūk mar zo* with meat will be served. Finally, the guests will be given plenty of *cí*, made from rice. This drink is called *cí bup*.<sup>1</sup>

Tsering told me that the Lepchas of today near the Tista river sometimes catch river frogs in the same way as that described by Gammie. The frog, *tā lūk*, is gutted, the meat is dried and kept above the hearth; when it is going to be used it is cooked and eaten with some vegetables. The meat of this frog is said to be very sweet, and it is considered to be a remedy against colic pains.

Adir said that the Lepchas were often badly off in his grandfather's days. They had only a few small fields, and sometimes their crops were destroyed by wild animals. It also happened that swarms of locusts came up from the Indian plains, devouring all the crop. He was of the opinion that this usually happened in the Rat Years.<sup>2</sup>

Adir also told me that in those days famines were rather frequent, on the average one every three years. Then the people had to go into the jungle to hunt wild animals or live on roots and plants. However, some people found another way out, and indeed an ingenious one. They went into the jungle and gathered those plants and roots which they knew the Tibetans used for making vegetable dyes. They then took these plants and roots to Lachen and Lachung in Northern Sikkim and exchanged them for salt from the Tibetans. The salt was sold in Darjeeling for rupees. Having got money they went down to an Indian bazaar in the foothills and bought rice, cloth, and sometimes tobacco for their own use.

Tamsang once told me that the Lepchas formerly often used to drink *cí* in the morning; that some poor people make tea from dried leaves of certain jungle vegetables; and that others fry rice until it becomes powder-like and pour it into hot water as a substitute for tea.

He also said that the Lepchas used to make local snuff from refined white ashes of the burnt wood of the *sūng lí kung*<sup>3</sup> tree mixed with the dried powder from the leaves of *tūng*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dict. 77b *cí bup* vb. to be drunk . . . *cí bup-lū* strong *cí* fit to make one intoxicated.

<sup>2</sup> For the calendar see pp. 80.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Dict. 413a *sūng-lí kung* s. a tree, a species *Betula*; *Betula cylindrostachys*, cf. George Watt: *A Dictionary of the Economic Products of India*, Calcutta 1888-93, B. 514.

*tsóm ngóm*, a plant that grows wild in Sikkim, but that they did so no longer; and I certainly did not see any snuff.

*Mealtime Prayers.* Whenever the men eat a meal or enjoy a drink they dedicate the first pieces of the meal and the first drops of the drink to particular *rūm* thus inviting them to participate in the repast. While uttering a brief prayer they throw a few pieces of the bread, meat, or rice into the air, and sprinkle some drops of the liquid into the air. The first prayer recited below comes from Singhik and is used for meals taken at home. According to Tsering it is addressed to two male shoulder *rūm*.

- (1) “*mūng kǔng* and *māng la* gods! (Text No. 15)  
 (2) Eat this, please!”.

The second prayer, coming from Tingbung, is used at meals taken during farm work, and is addressed to some field gods, presumably the *sǎ kyǔ* of *mǎ yel* (see Part II, Commentary).

- (1) “Field *rūm*! (Text No. 16)  
 (2) Bread offering!  
 (3) Eat this, please!  
 Here! Here!”.

## SOCIETY

### *The Family.*

Lepcha society is made up of a great number of minor units, tiny centres of social, occupational, and ceremonial activities. Such a unit is the typical household. As was pointed out above (p. 61), the size of a household may vary greatly. It may consist of only two people, a man and his wife, or it may count about a score of persons. The ordinary household comprises the two generations of a married couple and their children. But frequently it also includes the parents of the husband, and sometimes the children's spouses, and their offspring. It is always considered fortunate to be a large family; it ensures a carefree old age, and it gives the adult members economic strength and confers prestige on them. In Tingbung I met several old men who bitterly complained of having married a woman who later proved to be barren; and the impression conveyed by a barren woman left no doubt of her grief over her lack of children.

The family forms an economic unit, and their good or evil fortune depends on the property of the head of the family as well as on the initiative and ingenuity displayed by himself, his wife and their grown-up children. The old members of the family assist according to their ability in the common work, and the children will be drawn into the daily work, being given whatever work is suitable to their age.

The members of the family also assist their neighbours in their work and join in the general work of the village; thus they add to the total welfare of the community.

Nowadays many of the Lepchas sell their agricultural products in the bazaars from which, in return, they get clothes, household utensils, simple agricultural implements, and the like. In this way the family may often become rather dependent on the non-Lepcha merchants, and through loans and advance gradually become involved in modern economic commitments with sad results for the family. This new aspect of economic life contributes to the dissolution of the ancient independent home life, and it introduces a new, hitherto unknown dependence on a third party.<sup>1</sup>

Usually the males take over the estate, but sometimes some of them increase their lands by procuring from the Government permission to cultivate a piece of virgin jungle. Younger sons of large families may start a farm on new land.

### *Inheritance.*<sup>2</sup>

The rules of inheritance follow the paternal line, and only the sons can inherit from their father, each of them getting an equal share. A man may also inherit his father's brother's share when the latter has died without any male issue.

<sup>1</sup> For a further discussion of these problems, see Gorer pp. 115 ff., Morris pp. 279 ff.

<sup>2</sup> For further details, cf. Gorer pp. 105 ff.

The daughters cannot inherit from their father, but they inherit their mother's personal property, such as jewels, trinkets, and the like. Except for such things their only personal property is their wedding gifts, which will be inherited by their daughters.

There is no will among the Lepchas in the legal sense of the word, but there is an old practice called *ring tham*<sup>1</sup>: a verbal declaration just before a man dies. The dying man calls the senior male members of the family to his death bed and instructs them how to divide his land among them, and requests them to look after those female members of the family who have no husbands, not only unmarried girls, but also widows.

### *Parental Authority.*

The father has the custody of the children,<sup>2</sup> and this parental authority endows him with far-reaching privileges. The children are in every respect subject to him; he may punish them as he likes, and he can exercise this privilege even on grown-up children. Adir from Singhik said that he, who is now fifty-five years old, must still obey his father, and that it happens that a man beats his son, who may be of the same age as Adir.

The father has also the authority to make any marriage arrangements for his children, and even if a child dislikes his father's choice, the father has the right to impose his will on the child. It may happen that a young man and a young woman are forced into marriage by their respective fathers in spite of the fact that both of them may express their undisguised disinclination. I was told that this was the case with young Baknar of Singhik and his wife. Fortunately, such cases are rare; but if a young man attempts to escape his father's orders by elopement, the father may apply to superior authorities, and it has occurred that a son in this way has been brought back by the Government police.

### *Adoption.*<sup>3</sup>

Married couples can adopt children, both boys and girls. An adopted child is called *küp tshóp*,<sup>4</sup> i. e. a substitute child, one who can compensate for lack of children. Because children are adopted with a view to the daily work and to the support of the foster-parents in their old age, the people who adopt children are usually childless couples. It happens, however, occasionally that a married couple with children adopt another child. Adopted children mostly belong to their foster-father's *pū tsho*, but it sometimes occurs that a child of an unrelated person is adopted; it is very rare indeed that an orphan or a destitute child is adopted.

The prospective foster-parents of a child have to obtain permission from the parents of the child to adopt it, and in case of an orphan, from the leading men of the *pū tsho* concerned. Further, the foster-parents must make a solemn promise that the child will be treated as their own, and if it is a boy that in due time he will have his full inheritance. From the day an adopted boy is taken to his new parents' home, he belongs to his foster-father's *pū tsho*, but the original marriage restrictions, derived from his own father's *pū tsho*, are still valid.

The foster-parents give the boy's mother a killed pig and a complete dress as a gift in exchange for the child. According to Adir the foster-father asks his own *pū tsho rŭm* to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dict. 332b *ring* 1. s. voice, speech, . . . 2. speech, words, and Dict. 150a *tham* 3. s. 1. a thing, a matter etc.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gorer pp. 304 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also Gorer pp. 177 ff., and Morris p. 220.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Dict. 20a *küp*, *a-küp* s. a child, and Dict. 313b *tshóp* s. an equivalent, cf. Tib. Jäs. 446b *tshab* representative, proxy; in reference to a thing: equivalent, substitute; Dict. 20a has (*a*-)*küp lām-bam-bo* an adopted child.

bless the boy, to give him health and long life, and to bestow fertility upon him. Tamsang said that adoption requires a ceremony performed by a *mün* or a *bong thing*, otherwise it will not be valid. There is no such ceremony for an adopted girl, and she will keep her original *pū tsho*. When she marries, her husband will be considered a son of her foster-father, and he will inherit after him, but he will not be included in the foster-father's *pū tsho*.

Most children are adopted at the age of three to seven years. Adir stated that there were in his locality, comprising about sixty houses, ten adopted persons, both male and female, but the males were in the majority.

## FAMILY CEREMONIES

The family is not only a social unit, but it also has its own religious position with accompanying ceremonies. I acquired two different descriptions of such ceremonies from the Tingbung and Kalimpong areas which I give below.

### 1. *Tingbung Ceremony to pã dím rŭm.*

Every three years, on a Friday of the month called *ít* of the winter season, each family in the Tingbung area celebrates a ceremony to *pã dím*. This event is the happy occasion for a real festival which goes on from early morning till late at night.

Early in the morning the members of the family collect flowers, maize, millet and other crops, and while friends gather in the house, the male leader of the ceremony puts the collected vegetables into a vessel. When the celebration is going to be performed, the leader takes the vegetables out of the vessel, places them on a low table and says the following prayer:

- (1) "O *rŭm*! (Text No. 17)
- (2) We have here given these things to you.
- (3) You *rŭm*! Please eat (accept) these things here!"

While the offering gifts remain on the table, the participants enjoy themselves for the rest of the day, eating and drinking, singing and dancing. It is said that it frequently develops into a very gay feast, obviously enjoyed by every one without too much restraint.

Next morning some of the more prominent men remove the offering gifts from the table, carry them outside to some holy place, and leave them there in honour of the *rŭm*.

### 2. *Kalimpong Ceremony to sã tsŭk rŭm.*

Tamsang told me that every three years each family of the Kalimpong Lepchas sacrifices a hog to *sã tsŭk rŭm*, the Sun-God. A short time after this sacrifice another young boar is selected for the next ceremony to *sã tsŭk rŭm*. Until that time it is treated and kept in the following way:

The father of the family selects a strong, young boar with a white blaze on its forehead. In case such a boar cannot be found, he merely selects an ordinary young black boar, and before the final sacrifice the officiating men or the *bong thŭng* smear a lump of butter on its forehead.

As this boar must be a pure sacrifice to the Sun-God, it is imperative to isolate it completely from the other pigs, and for this purpose a separate sty is built for it.

But the boar must also be castrated in order to remove anything *a jen*,<sup>1</sup> unclean or impure, from it and to bring it into an *a tsong*,<sup>1</sup> clean, pure, or holy state, fit for a sacrifice to the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. pp. 182 f.

Sun-God. The excision of the testicles is done by means of a bamboo stick of a particular species called *pā yóng*, which can be found only in the mountains. The removed testicles are thrown away, and the empty scrotum is stuffed with singed rags. Then the wound is stitched up and smeared with ghee. For a day or two the hog will refrain from eating, but it soon recovers and starts eating as usual.

Thereafter the father of the family calls in the *bong thín*g, who dedicates the hog to the Sun-God by saying something like this:

For so and so family I recently sacrificed a hog to you.

This family now consecrates this new hog to you, and in three years it will be sacrificed to you.

In the meantime, please protect the hog and its sty, and keep away all evil influences from the family and the household.

From now on the hog belongs to the Sun-God, and for three years it is kept inside the sty and never let out. It is fattened effectively so that it may grow big, strong, and heavy for the sacrifice. It must not be touched by anybody except when absolutely necessary, and if anybody treats it cruelly, it is believed that he will come to suffer from illness and misfortune.

After the lapse of three years the final ceremony to the Sun-God is celebrated, and for this purpose elaborate preparations are made. Inside the house a low table is arranged as an altar with a *cho kóng*, i. e. pyramidal sacrificial figure, on the front edge of which three lumps of butter are smeared. Three bamboo bottles with *cí* and straw are put on the floor in front of the table.

Another table is placed in front of the bamboo bottles, and a cup with three lumps of butter on the edge and containing a mixture of *cí* and rice is put in the middle of this table. Three pine twigs standing before the cup are burnt as incense during the ceremony.

Finally a mat is rolled out on the floor before the table with the cup. During the ceremony the body of the sacrificed hog will be laid at full length on this mat, its head facing the altar.

Now everything is ready for the ceremony, which proceeds as follows:

The *bong thín*g goes up to the mat, and facing the altar he invokes *sā tsūk rŭm*, and requests the *rŭm* to accept the sacrifice of the hog on behalf of the family and the household. Then the officiant goes outside and orders his assistants to kill the hog; this is done by means of a bamboo spear which is thrust into the heart of the animal.

When the hog is dead, the bristles are burnt off, the skin is cleansed, the body is eviscerated, and the heart and the intestines are cleaned. Everything is then carried inside the house and placed on the mat, the head of the animal facing the altar.

Now the officiant takes his seat before the mat and smears three lumps of butter on the hog: one on the head, one on the tail, and one on the middle of the body. Then he burns the pine twigs as incense, invokes *sā tsūk rŭm* and requests the *rŭm* to accept the sacrifice. Thereafter he takes the straw from the bamboo bottles and ceremoniously flings some drops of *cí* towards the *cho kóng*.

When this ceremony is over, all the furnishings are removed, the body of the hog is put somewhere in the house, while the members of the family sit down to eat, drink and enjoy themselves.

A few weeks later another young boar is selected for the ceremony which will be celebrated three years later, on which occasion the entire performance is repeated.

## LINEAGES

The basic unit of the Lepcha society, the family, i. e. a man and his wife, has its particular functions and ceremonies. Since this unit is founded on two persons of different families, this raises the question of lineage and the part it plays in Lepcha society. The problems involved are not easy ones by any means, but an understanding of them is absolutely essential for an understanding of Lepcha society.

As we shall see, the great creation myth of the Lepchas (pp. 172 ff.) conceives mankind as a part of all living beings, and it also gives an account of the respective creations of men and *mung*, in the course of which it explains the origin of the enmity between these two opponents. However, a shorter version of the creation myth deals with mankind alone, with its origin and the origin of the main peoples or races. This version comes from Tingbung and runs as follows:

Informant: Namchut (i. e. *rũng ji*)

Interpreter: Tsering

"In the beginning *it nyo mu* created everything in the world except the human beings. *it nyo mu* had a son *tak bo thing* and a daughter *na zong* who lived together. In this way *na zong* gave birth to the first human beings, but they were later transformed into *mung*, because she continuously gave birth to so many children that she could not feed them all on her milk.

Later on *tak bo thing* and *na zong* settled at the foot of *kong chen* where there is a lake called Kohol *dã*. Here also *na zong* gave birth to human beings, but this time she did not give birth continuously, and therefore she was able to feed these children on her milk.

She gave birth to different types of men, that is the different peoples. She gave birth first to the Lepchas, then to the Europeans, then to the Tibetans, and lastly to all the others.

Thereafter *tak bo thing* and *na zong* separated, *tak bo thing* went to Lhasa, and *na zong* went to Sikkim. Thereafter they disappeared. They became neither gods nor *mung*."

The particular interest of this myth lies in the fact that it dates the origin of the various peoples or races back to the primordial couple. However, I suspect that the birth of the Europeans before the birth of the Tibetans is due to the informant's courtesy towards me; and the last sentence is the reply to a question I put to my informant. Be that as it may, we find that the Lepchas recognise different peoples, and that they explain their existence as due to the fact that the primordial mother gave birth to various groups of human beings in succession. Among these the Lepchas are obviously the first and the most important.

Within Lepcha society there are not only many families, but also many lineages or *pũ tsho*. The *pũ tsho* can at least be dated to the time about 1641, as the Kalimpong version of the Chronicle (cf. p. 29) contains a very informative statement in the passage dealing with the



agreement between The-Kong Tek and Gyad-dBhum-gSags: “. . . They agreed by this that all the males should be considered to be related to the sons, and all the females to the daughters . . .”.

We meet in these lines the oldest reference to the Lepcha *pū tsho* institution, and it is commonly stated that there are two types of *pū tsho*, one for men, and one for women. It is not quite clear, however, if the passage refers to a new institution, or if an old custom was officially confirmed. The latter seems, however, most probable, because the following legend of the origin of the various *pū tsho* bears the imprint of very ancient conceptions.

*Lasho mung and the Names of Various pū tsho.*

Informant: Sadam Tsering of Kalimpong  
Interpreter: Tsering

“God created the world and the whole nature, and at last he created the human beings. When the human beings were created, they had no *pū tsho* among themselves. They were all alike and were not divided into classes.

Meanwhile there came a *mung* called Lasho who ate almost all the living creatures. The people did their best to kill him, but in vain. The *mung* flew up in the air and sat on the top of a very big and high tree. The people shot at him with their bows and guns, but the arrows and bullets could not reach the top of the tree.

The people therefore began to look for a being to assist them. At last they found a pair of worms, in Lepcha called Posiok Bug.<sup>1</sup> They put these worms inside the big tree on which the *mung* was sitting, and the worms began to eat, bit by bit, the pith of the tree. After the lapse of three years the tree was rotten and fell to the ground with the *mung*, which was hurt so badly that he could not move at all.

Immediately the people rushed at the *mung*, and tore him to pieces. Some of them took his eyes, some the hair, some an ear, some the nose, and so on.

The man who collected the people to fight against the *mung* became the ancestor of Adinmo *pū tsho*. This name was given to him by the *mung* before he died.

The *mung* told those who took an eye that their *pū tsho* should be called Samik *pū tsho*.<sup>2</sup> From that time this *pū tsho* came into being.<sup>3</sup>

Those who took an ear got the *pū tsho* called Gormu. Those who took the hair got the *pū tsho* called Sadamu. Those who took the nose got the *pū tsho* called Fo Gramu. Those who took the tongue got the *pū tsho* called Fo Glimu. Those who weighed [sic!] the body of the *mung* got the *pū tsho* called Fo Ning Ramsongmu. Those who cut off the fingers of the *mung* got the *pū tsho* called Sangdimu. Those who cut off the toes of the *mung* got the *pū tsho* called Sangdyangmo. And many other people got their *pū tsho* names in this way.

There was also an astrologer who divined by his books in which manner they must kill the *mung*. The *mung* therefore gave him the *pū tsho* called Namtsumo.<sup>4</sup>

There were, however, some who obtained no *pū tsho*. They went to the Maharajah and asked for a *pū tsho*, and he gave each of them a *pū tsho*. Those who presented some vegetables

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dict. 205a *pā-jók bū* s. a species of snake.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dict. 286a *mik*, *a-mik* eye, comp. Dict. 400a *sā-mik* (from *a-mik*), explet. of *sā-tsūk*, *sā-tsūk sā-mik* the sun.

<sup>3</sup> Sadam Tsering belongs to Samik *pū tsho*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Dict. 305b *tsū* 5 . . . *nak-tsū* Tib *nag-rlsis*, astrology, black arts, necromancy, and Dict. 192a *nam* year (?), or Dict. 192b *nam*, Tib. *gnam*, the sky, the heaven.

15 The Lepchas.

to the Maharajah were given the *pũ tsho* called Pache Shanga. Those who presented a small bird called Kohum<sup>1</sup> secured the *pũ tsho* called Kamkum Shanga."

The origin of many other *pũ tsho* is ascribed to various localities in the Himalayas, especially those in the vicinity of *kong chen*. Usually the male *pũ tsho* have their origin in a mountain or a peak, and the female *pũ tsho* in a lake or a tarn. Tamsang claims that each male *pũ tsho* has its origin in a peak in the Himalayas, either in *kong chen* or in one of the neighbouring peaks, the brothers of *kong chen*. Tamsang's own *pũ tsho*, called Tamsangmu, has *kong chen* itself as its *pũ tsho* peak.

### CEREMONIES OF THE *pũ tsho*

Every *pũ tsho* celebrates its own ceremony to its particular *pũ tsho* deity. I acquired the descriptions of two such ceremonies for different male *pũ tsho*, and they vary considerably. The female *pũ tsho* have their own ceremonies, which vary somewhat from those of the men.

Tamsang told me that at the beginning of each of the two annual seasons every *pũ tsho* celebrates a ceremony to its respective male peak *pũ tsho* deity of the Himalayas, or to its respective female lake or tarn *pũ tsho* deity of the Himalayas.

#### *Biannual Ceremony of the Tamgsangmu pũ tsho.*

On a fixed date a male member of the *pũ tsho* selects a red cock for the ceremony to be celebrated at the beginning of the next season. He cleans the beak and feet of the cock with water, and in the meantime the *bong thing* is called in. When he arrives he prays to *kong chen* in approximately the following words:

Today I consecrate this cock to you on behalf of Tamgsangmu *pũ tsho*.

Please take care of the family and protect it from sickness and misfortune until this cock is sacrificed at the next season.

One morning very early before dawn, at the beginning of the next season, when the cock is to be sacrificed, the *bong thing* is called in again. Meanwhile a *cho kóng*, a conical, ceremonial figure of rice, is moulded on a mat inside the house. The conical shape of this figure is meant to resemble a mountain peak, in this case the peak of *kong chen*. Three eggs are put in front of the *cho kóng*, and three pats of the yolk of a boiled egg are smeared on the front of the *cho kóng*. Then the *cho kóng* is carried to the top of a small hill from which *kong chen* can be seen. This must take place before sunrise.

Next an altar is erected on the hill. For this purpose a square piece of ground is chosen, at the four corners of which a bamboo post is stuck into the earth. Then the mat is laid on top of the posts, each of its corners being tied to a post. The *cho kóng* is placed in the middle, facing *kong chen*. Finally a long bamboo staff carrying a red flag is tied to the left front post.

Then the *bong thing* asks a man to bring the consecrated cock and another man to clean its beak and feet. Standing in front of the altar and holding the cock in his hands, the *bong thing* says approximately the following words:

According to our promise we now bring you the cock that was consecrated six months ago.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dict. 8b *kā-hom fo*, species of partridge . . . Ali, pp. 22 f.

He pours water on the cock's comb and puts rice on its head. Then he hands over the cock to one of the men and orders him to kill it. The man cuts the cock's throat, plucks and draws it, and cleans its body in water. Then the beak and the legs are cleaned in boiling water, the body is cooked, and mixed with cooked rice, the meat is served as a sacrificial meal on a plate that is placed in front of the *cho kóng*.

The *bong thung* now prays to *kong chen* saying approximately the following words:

Today we have sacrificed this consecrated cock to you and we are now offering it here.  
Please take (eat) it!

Please give protection to the members of your *pũ tsho*.

(Here the name of the *pũ tsho* is mentioned).

Immediately after this prayer the *bong thung* crushes the shells of the three eggs put in front of the *cho kóng*, pours out carefully the yolks on a plate, and, examining thoroughly the surfaces of the yolks, he augurs the future of the *pũ tsho*.

That is the end of the ceremony; the sacrificial meal is now removed from the altar and eaten by the assembled members of the *pũ tsho*.

#### *Biannual Ceremony of Female pũ tsho.*

Tamsang told me that the female *pũ tsho* have their own ceremony with the same procedure and with similar rites, but under the guidance of a female *mũn*. The altar, however, is quite different. There are no posts and no flag, and the *cho kóng* is placed on a mat rolled out on the ground. This *cho kóng* is made of rice moulded into the shape of a large, cube with a slight, square hollow in the middle of the top. This hollow represents the ancestral Himalayan tarn from which the *pũ tsho* originated. On each of the four edges of the hollow a pat of yolk is smeared.

#### *pũ tsho Ceremonies conducted by Lamas.*

Some *pũ tsho* have ceremonies conducted by lamas, e. g. Samik *pũ tsho* and Sadamo *pũ tsho*. These ceremonies are quite different from the *pũ tsho* ceremonies described above.

According to Sadam Tsering of Kalimpong the ceremony of Samik *pũ tsho* is performed only once a year in *kũr song* month. He added that other *pũ tsho* may celebrate their ceremonies in other months, and that actually they occur throughout the year. The ceremony of Samik *pũ tsho* is performed in various houses of men belonging to this *pũ tsho*, and every member of the *pũ tsho* will take part in the ceremonies in some house or other.

On the evening of a fixed day a lama is summoned, and the assembled members of the Samik *pũ tsho*, whose ancestors took the eye of the killed *mung* as their share (cf. p. 113), prepare rice from which the lama makes three *tor ma*, which he puts in a row on the altar, the middle one representing *tsering mo rũm*. Then the lama orders a bell and a drum to be brought to him and the ceremony begins. The lama sprinkles drops of *cí* on the *tor ma* and reads aloud from the book of *tsering mo rũm*, continuing throughout the night until he has finished the book which is written in Tibetan. Meanwhile the men offer silent prayers to *tsering mo rũm*, requesting him not to harm them, but to give them long life and prosperity. They finish by prostrating themselves before the *tor ma*.

Sadam Tsering said that the ceremony of the Sadamo *pũ tsho* finishes in a different way.

The men take a basket covered with cloth and put three *tor ma* of rice on the cloth. Armed with bows, arrows, and swords, and singing and dancing, they carry the *tor ma* in procession round the house. Thereafter they sit down inside the house and eat the *tor ma*.

### THE *pũ tsho* AND THE SOCIETY

The *pũ tsho* institution is not only important for the individual lineage groups, but it exerts its influence also on the major functions of society. This influence may have been greater in former days, but it is still noticeable.

It is not quite clear whether the *pũ tsho* institution formerly constituted a social distinction between several classes or levels within the Lepcha society. However, the evidence which I have collected from various sources as well as my own observations tend to indicate the close relationship between the *pũ tsho* institution and social status. I give the evidence below.

To the legend of Lasho *mung* and the origin of some of the *pũ tsho* (cf. above) Sadam Tsering added an interesting piece of information. The members of those *pũ tsho* who were foremost in the fight against the *mung*, and who cut off the most important parts of his body, are considered to be somewhat superior to the members of the other *pũ tsho*. However, he stated that this fact did not endow them with any particular prerogative, and that it exerted no influence on the ordinary marriage rules.

Further, Mrs Mohan told me that in ancient times there were certain *pũ tsho* which ranked higher than others; the higher ranking *pũ tsho* were: Adenmo, Barfongmo, Samikmo, Fomingmo, and Namchumo. The other *pũ tsho* were supposed to be of a lower rank, and she even said that the members of the higher ranking *pũ tsho* could not marry a person from one of the lower ranking *pũ tsho*.

Mainwaring is also aware of a distinction between a higher and a lower group of Lepchas in that he writes that the Lepchas observe two main degrees of rank, each of which has its own gradations, viz. the *bar fóng mo* and the *a den*, the aristocracy and the commoners, the patricians and the plebeians.<sup>1</sup>

From the above statements we may conclude that formerly some distinction was made between different groups of *pũ tsho*, but I found it impossible to draw any definite line between these groups as my informants disagreed on this point.

One *pũ tsho*, the Tamsangmo, claims to be of paramount importance, its members are said to be of royal origin, the descendants of a former king of the Kalimpong area. This claim agrees with the old tradition of the Tamsangmo king whose fight with the Bhutanese has made him well-known.<sup>2</sup>

Mrs Mohan also told me that in former days there were slaves, and that these of course ranked as the lowest class, into which no Lepcha could marry. Presumably these slaves were prisoners of war and their descendants. The Lepchas have a vague legendary tradition of an ancient original Sikkim population, called *nũ óng*,<sup>3</sup> whom the Lepchas subjugated and ranked with slaves.

Nowadays, one of the significant functions of the *pũ tsho* is to prevent marriage between members of two *pũ tsho* too closely related. The marriage rules are not quite clear, and

<sup>1</sup> Gram. p. XII, Note, cf. Dict. 179a *a-den see den* 3., and Das, K. K. 1896a, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956a, p. 240.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Gaz.* p. 42; Das, K. K. 1896a, p. 5; Gram. p. XX, Note; Stocks 1927 p. 359.

minor divergencies in different localities may also be found, just as the people of one place may be more anxious than others to observe the old rules. But the principle rule is that nobody can marry into his own *pũ tsho*, nor can any one marry a person from his mother's *pũ tsho*. Most people assert, however, that one may marry a person from one's own *pũ tsho* provided that that person is not related to one's own *pũ tsho* within nine generations.

Those who strictly adhere to the old rules therefore exclude the following categories from marriage: 1. the descendants of one's own male ancestors nine generations back; 2. the descendants of the relatives of such women as have been married to one's own ancestors nine generations back.

But these rules are not observed strictly in all regions, and the limit may be lowered to seven generations for male, and to five generations for female ancestors. Even so the number of prospective candidates within a certain area becomes rather restricted, and sometimes real ingenuity has to be exercised in order to find a suitable partner for one's son or daughter.

These circumstances may account for the fact that many wives of the Tingbung area have come from other districts.

## OFFICIALS

Nowadays the officials of the Lepchas in Sikkim are appointed by superiors from outside the Lepcha society, and thus they hardly fall within the scope of the present investigation. Gorer and Morris have dealt thoroughly with the duties and functions of these officials,<sup>1</sup> and therefore I did not systematically investigate that aspect of Lepcha society. Consequently, my own observations are of a rather accidental character, and I can only add a little to the facts already collected by the investigators mentioned.

Jongu is a private estate of the royal family, and as such it is administered by one of the kazis or noblemen of Sikkim. This kazi lives outside Jongu and exercises his power through subordinate officials. Administratively Jongu is said to be divided into twelve "villages", each with a mandal at its head. According to Adir the office of mandal was not created until about eighty years ago, and before that time the Lepchas had no need to obtain Government permission for hunting, cutting forests, making fields, building houses, etc. The office of mandal is hereditary within the extended Lepcha family, and the mandal is normally spoken of as the "landlord" of the villages, while the peasants are called "tenants", i. e. they hold the land under the Maharajah, who is the ultimate owner of all land; the peasants have the right to cultivate their land, to harvest and to dispose of its yield, but they cannot transfer their land to anybody outside the family without the mandal's consent. The mandal is responsible to the Royal Lawcourt for the maintenance of order in the village, and for the collection of taxes. He also holds the position of an elder of the peasants: he arranges the marriages of most of the young people, he looks after everybody's welfare, advises on personal and agricultural matters when necessary, and acts as an intermediary between the villagers and the Court. Certain privileges are attached to his office such as remission of house and seed tax, and the right to free labour, i. e. the right to three days' work yearly from every household.

The office of muktair was introduced some fifty years ago. The muktair is superior to the mandal; the muktair supervises all tax accounts, and visits each village twice a year to inspect the fields and to see that the grain has not been planted in excess of the amount on which tax has been paid. He also has to keep a register of births and deaths, and he can deal with misdemeanours carrying a fine not exceeding sixty rupees, while the mandal can only deal with fines of up to thirty rupees.

The actual village-leader is the *gya pán*,<sup>2</sup> whose official task is the daily administration of the village. His work consists in the collection of taxes, and in gathering the villagers for collective work; thus, for instance, he summons the villagers for the repair of bridges, for the transport of loads, for the celebration of communal ceremonies, etc. On a minor scale

<sup>1</sup> Gorer pp. 123 ff.; Morris pp. 65 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dict. 61 a *gya-pán*, Tib. *rgya-dpon*, s. a revenue collector or tax-gatherer, (cf. Tib. Jäs. 327 b *dpón-po* master, lord, over men (generally), master, over working men, overseer, foreman, leader.)

he also acts as a kind of justice of the peace. These duties may occupy a considerable time. I am under the impression that this was the case with *gya pán rig zing* of Tingbung and a *gya pán* therefore usually holds the office for three years only, then another villager is appointed. In this way the burden of office is carried by the most prominent members of the village in turn.

The mandal selects as youmis some of the elderly men who have already taken their turn as *gya pán*. The main duty of the youmi is to assist the mandal as adviser on village affairs. The youmis have no official duties, but they are held in great esteem in accordance with their practical experience and judgement.

## TAXES

Until the beginning of this century all taxes were paid in kind, according to Adir in dry rice. These taxes were collected by a headman called *pí pán*;<sup>1</sup> under him was the *cu pán*,<sup>2</sup> and under him still another minor official, and the *gya pán*. These taxes were brought directly to the Maharajah.

Nowadays the taxes are paid in rupees, and Adir said that a certain tax is levied on each house, amounting to five rupees a year to the Maharajah, one rupee to the kazi, eight annas to the mandal, and four annas to the *gya pán*. Adir estimated that the average field-tax for an ordinary farmer amounts to fifteen to sixteen rupees a year. Cardamom fields are exempted from this field-tax, but instead a cardamom tax has to be paid to the kazi according to the yield, 1 rupee 8 annas per maund.<sup>3</sup> The average farmer is said to have a yield of cardamom of 15–16 maunds a year. Adir estimated that the taxes paid by the average farmer total about fifty rupees a year, but some well-to-do men pay two to three hundred rupees.

Adir also reckoned that the ordinary farmer has a total yearly income of about 1500 rupees from his yield, and to this must be added his income from the sale of cattle, pigs, hens, etc., which may often amount to 200–400 rupees a year. Accordingly, the taxes should not weigh heavily on the people, and this agrees rather well with my own general impression.

## CRIMES

Crimes, both minor ones and felony, are rare among the Lepchas. Formerly the villagers themselves would deal with crime, and Adir said that in the days of his grandfather the villagers would never bring a case before the Maharajah. The elders of the village would never inflict corporal punishment, but only fine the culprit.

In case a person had committed a grave felony, such as murder, the penalty exacted by the local society was very severe. The elders would decide to kill a bull or an ox belonging to the culprit, skin the animal, put the culprit hog-tied into its hide, and sew it together. Then they would take some heavy sticks and belabour the culprit inside the hide. Finally they would carry the hide with the culprit to a high rock close to the river from where they would throw him, still tied into the hide, down into the waters.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dict. 214b *pí*, 4. . . *pí-pán* s. a chief-factor, cf. Tib. Jäs. 333b *spyi-pa* head, chief, leader, superintendent.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dict. 82a *cu-pán*, s. a ruler of ten (Exodus), cf. Tib. Jäs. 146b *bcu-tep* . . . *bcu-dpón* corporal.

<sup>3</sup> The maund is a unit of weight in India, varying rather much according to the locality, but the standard maund is about 82 lbs.: the maund is meant to represent the load one man can lift. The Lepchas have their own measure. Cf. Gorer p. 95, Note 5.

Nowadays crimes are reported to the mandal, who then proceeds to investigate the case. For this purpose he often summons the *gya pán* and the youmis of the village for consultation. If they do not succeed in unravelling the crime, they take the matter to the Court of the Maharajah. If for instance some goods have been stolen, and the thief has been traced, they try to persuade him to give back the stolen goods, and while rebuking him severely they attempt to make him promise never to steal again. If, however, he repeats his crime, the case will be taken to the Court of the Maharajah. But the kazi also has the authority to punish a thief, and he can for instance have him tied hand and foot, and let him be beaten, or he can close him up in a pigsty for some specified time. As was said above, cases of murder are exceedingly rare.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gorer has thoroughly investigated the problem of crimes, pp. 133 ff.



# LIFE CYCLE

## THE CHILD

### 1. *Pregnancy.*

The period of pregnancy is regarded as an important time, fraught with danger for both the mother and the unborn child. It is therefore a time of precautions and prohibitions designed to keep away all evil powers.<sup>1</sup>

Anything connected with death, such as the slaughtering of animals, is considered specially dangerous. The expectant mother must stay away from all slaughtering of domestic animals, and she is not even allowed to look on from afar. Again, a pregnant woman is not allowed to kill a snake. Like most people the Lepchas kill a snake by cracking its back with a stick, but this act of self-protection is prohibited a pregnant woman. They say that if she hits at a snake with a stick, her child will come to suffer from the habit of moving its head from side to side just like a snake trying to escape the blows of a stick. In Jongu an expectant mother and her husband are strictly forbidden to eat the meat of an animal which has not been killed, but has died of old age or by accident.

In the Kalimpong area neither the husband nor the wife must look at an eclipse of the sun, as they then run the risk of the child becoming half black and half white, or suffering from twitching.

The husband is also subject to certain restrictions. He must not stick a pole into the earth, because the child will then be locked up in its mother's womb should the birth happen to begin at that moment. For the same reason he must not lace the fences.

Both husband and wife are strictly forbidden to look at any dead person or animal lest the child should be still-born.<sup>2</sup> Miscarriage is said to be very rare.

### 2. *Childbirth.*

The birth takes place at home. In Jongu<sup>3</sup> the husband assists his wife in the delivery, and if there are other women in the house, they will help too. A woman may give birth lying on a blanket on the floor or squat while the husband kneels in front of her, pressing his hands against her abdomen in order to hasten the delivery.

In Kalimpong the woman's mother and some other women relatives assist in the delivery, while the husband remains passive and does not see the child until the birth is over. In case of difficulties during the birth, a woman from the village, acting as a kind of midwife, may be called in. She carefully strokes the abdomen of the woman in confinement with

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Morris pp. 204 ff.; Gorer p. 284; Dict. 111a: *nyo* VI, and 128b: *tû* 2.

<sup>2</sup> For other examples, cf. Stocks 1927 p. 462.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also Morris p. 207.

her hands, and if necessary guides the child into the right position. When the delivery is over, she is given some clothes in appreciation of her services.

If the placenta should not come out, the woman puts her hair into her mouth, thus causing violent vomiting, and this will usually cause the placenta to be dislodged.

The placenta is put into a hollowed-out piece of bamboo, which is closed tightly with a bamboo plug, wrapped in a piece of cloth, and carried away by some female member of the family or by the husband. The bearer climbs a tree in a remote corner of the fields belonging to the husband, and ties the bundle firmly to a high branch. After seven days the husband climbs the tree to see if the ants have found their way to the bundle. Have they done so, it is regarded as a bad omen, and as an indication that the child will be afflicted with sores. The bundle may remain on the tree for years, but should it fall to the ground, it is not buried, as this would make the earth unclean.<sup>1</sup>

The new-born child is washed and wrapped up with its legs stretched and its arms crossed on its chest. The mother is given hot soup or milk with honey, which is supposed to expel impure blood from the body. Then she is given a hot bath, that is she is placed naked on the floor while a woman pours hot water over her body, and another woman washes her down. Afterwards a long, broad sash is wrapped tightly round her stomach and waist in order to press the interior parts into place again and to prevent a fallen abdomen. Finally she is put to bed.<sup>2</sup>

### 3. Ceremony for the New-born Child.

The people of Tingbung celebrate a long ceremony on the third day after a childbirth.<sup>3</sup> The family usually calls *rig zing* and the mother of *kã lók*, who is an old *mün*. Inside the house a small altar is arranged with a rupec, a hen, a vessel with *cí*, and a lamp, as gifts to *na zong mü nyũ*. The purpose of the ceremony is to secure the child a long life and to protect it against diseases.

At some time during the ceremony, when the family have sacrificed the hen and have presented the offering gifts to the gods, *rig zing* recites the following prayer:

[Request to *na zong mü nyũ*].

(Text No. 18)

- (1) "Maker of birth!
- (2) Maker of newcomer!
- (3) Who lets the birth come,
- (4) who lets the newcomer come.
- (5) To [the child's name implied] do not cause death and sickness to occur!
- (6) Make the life good!
- (7) Make peace!
- (8) We have given butter pats,
- (9) we have given *cí* offering,
- (10) we have given rice offering.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Stocks 1927 p. 354 for the uncleanness of the afterbirth: Na-zong-nyu gave birth to a son who was called Lasomung-pono. He lived on the top of the sago-palm and his afterbirth was known as the Mara-mung.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also Morris pp. 203 f.

<sup>3</sup> As a detailed account of this ceremony is found in Morris pp. 201 ff. and Gorer pp. 289 ff. I shall merely give a few particulars, and the prayer which is presumably the one referred to in Gorer p. 290: "the Mun offers the sacrifice with a prayer to the Birth god (*gek rum*)".

- (11) Maker of birth!  
 (12) Maker of new-comer!  
 (13) Maker of germ of banana!  
 (14) Maker of *a gām* and *a bāk* [i. e. the young shoots of banana]!  
 (15) Give good life!  
 (16) Do not cause hurt (harm) and bad thing!  
 (17) You, guide!

[Request to *pā dim rām*].

- (18) *pā dim rām*, guide!  
 (19) Do not stop your patronage and help!  
 (20) Remain at the front, remain at the back (of the child)!  
 (21) Remain at the right side and at the left side (of the child)!  
 (22) Block the way of *sōr* (*mung*)!  
 (23) Block the way of *plyong* (*mung*)!  
 (24) Do not let come the breath of *dat*, *cen*, and *ge but*!  
 (25) Do not let come the breath of *mak ngōm* and *ta kra*!  
 (26) Do not let the breath of *tak pū* come!

[Request to *jer thing*].

- (27) *jer thing*, guide!  
 (28) Do protect (the child) well!  
 (29) Be close to the child!  
 (30) Give good help!  
 (31) Be close to the child!

[Assertions of proper offerings].

- (32) We have given an offering gift.  
 (33) We have given blood,  
 (34) we have given a plate of leaves,  
 (35) we have given a small plate of leaves,  
 (36) we have given *ngū eng* (fish),  
 (37) we have given *ngū mung* (fish),  
 (38) we have given *sán dgam sán tyól* bird.  
 (39) Eat these things, please!

[Request to *jer mū* and *kām mū* gods].

- (40) We have (given) *ci* offering and rice offering.  
 (41) We have offered incense to *jer mū* and to *kām mū*.  
 (42) Eat these things, please!  
 (43) Do not hurt (harm) their hands!  
 (44) Do not hurt (harm) their legs!  
 (45) Do not hurt (harm) their eyes!  
 (46) Do not cause pain to their ears!  
 (47) We have given these offering gifts,  
 (48) we have offered incense.

[Beseeching of various *mung*].

- (49) To the *mung* sleeping at *thong ta lǔi* (i. e. high up in the mountains),  
 (50) to the *mung* living in the ocean of the *mung*.  
 (51) You all, eat this, please!  
 (52) To the *mung* staying up in the mountains,  
 (53) to *sap dok ã mǔ mung* staying (up in the mountains),  
 (54) we have given burnt butter.  
 (55) Eat this butter!  
 (56) To the *mung* staying ready to eat hot meal!  
 (57) To the *mung* staying ready to drink hot blood!  
 (58) It is (ceremonial) meat!  
 (59) It is (ceremonial) blood!  
 (60) A (ceremonial) piece of meat with a hair drawn through it!  
 (61) Do not cause hurt to the hand (of the child)!  
 (62) Do not cause hurt to the leg (of the child)!

[Petitions to various *mung* with references to unknown ceremonial performances].

- (63) *kóm sí lóm (mung)*!  
 (64) *kǎm yǎ lóm (mung)*!  
 (65) *sak eǎm(tǎm) sak par lóm (mung)*!  
 (66) *kí cǔ(tsu) lóm (mung)*!  
 (67) *thǔng cǔ(tsu) lóm (mung)*!  
 (68) To (these *mung*) staying ready to take (pick) out the eye (of the child).  
 (69) to the honourable *mung* staying ready to draw out (the eye of the child),  
 (70) to (these *mung*) staying ready to take away children,  
 (71) to (these *mung*) staying to take away children to the place of the departed,  
 (72) along the road to *nǎng yang*.  
 (73) along the road to *nǎng lit*,  
 (74) to *nǎng ti yang (mung)* who stays ready to come (on this road),  
 (75) to *mǎng yang (mung)* who stays ready to come (on this road)!

[Ceremonial precautions].

- (76) We have swept *mǎng dyam (mung)*,  
 (77) we have swept *mǎng yang (mung)*,  
 (78) we have swept the pole and the floor,  
 (79) we have swept (away the *mung* from) the hearth, the pole, and the floor,  
 (80) we have finished sweeping away the *mung* from the house pole,  
 (81) we have finished sweeping away *mǎng tyang mung*.  
 (82) We have done it well,  
 (83) we have made it better the second time.  
 (84) We have finished separating the *ner bǔ* (water) and the *nir bong* (water),  
 (85) we have swept out (cleansed) *tdk lók* and *tǎng bong*.  
 (86) We have let them fall down into the middle of the rivulets (in order that they should be drowned),  
 (87) in the middle of the opening of the earth,  
 (88) in the middle of *pa ri rǎng gón*,

- (89) in (at) the bad and shapeless bridge,
- (90) in the middle of the (underground) ocean,
- (91) in the middle of the river (or: *sāng oo*),
- (92) in the middle of the *dar* (*mung* place),
- (93) in the middle (of the abode) of the gods, (?)
- (94) we have drowned (them).

[Final request to the *mung*].

- (95) Disappear completely!
- (96) Disappear entirely!''.

Despite the many obscure phrases (see Part II, Commentary), all of which even *rig zing* could not explain, the meaning of the prayer is obvious: it is a series of invocations of several *rūm* for the protection of the child, and a series of petitions to several *mung* accompanied by a recital of what the people have done in order to prevent the influences of certain evil powers.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For a thorough and detailed investigation of the life of the children, see Gorer pp. 289 ff. and Morris pp. 199 ff.

## PERSONAL NAMES

The question of Lepcha names<sup>1</sup> is complicated by the fact that many persons in addition to the name given them at birth may be known by one or several other names, and that these names may be changed from time to time, depending on a variety of circumstances. Naturally, it does not make the life of the field worker any easier when a person known to him by one name is suddenly referred to by quite a different name. Moreover, the Lepchas are often very reluctant to give their names; usually this is for fear of the *mung*, but frequently it is also because they feel it is not quite proper to do so. In daily life the members of a family prefer to use kinship terms<sup>2</sup> instead of personal names; this may sometimes have the surprising result that a husband has completely forgotten the birth name of his wife.

Again, many people in a village, and sometimes even the majority of them, are not known by their birth names, but by their nicknames, to their neighbours, who may even be totally ignorant of their birth names. This may seem strange, but if for thirty years a man has been known by his nickname, it is obvious that only old people will know his real name—and frequently they have forgotten it.

But let us approach the problem of names from the angle of the life cycle. Three days after the birth of a child at Tingbung, the local lamas are called in, and the specific Lamaist ceremonies are performed. On this occasion the lamas give the child the name<sup>3</sup> which is the appropriate one for it according to their study of their holy books dealing with astrology and horoscopes. As far as I could make out, this sacred, religious name is a kind of secret name, and it is seldom or never used in daily life. Perhaps it is not even revealed to the parents. But this is a side of Lepcha culture which I did not have an opportunity to investigate properly.

What counts in daily life is the name<sup>4</sup> given to the child by some member of the family, the father, the mother, or some close relative. This name may be derived from the appearance of the child (long, short, etc.), or its behaviour (crying, etc.), or it may refer to some incident connected with the child's birth (a difficult delivery, etc.). Sometimes a child is simply named after the day or the month of its birth, or it may be given a name expressing the parents' desire for its future.

As the child grows up any unusual, strange, or comical occurrence may cause a member of the family or one of the villagers to give it a nickname. Such a nickname is adopted by the other villagers in an incredibly short time, and will be used to the exclusion of the birth name, which may then be totally forgotten. The members of the family will of course remember the birth name longer than anybody else, but they, too, do not use it, and often they do not

<sup>1</sup> To this chapter cf. also Gorer pp. 144 ff., 291, 468, *passim*, and Morris pp. 202 f., *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> For kinship terms see Stocks 1927 pp. 471 ff. and Gorer pp. 463 ff.

<sup>3</sup> In Gorer p. 291 called "the sacred name".

<sup>4</sup> In Gorer p. 292 called "the temporary name".

like even to mention it. The inhabitants of a distant village, however, may for some years still know only the birth name and will naturally use that when talking of the person. In this way the same person may be known under different names by various members of the local society.

Owing to the way in which birth names and nicknames are given it is sometimes impossible to distinguish between them, and in the following list of names I have therefore not done so except in the cases where I know for certain that a name is either a birth name or a nickname.

We now come to a slightly different group of names, viz. the name which is given to or assumed by a person for the express purpose of protecting the bearer against the evil influence of the *mung*, i. e. to conceal his identity and to puzzle the *mung* should they attempt to persecute the person in question. Several birth names and nicknames may, however, be considered equivalent to such cover names, e. g. the names borrowed from animals; I shall therefore only list as cover names those names which I am quite sure are exclusively cover names.

Naturally, I collected many more names than those given in the list below; the list contains only those names the meaning of which was obvious to my interpreter. (For the dictionary analysis of the names, see Part II: List of Personal Names).

## A. NAMES OF MEN AND BOYS

### I. Names Indicating Physical Characteristics or Peculiarities.

1. *hlam bo*: Tall (Tingbung, 2 men, the one 61 years old, the other deceased).
2. *pāk*: Short (Tingbung, age: 12).
3. *thong lyók*: Sole of the foot.
4. *nā chat*: Pain; referred to the mother's exceptionally painful delivery. (Tingbung, 2 men, the one 63 years old, the other deceased).

### II. Names Associated with Plants and Animals.

5. *a pól*: Fruit (of trees).
6. *ta la bo*: Crab.
7. *tā lūk*: Frog.
8. *a shūl*: Cast off the slough (Tingbung, departed at the age of 63).
9. *kā li*: Squirrel.

### III. Names Associated with Implements, etc.

10. *tsóng tūk*: Quiver (Kesong, age: 50).
11. *pā thok*: Water Jug (Tingbung, age: 4).
12. *pang khar*: Walking stick.
13. *a tyāp*: Knot.
14. *tūk po*: String (Tingbung, age: 53).
15. *có ro*: Boiled tea leaves (Langdyang, age: 38).

IV. *Names Associated with the Calendar.*

16. *la vo*: Moon (month).
17. *glu*: *glu* month (Nung, died at the age of 60).
18. *hlak bo*: Wednesday.
19. *phur bo*: Thursday (Langku, died at the age of 60).
20. *pa sang*: Friday.
21. *phem bo*: Saturday.

V. *Miscellaneous Names.*

22. *a nang*: Straight.
23. *tom bo*: Firm.
24. *kyab thyók*: Protector (Kesong, age: 11).
25. *nyó*: Loan (Nung, age: 38). Birth name, origin given: On the third day after his birth, when his naming ceremony was to be celebrated, his parents suddenly discovered that they had forgotten to prepare the *cí* necessary for a proper performance, and they were obliged hastily to borrow some from a neighbour. This episode impressed them so strongly that they called their son: Loan.
26. *sung bo*: Charm box, Amulet box.
27. *tǔng dar*: Drum.
28. *pro*: Bhutanese.

VI. *Tibetan Names.*

29. *dem bo*: Firm.
30. *gár bu*: Solid (Payel, age: 56).
31. *ga pu*: Old Man (Tingbung, age: 18).
32. *rig zing*: Clever Fellow (Tingbung headman, age: 55).
33. *nor den*: Wealthy (Local lama, Tingbung, age: 27).
34. *gye bo*: Victor (Langdyang, died at the age of 46).
35. *she rap*: Wise Man (Payel, age: 15 and 31).

*Examples of Nicknames.*

There was in Nung (House No. 1) a man, 68 years old, who besides his birth name had two nicknames, which were used interchangeably. His first nickname dated back to a day when he was only three years old and a woman joked with him while he was playing in a field under a tree; she then called him by the nickname (No. 36) *rǔng jí*, derived from the name of the tree. He got his second nickname when he was a young man and one evening went out to court a girl; it was very dark, and carrying a torch he moved the light here and there in search of the girl. She then gave him the nickname (No. 37) *na dǒng*: Person Who Is in Search.

A man went hunting in the jungle, but had no luck, and his neighbours therefore called him by the nickname (No. 38) *a kyeng*: Odd Person. This nickname is presumably a pun on a *gyeng*, a kind of deer.

There was in Langku (House No. 1) a man called (No. 39) *sā nyim bo*: Giver of Alms, 35 years old. He was known by the nickname (No. 40) *a hryǎn*: Long, referring to a strange



story he once told some girls. The story runs as follows: Once upon a time there was a country in which there lived a female governor who was a *mung*. She had no husband, and therefore every night she ordered one of her male subjects to sleep with her: but when the day dawned, she always had the man killed. At last very few men were left in that country. Then the distressed people searched for a man with an extraordinarily long and big male organ. At last they found such a man and brought him to the *mung*. During the night he penetrated her female organ so deeply that she was seriously hurt and died.<sup>1</sup>

I was told that quite a number of nicknames actually in use had been given by girls to the young men making love to them. Thus, for instance, Adir, at the age of 55, was still known by the nickname (No. 41) *sa ryók*, Tiger-Cat, which, he told me, went back to the time when, as a young man, he courted some girls, and they teasingly called him that because at that time he used to cut his hair in such a way as to make him look like a jackal at any rate to them. Other nicknames have their origin in some comical situation which has exposed a person to general laughter.

#### *Cover Names.*

As said above, these names are intended to conceal the identity of the bearer from the *mung*, and therefore they are derogatory, often even conveying something horrible. The purpose is, of course, to make the *mung* ignore or even detest the bearer of the name.

In the cover names mentioned below the word "Rat" is a component. The rat is feared by everybody, and no parents are supposed to compare their child to a rat.<sup>2</sup> This name is therefore particularly protective.

42. *kā lók*: Rat (Tingbung, age: 30).
43. *kā lók pa nyóm*: Old Rat (Nung; adult).
44. *cho bo kā lók*: Lama Rat.
45. *kā lók kyong*: Village Rat (Tingbung, age: six months).

## B. NAMES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS

I was told that many names could be used both for men and women and I have myself come across a number of such names. In the list below I have given only names of women and girls, but some of these names are of course also used as boys' names.

### *I. Names Indicating Physical Characteristics and Peculiarities.*

46. *a shók*: Fat.
47. *bang mo*: Short and Stout.
48. *kāt thǎp*: Eleven, i. e. a person with eleven fingers.

### *II. Names Associated with Plants and Animals.*

49. *pe mo*: Grass, Fodder.
50. *a shǎp*: Nest.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gorer p. 488, where is given a similar story told of the queen Ong-Bala.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Morris p. 202, the name Kalok Tikung "The Rat's Grandfather", and Gorer p. 289, who states that a baby for the first three days of its life is called rat-child.

17 The Lepchas.

### III. Names Associated with the Calendar.

51. *dā wa*: Monday.
52. *nam pūt*: Born after the New Year (Payel, age: 48).

### IV. Miscellaneous Names.

53. *dā kam*: Short Sleep, i. e. a child that will not sleep (Tingbung, age: 43).
54. *jīng mo*: Girl that Cries and Weeps much.
55. *ka zār*: Smiling (Payel, age: c. 50).
56. *ce bo*: Beloved.
57. *ce mo*: Careful.
58. *jíp*: Flatten out, Smoothing.
59. *tshē ring i*: Long Life.
60. *tshū hlam mo*: Long Life.
61. *óng*: Blessing.
62. *cho ten*: Stupa.
63. *a ják*: Last Child.
64. *a pít*: Narrow.
65. *pót mo*: Fruitful.
66. *na fyāt*: Let Us Go Father-in-Law.

### Nicknames.

67. *gyá lǔ*: Lazy.
  68. *nom bo*: Caught (Langdyang, age: 33). It refers to a woman who had been caught. While married she once ran away from her husband, but he followed her, caught her, and brought her home again. Since that time he always called her by that name.
  69. *dang nyí kung*: Low Ground Grandmother.
  70. *tuk chuk mo*: Kissing, Kissing Woman.
- Nos. 69 and 70 are virtually pet names, frequently used of old women living in a family where they take care of the children, often fondling them.

### Cover Names.

71. *ít í*: Bad Smell.
72. *kā lók ít*: Excrement of Rat (Tingbung, age: 12).

## MARRIAGE

The Lepcha marriage<sup>1</sup> is a fundamental and very important institution with far-reaching social, legal and economic consequences; it also plays a great part in the mind of the ordinary man and woman and has a profound influence on their life; it attains its particular spiritual perspective through its ancient religious and legendary origin.

First and foremost the Lepcha marriage is a social institution. The interest of the family as a whole takes precedence over all other considerations; it is the parents who choose the life partner for their son or daughter; they have the final voice in this matter as in all other matters. The children may protest against the choice of their parents, but only for a time, and if the parents insist on their choice, the children will finally give way. Consequently, both men and women are much occupied with the planning of marriages, the arrangements to be made for weddings, etc.

One circumstance in particular contributes to the exceptional influence which marriage exerts on the life of Lepcha society, namely the *pū tsho* institution. This holds a supreme position in the structure of Lepcha society, and it is directly influenced by the marriages contracted. When a marriage is contracted two *pū tsho* become tied together in the closest possible way, and even after the death of the two partners, the effects of their union will continue to exert its influence for many generations to come on the social life of the two *pū tsho*. Small wonder that the Lepcha marriage is a most serious undertaking, hedged about with innumerable precautions and ceremonies.

### *Origin of Marriage.*

The religious background of the Lepcha marriage is given for instance in the legend of the origin of marriage. There exist two versions of this legend from Jongu,<sup>2</sup> and Tamsang provided me with a third version from Kalimpong, which I give here:

"The Creator had five children, four sons and one daughter. The youngest son was called *tūr bak mu*. He went out to see his brothers and his sister who were all married and lived in far-away countries. On his way back he came to *ren jyong ne ma yel lyang*, and there he found a big tree bearing many kinds of fruit, and birds sitting on its branches eating those fruits. He planned to catch these birds and to take them back home to his mother as presents. He therefore wove nets from the jungle creepers, and caught many birds which he took home and gave to his mother, who was so pleased with her son's presents that she asked him to bring some more.

Next day he again went out to catch those birds for his mother, and spread out his net, but instead of birds he found pieces of wood lying inside his net. He became very angry,

<sup>1</sup> To this chapter cf. also Risley 1892, II, pp. 8 ff.; Gorer pp. 153 ff., 332 ff., *passim*, and Morris pp. 225 ff., *passim*. Gorer and Morris have many detailed and valuable observations.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gorer pp. 481 ff. and Morris pp. 241 ff. who gives a longer version; Stocks 1927 pp. 351 f. has a shorter version.

and being anxious to know what had happened, he hid himself to keep watch. In this way he discovered that a beautiful girl from the *rām* country had placed the pieces of wood inside his net. However, she was so beautiful that he fell in love with her, darted out from his hiding-place, and caught her. They struggled, and he defeated her and made her his wife. Her name was *na rip nom*.

When her brothers *kām shi thing* heard what had happened, they met and decided that *tar bong mu*<sup>1</sup> and *na rip nom* should marry. They started to prepare *cí*, rice, and to make woven clothes. A day was fixed for the wedding, and on that day a large pig was killed. They put on new clothes, and the wedding ceremony was performed. Even to this day the Lepchas act according to this wedding ceremony.

When *cí*, rice and all the other gifts were ready for the wedding, all the gods and goddesses and men assembled. The *cí*, rice, and the other gifts were placed before the gods, goddesses and men that they might see them. Then the gods offered *cí* and rice and gave blessings to the couple. That is why to this day, when a wedding ceremony is performed among the Lepchas, the *bong thing* and the *mñn* offer *cí* and rice and bless the married couple."

### *Selection of Spouse.*

According to ancient custom the marriage is planned by the older members of the family, usually the parents. When planning a marriage the parents must carefully observe the rules concerning the *pñ tsho* exogamy (see p. 116 f.), and the idea of a prospective marriage will never occur to a Lepcha until he has examined the relation between the *pñ tsho* concerned. According to Tamsang, who comes from Kalimpong, marriage is out of the question if the two *pñ tsho* have any blood relationship within the last seven generations on the father's side and within the last three generations on the mother's side. Such a marriage would be unclean and impure, and would result in misery, curse, misfortune, ill-luck, etc. Tamsang further said that in the opinion of the Lepchas the marriage is not only an intimate alliance between two persons, but still more a union between the two *pñ tsho*; and he explained that the husband's *pñ tsho* so to speak purchases the woman. This conception is clearly reflected in the term *nyóm sã a far*, meaning the price of the bride (see p. 137).

The old members of the society, unfit for work, also play a very important and highly valued part in the planning of marriages. All Lepchas are keenly interested in family relations, and from the point of view of a European they have an astonishing knowledge of genealogies. This is, of course, particularly true of the old people with their memory of a long life, therefore these are singled out to make their special contribution to safeguarding the strict observance of the *pñ tsho* rules.

When the parents of the prospective bride and bridegroom have made sure that the marriage proposed conforms to the *pñ tsho* rules, their next task is to scrutinise the horoscopes of the young people to see that their birth years do not conflict.<sup>2</sup> This point is very important in Jongu, whereas it was said to be almost unknown among the Lepchas of Kalimpong. As far as I could make out no Jongu Lepcha would dare to arrange a marriage between two persons whose horoscopes showed that their birth years conflicted. The horoscope may, however, play an even more decisive part in that it may be consulted before everything else; thus I learnt of two cases where an infant boy had been promised in marriage to a girl many

<sup>1</sup> At the beginning of the legend he was called *tār bak mu*, on p. 139 *tar bang mu*.

<sup>2</sup> For marriage horoscopes, see Gorer pp. 469 ff.

years his senior, because of the exceptionally good constellation of their birth years. In such cases the girl's parents promise that the boy on reaching maturity will be given the girl's younger sister, as a second wife, so that he has at any rate one wife of his own age.

As the sexual customs have always been rather lax among the Jongu Lepchas<sup>1</sup> a girl promised in marriage to a much younger boy is allowed to have as many lovers as she likes, although she is supposed to avoid becoming pregnant.

When the examination of the genealogies and horoscopes of the young couple has been brought to a successful conclusion, their personal circumstances are next investigated. Social and economic position counts for much, though personal feelings are also taken into consideration, both as far as the young people themselves are concerned and as far as the two families are concerned. However, it happens not infrequently that the personal feelings of the two young people are completely disregarded. Thus I know of some cases where two young people have been compelled to marry each other, merely because their parents wanted it, and in spite of their own open disinclination for such a marriage.

This obedience to parental wishes is still prevalent in Jongu, and until quite recently it was so in Kalimpong, too. But I have been told that it is now vanishing gradually within the more advanced Kalimpong circles, where the younger generation dare to oppose their parents. In these circles three arguments seem to be predominant. The young people do not want to marry merely because as children they have been promised in marriage; they do not want to marry before they have arrived at the age of discretion; finally they want to marry the person they love, and not somebody else.

#### *Age at Marriage.*

To judge from the reports of Campbell and Risley the age of marriage among the Lepchas was higher in the nineteenth century than it is today, and there were then no child marriages;<sup>2</sup> the men were usually not young and the girls were usually married between the ages of sixteen and eighteen.<sup>3</sup>

I learnt that parents prefer their children to marry as soon as they have reached maturity and frequently as early as possible. According to Tamsang the people of Kalimpong want their sons to marry before the age of twenty, their daughters before the age of eighteen. I was told in Jongu that marriage might be contracted at any age, but no case was recollected of either the bridegroom or the bride being less than ten years old.

#### *Types of Marriage.*

Monogamy is the fundamental type of marriage among the Lepchas, and it is by far the most common. It is, however, not the only form of marriage, and though fairly rare both polygyny and polyandry exist. I was told that polyandry did not exist at all in the Kalimpong area.

This statement agrees with Hooker's observations from the middle of the last century that polyandry is unknown, and polygamy rare.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, Risley says that polyan-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Campbell 1840 a, p. 384: the women are not strictly bound to chastity previous to marriage; Risley 1892 II, p. 8: sexual licence before marriage is tolerated. Gorer pp. 326 ff., *passim* has investigated the sexual customs thoroughly.

<sup>2</sup> Campbell 1840 a, p. 384.

<sup>3</sup> Risley 1892 II, p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Hooker I, p. 121.

dry, though comparatively rare, is not entirely unknown,<sup>1</sup> and Adir told me that in the days of his grandfather polygyny and polyandry were common, and that it happened that a man had about ten wives, and that a woman was married to several brothers. This is the adelphic polyandry, well-known among the Tibetans.<sup>2</sup>

At Tingbung I learnt of a man called *gár bu* (Payel Village, House No. 4 see p. 51) whose two daughters both lived with the same man, called *la la bo*. First *ta la bo* married the elder daughter, but since she remained childless, he became engaged to her younger sister three or four years later, and she bore him (?) a girl. Targe of Namprík had two sisters as wives.

Shubet, *rig zing's* sister (Tingbung village, House No. 1, see p. 48), now about seventy years old and a highly regarded *nyen jo mo*<sup>3</sup>, affords an interesting example of a woman having lived both in monogamy and polyandry. Her first marriage took place when she was fifteen years old, and after four years she gave birth to a daughter, who died when she was ten years old. After about twenty-five years of married life her husband died.

Shortly afterwards she married a man who was a servant of the Maharajah in Gangtok, where they lived at first; later they moved to Lum in Jongu. This marriage lasted for about twenty years, but was childless. While married to this man she also married another man, who was about twenty years younger than her husband. He joined the couple and lived with them in their house at Lum, but she had no children with this man either. They therefore adopted a girl, and they all lived in the same house at Lum. About a year ago Shubet moved to Tingbung, where she now lives with her third husband in a small house, built for them by *rig zing*.

#### *Widowers and Widows.*

I did not learn of any particular rules for widowers and widows at Tingbung, but from Tamsang I learnt that such rules exist in the Kalimpong area. Here a widower must remain unmarried for three years in honour of his deceased wife, and then he will be given his deceased wife's younger sister in marriage. If his deceased wife has no younger unmarried sister, then it is his father-in-law's duty to find a girl from among his own near relatives and arrange a marriage for him with her. If his father-in-law cannot find any such girl, he must call in the *byek bo* (the go-between, see p. 136) to arrange for the cancellation of the last marital ties. The father-in-law gives a scarf and five rupees to his son-in-law saying, 'I am ashamed that I have no girl to give you for a wife, therefore now you are free and can choose any girl and be happy!'

A young childless widow must live unmarried for three years after her husband's death, then she will be given in marriage to her late husband's younger brother.<sup>4</sup> If she has several children or if she is old, her father or her brothers will take care of her.

#### *Divorce.*

Most marriages are stable, and cases of divorce or separation seem to be rare, although information varies somewhat on this point. This may of course be due to customs varying from age to age, or to their being different in different areas.

<sup>1</sup> Risley 1892 II, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Prince Peter 1963, pp. 301 ff., passim.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. p. 167.

<sup>4</sup> According to Mainwaring, Dict. 434a the Lepchas use the verb *a-ngóp shok*: to marry the widow of deceased elder brother (the elder brother may not marry the widow of the younger, it would be *tham nyót*); to *tham nyót* cf. Dict. 111b, a greater degree of ill omen, especially incest and such like.

We know from the middle of the last century that "any injury to the matrimonial bed is punished by beating or divorcement."<sup>1</sup>

According to Adir, if a man wants to divorce his wife, he must give proper reasons to her family for his desire to do so, i. e. to her father, her brothers, cousins, etc. These will of course try to prevent the divorce, as will his own family. However, if he insists on the divorce, he must pay his wife and her family for her food and clothes for three years. This payment must be made in advance; if he cannot pay, he must borrow the wherewithal to do so.

If a man finds his wife guilty of adultery, he has the right to hand her over to her lover and to require from him a compensation amounting to the double value of the gifts given to her family as the price of the bride.

If a woman finds her husband guilty of adultery, she has the right to hand him over to the other woman and to claim from her a compensation amounting to the double value of the gifts her family has given at the wedding ceremony. But the wife may also accept her husband's mistress as a legal second wife.

If a married man wants to have a second wife, his first wife has the right to divorce him, but she cannot claim any of her dowry. A married woman cannot enter into marriage with another man so long as her husband is alive (this conflicts with the above-mentioned case of Shubet).

If a man wants to be the second husband of his elder brother's wife, he will go to her parents, give them some gifts, and tell them that from now on he will be the second husband of their daughter.

Tamsang further said that it was the rule at Kalimpong that if a man drives away his wife and forces her to return to her father's house, he shall pay as a fine the "marriage price" to her father. If a married woman runs away with another man, her husband's family will send representatives to him claiming the marriage price. The man must also pay the injured husband all his marriage expenses. But it may happen that the wife's family provides another girl as a substitute without requiring any further payment from the husband, and in that case the payments which the husband would have recovered from the lover of his run-away wife will go to the girl's parents.

<sup>1</sup> Campbell 1840 a, p. 384.

## WEDDING<sup>1</sup>

### *Kalimpong.*

#### *Preliminary Ceremony.*

Informant: Tamsang

When a man and his wife have made up their minds regarding a prospective wife for their son, they ask a friend of theirs to act as a *byek bo*,<sup>2</sup> a go-between. When they have discussed the matter with him, he sets out for the girl's parents taking with him a load of *cí* and a rupee tied in a ceremonial scarf. He makes the preliminary offer of marriage to the girl's parents, and if they agree to the proposal, they touch the load of *cí* and the scarf with the tip of their middle finger as a token of acceptance, and the date of the *pǎ nol*, the first wedding ceremony, is decided on. This preliminary ceremony between the go-between and the girl's parents is called *nyóm byít*,<sup>3</sup> the giving of the bride. The girl is now promised in marriage, and her parents cannot give their consent to any other suitor. Thereafter the go-between returns to the young man's parents and informs them of the successful result of his visit.

#### *First Wedding Ceremony: pǎ nol.*<sup>4</sup>

The young man's parents now make the necessary preparations for the *pǎ nol*, collecting for the ceremony two loins of a pig or an ox, a big load of *cí*, 25 rupees, and a ceremonial scarf as gifts.

When these things are ready, they have to be consecrated by a *bong thín* or a *mǔn* before they are taken to the girl's parents. The consecration is performed in the following way: The gifts collected are placed in front of the *bong thín* or the *mǔn*, incense is burnt, and *cí* and rice are offered to the gods. The officiant recites a long prayer of invocation to the gods, asking them to bless the wedding, to bestow happiness upon the young couple, and to make their union prosperous and fertile. When the consecration is over, they all consume a meal of rice and meat.

The following day the go-between, the young man, and two men carrying the gifts set off for the house of the young man's future parents-in-law. When they arrive there, the suitor greets his prospective parents-in-law very courteously and stays with them for three days. On his departure he is presented with a gift of *cí* and meat.

<sup>1</sup> To this Chapter cf. Stocks 1927 pp. 465 ff., Gorer pp. 332 ff., and Morris pp. 248 ff. As these investigators have dealt in detail with the customs of Jongu, I shall confine my description to the customs of Kalimpong.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dict. 266 a. (*a-*)*byek-bo* s. the one between, the interval, the interspace, the intermediate one, a negotiator.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Dict. 114 a *a-nyóm*, bride also a daughter-in-law, and Dict. 265 b *byít* vb. to give.

<sup>4</sup> This word has presumably its root in the verb *pǎ-nol* or *pǔn-nol*. Dict. 199 b to kneel, and refers probably to the bridegroom's salutation of his prospective parents-in-law.



*Second Wedding Ceremony: a shek.*

When the men return from the above visit, the family make arrangements for the considerable gifts called *nyóm sã a far*,<sup>1</sup> the price of the bride, to be presented to the girl's parents as soon as possible after the first ceremony. The interval between the two ceremonies is often not more than a few days, and at all events a longer interval than a few weeks is not considered proper.

The gifts comprise:

1. A large brass pot with a rupee inside and a scarf tied round its neck.
2. Two loins of ox or pig with a rupee and a scarf put on top of the meat.
3. A large quantity of *cí*, weighing about four maunds, accompanied by a rupee and a scarf.
4. A milch cow that has recently calved, with a scarf and a rupee tied round its neck. The cow, a gift for the girl's mother, is considered a compensation for the loss of the daughter.
5. A young full-grown bull with a scarf and a rupee tied round its neck. The bull is a gift for the girl's father, and is considered to be compensation for the loss of his daughter. If the girl's father has not himself performed the complete series of ceremonies for his own wife, the bull is given to the bride's maternal uncle.
6. A hand-woven garment and five rupees to the girl's mother.
7. A bundle of hand-woven cloth and a rupee to the girl's father.
8. A ceremonial scarf and five rupees to the girl's brother.
9. A ceremonial scarf and three rupees to the girl's paternal uncle.
10. A ceremonial scarf and three rupees to the girl's paternal aunt.
11. A ceremonial scarf and three rupees to the girl's maternal uncle.
12. A ceremonial scarf and three rupees to the girl's maternal aunt.

When the gifts are ready, they are thoroughly examined and consecrated by the *bong thing* or the *mũn*, after which the whole family and the officiant sit down to enjoy a meal. When this is over a procession is formed for the purpose of taking the gifts to the bride's family. The procession consists of the following people:

1. The *byek bo* or go-between.
2. The *bri lón bu*<sup>2</sup> or the leader of the procession.
3. The paternal uncle.
4. The paternal aunt.
5. The maternal uncle.
6. The maternal aunt.
7. The bridegroom.
8. The *myók thyol*<sup>3</sup> or the best man.
9. The *bri mít*,<sup>4</sup> a young virgin acting as a kind of bridesmaid, but attending the bridegroom's party.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dict. 240a *far* 1, *a-far* s. price, value of labour portion of produce given to assistant.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dict. 269a *bri* 5 vb. to unite in marriage, . . . s. marriage and Dict. 359b *lóng* 4 . . . (*a-*)*lón-bo* s. a chieftain, a leader.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Dict. 301a *myók* s. a bridegroom and Dict. 165b: *thyol* ref. Dict. 152b *thil* vb. to be successive, to be in succession, to follow one after another . . .

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Dict. 269a *bri* 5. vb. to unite in marriage . . . s. marriage, and Dict. 289b *mít*, *a-mít* s. a female . . . is affixed to express the gender.

10. Two or three men carrying the gifts and leading the cow and the bull.
11. People accompanying the party, mostly close friends of the bridegroom.

On their way to the house belonging to the bride's parents the members of the procession stop for a ceremonial drink of tea, called *lóm thóng*;<sup>1</sup> this is provided by the bride's family.

When the party reach the bride's house, they are received by the bride's *byek bo*, go-between, who leads them into the house, where they take their seats according to their rank. The order of precedence is:

1. The *brí lón bu*.
2. The paternal uncle.
3. The maternal uncle.
4. The paternal aunt.
5. The maternal aunt.
6. The bridegroom.
7. The *myók thyol*.
8. The *brí mít*.
9. The remainder of the party.

The bride's party arranged according to rank and position sit facing the bridegroom's party, and between the two parties the two *byek bo* of the bridegroom and the bride will stand. Meanwhile *cí* is served to all the members of both parties.

Thereafter the performance proper of the *a shek*<sup>2</sup> begins. While the milch cow and the young bull are kept outside, the brass pot, the two loins of ox or pig, the load of *cí*, the garment for the bride's mother, the bundle of cloth for the bride's father, the money and the scarves are placed before the bride's party on a large bamboo mat in order to be presented to the respective relatives of the bride.

The bride is then led into the room and seated by the side of the bridegroom. Taking a ceremonial scarf in his hands the bridegroom's *byek bo* addresses the bride's party requesting them to accept the *a shek*. If the bride's party find the *a shek* satisfactory, they touch the gifts with their fingers as a token of acceptance, if not, there will be a great discussion, and the bridegroom's party may have to pay some extra money in order to supplement the *a shek*.

The time has now arrived for the religious ceremony. The *bong thính* or the *mũn* consecrates the gifts, incense is burnt, rice is offered, and *cí* is offered from small cups smeared with butter. The officiant *bong thính* or *mũn* recites a long prayer (cf. p. 141 f.) invoking several gods and asking them to bless the young couple and to make their union fruitful and prosperous. They are pledged to be good to each other, and are given *cí* to drink from a consecrated cup smeared with butter.

Thereafter the bridegroom's *byek bo* distributes the gifts, and the rest of the day and the following night are spent in feasting, singing, and dancing.

The bridegroom stays for three days with the bride's family, and returns home with a gift of meat and *cí* as presents from the bride's family. He also gets *zo gul*,<sup>3</sup> a dish of rice and roast cock, which he takes to his parents as a sign that the bride's parents have now recognised him as their son-in-law.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dict. 361b *lóm* s. road, way . . . journey, distance, and Dict. 147b. *thàng* and *thóng* vb. 1. to drink . . .

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dict. 433a *shek* 1., *a-shek* s. a marriage-gift made before marriage to parents of bride, as price value of the girl varying in demand according to the circumstances of the bridegroom.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Dict. 318a, *zo* II. "rice", and 55b *gul*, *a-gul* . . . *zo gul* a dish of, a share of, a portion of *zo*.

*Third Wedding Ceremony.*

Some months later the bride will be taken to the bridegroom's parents' house and the final wedding ceremony is performed. Before leaving her parents' house the bride is finely clothed and decorated with ornaments presented to her by her relatives. She is accompanied by a body of persons comprising her go-between, her paternal uncle, her paternal aunt, her maternal uncle, her maternal aunt, her brother, some other near relatives, her close friends and some people from the village. They carry with them a load of *cí* and a slaughtered pig. On the way members of the bridegroom's family will provide them with *lóm thóng*, tea-on-the-way (cf. p. 138).

On arriving at the house belonging to the bridegroom's parents they are welcomed by the bridegroom's *byek bo* and conducted inside. When the bride enters the house, the bridegroom's mother steps forward and receives her by putting a bangle, called *nyóm tūk vil*,<sup>1</sup> the bride's chains, on the wrist of her right hand as a token that she is accepted as a daughter-in-law. At the same time this small ceremony implies that from that day she is locked up in the family.

At each side of the entrance door some jugs full of water and two loads of dry wood are kept. Before entering the house all the attendants of the bride have to dip the middle finger and the thumb of their right hand into the water and to throw some drops towards the sky. But the bride must carry a jug full of water and two pieces of wood from each load into the house. She puts the pieces of wood on the burning hearth, and she pours the water into a big pot which has been kept on the hearth for the purpose of boiling water for preparing *cí*. Then she calls the gods of the hearth, of the fire and of the water to witness that from today she has become a member of the family.

When the bride's attendants have taken their seats, *cí* is served, and the bridegroom's relatives place their presents before the bride's attendants, thereby indicating their acceptance of the bride. Meanwhile the bridegroom and the bride sit together.

Thereafter the bride's *byek bo* takes a scarf in one hand and a rupee in the other and addresses the bride as follows:

You have now been married into such and such *pū tsho*, and you are now bound to them and have no connection with any people other than the members of this *pū tsho*. In the beginning *tar bong bo* and *na rip nom* instituted and organised the marriage, and today we celebrate the wedding accordingly. Now you are bound!

So saying, the bride's *byek bo* hangs the scarf round the bride's bowed neck and puts the rupee into her hand. He then resumes his seat.

Thereafter the bride's paternal uncle stands up and addresses the members of the bridegroom's party as follows:

We are giving this girl of ours to such and such *pū tsho*. If you are not good to her, we shall take her back and we shall punish you!

Then the bridegroom's paternal uncle stands up and expressing elaborate thanks to the bride's attendants he says:

<sup>1</sup> *nyóm* bride, cf. p. 136, Note 3, *tuk vil* cf. Dict. 387b *vil* vb. to fetter, to chain, deriv. *tūk-vil* s. chains, fetters, fastening.

From today the bride will be our daughter,  
and the bridegroom will be your son!

And he promises solemnly that the bride will be treated well, and that they will try their best to make her happy.

Then a second round of *ci*, rice, meat and vegetables is served. The bridegroom and the bride sit together and enjoy their meals from the same plate and drink their *ci* from the same cup.

The bride is served *zo gul*<sup>1</sup> consisting of different sorts of meat on top of which is put a roast cock. She does not eat the cock, but sends it to her mother signifying that she has now been fully accepted as a bride, and that she has been recognised as a member of her new family.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 138. Note 3.

## WEDDING PRAYER

*Tingbung.*

Informant: *rig zing*  
Interpreter: *Tsering*

As mentioned in the description of the Second Wedding Ceremony of Kalimpong (p. 138) the officiant recites a long prayer. It proved impossible for me to get the wording of this prayer but I did secure the wording of the Tingbung prayer. Just before this prayer a woman pours *ci* into a vessel, and during the recital<sup>1</sup> the officiant sprinkles *ci* into the air while invoking the *rŭm*. The prayer runs as follows:

(Text No. 19)

- |      |  |      |  |
|------|--|------|--|
| (1)  | '' <i>ki lo rŭm!</i>                           | (25) | make peace,  |
| (2)  | <i>sāng lo rŭm!</i>                            | (26) | make peace!  |
| (3)  | <i>a kŭng rŭm!</i>                             | (27) | Let them have (good) times!  |
| (4)  | <i>mŭ la rŭm!</i>                              | (28) | Let them have (good) seasons!  |
| (5)  | Make the births good!                          | (29) | Give good harvest!   |
| (6)  | Make the lifetime good!                        | (30) | Give good harvest (of ripe fruits)!<br>Give them a big basket (for paddy |
| (7)  | Make the life good!                            | (31) | rice)!<br>Give them a big basket!  |
| (8)  | Like the sitting <i>kong chen</i>              | (32) | Give them a big basket!  |
| (9)  | give lifetime,                                 | (33) | We have put butter-pat(s).   |
| (10) | give life!                                     | (34) | for this life (lifetime) we have<br>requested,                           |
| (11) | Like the sleeping (underground)<br>ocean,      | (35) | for this life we have requested.   |
| (12) | like the sitting (calm) waters,                | (36) | Like the sitting <i>tar bong</i> ,                                       |
| (13) | give lifetime,                                 | (37) | Like the sitting <i>na rip</i> ,   |
| (14) | give life!                                     | (38) | for this life we have requested.   |
| (15) | Like the sitting peak(s),                      | (39) | Like the sitting <i>rel bŭ kŭp</i> ,                                     |
| (16) | like the sitting <i>bi</i> (peak, peaks),      | (40) | like the sitting <i>sen bŭ kŭp</i> ,                                     |
| (17) | give lifetime,                                 | (41) | we have given this life (lifetime),                                      |
| (18) | give life!                                     | (42) | we have given this butter-pat,   |
| (19) | Make the births good!                          | (43) | we have given this butter,   |
| (20) | Like the sitting hearth,                       | (44) | we have given this <i>ci</i> ,   |
| (21) | give peace!                                    | (45) | we have given this <i>ci</i> .   |
| (22) | Like the sitting (calm) lake,                  | (46) | Do not be intoxicated!   |
| (23) | give peace!                                    | (47) | Do not be angry!<br>Do not be angry!                                     |
| (24) | For this life (lifetime) we have<br>requested, | (48) | Do not be angry!   |

<sup>1</sup> To this prayer cf. the reference in Gorer p. 335.

- (49) *tak she rŭm* stay (with them)!  
(50) *tak bo rŭm* stay (with them)!  
(51) Do not stop your help!  
(52) *tak she rŭm* stand (with them)!  
(53) *tak bo rŭm* stand (with them)!  
(54) *cho rŭm* stand (with them)!

- (55) *yŭk rŭm* stand (with them)!  
(56) *ki lo!*  
(57) *sǎng lo lón bo!*  
(58) For this life (lifetime) we have  
requested,  
(59) For this life we have requested.”

## ILLNESS

Most Lepchas are mortally afraid of diseases, and even the slightest symptom of sickness or the faintest feeling of illness may bring them into a state bordering on horror. This is due to the fact that any unusual bodily feeling is ascribed to the evil influence of some or other *mung*; it is an indication of a *mung* attack, and may result in death. I remember from Jongu that if one gets even a small and insignificant wound, and some blood oozes out, the women may run screaming in all directions. No wonder the Lepchas always attempt to cure the sick person as soon as possible, and the whole year round they perform innumerable ceremonies to the *mung* to avert diseases and all kinds of illnesses and ailments. They are not very happy to share their knowledge of how to approach and propitiate the *mung*, but I did succeed in obtaining some information concerning this very important side of Lepcha culture, and below I give six different examples of such propitiation.

1. Tamsang recollects an event from his boyhood in Kalimpong. His father was seriously ill, the members of his family became extremely frightened, and both the *bong thing* and the female *mūn* were called in immediately. They ordered a great ceremony during which seven bulls were sacrificed at the back of the house. This very expensive sacrifice was something extraordinary, but Tamsang's family is of noble birth and very well off. However, all Lepchas will do everything possible to defray the expenses of great ceremonies in case the situation is dangerous, and sacrifices of bulls are rather common on occasions similar to the one mentioned above.

According to Tamsang the ordinary procedure is as follows: The family summons the *bong thing* or the *mūn*, who will perform the necessary ceremony. The procedure will be described as it is when the *bong thing* officiates, but the ceremonies would be the same if it were the *mūn*. When the *bong thing* arrives, the family requests him to disclose which *mung*, owing to some or other insult, has inflicted the disease on the sick person. The *bong thing* sits down, and burying his face in his hands, ponders for a while; then he begins to chant, and later he falls into a trance. During this trance the name of the *mung* insulted is revealed to him.

Meanwhile the members of the family take an active part in the preparation for the ceremony to follow. Some of them arrange an altar close to the place where the patient is lying, and they put on the altar some *cho kóng*,<sup>1</sup> i. e. ceremonial figures of rice decorated with lumps of butter, two cubic rice structures, and three eggs.

Others select an appropriate bull and lead it to the entrance of the house. Then they tie one end of a long rope round its neck, and carrying the other end inside the house they hand it to the *bong thing*, who stands in front of the altar. During the following ceremony he keeps this rope firmly in his left hand.

<sup>1</sup> Dict. 425b has *sha-kóng* s. in the meaning: figures made from rice, prepared for the *rām fat*.

Other members of the family place a circular bamboo mat on the verandah of the house. Then they take the clothes belonging to the sick person and spread them out on the mat. If the sick person is a woman, her jewellery and trinkets may also be put on the mat. In case other members of the family suffer from a disease, they may take advantage of the opportunity and put some rags of theirs on the mat in order to profit from the ceremony. That is the end of the preparations, and the ceremony itself can now begin.

Standing in front of the altar and keeping the end of the rope in his left hand, the *bong thing* begins by invoking the gods, and he then recites the following:

It has been revealed to me that this man is troubled by such and such *mung*.

We shall now sacrifice this bull to such and such *mung*.

Please help the man and protect him that in future he will not be ill again!

Then the *bong thing* takes the three eggs, breaks them carefully and pours the yolks on to a plate of leaves. He examines the surfaces of the yolks for speckles and spots, from the appearance of which he can tell whether the gods are pleased or not. Later the eggs are fried and eaten by the *bong thing*.

When the *bong thing* has finished this part of the ceremony, he throws the rope outside, and the bull is now released to go anywhere it likes. Carrying the mat with the clothes and the rags, the people follow the bull in close pursuit, carefully studying its steps and the direction it chooses. As soon as the bull makes a halt, they put the mat on the ground and kill the bull by cutting its neck with an axe.

When the bull is dead, they cut off one of its ears and one of its hoofs, and disembowelling the animal they remove the heart, the liver, and the spleen, parts of which are cut in pieces. Then they stick seven pointed bamboo canes into the ground and skewer the ear, the hoof, and the pieces of meat on the canes. Close to each of the canes they put on the ground two small bamboo pipes, one called *po thar*, the other *po tsum* (see p. 180), and pour blood from the body of the dead bull into each pipe as a drink-offering to the *mung*.

Then the *bong thing* ceremonially invites the *mung* to eat the meat and to drink the blood, and to accept these offerings as a substitute for the sick person. He further requests the *mung* to leave the sick person, and never again to attack him or any other member of the family, but to let them live in peace.

Thereafter everybody leaves the spot carrying with them the remaining parts of the bull's body and the mat with the clothes. Returning home they put the mat with the clothes on the shelf over the hearth, and keep it there for three days. They believe that just as the clothes, due to the heat from the fire, will gradually become stiff, so the sick person will eventually recover.

When the ceremony is over, the people eat the meat of the bull, while the *bong thing* gets one foreleg and one hindleg as his share.

In case the patient is seriously ill, and does not recover in spite of the sacrifice of the bull, a supplementary ceremony may be performed: the *bong thing* is called in again and provided with a pair of chickens, some rice, and some *ci*. Meanwhile the people take four poles, made of a tree called *mik chap kung*, and stick them into the ground, one at each corner of the house.

Then the *bong thing* goes up to the patient and begins to address the *mung*. He states that the *mung* has already got a bull, and that the house in addition has been fenced in by four poles; for that reason the *mung* ought to leave the patient, and stay away from the house



for ever. So saying the *bong thing* seizes the two chickens and begins to "sweep" the patient's body with them, i. e. he draws the chickens lightly along the patient's body beginning at his head and ending at his feet.

Thereafter the *bong thing* leaves the house and walks out to a crossroads, where he lights a fire, burns incense, cuts the throats of the chickens, and sacrifices them to the *mung*. In order to prevent the *mung* from approaching the patient once more, he blocks the way to the house by spreading grains of rice in transverse rows across the road. That is the end of the ceremony, and the *bong thing* now returns to his own house, taking with him the two chickens, which he will later prepare as a meal for himself.

During the following twenty-four hours nobody will be given permission to enter the patient's house except his close relatives. Any one else approaching the house will be warned off by the mere sight of the four poles, and will keep away. If, however, a person not belonging to the family should like to pay a visit to the patient, the members of the family will take severe measures against all the *mung* who might be in his train. For this purpose they order him to walk about in the yard or in the fields for an hour or so; then he may be permitted to enter the kitchen to spend some time there talking with the women; and not until then may he be ushered into the presence of the sick person. It is a common belief that this wait makes the *mung* grow weary so that they disappear.

2. There lived in Kesong village of the Tingbung area a man called *pā kí cu* who was summoned when any one was ill. When he arrived at the patient's house, he used to make elaborate preparations ordering the family to provide him with all the gifts and things necessary for his ceremony.

When everything was ready, he made his initial arrangements. He took two small bamboo pipes, filled them with *cí* and milk, and stuck some flowers into the pipes. Then he put paddy rice and grains of barley and millet into a basket made of bamboo fibres and laid two threads, one of cotton and one of wool, on the top of the grains. The thread of cotton was for *kong chen*, and the thread of wool was for *cya dǔng ra zo*, the wife of *kong chen*.

Thereafter he began the ceremony proper, during which he sacrificed a hen. He began by pouring *cí* into a vessel, and then he prayed to the *mung* beseeching it to cease causing trouble and pain to the sick person, and to spare the patient's life; instead he asked the *mung* to accept the life of the sacrificial hen.

Then he sacrificed the hen stating that he now offered the meat of the hen in the place of the patient's flesh, and the blood of the hen in the place of the patient's blood.

When this ceremony was over, everything was left on a big stone in the jungle, except for the hen which the family took home and ate. On this occasion various *mung* are addressed, of which the *mung sa vok nu*, *ta jen*, and *ta mar* are the most important.

3. Ongdi Buru, the old *bong thing* of Git, told me how he used to deal with a sick person, when he was active as a *bong thing* in former days.

First he would examine the appearance of the patient thoroughly. Then he would pass his rosary through his hands and say some prayers, and meanwhile it would be revealed to his inner self which *mung* had to be propitiated.

Thereafter he would order an animal sacrifice on the same day or on one of the following days. In case a bull or a cow was to be sacrificed, some men would tie one end of a rope round the horns of the animal, and would carry the other end inside the house, and hand it to him while he was sitting before the altar, ready to intone the necessary invocation.

Having finished this invocation he would smear butter on the end of the rope which he kept in his hand, and throw it outside.

Now the animal was released to go wherever it wanted; but as soon as it stopped, the people would kill it as a sacrifice to the *mung*. They believed that the *mung* had led the animal to that particular place in order to get its meat and its blood.

In case it had been revealed to him that the sacrifice ought to be given to *nó nát bu mung*, he would recite the following:

(Text No. 20)

- (1) “*nó, nát bu* (i. e. trouble giving) *mung*!
- (2) Do not eat the flesh, and do not drink the blood of this human being!
- (3) Eat the meat and drink the blood of this ox as a substitute for him!  
Take it and go away!”

4. There lived in the Tingbung area (at the village of Langshol) a *bong thing* called Marji, whose wife was a *mñn*. The husband used to perform apotropaeic ceremonies when some one suffered from epilepsy or from a cough or a cold, and his wife dealt with all other diseases. When performing his ceremony, Marji first placed some leaves of a wild tree, a couple of hens, and a bottle of *cí* beside the patient, and then he sprinkled some drops of *cí* into the air whilst making a request similar to those quoted above. When this ceremony was over, the leaves and the hens were put somewhere in the jungle. I was assured that the patient would soon recover after this ceremony.

5. The Tingbung area is haunted by many *mung*, but Pantor (cf. p. 55), who manifests himself in the shape of a bull, is particularly dangerous. When the people suffer from terrible diseases or epidemics, they walk out to the hill where Pantor lives, and sacrifice a pig, a goat, or a hen, while saying the following:

- (1) “Do not take our soul (life, or lives)! (Text No. 21)
- (2) We have given you this gift,
- (3) we have given you this blood,
- (4) we have given you this creature!”

6. The following statement, illustrating the increasing influence of the lamas, comes from Tingbung. If a man is seriously ill, it may happen that they summon not only a *bong thing* or a *mñn*, but also a lama. And now a singular co-operation will take place.

While some members of the family burn incense, and the *bong thing* or the *mñn* selects a pig and a hen, the lama studies his books to find out which *mung* has caused the disease. It may be *dñt*, *cen*, *mak nyóm*, *hlo*, *sap dók*, or some other *mung*, each of these *mung* being responsible for particular diseases.

When the lama has discovered which *mung* has caused the disease, he informs the officiating *bong thing* or *mñn*, who then recites the following on behalf of the patient:

- (1) “O *mung*! (Text No. 22)
- (2) Do not cause us pain!
- (3) We have given *lor ma*,
- (4) we have given incense.

- (5) Do not eat my flesh!
- (6) Do not drink my blood!
- (7) From today return to your own abode!
- (8) Live at *du*, return to *du*!
- (9) I have given food to you!"

In the meantime the lama prepares a *tor ma* of millet, moulds it into the shape of the sick person, and requests the *mung* not to take the life of the patient, but instead to be satisfied with the *tor ma*.

Then a man kills the pig and the hen, and cuts them up. A piece of each of the important parts of the two carcasses is selected, and all these pieces are mixed with rice, put into a vessel, and boiled. Then the vessel is carried into the jungle, and the pieces are thrown into the air as gifts to the *mung*.

### *The Serpent God.*

An incident from the more modern circles of Kalimpong illustrates how a *mūn* may benefit from the assistance of a European physician and yet keep up the ancient practices.

Tamsang told me that when a boy he once suffered from a troublesome itch on the chest. The summoned *mūn*, questioning him closely about his doings, discovered that while attending the cattle in the fields, he had stuck a long bamboo pole deep into the ground in order to use it for tying up the animals. This explanation satisfied the *mūn*, who declared that he by so doing had severely hurt the Serpent God who lives in the earth, and that this god now felt injured and very angry. Hence his affliction.

Then the *mūn* and Tamsang walked out into the field, to the very place where he had put in the pole, and the *mūn* poured milk into the hole left by the pole, burnt incense, and recited a prayer. Thereafter she took some branches and "swept" his chest in order to remove the evil influence and cause it to return into the hole. Having finished this ceremony she sent him to a European physician who excised a big boil for him.

Tamsang further told me that when a person has been troubled by the Serpent God his family plants a Loshing (cactus)<sup>1</sup> and surround it by a low wall of earth. Every morning the person affected must carry milk to the place and pour it out on the Loshing, burn incense and pray to the Serpent God not to trouble him again.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dict. 355a *lu* 1. s. serpent-demon, demigod of Bon- and Buddhistic mythology, cf. Tib. *klu* (Jäs. 8b) and Skt. *nāga* . . . *lu kung* s. the species Cactaceae, Tib. *klu shing* "the Nāga-tree" (cf. above "Loshing").

## MEDICINES AND TREATMENTS

As said above the Lepchas have a thorough knowledge of the abundant flora of their country, and since time immemorial they have known how to use this knowledge in their treatment of diseases. Their knowledge bears, of course, a typical, indigenous stamp, and the treatment is usually administered together with ceremonies similar to those described in the preceding chapter. Unfortunately, I did not have the opportunity to study the subject in any detail, but what scattered information I managed to collect has convinced me that this aspect of the culture of the Tingbung Lepchas certainly deserves a most detailed investigation. In this connection the following notes may be of interest.

1. *Ordinary Wounds.* The Lepchas heal ordinary wounds by pouring into them a fluid extracted from the leaves of certain plants.

2. *Bite of a Dog.* They prepare a mixture of the excrements of hens and pigeons and smear it on the wound.

3. *Swellings.* They drink a fluid which they find in the nests of some small insects that resemble flies.

4. *Fever.* They collect certain leaves, crush them between two stones, and give the patient the juice which oozes out.

5. *Stomach-ache.* They chew cinnamon bark.

6. *Cough, Cold and Epilepsy.* They try to get the liver of a bear, leave it to dry up, crush it into powder, mix the powder with water, and drink the fluid.

7. *Dysentery and Diarrhoea.* Adir said that formerly dysentery was a prevalent disease, and Tsering told me that one of his brothers had died of dysentery. The Lepchas prepare a particular drug which they use as a remedy against both dysentery and diarrhoea. They collect a certain bulbous plant, wrap it up in big leaves, crush the leaves and the plant between two big stones, and let the patient drink the juice.

8. *Eye Diseases.* Adir told me that formerly people frequently suffered from a peculiar and painful eye disease. The eyes would swell, and a fluid (pus ?) would come out of the eyes. Later the eyes were completely destroyed, the patient went blind, and at last he would die. Adir did not know of any remedy against this disease.

9. *Smallpox.* Adir also said that formerly the Lepchas used once a year to have an epidemic of smallpox. Often a great number of people would die, both children and adults. Later, when the dispensers began to vaccinate the people, smallpox soon disappeared. Adir himself had been vaccinated in his childhood, and he showed me the marks on the upper part of his left arm.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Campbell 1840 a, p. 385 according to whom vaccination was practised as early as before 1840 by a British doctor in Darjeeling: vaccination is already greatly prized by these people, for which fortunate circumstance we are indebted to Doctor Pearson's success in introducing it among them: its preservative blessings are eagerly sought for at Darjeeling by them (i.e. the Lepchas), and the Bhotias from remote parts of Nepal and Sikkim.

## DEATH AND FUNERAL

The funeral customs of the Lepchas form an intricate problem due to the fact that ancient genuine traditions are mixed in a probably insoluble way with impacts from neighbouring peoples, especially from the Tibetans. Red Sect Lamaism has influenced this part of the religious customs of the Lepchas to a very great extent, and at present it is difficult to find any funeral ceremony which has not adopted some Lamaist traits. Both Gorer<sup>1</sup> and Nebesky-Wojkowitz<sup>2</sup> have given elaborate descriptions of Lepcha funeral customs, and some additional information can be found in Stocks<sup>3</sup> and Rock.<sup>4</sup> Nebesky-Wojkowitz, who has studied the problem thoroughly, sums up<sup>5</sup> his results by stating that in former times it was customary to bury the dead in graves,<sup>6</sup> and that at least three different types of graves were developed by the various Lepcha clans:

(a) The *cók*, a pit-grave with a circular base; the corpse was placed in this grave either in a reclining or erect position, its face turned towards the Kanchenjunga.

(b) A pit-grave, called *cók den*, with a square base, into which the corpse was put in erect position and facing the Kanchenjunga.

(c) An oblong grave, the *cók bli*, in which the dead were buried in a reclining position, also turned facing the Kanchenjunga. Nebesky-Wojkowitz adds that today, in consequence of Tibetan influence, the dead are burnt on pyres and the ashes thrown into a river.<sup>7</sup> According to the customs of various localities, people were either buried in single graves, which were made in the fields, the jungle, or, more frequently, close to the river, or in cemeteries.

As the funeral customs of the Lepchas have been dealt with in such detail, Tsering and I did not endeavour to explore this question any further, but as Tsering accidentally got the opportunity to attend a funeral ceremony, I give his report of this event. I was, of course, eager to attend it myself, but as Tsering courteously suggested that, owing to the fear of foreign *munq* in my train, it might cause some anxiety to the mourners to see me as a guest at the ceremony, I decided to stay away.

<sup>1</sup> Gorer pp. 348 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1952 b, pp. 30 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Stocks 1927, pp. 475 f.

<sup>4</sup> Rock 1953, p. 945.

<sup>5</sup> Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1952 b, pp. 31 f.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. also Campbell 1840 a, p. 384.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. also Risley 1892, II, p. 11.

*Funeral Ceremony of the Lepchas of Singhik.*

Celebrated July 15th, 1949.  
 Attended and described by Tsering.  
 Additional notes by Baknar.  
 Taken down by the author.

For about ten days Atsing, 22 years old and married, and the eldest son of Jukne, who was a Lepcha peasant of Singhik, had been ill in bed in his father's house, suffering from malaria and pneumonia. For some days the dispenser of Mangan had come to his sick bed giving him injections against malaria and tablets against pneumonia. But early in the morning of July 14th he died, despite all efforts. It was decided to celebrate the funeral ceremony on the following day.

About 9 o'clock a. m. on July 15th, Tsering arrived at the house belonging to Jukne and met some twenty-five persons there: members of the family and relatives and friends from the village and the neighbouring villages had collected in the two ordinary rooms, and four lamas had taken their seats in the large altar room.

The relatives and friends presented small gifts, such as rice and *cí*, and in addition some gave pieces of money. A gloomy and sorrowful atmosphere rested over the mourners, who talked but little, and then usually about the young man who had died. Some of the mourners, distantly related to him and presumably living in other villages, regretted that they had not been aware of his illness. The members of the family and the nearest relatives wept without restraint, particularly the young man's mother and his younger brother, but also his father.

The altar room, looking like so many ordinary, private altar rooms, was arranged in a particular way for this occasion. The altar, occupying the western part of the northern wall, was full of ceremonial objects placed in seven rows. Counting from the back row close to the wall Tsering said that these objects were as follows:

1. Row of *tor ma*.
2. Row of *tor ma*.
3. Row of *tor ma*.
4. 3 jars with water.
5. 4 cups: one cup with barley, one cup with rice, one cup with *cí*, and one cup with water.
6. Row of 7 butter lamps.
7. Row of 6 large *tor ma*.

Along the eastern part of the northern wall the four lamas were sitting in a row behind a low table which was covered with a piece of cloth. Some ceremonial books were lying open on the table, and a handbell stood on a corner of it.

At the middle of the eastern wall the body, facing north, was lying on the floor, resting on a piece of woollen cloth and covered completely by a piece of white cotton. The body was also protected by a kind of canopy made of a rectangular piece of white cotton, one side of which was fastened to the wall, while the opposite side was supported by two poles, one pole at the head of the body and one at the feet of the body.

The body was surrounded by objects necessary for the performance of the funeral ceremony and useful to the soul in the after-world. Close to the head there were two lines of objects; in the northernmost line: a bow, an arrow, and a *ban* (a sword or long jungle knife, cf. p. 73),

which the soul would take with it to heaven. In the other line were a large basket with two tiny ladders of wood, a butter lamp, and two cups of barley. Baknar explained that when a person dies his soul (*a pil*) has to pass a very big rock on its way to heaven.<sup>1</sup> It will be pitch dark in that region, and therefore the butter lamp is indispensable to light up the rock; the ladders will enable the soul to cross the rock; and the barley is food which must be distributed to the hungry *mung*.

West of the body there were a plate with rice, a bottle of *ci*, and a cup of water. During the ceremony the Lepchas consider these things to be food and drink for the deceased, but afterwards they put them on the coffin as gifts for the *mung*.

West of these things there was a low, empty table, ready for use; the ceremonies associated with this table will be described below.

### *The Ceremony*

When Tsering arrived, the lamas sat in their places in the altar room, and had begun to chant a mass from their books. Now and then one of them interrupted the reading by ringing the bell, which was the only musical instrument to be used during the ceremony. Sometimes one of the mourners would peep into the altar room, a few of them entering and taking a last look at the deceased.

After a while there was an interval in the reading, and the father asked the lamas whether the body ought to be burnt or to be buried. The lamas studied their books, and told the father that the body ought to be burnt. To this reply the father objected because, owing to the rainy season, it would be impossible to make a pyre. Then the lamas discussed the question with the father and some members of the family, and it was decided to put the body into a coffin and to carry it to the cemetery, where they could place it under a certain projecting rock as a provisional protection until the rainy season was over. Baknar says that the lamas by means of a study of their books decide the question of burning or burying a corpse. If a family should disobey their instructions, several members of the family may die in the near future.

Then the lamas resumed their chant, but after a short interval the father approached them again, this time asking them in which way the body ought to be carried out of the house. The lamas studied their books, and informed him that they must not carry the body out through the door of the altar room, but that they were obliged to use the window of the southern wall. Tsering and Baknar both said that if a corpse is carried out through the entrance door, many members of the family will die. In order to find out towards which point of the compass the body has to be carried out, the lamas study their holy books. In case there is no window in that particular direction, the people must break a hole in the wall. Tsering said that once in southern Jongu he attended a ceremony at which a hole had to be broken in the wall.

Then there was a pause, and food and drink were served; meanwhile a carpenter and two assistants started making a coffin outside the house. When the lamas had finished their meal, they resumed their chanting.

A little later one of the lamas got up and went up to the table standing to the left of the body. He prepared four ceremonial objects and placed them in a row on the table. These objects were, counted from north to south: a *tor ma*, a whitish figure of millet moulded into the

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Nebesky-Wojkowitz. 1952 b, p. 35.

shape of a hand, a similar black figure, and another *tor ma*. Finally he connected the two figures by a white thread.

While the lamas resumed their mass, one of the male relatives went up to the table, and standing silently with a raised knife in front of the two figures, he awaited further orders from the lamas. At a certain point in the mass one of the lamas made a sign, and the man cut the thread connecting the two figures. Then the lamas chanted again. On a new sign the man cut into pieces the figure of the black hand and the *tor ma* standing close to it.

Thereafter the young widow, carrying a large plate, went up to the table, and removing the figure of the whitish hand, the remainder of the thread connected with it, and the *tor ma* standing close to it, she put these objects on the plate. Then she carefully carried these objects away, and put them on a shelf.

Now the man who cut the thread gathered half of the pieces of the broken black figure and half of the pieces of its *tor ma*, and threw them outside the house. The remaining pieces were put into a jar, which was later carried out together with the body and put into the coffin.

According to Baknar the Lepchas believe that a death is caused by the *mung*. The soul of the deceased will go to heaven, but the body will remain in the possession of the *mung*. The figure of the whitish hand represents both the widow and "God" (i. e. life); the figure of the black hand represents both the dead person and the *mung*. When the thread is cut, the connection between the dead man and his earthly life is broken. The two *tor ma* at each side of the two figures represent food for "God" and food for the *mung*.

Now the mourners were ready to carry the body out of the house, but first the lamas had to find out who should head the procession. Baknar says that through a study of their books the lamas can discover which of the twelve cyclic animals (see p. 80) must go first, i. e. those persons born in the year named after the animal concerned will head the procession. In this case two women were selected.

These women collected not only the hat, the clothes, and the bed cover which had belonged to the deceased, but also the two tiny ladders, the bottle of *cí*, and the plate with rice, and carrying these objects they headed the procession. They were followed by a man carrying the bow and the arrow. Then came two men with the body. It was wrapped into some pieces of cloth tied firmly around a long, strong bamboo pole which they carried on their shoulders. The rest of the mourners brought up the procession. The lamas did not join them, but remained in the altar room, continuing their chanting.

On their arrival at the big rock the mourners made ready the coffin. They arranged a bed cover and a pillow and placed the clothes and the knife along the sides of the coffin. Lastly they put the dead man into the coffin, and covered him with a piece of white cotton.

They then nailed down the lid of the coffin and placed the bottle of *cí*, the basket with the two tiny ladders, and some flowers on top of the lid. Finally they arranged the bow and the arrow beside these things.

The coffin being protected from above by the projecting rock, it was only necessary to gather some big stones and place them around the coffin in order to protect its sides.

About noon the people returned, and then Tsering left the house. Baknar told me that during the rest of the day the lamas would continue chanting from their books, at intervals enjoying food and drink. In the evening every one would go home.



### *Subsequent Ceremonies.*

Baknar added that on the third night after a funeral a ceremony will be performed in the house. This ceremony serves the purpose of driving all the *mung* out of the house.<sup>1</sup>

Further, the soul of the deceased is supposed to remain in the house until the 49th night after death has occurred. On this night the family and many people from the village collect in the house in order to take leave of the soul. They light one hundred and eight butter lamps and raise a prayer flag outside the house; the lamas prepare some *tor ma* and read from their books. They believe that the soul now proceeds to heaven with the lights, the *tor ma*, and the prayer flag.<sup>2</sup>

### *The Exorcising of mak nyóm mung (Kalimpong).*

I learnt in Kalimpong that on the third day after a death some people take certain drastic measures against the deadly *mak nyóm mung*. It is a common belief that when *mak nyóm mung* takes the life of a person, this *mung* appears in the shape of a dog. When this happens the members of the family will stay out of bed for three days after the funeral for fear of being killed by this *mung* while sleeping. On the third night they gather some big stones, put them on the fire, and bring them to a red heat. Then either the *bong thín* or the *mñn* goes out onto the verandah of the house and calls *mak nyóm mung*, telling him that they have prepared a meal much better than the body of the deceased. Being sure that the *mung* has accepted the invitation, the relatives by means of some large and strong bamboo poles remove the red hot stones from the fire, and throw them outside the house to the hungry *mung*. When the insatiable *mung* hastily gorges himself with the stones and too late discovers that they are red hot, he will be appalled and leave the house rapidly. And for a long time afterwards he will not dare to return to attack any member of the family.

### *Details Concerning the Development of the Funeral Ceremony.*

It will be realised that the Singhik funeral ceremony is dominated by the lamas although several traits are of genuine Lepcha origin. In this context some details, provided by Adir, who is from the same locality, Mangen/Singhik, are illustrative of the customs in former days. Adir said that in the days of his grandfather the male *mñn* would perform some of the ceremonies now performed by the lamas, e. g. he would arrange the things around the dead body: the ladders, the *cí*, the food, the water, the bow, the arrow, and the knife. And it was the duty of the *mñn* to request the soul to leave the body and not to stay in the house causing sickness and trouble to the members of the family, but instead to proceed directly to the other world.

### *Reincarnation.*

The belief in the reincarnation of the soul can be found among the Lepchas of Tingbung. I should, however, hesitate to say that it is a common belief, and it may have been introduced or at least stressed by the lamas who, after a person's death, sometimes predict his

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Gaz.* pp. 383–387: Expelling the Death-Demon (Waddell).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Gaz.* pp. 381 ff.: “. . . And long after the corpse has been removed, his cup is regularly filled with tea or beer, even up to the 49th day from death, as his spirit is free to roam about for a maximum period of 49 days subsequent to death . . .” (Waddell).

future reincarnation. Through a study of their books they may say that such-and-such a woman in two years' time will give birth to a boy, who will be the reincarnation of the recently deceased person.

In reply to my question *rig zing* mentioned some examples of commonly believed reincarnations. *rig zing* had a brother called Chusin who died at the age of 62. Two years after his death, his soul was reincarnated in a baby who was born at that time in Tingbung. *rig zing* had a daughter who was a reincarnation of his deceased mother. He also had a son who is said to be a reincarnation. *rig zing* himself does not know whose reincarnation he is.

*rig zing* further said that a soul may well be reincarnated in a domestic animal, or in a wild animal, in a *mung* or even in a thunderbolt. Once there lived in Namprük a much feared woman, called Pale, who had a very bad reputation. At her death her soul was reincarnated in *sap dök mung*; and once there lived in Kesong a man whose soul was reincarnated in a thunderbolt.

#### Thread-Crosses.

The thread-crosses, so well known among the adherents of Lamaism and dating back to the pre-Buddhist Bon religion, may also be found among the Tingbung Lepchas. The thread-crosses are usually constructed by local lamas as devices for trapping the *mung*; they are quite commonly called "Demon Houses".<sup>1</sup>

While in the Tingbung area I succeeded in acquiring three specimens of such thread-crosses made of bamboo sticks with woollen threads stretched between them to form varying patterns.

1. A square thread-cross (Fig. 71 C. 6351, the sides 30 cm. by 30 cm.) with diagonally stretched woollen threads in black, white, red, and yellow. It was called *tho she*.<sup>2</sup>
2. An octagonal thread-cross (Fig. 69 C. 6352, length of the sticks: 35 cm.) with red, green, brown, and white threads.

When a person has died, and the corpse has been carried away, it happens that the family calls a lama to the house. He puts a piece of paper with a formula inscribed on it into the skull of a goat, which is placed above the entrance door, and invites a god called "Namgo Sago" to take residence in the skull and to prevent the *mung* from entering and causing another death. Thread-cross No. 2 (C. 6352) and above that thread-cross No. 1 (C. 6351), are then fixed to the skull.

3. A cruciform thread-cross (Fig. 70 C. 6354, length 46.5 cm. width 26.5 cm.) with red, green, white, and brown woollen threads. It was called "Ba Ye"<sup>3</sup> and was said to be used at the exorcism of *mung* causing diseases.

<sup>1</sup> For a thorough investigation of the Lepcha thread-crosses, see Nebesky-Wojkowitz, 1951, pp. 65-87; for the origin of thread-crosses, see Hofmann, 1950, pp. 176, 181 f.; cf. also Waddell 1939, p. 484 (photo); for the distribution of thread-crosses, see Foy 1913.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps from *tho*, cf. Dict. 156b *tho* 5. vb. to arrest, to impede, to hinder, comp. Tib. Jäs. 238a *thógs-pa* to strike, to run against; to be hindered, impeded; and *she*, cf. Dict. 432b *she* 4. to go, to come, comp. Tib. Jäs. 565b *gshégs-pa* to go, to go away, to come, to return, to come back.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz: 1951, p. 69: "Thread-crosses are called in Lepcha *deu* . . . or *Yeu*, an equivalent of the Tibetan *Ye*, (*Yas*) . . ."

## AMUSEMENTS

### MUSIC, DANCES, SONGS, AND SPORTS

As mentioned above (p. 88) the period from October to December–January is an easy time during which the Lepchas indulge in many happy festivals such as weddings, ordinary parties, and picnics; but also the ceremony of the New Year is accompanied by many exciting contests and gay entertainments. However, the daily life is not colourless, and on many minor occasions the Lepchas enjoy music, songs, dances, and sports.

#### 1. *Musical Instruments.*

According to Tamsang five kinds of musical instruments are found among the Lepchas.<sup>1</sup> Four of these instruments are flutes, made of a variety of bamboo called *pā yóng*.<sup>2</sup>

1. A long side-blown flute (Fig. 59, C. 6342, length 46 cm., and Fig. 60, C. 6343, length 52 cm.), called *pūn tóng pā lit*<sup>3</sup> with one mouth-hole and four finger-holes.

It is used only on ceremonial occasions such as weddings and the like, and when played in honour of a woman or a girl the music is kept low and soft, but when played in honour of a man the music is loud and strong.

2. A flute called *pā lit keng*. This is an end-blown flute which has a tiny mouth-hole; it has four finger-holes at the lower end, and is closed with a big circular piece of gourd. It is especially used during field-work; a boy will play the tune of a love-song, and the girls will sing to his playing.

3. A double flute called *nyí bryo pā lit*,<sup>4</sup> lit.: two flutes joined together. It is made of two bamboo sticks tied together, each stick having a small mouth-hole, 4 finger-holes plus 2 additional holes. Between the mouth-holes and the finger-holes there is a central hole which is never closed. The cowherds like to play this flute sitting in a tree or on a big stone from which they can easily keep an eye on the herd. It is prohibited to play this flute near or in a house because its tones are said to attract snakes.

4. A kind of Jew's harp, called *tūng dyu*.<sup>5</sup> It is often played by the women when they sit in the shade of the trees and take a short rest after their work in the fields. They carry it tied to their necklaces.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Nebesky-Wojtkowitz 1953 b, p. 270.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dict. 207a *pā-yāng*, *pā-yóng* and *pūm-yāng*, s. n. pr. of a species of bamboo *Cephalostachyum capitatum* from which arrows are made.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Dict. 207b *pā-lit* s. a flute, and Dict. 140a *tong* 5,2 a tube . . .

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Dict. 106b *nyí* 3, num. two; *bryo* possibly from Dict. 269a *bri* 4 and 5 vb. to twist (as cotton) to twine . . . to unite in marriage.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Dict. 133a *tūng-dyu* s. 1. a Jew's harp.

<sup>6</sup> Waddell 1899, p. 48 mentions that the jew's harp is decorated by curving or burned in "poker"-work with plaited or basket pattern.

5. Copper drums of two sizes, a bigger and a smaller one; the smaller drum is said to be male, the bigger one to be female. When used they are often placed pendent in order to facilitate the beating. The men beat the drums by means of short drumsticks, and they can vary the tones according to how near or how far from the centre of the surface they beat it.

In former days, when the Lepchas were attacked by enemies, they often used to beat these drums from some high point, summoning the people, conveying information about the whereabouts of the enemies, signalling an attack, etc. Nowadays these drums are used in some monasteries.

## II. *Songs and Dances.*

It seems to me that this subject cannot have a better preface than that which Tamsang once wrote for me:

“. . . In presenting the different varieties of Lepcha songs, dances and music a few words of introduction would help one to understand the implication of a particular song, dance, or music. For a while, please, imagine that you are transplanted to the top of the mighty Kanchenjunga whom we Lepchas consider to be our guardian deity. On the slopes of those magnificent hills, in that part of the Himalayas, the Lepchas are born; there they live and there they die. In the course of their routine of life they base and adjust their activities not to the watches, the clocks, or the almanac, but to Mother Nature, to the birds and the flowers of the forest, to the humming of the shrill whispering insects of the hills and the dales. In the dances, songs, and music you find the Lepchas imitating them, trying to speak out their aspirations, hopes, and messages. The birds, the flowers of the forests, the humming and the shrill whispering insects of the hills and dales also for their part help and instruct the Lepchas and tell them to get busy in the fields. To the Lepchas the orchid blooming on the rocks, the birds twittering in the bushes—all have meaning. In short, the culture, custom, tradition, and ways of life of the Lepchas are inextricably bound up with them. In the dances and songs you get glimpses of their culture, custom, and ways of life which are, unfortunately, being gradually forgotten. In the villages, deep in the interior of the forests, these dances, songs and music are found intact. Those who have been for a tour to their homeland, to Sikkim and Darjeeling, to enjoy the scenic beauty or for a change, hardly ever think that less than a hundred years ago, on the very spot where they stand to watch the mighty Kanchenjunga of the Lepchas, those songs were sung and those dances performed . . .”.

The Lepchas have many songs and dances enjoyed by both young and old. I attended a couple of gay dances in Tingbung, and Tamsang has brought to my notice the existence of several others.<sup>1</sup>

1. *zo mal*, the song of the life of the *zo*,<sup>2</sup> rice. This song depicts a full cycle of the life of the dry rice, the only species known to the Lepchas in former days. It relates how the cuckoo<sup>3</sup> arrives at a particular season of the year and announces the right time for the sowing of the rice. Later on an insect, turning to the right and to the left while producing the sound “*dwce dwce*”, tells the right time for weeding; another insect, when chanting and stretching its legs, informs the people that the crop is ready for harvesting. Nowadays this song is enjoyed by young people when they meet on moonlit nights for dancing.

<sup>1</sup> Waddell 1899, pp. 49 ff. gives nine songs in the original with a translation and 1900, pp. 294 ff. two songs; Stocks 1927 pp. 477 ff. has two songs.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dict. 318a *zo* 11 s. 1. grain of any kind but chiefly used by itself to express “rice”; to *mal* cf. possibly Dict. 284a *mal* 3. complete, the whole.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. p. 93. Text No. 9.

2. A historical dance, "Pashyu Lyon-Guru Tak", refers to the days when the Lepchas had to put up a defence against a charge of the Bhutanese. It describes an engagement that took place about thirty-six miles from Kalimpong at Dalim Fort, now in ruins, and praises the fair Lepcha maidens who accompanied the gallant warriors and encouraged them.

3. A war-dance, *fen lók*.<sup>1</sup> The men, acting as warriors, demonstrate the physical and psychological effects of their skilful use of arms.<sup>2</sup>

4. A song of the two rivers *rŭng nyo* (the Tista) and *rŭng nyit* and their marriage, illustrated by a dance. The song relates how *rŭng nyit*, a man, and *rŭng nyo*, a woman, had been hampered in their course respectively by a partridge and a snake. Therefore, when they met, they had an altercation, the woman resenting that the man was late. The man now makes apologies stating that he has been delayed by a bird hopping about. The woman refuses to listen to him, and the man gets annoyed and declares that he will turn back. Now the woman changes, trying to soothe and mollify him, and at last she succeeds. Finally united they glide down together to the plains, the unknown land, the land of promise.<sup>3</sup>

5. There are many love-songs, often of only a few short stanzas, depicting the young man pining for his beloved, whom he compares to a beautiful flower in blossom, or the young girl longing for her lover. The Lepchas also have some songs relating how the shy wooer behaves when he visits the house of his prospective parents-in-law, and how he carries on his conversation with the hoped-for father-in-law.

6. The people of Tingbung enjoy some gay songs and dances during the easy winter months. Sometimes they dance a chain dance, men and women mixed, forming a row or a circle, holding hands. During these dances the two sexes in turn put some frank questions to each other, often causing a roar of laughter.

### III. Sports.

1. A favourite sport enjoyed all the year round by the adults of Kalimpong is *tsōng sã sãt lí*, "arrow and bow". On major occasions such as the great entertainments after the celebration of the New Year, it attracts many people and has developed into a magnificent contest in archery on a large scale. But at the frequent and minor private contests, a body of adults, usually not less than five persons, take their bows and arrows to an open space outside the village. They put up a pole as tall as a man, and fasten to its top a square piece of wood having a distinct mark in the middle.

Then all the entrants make their stakes, usually one or two bottles of *cí* each, and all the bottles are pooled. They decide on the distance for the shooting usually 35–50 m., and mark it by drawing a line on the ground.

Standing behind the line they shoot in turn an arrow at the mark. The contest goes on until one of them has hit the mark. The winner gets all the bottles of the pool, but distributes them generously among all the entrants, who then sit down and enjoy their drinks.

2. Youngsters and boys like to throw stones at a mark. This game is played all the year round, generally by five competitors or more, but sometimes only by two.

They choose a level piece of ground on which they mark a line, and standing behind it they throw in turn the same stone as far as possible. The contest goes on as long as they like, usually until they get tired. The winner often gets some *cí*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dict. 246a *fyen* s. an enemy, and Dict. 359a *lók* 3 vb. to dance and Dict. 359b *lók* 6 s. exercises.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also Gorer p. 475 the Dafoh dance.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the legend *Gaz.* p. 42 and Stocks 1927 p. 442.

## WARFARE

War belongs to the historical past of the Lepchas; throughout their history they have several times had to take to arms in order to defend their country.<sup>1</sup> In spite of this I could gather but little in Tingbung and Singhik concerning their wars, ways of fighting, etc. Further details may perhaps be gathered at Kalimpong.

### 1. *Preparation for Warfare.*

Formerly, when there was an armed attack on the country, the Maharajah would send messengers to the headmen of the villages, instructing them to call the peasants to arms. It was the duty of the headman to select suitable men, to inspect their equipment and provisions, to appoint a temporary leader, and to ensure that they left the village in time to arrive punctually at the ordained meeting place.

Every man had to provide his own bow and arrows, whereas the Maharajah was obliged to furnish him with sword and shield. I obtained in Tingbung an old, rather worn, circular Lepcha shield (C. 6311), 57–60 cm. in diameter, made of plant fibres, plaited into a long rope, coiled and tied firmly together with bamboo strings. I was told that many years ago it had been used in warfare.

From the middle of the nineteenth century we have a picture of an ancient Lepcha warrior and his accoutrement;<sup>2</sup> this warrior wears a hat of a type which is still used by the Lepcha bodyguard of the Maharajah. I acquired a specimen of these hats. It is slightly conical (Pl. XVII, C. 6328 a), 18 cm. high, rounded at the top and made of plaited plant fibres, lined with a layer of leaves. On the front of the crown is a small silver tube, the end of which is decorated with a crescent-shaped ornament with one red and two green stones; at the top of the tube are two flame-shaped decorations. Peacock feathers are stuck into the tube.

War drums of various sizes have also been in use among the Lepchas.<sup>3</sup>

### 2. *Warrior's Ceremony before Departure.*

Before setting out on warfare each man used to perform a private ceremony in his own house. For this purpose he took a bird, a fish, beaten rice, butter, a hen, and the root of the fruit called *hing*, i. e. ginger.<sup>4</sup> Then he arranged these offering gifts on a large, flat vessel or basket, placed his weapons around it, and poured *cí* into a small vessel. Sprinkling *cí* on all these things he prayed to the war god as follows:

<sup>1</sup> See e.g. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956 a, pp. 240 f. and 1956 b, pp. 118 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Hooker II, p. 242, see also Campbell 1849, pp. 500 and 516.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. p. 156 and Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1954, No. 1, p. 37.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Dict. 370 a *hing* 1. s. ginger . . . *hing gryóng* s. a root of ginger, cf. Tib, Jäs. 596 b *hing*, *Asa foetida*.

- (1) "fā lo gra fā lo rūm! (Text No. 23)  
 (2) Remain close to my body!  
 (3) Go with me into the war!  
 (4) Do not cause me death and sickness!  
 (5) From now on until I shall come home,  
 (6) do not cause accident to my hand and accident to my leg!"

Having finished this prayer he ate the hen and the vegetables, and drank the *cí*. Then he gathered a good provision of beaten rice, tea dust and salt, the rations for the first days, took leave of his family and reported at the place previously fixed by the headman, stating that he was ready for departure.

When all the men drafted had arrived, the headman chose the leader of the party. Then they all set out, a member of the party playing a Lepcha flute as they marched along.

### 3. Family's Ceremony for the Warrior.

On the first *mik mar*, Tuesday, a week after a warrior's departure, his family gathered for a ceremony in their house. For this purpose they collected the same kinds of offering gifts which the warrior had used at the ceremony before his departure; but instead of sprinkling *cí* on the weapons, as the warrior had done, they sprinkled drops of *cí* into the air, and then recited the following prayer:

(Text No. 24)

- (1) "fā lo gra fā lo rūm!  
 (2) Do not stop your help towards him who has gone on journey (i. e. warfare)!  
 (3) O, protect (guide) him!  
 (4) O, let them return with peace!"

Thereafter they ate the food and drank the remainder of the *cí*.

### 4. Warrior's Ceremony on His Return.

Returning from warfare the warrior collected the members of his family together for a ceremony similar to that which he performed before he left. He placed his weapons along the edges of the basket with the offering gifts, poured *cí* on both the food and the weapons and recited the following prayer:

- (1) "fā lo gra fā lo rūm! (Text No. 25)  
 (2) Now you (*rūm*) do not be angry!  
 (3) I have sacrificed this hen,  
 (4) I have come (returned) to the house,  
 (5) I have come to the hearth!"

Afterwards all the members of the family consumed the food and drank the remainder of the *cí*.

### 5. War Incidents.

Accounts of warfare are rare,<sup>1</sup> but Adir told me what his grandfather had told him:

“... My grandfather had been one of the Maharajah’s Lepcha soldiers and had been with the Maharajah in Chumbi. There the soldiers were busy gathering firewood in the jungle and preparing gunpowder. While serving the Maharajah my grandfather had fine days, every morning he got tea, later *rtsám pa*,<sup>2</sup> and finally a substantial meal. He used to go into the jungle to shoot game for the Maharajah’s kitchen.

Once during his stay in Chumbi it happened that some British officers arrived, followed by Sikh soldiers. The Maharajah had given orders for them to be stopped at a certain road, but the guards did not succeed. When the British officers arrived at the palace in Chumbi, they were arrested, and sent back to India.

Some years later the British declared war on the Maharajah, and marched into western Sikkim. Adir’s grandfather was among the Lepcha soldiers who were sent from Chumbi to defend his country; some of these soldiers had Tibetan guns, but they were very old-fashioned, and the men had to use fire to make them shoot.<sup>3</sup>

At Rinchinpong there was a battle which went on for seven days, and at last the Sikhs, being almost defeated, were on the retreat. Meanwhile some of the Maharajah’s soldiers gathered in the mountains at Kalok *hlo* and collected a lot of big stones and large beams. When the Sikhs had to cross a road below Kalok *hlo*, the Maharajah’s soldiers rolled down the stones and the beams with the result that most of the Sikhs were killed.

Before retreating from the battlefield the Sikhs had placed dynamite in holes, here and there. But the British officers had a Sikkimese servant who informed the Maharajah’s soldiers of everything. When the Sikhs retreated, the Maharajah’s soldiers therefore rushed forward and extinguished the fuses of the dynamite, thus preventing the explosions. In this way they also secured a lot of dynamite for the Maharajah’s army.

Almost all the Sikhs were killed in the retreat; only a few escaped. The Maharajah’s soldiers acquired much booty in money and guns. Believing that they had now won the war, they made a great three days’ feast.

But later the Sikhs returned, this time more numerous than before. The Maharajah’s soldiers were not equal to the occasion and were forced to withdraw to Tumlong. The Sikhs pursued them to this place, and here the Maharajah’s soldiers had to stop fighting.

The British and the Maharajah now concluded a treaty, and the British obtained Darjeeling, Kalimpong, and some parts of Sikkim. Thereafter the British furnished the Maharajah with guns, gunpowder, and other kinds of military equipment . . .”<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. e.g. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956a, pp. 240 f.

<sup>2</sup> Tib. cf. Jäs. 438a I., sbst. 1. roast-flour, flour from roasted grain . . . stirred with water, beer, or tea into a pap, it is the usual food in Central Tibet.

<sup>3</sup> The guns referred to were presumably matchlocks.

<sup>4</sup> Adir’s account, vividly illustrating some incidents, bears the stamp of a local, popular tradition. As he did not know in which years the individual events took place, I shall refrain from any attempt at identification of the incidents.



## PRIESTS AND PRIESTESSES

In the Lepcha society there are certain persons, both men and women, who are officially and intimately associated with the religious life of the people. They are in charge of a great number of religious ceremonies, are held in high esteem, and are often also consulted on purely secular matters. No responsible Lepcha with any authority and influence would run the risk of deciding anything of any importance without consulting one or several of these religious persons.

The particularly high regard for these religious persons depends not only on their being holders of ancient offices, fundamental to Lepcha society, but even more on the general conviction that the supernatural powers have invested them with special gifts of grace by virtue of which they have a preferential position with the *rŭm* and can influence, sometimes even counteract, the *mung* and their evil work.

The ordinary religious offices are held by the *mŭn* and the *bong thing*, but there seems to be some diverging practice in the application of these designations. It was the custom in Tingbung to use the word *mŭn* for both priests and priestesses, sometimes supplemented by the word "male" or "female"; but the word *bong thing* for the male *mŭn* also occurred, although only rarely. As far as Lingthem is concerned Gorer writes that "Both men and women can be Mun, but only men can be Padem (or Bum-*thing* as they are called outside Zongu) . . . For many men Padem is the first step to becoming Mun. . ."<sup>1</sup> As far as the Kalimpong area is concerned Tamsang said that the word *mŭn* is reserved for women, whereas men are called *bong thing*.

The offices of *bong thing* and *mŭn* are ancient Lepcha institutions, whose origin must be looked for in the distant past. In historical times the *bong thing* institution is already mentioned in the record of the agreement between the *bong thing* ancestor The-Kong Tek and Gyad-dBhum-gSags.<sup>2</sup> The two offices of *mŭn* and *bong thing* are extremely important, also today, as they are essential for the carrying out of the ordinary and necessary religious ceremonies connected with the *pŭ tsho* institution.

Another group of religious persons are the male *pa wo* and the female *nyen jo mo*. I have met two *nyen jo mo*, whose functions will be described below (see pp. 167 ff.).

A third group of lesser importance is made up of the male *ya ba* and the female *ya ma*. I have not met any members of either group, but it is said that they are a kind of *mŭn*, and that they have a ceremony during which they dance round an 'erected' drum.<sup>3</sup> They are supposed to be possessed by Limbu spirits, and their main instruments are said to be metal gongs and divination balls, called "Yak".<sup>4</sup> These *yăk* are the gift of heaven, and the *ya ma*

<sup>1</sup> Gorer p. 215.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 29.

<sup>3</sup> Dict. 323a *ya-ba*.

<sup>4</sup> Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1952 b, p. 38, Note 12.

divines the fate of a person by shaking them in the hand of the person whose fortune is to be told.<sup>1</sup> The latest investigations have shown that they also have "Geräte zur Ausführung von Zeremonien zu Ehren der Ahnengeister, örtlicher Gottheiten und zur Besänftigung der Dämonen, die bei den mit magischen Mitteln geführten Kämpfen der Priester entfesselt wurden".<sup>2</sup>

### 1. THE *bong thing*.<sup>3</sup>

#### 1. *Vocation and Equipment.*

Tamsang of Kalimpong told me that at the death of a *bong thing* his *a pil* or soul, being delivered by a *mñn*, ascends to its ancestral *pñ tsho* place in the Himalayas, but that his *tsát*, his ability and power as a *bong thing*, migrates to a boy among his grandsons or his brother's grandsons, or to his nephew's sons in the paternal line.

That the *tsát* of a deceased *bong thing* has found its new abode in a young man is simply revealed by the latter's unusual behaviour. Without any perceptible influence from the physical world he one day becomes subject to a kind of mental attack which makes him act in the strangest way. Usually he rushes about, hither and thither, as if deprived of all self-control, which is, indeed, just what the *tsát* does to him. Although this by itself is a sure indication that the *tsát* of the deceased *bong thing* has taken possession of him, custom demands that an experienced *bong thing* carefully examines the claim thus staked by the young man. For this purpose the *bong thing* chosen burns some incense and produces the two dice which a *bong thing* always carries wrapped in a piece of cloth and tied to his belt. Raising his closed fist with the dice to his forehead, he recites some silent prayer and throws the dice several times in order to ascertain if it really is the *tsát* of the deceased *bong thing* that is acting through the boy. If the dice confirm this the *bong thing* will take the young man to a *mñn* who goes into a trance and in her trance announces the type of offering the young man must bring.

From now on the young man will perform the duties of a new *bong thing*, observing the necessary instructions given by an old experienced *bong thing*. In case there should be a longish interval between the death of the old *bong thing* and the appearance of the *tsát* in a young man, the members of the family may ask a recognised *bong thing* to officiate provisionally for them.

The office of *bong thing* may, however, be transmitted from father to son, even through several generations. The *bong thing* Ongdi Buru of Gil, who was very old when I met him, told me that both his father and his grandfather had been *bong thing*, too. From boyhood he used to attend the ceremonies performed by his father, and in this way he learnt the duties of a *bong thing*. Twelve years ago he went blind and gave up officiating as a *bong thing*, but his disciples continued to bring him cow heads and hindlegs from the sacrifices until, nine years later, he was converted to Catholicism and therefore told them to stop. In his opinion the *bong thing* of bygone days were far cleverer than those of today.

The equipment of the ancient *bong thing* was very elaborate. Thus the Chronicle<sup>4</sup> describes Thekong Tek as clad in a robe adorned with animal heads and seated in state on a *daís*, worshipped by the other inmates. The latest investigations have shown that very few sets

<sup>1</sup> Diet. 321 a *yāk* 2. Mainwaring uses the translation 'pill'.

<sup>2</sup> Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1953 b, p. 270 who has acquired these things.

<sup>3</sup> To *bong thing* cf. also Stocks 1927, pp. 338 ff. and her Index p. 483; Gorer pp. 188, 215, 219 f., 222, 234, 391, passim; Morris p. 63 passim; Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1952 b, p. 38, passim.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. p. 29.

of equipment are still to be found. Nebesky-Wojkowitz succeeded, however, in acquiring "Amulette, Zauberstäbe, Körbehen zur Verwahrung von Substanzen für magische Heilungen, ein bei der Beisetzung der als Bong thing bezeichneten Leptscha Priester verwendeter kleiner Steighaum, der dem Emporsteigen der Seele des Bong thing zum Himmel dienen soll . . .".<sup>1</sup>

## 2. *The Duties of a bong thing.*

I was told in Kalimpong that a *bong thing* is first and foremost the intermediary between the members of the *pū tsho* and their protective *rūm*, and as such he officiates whenever the *rūm* is invoked. But he may officiate at any other ceremony except the ceremony for the deliverance of a dead person's *a pil*; this can only be done by a *mūn*. The *bong thing* will always officiate on the following four occasions:

- a. The annual ceremony called *sā gí*.
- b. The biannual family offerings to *lyang rūm*, *lí rūm*, and *sā tsūk rūm*.
- c. The purifying ceremony called *phík*.
- d. As a doctor in case of disease.<sup>2</sup>

In this connection it ought also to be mentioned what Ongdi Buru revealed of the old customs. When he and his disciples invoked the supernatural beings they used other names for these beings than did the ordinary people. Thus, when standing before a sick person and counting the beads of his rosary, Ongdi Buru used the names:

1. Lung Shu *bong thing*.
2. Lung Gun *bong thing*.
3. Duk Lu.
4. Duk Lam.
5. ?

He explained that these names corresponded to the following ordinary names:

1. Pum *rūm*.
2. Tsu *rūm*.
3. *ít de bo rūm*.
4. *a ngo rūm*.
5. *a thing rūm*.

A *bong thing* of Kalimpong must observe meticulously the rules for *a tsóng* and *a jen* (cf. pp. 182 f.), and he must in particular be careful never to violate any of the following rules when eating meat: he must eat only the meat of animals which have been slaughtered; he must never eat the meat of animals which have died from accidents or disease; he must never eat the meat of an animal that has been killed or injured by a wild animal; and he must never eat the meat of a strangled animal.

<sup>1</sup> Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1953 b, p. 270.

<sup>2</sup> The *sā gí* will be described below; regarding the family offerings to *lyang rūm*, *lí rūm*, and *sā tsūk rūm*, see Text No. 40,19 and pp. 179 ff., pp. 69 f., p. 110 f. I shall attempt to compile in Part III, what can be discovered about the *phík* purification; the functions of the *bong thing* as a doctor have been described above (pp. 143 ff.).

*The Annual sã gí Ceremony.*

Ongdi Buru said that formerly he used to celebrate the *sã gí* ceremony in the month of *kūr sóng* (February-March), while Tamsang said that it is performed in Kalimpong in October-November.<sup>1</sup> On that occasion all the members of the families belonging to Ongdi Buru's adherents used to collect in his house bringing *mung gór ríp*, i. e. marigold flowers,<sup>2</sup> as offerings. They decorated the interior of the house with garlands of marigolds, hanging them from the ceiling.

Then birds and *cí* were offered, and Ongdi Buru recited the following prayer:

- (1) "In the (honourable) name of the *rũm* of descent! (Text No. 26)
- (2) This offering of flowers,
- (3) and of fish from the deep water,
- (4) and of birds from the forest
- (5) and of *cí* to all the gods of the rocks:
- (6) This offering of flowers and food,
- (7) please eat (accept) it!
- (8) All *rũm* be happy!
- (9) Do hear the prayer of us human beings, please!
- (10) Do cast out sickness and illness, please!
- (11) Give happiness and pleasure!"

The following prayer was also recited at the *sã gí* ceremony, but I am not certain if this second prayer was recited after the first prayer, or whether it is an alternative prayer:

- (1) "While performing the *sã gí* ceremony, (Text No. 27)
- (2) *rũm* (goddess) of ancestral aunts!
- (3) *rũm* of the family descent!
- (4) Take *cí*!
- (5) Prevent *mung* influence!"

3. *Ceremony for an Injured and Ill Male mũn.*

In Tingbung I was told that the male *mũn* is intimately connected with *pãn dong rũm*, who is a prominent *rũm* and the leader of all the other *rũm* mentioned in the *nyen jo mo* ceremony (see pp. 168 ff.).

Owing to this relation such a male *mũn* may be very touchy and is particularly sensitive to bodily harm because—as it was stated—any harm inflicted on him is in fact inflicted on the *rũm*, too.

I was fortunate enough to obtain details of a rare ritual at Tingbung which had been used once after a strange incident when a male *mũn* had suffered severely because some people had beaten him with sticks and pelted him with stones.

Another male *mũn*, hastening to his rescue, had equipped himself with four things: a small besom and a piece of wood, which he took in his right hand, an ordinary knife and

<sup>1</sup> Tamsang spells *su gí*, whereas Dict. 395b has *sã-gí*, name of God, the representation of power.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dict. 291b *mũng-gór*, a species of marigold, and Dict. 333b cf. 369b has also *hik-tl ríp*, a species of marigold.

a beaked knife, which he took in his left hand. Then four times he made some sweeping movements with these things along the sick man's body, beginning at his hips and ending at his head. At the same time he recited the following prayer:

- (1) "Now we did not know, we did not see, (Text No. 28)  
 (2) (that he had been) beaten by a stick,  
 (3) (that he had been) beaten by stone.  
 (4) *păn dong rŭm!*  
 (5) *păn song rŭm!*  
 (6) (who) are sleeping from hurt!  
 (7) We have now again raised *păn dong!*  
 (8) (We) have raised *păn song!*  
 (9) We have raised (you) with *sar dŭ* and *sar vi* weapons!  
 (10) We have raised (you) with *pă shor* and *păr mo* weapons!  
 (11) From today do not cause disease!  
 (12) Do not cause pain!  
 (13) You yourselves (*rŭm*) do treat (him) with medicine!"

#### THE FEMALE *mŭn*<sup>1</sup>.

According to Tamsang of Kalimpong there are two types of female *mŭn*: a *dŭng mŭn*<sup>2</sup> or standing *mŭn*, and a *nan mŭn*<sup>3</sup> or sitting *mŭn*, both names referring to the positions of the *mŭn* during their ceremonies. The standing *mŭn* as well as the sitting *mŭn* can perform the same ceremonies as the *bong thŭng*, but the sitting *mŭn* can also deliver a dead person's *a pŭl* (soul) at the funeral ceremony.<sup>4</sup>

The ability and power of a *mŭn* are hereditary within her own *pŭ tsho*, and the rules for establishing the vocation and the instruction of a new *mŭn* are similar to those which apply to a new *bong thŭng*, apart from the fact that a new *mŭn* is instructed by an old and experienced *mŭn*. A *mŭn* is subject to the same dietary regulations as the *bong thŭng* (see p. 163).

##### 1. *Particular Duties of a mŭn.*

1. Every morning before cock-crow a *mŭn* prays to her tutelary deity asking for protection for all the families for which she has officiated. On this occasion she utters her prayer in a loud voice, but does not fall into a trance.

2. Whenever a *mŭn* has officiated at a sacrificial ceremony and returns with her share of the meat, she performs a special ceremony in her own house. She cuts the meat into pieces, fries the pieces and puts them<sup>5</sup> into three cups, which she places before three *po thŭt*, i. e. bamboo bottles filled with *cŭ*. She then invokes her tutelary deity saying approximately as follows:

<sup>1</sup> To this chapter cf. Gorer, Index p. 508 (many references); Morris pp. 63, 115 ff.; Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1952 b, pp. 29-36, 38, Note 12. — Hermanns 1954, pp. 49 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dict. 172a *dŭng*, vb. 2. to stand.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Dict. 70a *ngan* vb. 1. to sit, to sit down.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1952 b, pp. 27 ff.

<sup>5</sup> This should surely be 'some of them'.

I have now been in so-and-so's house, where I performed a ceremony on behalf of such and such a family.

Please protect this family and avert all evil influences from its members!

## II. *Equipment of an a nan mñn.*

Tamsang said that an officiating *a nan mñn* wears a particular headgear, of which there are two types. One type consists of tailfeathers of birds, stuck into a hollow bamboo cane. The other type consists of three split bamboo canes, each of which is decorated with a piece of meat pressed firmly into the split and wrapped around the cane. One cane is carried above the forehead, one on the right side of the head, the other on the left. When the ceremony is over, the pieces of meat are thrown away.

In the following passage Nebesky-Wojkowitz describes a somewhat similar headgear from among his acquisitions from Sikkim “. . . Teile der Ausrüstung einer Mun-Priesterin (mit Adlerkrallen, Vogelschnäbeln, Zähnen wilder Tiere und Muscheln verzierter Beutel mit Tragband, als Kopfschmuck dienende Federbüschel und Teile eines Rosenkranzes mit Glocke), die in der Familie einer vor wenigen Jahren verstorbenen bekannten Mun-Priesterin, der Norkit Leptschani aus dem Orte Sekep, seit etwa drei Jahrhunderten vererbt wurden. Diese Ausrüstung, von der nur noch ein zweites gleichartiges Stück in Sikkim bekannt ist, wurde jeweils von einer Mun im Palais des Königs zu Gangtok bei den Zeremonien verwendet, die alljährlich in der Nacht vor der Abhaltung des Lama-Tanzes zur Ehren des Berggottes Gangs chhen mdzod lnga stattfinden”.<sup>1</sup>

## III. “*Black Magic*”.

In certain cases it is said that the *mñn* may resort to severe measures of an exceptional character. These measures seem to partake of the nature of “Black Magic”.

A person, subject to repeated persecutions from a mortal enemy and incapable of defending himself or of taking vengeance upon his enemy, may apply to a *mñn* for assistance. At his request the *mñn* may exercise her powers, calling on a supernatural being to harm his enemy by illness or even death. Now, if the man's enemy realises that some one practises “Black Magic” against him,<sup>2</sup> he may go to his own *mñn*, asking her to find out what it is that is harassing him. This *mñn* will then invoke her tutelary deity requesting it to expel the malignant beings causing the disease.

All *mñn*, being proud of their powers, are naturally on their guard against anybody questioning their ability or even attempting to interfere with it. This attitude may develop into a violent competition among the various *mñn*, sometimes even creating a dangerous atmosphere of malicious jealousy. I was told that formerly it had happened that two *mñn* in this way got involved in regular spiritual fights.

For instance, if a *mñn* is summoned to officiate at a death and realises that she does not succeed in her function, she may harbour the suspicion that she is being obstructed by some one. It may be a person attending the ceremony, or what is worse, another *mñn* attempting to spoil her performance by sending some counteracting *mung*. Such evil activity may in acute cases materialise in the form of an arrow trying to hit her, or a fire trying to burn her.

<sup>1</sup> Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1953 b, p. 270.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dict. 981b *jām* 3 . . . *mñn-jām* s. a malignant *Mñn*, a wizard, a sorcerer, an enchanter, one who affects others with evil spirits. —

The officiating *mūn* will therefore ask the attending *bong thing* to support her by invoking his own *rūm* to repel the evil influence. But a strong *mūn* would herself afterwards take severe counter-measures, requesting her own *nik rūm* (i. e. soldier *rūm*, cf. Text No. 38, 1, Commentary) to harm the person using "Black Magic" against her. This might cause the evil-doer to come and ask her forgiveness.

It might also happen that the hostile *mūn* would not give way, and in that case the two *mūn* would entreat their respective supernatural beings to enter actively into the fight. In this way regular combats might develop, sometimes with a fatal outcome for one of the participants.

However, as the fear of the *mung* is deeply rooted in the Lepchas, nobody likes to speak openly of such incidents, which therefore belong to the secret side of the culture about which one barely dares to whisper among intimate friends or behind closed doors.

### THE *nyen jo mo*<sup>1</sup>.

The female *nyen jo mo* and her corresponding male *pa o* or *pa wo* are religious mediums of a particular Tibetan type.<sup>2</sup> At Tingbung I met two women whose religious performances indicated that they were *nyen jo mo*, but the Tingbung Lepchas themselves classified them as a special type of *mūn*, the female dancing *mūn*. The term *nyen jo mo* may be in use among the Tingbung Lepchas, but I have not taken it down, and I have never met a *pa o* or heard of one. When later I checked my notes with Tamsang he pointed out that the two female dancing *mūn* I had met at Tingbung were virtually *nyen jo mo*. Consequently, I have placed them under this heading.

These women were Shubet, seventy years old and a sister of *rig zing* (for her polyandric marriage, see p. 134) and Cusemo, sixty-seven years old, a sister of the father of Kaching (Tingbung, House No. 5, see p. 49). I was told that at present they were the only *nyen jo mo* of Tingbung, but Shubet said that in her youth there had been several *nyen jo mo* and *pa o* in Payel, Namprik and Langdyang; she also added that nowadays there is a *pa o* in Singhik, one in Hi above Dikchu, and one in Lingthem.

#### 1. *Vocation, Duties, Equipment etc.*

The qualifications for becoming a *nyen jo mo* seem to depend on certain hereditary traits; at all events, Cusemo stated that the tradition of performing *nyen jo mo* ceremonies could be traced back on the distaff side of her family to her great-grandmother at least. But it is improbable that hereditary traits alone are sufficient to become a *nyen jo mo*; thus Shubet told me that many years ago she had stayed for almost a whole year as a *nyen jo mo* pupil with a woman called *ce mo*, who lived at Langdok between Dikehu and Penlong.

*ce mo* taught Shubet how to make *tor ma* and made her repeat the correct prayers and formulae until she knew them by heart. *ce mo* gave Shubet an old copy of a Tibetan book called Song Pe (or *The Incense Vessel*), in which these formulae and prayers were recorded.

<sup>1</sup> To this chapter cf. Gorer pp. 216, 399; Morris pp. 72, 123 ff.; Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1952 b, p. 38, Note 12 and 1956 a, pp. 425 ff., 461, 550 passim, 641 (Index); David-Neel 1936, pp. 36 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dict. 110 a *nyen jo-mo*, a priestess, an ordained lady, a lady-superior, an abbess cf. Tib. Jäs. 201 b *bsnyén-pa* 1. to approach . . . *byéd-pa* to pay one's duty or respect, esp. to the priesthood by various services, and 173 a *jó-mo* 1. mistress . . . 2. lady esp. a cloistress, nun.

Shubet gave some brief examples of the particular *nyen jo mo* mythology. Following *ce mo's* instructions she always opened her ceremonies by invoking what she called the "Mun". By this word is meant the *rām*, i. e. not any particular *rām*, but all the *rām* invoked during the ceremony. These "Mun" have existed since the beginning of things, and they were created by *it mu* under the earth. Later some of them came up to the surface at a place in the vicinity of Pemayangtse, others at Mahang Du, the jungle to the west and north-west of Tingbung. Since then the "Mun" have lived in Sikkim, but they are not associated with any particular place, and she estimates that their number is at least a hundred.

During a ceremonial dance Shubet experiences quite distinctly the appearance and presence of the "Mun". Later on a strange sensation comes upon her, announcing that a "Mun" is sitting on her shoulder, and when it occurs she is overcome by joyous emotions. This emotional state may, however, change according to the messages which the "Mun" conveys to her mind. These messages deal with the future, e. g. which *mung* will cause mischief to the village and its people; who will be ill or die, etc. When she gets such glimpses of the future, she feels very sad. Shubet also said that the "Mun" spoke to her in Tibetan whereas *rig zing*, *hlam bo*, and the mother of *kā lók* received their revelations in Lepcha.

Cusemo said that every year she performs the following ceremonial dances:

1. In *kūr sōng* month when the *tūk po kung*,<sup>1</sup> the peach tree, is flowering.
2. In *sām* month at the barley harvest.
3. In *pūr vīm* month.

She added that it frequently happened that a family suffering from a disease asked her to come to their home. She always complied with such requests and performed a ceremonial dance in order to avert the evil influence of the *mung*.

The proper performance of a ceremonial dance requires particular equipment. The *nyen jo mo* wears a headgear (Fig. 43, C. 6319) called *pók*<sup>2</sup> or *pā jīt*,<sup>3</sup> made of a ring of twisted twigs covered with red, white, and green strips of silk or wool. The wool is that of the domestic sheep *lūk*<sup>4</sup> of Tibet, a variety not kept by the Lepchas of Sikkim. The equipment includes also a particular blouse and skirt, and during the performance the *nyen jo mo* sounds an ordinary Lamaist hand-bell and a small, double skull-drum. I was told that the headgear forms an essential part of the equipment, as the "Mun" will not convey any message concerning the malevolent *mung* if the *nyen jo mo* does not wear the headgear during the performance.

### A *nyen jo mo* DANCING CEREMONY

In the evening of May 10th Tsering and I attended by invitation a ceremonial dance performed by Cusemo in the house belonging to Kaching (the village of Tingbung, House No. 5, see p. 49). When we arrived, accompanied by Rabgyor and Nagu, we found some twenty people, adults and children, sitting round the hearth and eating their meal, the grown-ups also drinking *cí*. In a corner near the entrance two girls were grinding grain in a small quern.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dict. 130b *tūk-po kung* *Prunus persica*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dict. 222a *pók* 5 (Hind. *pāgrī*) 1. a turban, 2. a garland, wreath; and Ghurye 1951, p. 153 where *pag* is mentioned as the universal Indian name for the turban.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Dict. 97a *pā-jīt-la* . . . spangled as sky or starlight-night, brilliant . . . cf. also Dict. 219b *pe* 4 . . . *pe thūt* (lit. a splice or roll of wool) a woollen turban worn by *pa-wo* when performing a ceremony.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Dict. 350b *lūk* s. a sheep.



Besides Kaching, the host, Kodu, his wife, and their four children, six to twelve years old, we recognised Danun from Payel and his son Gabu. I was told that anybody who liked could attend the ceremony provided they presented small gifts of rice, *ci*, or money.

On such ceremonial occasions the house altar is festively decked. On this occasion there were three rows of *tor ma* figures, moulded of millet and rice, representing the gods who, on the invocation of Cusemo, would appear during the ceremony. There were also many small cups; some were filled with grains of barley, others with milk, and others again with *ci*, i. e. food and drink for the gods; others again were full of water, which the gods might use for cleaning their hands, mouth, and face. There were also a rice mandala and some burning butter lamps, the only illumination in the room, apart from the light from the hearth. These lamps were kept burning during the whole ceremony so that the gods might clearly distinguish everything when they appeared on the altar.

According to Rabgyor at least fifteen gods, perhaps even more, would appear during the ceremony, but he could only recollect the names of eleven. These were:

1. *pān dong rūm*, their leader and the eldest of the Mun *rūm* appearing. (This *rūm* is particularly associated with the male *mūn*, cf. p. 165 Text No. 28,4 and invoked during the First Cherim Ceremony, cf. p. 189 Text No. 31,45.)
2. *pān song rūm*, wife of *pān dong rūm*. (This *rūm* is also particularly associated with the male *mūn*, cf. p. 165 Text No. 28,5, and invoked at the First Cherim Ceremony, cf. p. 189 Text No. 31,38.)
3. Agyen Aso *rūm* (?). (The spelling is doubtful, and Rabgyor could tell me nothing about this *rūm*.)
4. Dao Makpen Cumbo *rūm*,<sup>1</sup> said to be a Tibetan war god. I was told that whenever the lamas start for a journey or visit a house, they request this *rūm* not to cause them any trouble or pain.
5. *kam li gen rūm*, who has his dwelling in a rock at Tingbung, cf. p. 49 Tingbung, House No. 6.
6. *lāng góm gen rūm*. (Perhaps identical with *lāng góm cū* invoked in the First Cherim Ceremony p. 190 Text No. 31,58, and during the *kong chen* Ceremony, p. 198 Text No. 37,30.)
7. Cotyang Kongbu *rūm* (?).
8. Datigen *rūm* (?).
9. Saling Sadugen *rūm* (?).
10. Gyaka Amo *rūm* (?).
11. *pā dím rūm* (a very popular *rūm*, referred to on many occasions).

On our arrival Cusemo, in full ceremonial dress, was sitting on the floor quite close to the altar. Some of the guests had presented her with rice and *ci* or money, and the host then served her respectfully with lavish dishes of rice with which she gorged herself silently, frequently quenching her thirst by sucking lukewarm *ci* from a bamboo bottle. She obviously enjoyed the rich meal and nodded approvingly to anybody approaching her with gifts.

She seldom uttered a word, but all present immediately stopped talking when now and then she raised her voice. Once, however, she caused a discomforting interruption of the pleasant and expectant atmosphere. Among the guests there was a woman from Namprík

<sup>1</sup> To this name cf. Dict. 282a *mak* 3 . . . *mak-pán*, s. the commander of the army, cf. Tib. Jäs. 422a *dmag-dpón*, commander, general.

who some time ago had been ill in bed, suffering from a dangerous disease. Cusemo, who had been summoned, had hastened to her sickbed, and had exorcised the plaguing *mung* so successfully that the patient was soon restored to health. But the woman had never presented her with any gift of thanks, and therefore Cusemo now vented her anger on the ungrateful woman with severe and spiteful rebukes. The wretched victim buried her face in her hands, and hid in a dark corner.

When Cusemo had satisfied her hunger, she went outside to wash her hands and face and to rinse her mouth in order to be clean when she began invoking the *rūm*. Returning she went straight up to the altar, sat down on the floor, and turned her face towards the figures of the *rūm*. This attitude signified the inauguration of the ceremony, and breathless silence reigned in the room.

Keeping her eyes half shut she murmured a long invocation of the *rūm*, mentioning their names one by one, and requesting them to appear at the altar and to consume the meals prepared for them. Now and again she threw a handful of rice and sprinkled *cí* into the air while mentioning the name of the guest on whose behalf she presented this offer.

Seizing her hand drum with the right hand and her bell with the left, she moved them quickly to and fro above her head, and raising her voice she invoked the *rūm*, requesting them to take possession of her for a while. Whenever they did so, they seized control of her soul and forced her hands to move in abrupt jerks causing spasmodic and rapid drumbeats and a vigorous ringing of the bell.

A little later she suddenly jumped to her feet, and raising the drum and the bell high above her head, she swayed to and fro before the altar, her eyes almost closed and her face immovable, in a shrill voice imploring the *rūm* for power in the impending fight against the *mung*.

At the start her motions were slow, stiff and regular, while she kept her face turned eagerly towards the altar. By and by her movements became more rapid, gradually turning into an ecstatic dance, and at last it became impossible to follow her performance in detail.

The dance was mainly characterised by two types of movement. One consisted of a few forward steps towards the altar, followed by a few steps back. The other type was dominated by a large number of whirling rotations, on one leg or on both, to the right and to the left. Now and again she bowed deeply forwards from her hips, suddenly straightening up with a jerk; sometimes she leaned backwards until her face was turned towards the ceiling. The room reverberated continuously with the noise of the drum and the bell. Because of the faint light it was only possible occasionally to catch a glimpse of her face; she looked remote and concentrated, in the grip of strong emotions.

All of a sudden she stopped dead in the middle of the room. An uncontrollable rage sent shudder after shudder through her body, her face became distorted in a strange, horrible grimace, and she foamed at the mouth. Ecstasy had taken possession of her.

She then jumped up and made a long, slanting leap, landing among the guests, staggered frantically around, showering everybody with heavy splashes of spittle. With eyes gleaming with expectation, the men and the women seized their children hastily, and while some thronged around her, others shrank back; but all rejoiced in receiving her clots of spittle on their faces, necks, arms, and hands. Some parents stripped their babies and stretched them naked towards her; a young girl threw off her head-cloth and bared her bosom so that her face and breasts could be covered with spittle; a vigorous man, stripped to the waist, elbowed his way through the throng to a favourable position and beamed with delight as the fat blobs of saliva covered his chest.

From time to time Cuseno left the guests, turned towards the altar and giving a yell jumped high into the air. She then whirled again out onto the floor and sent splashes of spittle in all directions, hitting everybody, Tsering and me also.

After a while she stopped abruptly before the altar, staring straight and vacantly into the flickering lights. Her knees grew weak, she swayed helplessly from side to side, her legs gave way, she lost her balance, and gasping heavily she collapsed senseless onto the floor.

She lay completely exhausted, her face pressed against the floor and her arms stretched out. She did not move a limb, being in a dead faint. The ecstasy had ceased; the séance was over.

Now the guests, realising that the ceremony had come to an end, paid her no further attention, but re-gathered in small family groups, resuming their usual chatter. When a few of them left, I got the impression that those remaining preferred to be alone. Therefore I soon said good-bye to our host and his party, leaving a small present for Cuseno.

## CONCEPTION OF THE WORLD

### *Tales of Creation and Origin.*

The Lepcha, living in his village and moving about the country, is well aware that everything, the world, the mountains, mankind, the animals etc., has its supernatural origin and a history of its own. Many tales, however, form the common property of all Lepchas and may be met with everywhere with only minor, local, variations. Previous investigators have given detailed accounts of this side of Lepcha culture,<sup>1</sup> and when I went to Tingbung, I therefore preferred to concentrate on other problems; I did, however, collect a few tales, illustrative of the Tingbung version, and as they are not associated with any special cult I have gathered them together in the present chapter.

No. 1.

Informant: Tsering

“Guru Rimpoche<sup>2</sup> created the world. He created *it mu*. He created *it mu* in order to spread the human beings. He created *it mu* under the earth.

After the creation of *it mu*, *it mu* created all the gods including *tak bo thing* and *na zong nyo*. *it mu* sent all the gods and *tak bo thing* and *na zong nyo* out into the world.

*it mu* ordered *tak bo thing* and *na zong nyo* to create the human beings. *tak bo thing* and *na zong nyo* were brother and sister, but later on they lived together. *na zong nyo* gave birth to many children, but they were all *mung*. *na zong nyo* gave birth to so many *mung* that they are innumerable.

At last *tak bo thing* and *na zong nyo* started advancing upwards, and they arrived at the bottom of *kong chen* at a place called Kohol *dā*. This is a lake at the foot of *kong chen*.

*na zong nyo* had a very fine bracelet. When they were at Kohol *dā*, she took off this bracelet and threw it away, shouting: ‘Let there be a house in which we can hide from God!’ And where the bracelet fell, there appeared a very fine house in which they lived for a time.

Before then *na zong nyo* had given birth to the *mung*. These *mung* gave much trouble to the gods. Then one day all the gods gathered at a place called Azum Arum (or Arub) *pūr tam*.<sup>3</sup> (This plain, where the gods still live, is just above Kohol *dā*. The people never visit it.) The gods decided to punish *tak bo thing* and *na zong nyo* for their bad behaviour, and told *tak bo thing* and *na zong nyo* not to live together, and said that it was absolutely prohibited for a brother and a sister to do so.

*tak bo thing* and *na zong nyo* replied that they had never lived together. However, when *it mu* sent out *tak bo thing* and *na zong nyo*, *it mu* also sent with them a dog called Helbo Vyelbo<sup>4</sup> (this word is an archaic expression used formerly when calling a dog; nowadays

<sup>1</sup> e.g. Stocks 1927 pp. 345 ff.; Gorer pp. 223 f. passim; Morris pp. 63, passim.

<sup>2</sup> The usual name for the Lamaist saint Padmasambhava.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Dict. 125b *tam* 2. plain . . . *pā-tam*, *pūr-tam* s., a level surface, a plain.

<sup>4</sup> Vyelbo may be connected with Dict. 390a *vyāt* vb. to shake, to wag, to toss, cf. Dict. 6a *kā-ju tūk-shīm nyāl* vb. to wag tail.

the word used is *kā ju*).<sup>1</sup> When *tak bo thing* and *na zong nyo* would not confess their crime, the dog came out and declared itself an eyewitness of their crime and told everything that it had seen. When the dog had given its evidence, *na zong nyo* became very angry with the dog and took a stick and beat it (since that time a dog and a bitch have great difficulties in severing after mating).

The gods then decided to separate *tak bo thing* and *na zong nyo*. When *tak bo thing* and *na zong nyo* were at *Kohol dā* they had many domestic animals which *it mu* had given to them. When the gods decided to separate *tak bo thing* and *na zong nyo*, they divided all the domestic animals into two groups: one group for *tak bo thing* and one for *na zong nyo*. When the gods distributed the groups *tak bo thing* put all the animals of his share into a big basket so that they could not escape, and then carried his basket to Tibet and lived there. But *na zong nyo* put her share of animals into a big basket which had a lot of holes. Therefore all her domestic animals escaped through the holes and fled into the jungle. Later on they became wild animals.

Now *na zong nyo* lived alone at *Kohol dā*, and after some months she gave birth to two children. They were called *rel bū* and *sen bū*. *rel bū* was a god, and *sen bū* was a *mung*. When *na zong nyo* gave birth to these two children she nursed them with the utmost care and anxiety, because this time she gave birth only to two children. Otherwise, when she was with *tak bo thing*, she gave birth to *mung* continually. That was the reason why she could not feed them at her breast.

When the *mung* discovered how she treated these two boys, they became jealous of them and tried several times to kill them. Thus they caused them to fall ill. *na zong nyo* tried her best to cure them, but in vain. At last she sent some *mung* to fetch some medicines from *it mu*. The *mung* went down to *it mu* and told her of the illness of the babies. *it mu* taught them all sorts of medicine and the necessary treatment, but the *mung* did not listen to *it mu*. They said that they were more experienced than *it mu*, but none of the *mung* could cure the children. At last *it mu* sent a *mūn*, who was supposed to be a good physician; he listened carefully to the instructions given by *it mu*, and went to *Kohol dā* where the sick babies were. But, unfortunately, before he arrived the babies had died.

When he arrived at *Kohol dā* the *mung* were performing a funeral ceremony, but they had not the proper things, no *cí*, foodstuffs, fire, domestic animals, etc. At that time there blew two winds (these two winds were *Yong Rungbu* and *Yong Nyebu*;<sup>2</sup> they are brothers, and the former is the elder). These winds spread all the *mung* from the spot, but not the dead babies. When the *mung* had disappeared, the gods arrived. The winds then told the gods how to perform a funeral ceremony. The winds told them of the fire place from where the gods got the fire (this place, called *Teksho Tarom Karvo*, is at the end of the world; it is the place of the origin of the blacksmiths, and from there the blacksmiths have spread all over the world); of the place of the domestic animals in Tibet from where they brought a yak (this place, called *Hyr Bibu Yukkyung* is in Tibet and from there all the domestic animals have spread all over the world); and of the foodstuff place called *mā yel tong* from where they got millet and paddy-rice. When all these things were collected, the gods gathered and performed the funeral ceremony for the dead babies.

When the gods had finished the funeral ceremony, they ordered two birds, one called

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dict. 5b *kā-ju* s. a dog.

<sup>2</sup> These names were said to be ancient terms; nowadays the common word for wind is said to be *Sukmut*, cf. Dict. 293a *mūt* 2 to blow, *sūng-mūt* s. wind.

Rong Fon<sup>1</sup> and the other Fo Shum, to pour water into the grave, taking care that *rūm* water was poured into the grave of *rel bū* and *mung* water into the grave of *sen bū*.

However, on doing so the birds changed the waters so that the *rūm* water was poured into the grave of the *mung*, and the *mung* water was poured into the grave of the god (the *rūm* water comes from a lake with *rūm* water, and the *mung* water from a lake with *mung* water. Both these lakes are in Azum Arub *pūr tam*). Because they did so no new *mung* has been born since. If they had not done so the *mung* would have continued giving birth to *mung*.

From that time birth and death have been the fate of human beings.

Because *tak bo thing* and *na zong nyo* did not create human beings, *it mu* later on created human beings."

No. 2a.

Informant: *rūng ji* from Nung  
Interpreter: Tsering

"In the beginning *it nyo mu* created everything in the world except the human beings. *it nyo mu* had a son called *tak bo thing* and a daughter *na zong* who lived together. In consequence *na zong* gave birth to the first human beings, but they were later changed into *mung* because she continually gave birth to so many that she could not feed them with her milk.

Later on *tak bo thing* and *na zong* moved and settled at the foot of *kong chen* where there is a lake called Kohol *dā*. Here they dwelt. Again *na zong* gave birth to human beings, but this time she did not give birth continually, and therefore she was able to feed her children with her milk. She gave birth to different types of men viz. the different nations: first the Lepchas, then the Europeans, then the Tibetans, and then the rest.

Thereafter *tak bo thing* and *na zong* separated; *tak bo thing* went to Lhasa and *na zong* went to Sikkim. They have since disappeared. They became neither gods nor *mung*."

No. 2b.

"When they were still living at Kohol *dā* it once happened that *na zong* had a bangle which caused much pain to *tak bo thing* during the night. Therefore one night he told *na zong* to take it off. At that she grew very angry with him, but she took it off and threw it outside. Where it fell the upper part (*hlo*) of the mountains were created.

At first the upper parts (*hlo*) of the mountains had flowers and fruits, but later this changed: the fruits became hailstorms, and the flowers became snow. This happened because *na zong* felt very lonely when she and *tak bo thing* had separated; from bitterness because of her loneliness she changed these things."

No. 3

Informant: *rig zing*  
Interpreter: Tsering

"*tak bo thing* is the father of *pā dīm rūm*. *tak bo thing* created only the Tibetans. The wife of *tak bo thing* is *na zong*, who created the Lepchas.

*tak bo thing* instituted the customs of the Lamas, such as reading their books, saying prayers, performing ceremonies, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dict. 335b *rūng-fun* fo s. name of a bird, the hoopoe, *Upupa epops*, see Risley 1894, p. 207, No. 254 (Waddell) Lepcha: Rang-fun.

*na zong* created first the Lepchas and thereafter all the other human beings, nature and the animals, both wild and domestic.

The gods gave the same number of domestic animals to the Tibetans and to the Lepchas. The Tibetans kept their share of animals in a huge sack and closed it well so that the animals could not escape.

But the Lepchas put their share of animals into a basket with many holes. And all the animals succeeded in escaping through these holes. They fled to the forests and the mountains and became the wild animals. The goat became deer, the sheep became *na o*<sup>1</sup>, the bull became Sati,<sup>2</sup> the fowls became *kā hryók fo*,<sup>3</sup> the pig became bear, and the yak escaped also to the mountains but was not changed. That is to say, all the animals whose flesh is edible escaped; only the dog and the cat, whose meat is not edible, remained with the Lepchas.

*na zong* gave birth to several sons among whom *kong chen rŭm* is the eldest. One of his brothers is *pā kí cu*, another is *sa hyŭr cu*, another *pang yung cu*.

*cya dŭng ra zo* is the wife of *kong chen*. A female servant of *cya dŭng ra zo* is Sakvok *mŭ nyŭ*.

Another brother of *kong chen rŭm* is *pā wo hŭng rí*. The wife of *pā wo hŭng rí* is Samo Gajong. The sister of Samo Gajong is *jo mo Kingsa*. *sap dŭt ra ho* is the brother of *pā wo hŭng rí*.

When *na zong* had given birth to these *rŭm*, she created *pā dím*. He was created in order to save mankind from the *mung*, who attempt to inflict on mankind all kinds of evil, e. g. diseases, epidemics, and death."

No. 4.

Informant: Tsering

"Close to *tak bo thŭng* and *na zong nyo* peaks there is a place called *mā ro lí* Blu. In this place there was a big tree, and in this tree there used to live a big bird like an eagle. It was called Laso Fomo. This bird used to roam hither and thither in the villages and to kill men and take their flesh.

This bird caused much trouble both to men and gods. Then one day the gods gathered and tried to get rid of this bird. They therefore cut down the tree, but at night the tree became alive again. At last some of the gods went underground to *ít mu* and told her everything about the bird. In order to destroy the tree and the bird *ít mu* sent a big snake called *nyung pŭn dí*. This snake crept inside the tree and began eating it from within.

When the tree was just about to fall, the gods discussed in which direction it should fall. If it should fall towards Tibet, Nepal or Bhutan, the trades with these countries would stop. At last the gods decided to let the tree disappear downwards into the earth. In this way it would block the road of *mak nyóm mung*.

When the tree disappeared, the bird became startled and flew away. As it was flying through the air, all the wild animals and the birds became startled, too. Among the animals was *tyáng mo*,<sup>4</sup> a huge elephant [one of its tusks is in the house of the priest of *kong chen*]. It ran away into the jungle, but on the way it had an accident and broke its leg. Then all the other animals gathered to find out what was the cause of their distress. At last they realised that it was the bird, but the bird pointed to the big serpent that had destroyed the tree.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dict. 190b *na-wo* or *na-wó* s. the wild sheep, according to Hooker "gnow", *Ovis ammon*.

<sup>2</sup> Presumably the wild boar.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Dict. 9a *kā-hryók-fo* (according to *Gaz.* p. 210 *kar-rhyok*, named after one of its calls (Waddell) *Dendrocitta ru/a*.)

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Dict. 145a *tyáng mo*, according to Mainwaring "a dark mass", s. an elephant.

Then the wild birds killed the serpent and took out the bones of its body. These bones they used to restore the leg of the elephant.

Meanwhile the bird was flying in the air being unable to find any place to dwell. One day it discovered the son-in-law of *sūm bryong*<sup>1</sup>, Saknon Gin. The bird killed the son-in-law and ate the flesh. Then the father-in-law grew very angry and tried to kill the bird with his bow and his poisoned arrow. When the bird was hit by the arrow, it did not die immediately, but flew away to a place called Laso Jong Rong. Here the bird killed the people and ate them. Therefore the people one day spread a net of iron in order to catch it, and one day when the bird stopped to take a man, it was caught in the net and killed immediately.

The gods gathered at the dead bird, cut it into pieces, and spread the pieces all over the world. These pieces were changed into leeches.

While the big tree was on the earth, its flowers were snow and its fruits were hailstones. When it disappeared a big peak appeared on the same spot. It is brown as brass and is called Sa Nyol Kung Bung.<sup>2</sup> Now the snow and the hailstorm come from this peak."

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dict. 415a *sūm-bryong* s. the common fly.

<sup>2</sup> Stocks 1927 p. 354, III, gives the big tree as the sago palm (*sa-nyol*); it may refer, *Gaz.* p. 89, to *Caryota urens* about which J. Gammie says: "... the Lepchas cut down the large trees to procure the pith from which a kind of sago is made . . ."; Stocks, *ibid.*, Note 2, has it that "It [i.e. the sago-palm] is said to attract flies greatly, and for this reason people are said to cut it down when found in their compounds", which may throw some light on the above tale, cf. especially *sūm bryong*, the common fly.



## THE JUNGLE

As seen above the apparently peaceful Lepcha village and its surroundings have their dangerous places, e. g. strange rocks, big old trees, swamps and marshes, impenetrable patches of jungle where the *mung* dwell, and which are teeming with evil powers.

As soon as one leaves the village area, the influence of the *mung* increases, and nobody is ever safe from their uncanny persecution. The virgin forest, never cleared and cultivated and therefore uncontrolled, is the actual domicile of the *mung*, where they go on forays by day and night. Obviously the Lepchas feel insecure when moving about in the jungle, defenceless against the unexpected assaults of the *mung*.

The dangers of the mountains, the rocks, the jungle, the rivers, and the jungle fire will be obvious enough from the following accounts given by a Lepcha, taken down from his oral autobiography:

Informant: Adir of Singhik  
Interpreter: Tsering

"... Once, about nine to ten years ago [i. e. about 1940], in the middle of the summer, I had gone with a friend from Mangen to Tingbung to arrange a marriage for this friend with a girl from Tingbung.

On our return from Tingbung we [i. e. Adir and some friends] followed the road on the opposite side of the Talung river, [i. e. on its southern bank]. This road no longer exists. On the way we crossed a place where the road had been destroyed by falling rocks, and where the road used to be there was now only a steep mountain slope. And still some stones came sliding down from the upper parts of the slope. I was a little ahead of my friends and went forward onto the slope, but when I reached the middle of it, I happened to look up, and then I discovered that the jungle higher up seemed to move to and fro. I hurried on shouting a warning to my friends. A few moments later the jungle rushed down and disappeared into the river. The waters, disturbed by earth, dirt, and dust, splashed high into the air, and darkened the outlook. I hurried forward, and after a short while a new landslide occurred.

Late in the afternoon we arrived at a place near Lingthem where in those days there used to be a rest house. My friends were exhausted, and fell asleep immediately; but I was alarmed, and when I happened to look up, I became aware that the jungle was moving. I hastily awoke my friends, pulled them away, and a moment later the jungle and many rocks rushed down..."

"... On another occasion, now about fifteen years ago [i. e. about 1934], I and two friends went down to the little river running from Mangen down into the Tista river. Due to heavy rains the little river had swollen enormously. I fell accidentally into the little river and was drawn downwards by the roaring stream, but I got time to wave to my friends before I lost consciousness. One of my friends ran down to me and caught my hand, but he was also

pulled into the little river. Our second friend hurried to our rescue, but he, too, was caught in the same way. At last we were only about fifty feet from the Tista, and feared that we should now be drowned. But I succeeded in thrusting my feet against a huge rock standing up in the stream, while my friends clung firmly to me. At last I caught hold of a big root, and in this way we all slowly reached the river bank, and were saved . . .”.

“. . . Once it happened, when I was about twenty-five years old that we were a number of men occupied in clearing the jungle above Mangen. It was during the summer, and a very hot day. We worked in the jungle making a long and narrow clearing, which stretched upwards along the mountain slope. I was at the top, and I had not observed that my friends, who were working at the bottom, had made a fire. Suddenly some violent gusts of wind blew upwards through the clearing bringing with them the flames of the fire. In no time I was caught by the flames and had to run upwards as fast as my legs could carry me. At last I escaped, but my hair and my shoulders had become burnt . . .”.

Adir finished his account by saying that during his lifetime he had been subject to three kinds of accidents: from the rocks, from the waters, and from the fire.

Adir also said that about five years ago [i. e. about 1944] a tragic disaster occurred near Dikchu. Some falling rocks crushed two Nepalese houses, and threw everything down into the river. The unfortunate inmates were killed or drowned in the waters.

As all such incidents are attributed to the evil activities of the *mung*, it is no wonder that the Lepchas are always on their guard against the *mung*, and that they continuously endeavour to counteract their activities. The only protective measures of the people are frequent apotropaic ceremonies, and consequently the Lepchas resort to these all the year round. Below follow some examples of such ceremonies.

### 1. *lǎng jì mung*

Informant: Ongdi Buru of Git  
Interpreter: Father Brahier

*lǎng jì<sup>1</sup> mung* is a very malignant *mung* of the jungle. There are two types of ceremonies to *lǎng jì*: a minor ceremony performed once or twice a year by the offering of eggs, and a greater ceremony performed every third year. The latter is the more important.

During the performance of the greater ceremony the *bong thing* officiates, invoking *gye bo lǎng jì rǔm*, the divine king demon living near the plains.<sup>2</sup>

First a suitable place is selected; it must be a pleasant place from where one has a fine view both over the plains and towards Tibet. Usually a site just below the house of the *bong thing* is chosen.

There the men of the village gather, each of them bringing *cí*, one seer of rice, 6 eggs, half a pound of butter and some milk. They also bring a pig for which all have paid in common.

The men use the rice for several purposes. They mould it into a big heap or structure looking like a stepped pyramid with three steps, and on the top of it they place a figure of *gye bo lǎng jì rǔm*, moulded of rice, too. A great number of *tor ma* are put on the steps of the pyramid—they say several hundreds. These *tor ma* are for the minor gods, as each

<sup>1</sup> Diet. 352a has *lǎng-jì* s. name of an evil spirit . . . *lǎng-jì zák* v. to suffer under the influence of *lǎng-jì*: in cutting a field etc., if a person be unfortunate enough to wound or hurt *lǎng-jì*, he suffers similarly. Cp. Diet. 107a *nying* . . . poison, Tib. *dag*, applied particularly to the *Aconitum ferox lung-jì nyíng*, according to Hooker I, 168, *Aconitum palmatum*, “bikh”.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Diet. 61b *gye-bo* or *gye-pu* 1. Tib. *rgyal-ba* s. a conqueror, a victor, a winner, cf. also Tib. Jäs. 109a *rgyál-po* 1. king.

of them must be given his own *tor ma* that they may not grow angry. Six eggs are given to *gye bo lǔng jǐ rǔm*, and one egg to each of the minor gods.

Then they offer milk, four times repeating the same exclamation:

“O, *lǔng jǐ* gods consume it!”.

Then comes the offering of rice and vegetables accompanied by the throwing of drops of *cí* into the air, and followed by the words:

(Text No. 29)

“Rice and vegetables are offerings of first-fruits offerings from us human beings who are working in the fields!”.

The climax of the ceremony is the sacrifice of the pig, which is killed by a certain man, known by the ceremonial name of The Killer of the Pig. It was emphasized that *gye bo lǔng jǐ rǔm* could only be invoked if a pig was sacrificed.

On sacrificing the pig they invoke all the gods represented by the *tor ma*, calling them by name and saying:

“Instead of so many human beings,

(Text No. 30)

we are performing a sacrifice of this life [i. e. pig]!”.

Then the rice is boiled, and each man gets an equal share of the meal of rice and eggs. The pig is cut into pieces, and each man gets a share of the meat in proportion to his contribution of gifts to the ceremony. The men take their share home with them and enjoy the meat with their families. The head of the pig is always given to the *bong thǐng*, whereas the tail of the pig belongs to the man who has killed the animal.

Finally the *tor ma* are distributed to the men, who take them home, where they are eaten by the members of their families. The *cí* is enjoyed on the spot, some men frequently drinking so much that they become intoxicated.

## 2. *lyang rǔm*

Informant: Tamsang of Kalimpong

*lyang rǔm*<sup>1</sup> is a particularly dangerous *mung* of the jungle, and therefore highly feared. Twice a year, at the close of the summer and some time during the winter, a young black boar is sacrificed to *lyang rǔm*.

The officiating *bong thǐng* or *mǔn* takes the men of the household to the outskirts of the fields, to the border between the cultivated and the uncultivated land. The altar of the *mung* must be built on the uncultivated land near the jungle, as the cultivated land cannot be used for that purpose.

When a suitable site has been found, they collect a great number of bamboo canes, which they stick into the ground, and build an altar in the shape of a large, square box. As they later have to put some sacrificial gifts into this box, the side facing east is open. Finally the altar is covered with banana leaves.

They kill the pig by piercing its body with a pointed bamboo stick, which has been hardened by fire. The bristles are burnt away, cold water is poured over the pig, and the surface of its body is cleaned meticulously. They eviscerate it, take out the heart and the organs, and clean the inside.

<sup>1</sup> *lyang* was in this connection explained as: jungle. The original meaning is: earth, land, cf. Dict. 363b.

When the officiating person has smeared the pig's head with butter, it is placed on banana leaves, and put inside the altar. They ensure that the head faces west.

Then the officiating *bong thing* or *mün* invokes *lyang rün*, requesting him to accept the sacrifice, and entreating him to stay away from the house, the household, and the family, and not to cause any trouble to the members of the family, but to keep away all evil influences. The officiating person promises that next season they will sacrifice another young boar to him.

Then they remove the boar's head from the interior of the altar, cook it, and eat it on the spot. It is forbidden to take anything home.

### 3. *a mik kā ta bo*

Informant: Tamsang of Kalimpong

*a mik kā ta bo*<sup>1</sup> is a *mung* with only one eye placed in the middle of his forehead. This *mung* prowls about at night, and since he is quite black and therefore invisible, and his bright eye is burning like a torch, it is said to be a dreadful spectacle to meet him. Moreover, he never walks on the ground, but has the habit of gliding along the surface of rivers and brooks.

It is said that if the shadow of this *mung* falls upon a man, he will fall ill, and if a man meets this *mung* face to face, he will die instantaneously. Tamsang stated that he had heard of two cases where a man had died from meeting this *mung*.

Most Lepchas have an innate fear of the dark, and during the hours from late evening until just before dawn nobody likes to leave his house. However, if a man should happen to be out at night, e. g. in order to inspect his irrigation plant, he runs the risk of meeting this *mung*. Should he catch even the faintest glimpse of the burning eye of the *mung*, he will immediately turn away, hurry home, and for three days he will keep indoors. In case he falls ill and does not recover within three days, a *bong thing* or a *mün* is summoned.

The officiating person orders a black, young billy-goat to be brought, and goes down to the place, usually close to the river, where the unfortunate man met the *mung*. He builds a small earthen altar, on which he arranges seven small and seven large bamboo canes in two rows, putting the latter to the southernmost side of the altar, because this *mung* is supposed to come from the south.

All the canes are carved. The larger ones, fluted at both ends, are called *po tsum*,<sup>2</sup> i. e. bamboo canes with flowers, because they are carved with stylized designs of flowers. The smaller ones are called *po thar*,<sup>3</sup> i. e. bamboo canes cut round, because they are cut straight at both ends.

Then the officiating person puts banana leaves, rice, and *ci* on the top of the larger canes and recites the following:

You have given trouble to this man!  
 In order to save this man,  
 I offer these things to you!  
 Please leave this man,  
 and go away!

<sup>1</sup> *a mik* s. eye, cf. Dict. 286a, *kā ta bo*, the one, the only one, cf. Dict. 6b.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dict. 220b *po* 2, the large bamboo, and Dict. 308a *tsum* 3,1. new, the first, 2. s. the beauty, adj. beautiful . . . *pā-tsum* s. a piece of bamboo set up on stones as a sort of altar for placing propitiatory offering to evil spirit etc.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Dict. 220b *po* 2, the large bamboo, and Dict. 150b, *thar* 2. . . . *pā-thar* adj. cut square or straight.

Then the *bong thing* or the *mūn* orders a man to kill the billy-goat by cutting its throat. It cannot be done by the *bong thing* or the *mūn* as they are forbidden to kill any animal. The officiating person takes some drops of the splashing blood into his hands and pours them over the seven smaller canes, while one of the men acting as assistant eviscerates the body, takes out the heart and the organs and places them on the altar.

The officiating person carefully examines the heart and the organs, and from their appearance he predicts the duration of the disease. Then he requests the *mung* to accept the sacrifice and to release the man from his sufferings.

That is the end of the ceremony, and all return to the house carrying the dead body of the billy-goat. Since the animal has been sacrificed to a *mung*, its body is not taken inside the house, but deposited somewhere under a shed. Later the officiating person may take it away and eat it.

This is said to be the only occasion on which a goat is sacrificed. A goat is never sacrificed to a god, and never to any other *mung*.

## *a tsóng - - - a jen*

*Kalimpong.*

Informant: Tamsang

During my conversations with Tamsang it frequently happened that he used the words *a tsóng*,<sup>1</sup> clear, and *a jen*,<sup>2</sup> unclear, in connections obviously not dealing with matters characterised by these qualities. My interest being aroused, I asked him to enumerate all those things which could be classified under either of the two headings. I was well aware that in doing so I departed from the ordinary procedure of an ethnological investigation, but I considered the method justified by the fact that I had before me an educated person, whose contact with cultures other than his own and whose knowledge of research work had made him aware of the characteristics of his own culture.

As a reply to my question Tamsang after some consideration finally gave the following classification:

The Kalimpong Lepchas use the word *a tsóng* of:

1. The *rŭm*.
2. The *mŭn*.
3. The *bong thŭng*.
4. Edible animals, fruits, vegetables, grains, etc.
5. Clear drinkable water.
6. All persons who are not in any state of *a jen*.

They use the word *a jen* of:

1. The *mung*.
2. The *mung* places.
3. Pregnant women until three days after confinement.
4. Menstruating women.
5. A woman who has born a child out of wedlock. The child is *a jen*, too.
6. Persons living in a house in which one of their relatives has died are *a jen* until three days after the funeral.
7. Animals that are not edible, i. e. dogs, monkeys, snakes, tigers, cats, rats, crows, cuckoos, vultures, kites, elephants, rhinoceroses, and many others.
8. Dirty Water.

<sup>1</sup> Tamsang explained *a tsóng* as a verbal noun coming from the verbal root *tsóng*, to be clear. Dict. 313b has *a-tshóng* and *a-tsong* adj. clean (as body), pure (as heart), virtuous, good, holy, from the verb *tshóng* (also *tsóng*) 1. to be right, upright, correct, pure, holy, just, to be perfect, to be completed, perfected. Cf. Tib. Jäs. 445a *tshängs-pa* 1. purified, clean, pure, holy, and Jäs. 433a *gtsang-ba* 1. vb. to be clean, pure.

<sup>2</sup> Tamsang explained *a jen* as a verbal noun coming from the verbal root *jen*, to be unclear, fig. to be bad. Cf. Dict. 100b *jen* 3. vb. to be troubled with evil spirit, to be deranged, to be mad, to be demented, and Dict. 94a *a-jän*, *a-jen*, adj. bad, evil, wicked, pernicious, indigent, sordid.

A menstruating woman is not allowed to go into the fields, but must remain inside the house. She cannot prepare any kind of food, either for herself or for others; her own meals are prepared by others and handed to her. This state of *a jen* ceases automatically with the menstruation period, and no kind of ceremony is performed.

A woman who has born a child out of wedlock remains *a jen* if the child's father is unknown. In case the father is known, he is obliged to marry her, and if he is a married man, she becomes his second wife. In case the father remains unknown, the woman's father builds a separate house for her and her child where she can live by herself; but most women prefer to leave the village and move to another place where they are unknown.

When a death occurs in a family the relatives living in the house are *a jen* until the evening of the third day after the funeral. During these three days they are obliged to remain in the house; some friends will prepare their meals, and everything else will be done by others. This state of *a jen* is limited to the house in which the death occurred and to the people who live there. Relatives who live in their own houses will not be *a jen*; they will only stop their usual work for three days, and they will attend the funeral ceremony. They can freely visit their friends and enjoy their meals.

In case of a death, the following purifying ceremony will be performed by a *bong thing* or by a *mün*; I shall describe it as performed by a *bong thing*:

On the third day in the evening the *bong thing* comes to the house where the death has occurred, and all the *a jen* members of the family, who have gathered outside the house, receive him courteously. The *bong thing* invokes the gods, and telling them that the assembled people, owing to the death in the house have become *a jen*, he says that he will now make them *a tsóng* again.

Then he takes some large leaves, generally elephant grass, in one hand and a chicken in the other, and with the leaves and the chicken he sweeps every person; first the head, then the shoulders, and finally the rest of the body.

When this ceremony has been performed, they are *a tsóng* again, and can mix freely with other people. The *bong thing* lets the chicken loose, and nothing more will happen to it.

A woman in childbed and her child are purified by a similar ceremony; it is performed on the third day after the confinement.

Although it was not mentioned by Tamsang in this connection, I think that the custom of castrating domestic animals selected for sacrificial purpose ought to be added to the list which he gave, for he asserted definitely that an uncastrated animal was considered to be unclean because of the semen, and that especially the repellent smell of the semen made it unclean. In order to remove this state of *a jen* the animals are castrated.

It is worth noting that many of the wild animals now considered *a jen* by the Kalimpong Lepchas were eaten formerly by the Lepchas (cf. pp. 103 ff.).

# GREAT RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES

## THE NEW YEAR CEREMONY

Informant: Tamsang

### *Kalimpong.*

The New Year, called *nam bǎn*,<sup>1</sup> begins officially on the eve of the new moon of the month *ra*. The date may vary according to the Calendar, but the New Year festival is usually celebrated at the end of the last week of the month *ra* and on the first days of the first week of the following month *mar*.

### *I. Ceremonies of the Last Day of the Old Year.*

#### *1. The Common Meal.*

On the last day of the old year all the members of the family, the father and mother, their children, the sons-in-law, the daughters-in-law, and the grandchildren assemble in the house of the family. Any male member of the family who has moved away from the house of the old parents will join them. If the old parents are not alive, the members of the family will assemble in the house belonging to the eldest brother. The *mǎn* and the *bong thǐng* will also be present.

Then a big ox or a big pig is killed, and the *bong thǐng* and the *mǎn* offer the cooked meat of the animal, rice, and *cí* to "the Good Spirit". This offering must take place before noon. Afterwards the members of the family eat the meat and drink *cí* prepared specially for this occasion.

#### *2. The Ceremonial Figure of the Old Year.*

In the afternoon the *bong thǐng* and the *mǎn* mould some rice into the shape of a figure representing the old year, place the figure on a large, round basket, and decorate it with various kinds of leaves and grasses. The *bong thǐng* also makes a small pot of moulded rice and puts some butter and a twig into it in order to use it as a lamp in front of the figure.

When it is beginning to get dark the *bong thǐng* decides on the auspicious time for the carrying away of the figure. The *mǎn* falls into a trance, and she, too, chants the auspicious time for the carrying away of the figure, and in addition she gives information about the direction in which the figure must be carried.

At the auspicious time the figure is moved into the middle of the room and placed facing the main door, and the *bong thǐng* and the *mǎn* take their seats quite close to it.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dict. 192a *nam* 2. s. a year and Dict. 251b–252a *bǎng* s. the bottom of anything, the root, the base, the foundation . . . the beginning, the source, the spring.



The *mūn* chants, thanking "the Good Spirit" for bestowing happiness, prosperity, and peace upon the household, and for the protection of the family from illness, famine, etc. Sprinkling *cí* from a cup smeared with butter she prays to "the Good Spirit" requesting it in the year to come to bestow happiness, prosperity, and peace upon the family.

### 3. Purification of the Members of the Family.

Then the *mūn* rises to her feet and takes two bunches of twigs and a thorny stick to which is tied a rupee. While the members of the family are sitting in front of the figure, she makes some sweeping movements with the twigs and the sticks along their bodies. She begins with the father and several times sweeps his head, shoulders, body, and legs, continually making the sweeping movements from above downwards. At the same time she prophesies that she now sweeps away not only the evil effects of unlucky days of the dying year, but also the misfortunes which during the old year have rested upon him, and which would still burden his life. She assures him that from now on these evils will be transmitted to the figure. Finally she declares him purified. Then she turns to the next member of the family performing the same ceremony, and in this way she purifies all the persons one by one.

The *bong thing* then rises and puts a handful of rice into the hands of each member of the family asking them to clench their fists in order that the imprints of their hands will be left clearly on the moulded rice. He then goes up to the father, takes his two pieces of moulded rice with the imprints of his hands, and says a prayer mentioning the name of the father and the name of the year in which he was born. He touches the old man's head, shoulders, and legs, first on the right side, then on the left side, orders him to spit on the two pieces of moulded rice with the imprints of his hands, and asks him to put them in front of the figure. Finally he declares that all the evils, misfortunes, diseases, etc. which have plagued him during the old year, will now leave him and pass over to the figure. Then he proceeds to all the other members of the family and purifies them in turn in the same way. This procedure may take quite a long time.

### 4. The Casting out of the Evil and the Old Year.

The *bong thing* takes a basket full of powder made of buckwheat, rice, beans, maize, pulse, etc. and spreads the powder on the floor in a line like a path from the figure to the main door. He then selects among the assembled people a number of young men, taking care that the names of their years of birth do not coincide with the names of any of the three previous years and the three coming years. It is the duty of these young men to carry away the figure, which is now loaded with all the evil powers which have plagued the members of the family. He therefore instructs them meticulously about the direction in which they must go. The Lepchas also believe that a great number of *mung* will disappear along the powder-path, following the figure.

When the young men have carried the figure out of the house, a girl sweeps the floor, throws the powder outside the house, and closes the main door carefully. It is a common belief that when the powder has been thrown outside, the *mung* will be unable to find their way back to the house.

When the girl has closed the door, the assembled people sit in silence waiting for the young men to return. On arriving they knock on the door, and the *bong thing* and the *mūn*

rise immediately and taking a pot full of *cí* and some embers from the hearth, they open the door and throw outside some of the contents of the pot. On entering the young men must touch the embers with their hands and feet, while the *mūn* sprinkles them with drops of *cí*. By touching the embers the *mung*, following the young men, will be scared away, and the sprinkling with *cí* purifies the young men of the evil effects of their contact with the figure. In this way the ceremony prevents anything evil being carried into the house.

### 5. *The New Year Feast and the Vigil.*

Then all the assembled people enjoy a magnificent feast, and the remainder of the night is spent in singing and dancing. During this night nobody is expected to sleep, because the God of the New Year is supposed to visit them and to make sure that everybody is welcoming him.

## II. *New Year's Day.*

The following day is the first day of the new moon of the new year. It is a holy day, and everybody stays quietly at home. No work is done, and it is permitted to leave the house only for a short while in order to fetch water, etc.

## III. *The Second Day of the New Year.*

Very early before dawn all the members of the family take a bath and put on new clothes. Before sunrise they assemble in front of the house altar, and while the head of the family burns candles and incense, they all sit down in a group praying for health, prosperity, and peace in the year to come.

A special cup full of *cí* and smeared on the rim with three lumps of butter has been kept on the altar. It is now taken down by the head of the family who sprinkles *cí* three times towards the sky, and then drinks a little of it. Small pats of butter are then taken from the lumps on the rim of the cup and put on the foreheads of all present. If there are any babies in the family, the mother will also put her fingers into the cup and sprinkle some drops of *cí* into the mouths of the babies.

o Thereafter the head of the family distributes presents to all of them, and the old members of the family give presents to the younger ones, and the younger ones to the still younger ones. Finally all the younger people bow down before the old people asking for their blessing.

Then they all sit down in the large room in order to enjoy a meal in common. But first the head of the family sacrifices food to the gods, and says a prayer. He also takes a small quantity of rice and curry from everybody's dish, puts it on a large banana leaf, offers it to the *mung*, and throws it outside. Thereafter they can enjoy their meal, joking and laughing.

When the meal is over, they leave the house to visit their neighbours, to greet them, to wish them a happy New Year, and to ask them for their blessing.

All the villagers pay a special visit to the headman, taking with them as presents a ceremonial scarf, a loin of pork, and a big load of *cí*. The headman in return presents them with a lavish meal and entertains them. Tamsang, who is himself a headman, says that he usually gives the villagers a good meal of rice and curry prepared with spices, and several Indian, Tibetan and Chinese dishes and sweets, and sometimes tinned foods, and various favourite drinks. If they are accompanied by children, he presents the children with money and sweets.

#### IV. *The Period from the Third to the Sixth Day of the New Year.*

Throughout the period from the third to the sixth day of the New Year people continue to visit relatives and friends. They take presents with them, the value of which vary according to the rank and position of the receiver. In return the host presents them with clothes, money, grain, and sometimes even greater gifts such as domestic animals, e. g. oxen, cows, pigs, etc. Cattle of foreign breed are specially valued. It may also happen that they stay with their host for a night or two.

During these days the villages present a lively picture. People gather at the headmen's houses with their presents, eat, drink, and make merry; all ages are represented, they sing many songs<sup>1</sup> to their own music, and dance.

There are also great archery competitions among the young men. They use bows made of bamboo with strings of fine threads prepared from the bast of special trees; the arrows are made of bamboo, and have pointed iron heads with kite feathers at the end. The general shooting distance is about 180 m. It is common for the young men of a village to divide into rival groups, and often competitors from other villages are invited to join them.

#### V. *The Seventh Day of the New Year.*

On the seventh day of the New Year, the last day of the festival, the headman of the village kills a big pig and prepares many meals of rice and curry, and many bamboo bottles of *cí*, as all the villagers will assemble in order to attend the final archery competition and to indulge in the pleasures of the last day of the New Year festival. On this occasion the old men and the old women bless the headman saying, "May you enjoy the three blessings: Health, Wealth, and Good Reputation! And may your days be full of peace and happiness!".

The Lepchas always look forward to the New Year festival. On this occasion they all assemble and have the opportunity of meeting relatives and friends. The men appear in their homespun clothes wearing black hats, decorated with strips of silk and beads on the top. The women wear clothes of many colours, and have their hair done up in the shape of bird tails. The entire New Year Festival with its solemn religious ceremonies, happy social gatherings, and gay entertainments touches off all the latent, happy feelings of the people, it appeals to the Lepcha as nothing else does, and it is the most beloved period of the whole year.

### THE CHERIM CEREMONIES OF TINGBUNG

As stated above, several villages in the Tingbung area had their particular Cherim sites. These sites, being reserved exclusively for the Cherim ceremonies performed twice a year, at the beginning of the rains and at the beginning of winter, are treated with truly religious veneration. Since several detailed investigations of various phases of the Cherim ceremonies have been published,<sup>2</sup> I shall confine my report to what I observed and heard myself.

On May 23rd, about noon, I accompanied some men to the Cherim place of Tingbung village, not far from the house belonging to *rig zing* (see the village of Tingbung, house No. 1, cf. Map of the Tingbung area, p. 45), where many men and boys soon arrived, later to be joined by the women.

<sup>1</sup> Waddell 1899, pp. 50 f. renders some songs from the New Year Festival.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Morris pp. 4 ff., 152 ff.; Gorer pp. 228 ff.; Nebesky-Wojtkowitz 1951, pp. 70 ff.

This Cherim place is a low hill, full of rocks and stones, and with scattered patches of bamboo. Two old men cleared the ground of branches and leaves, and began, assisted by two younger men, to make arrangements for the ceremony.

First they cut bamboo in various lengths and stuck the canes into the ground; one cane was cut in the shape of a gun and decorated with strings.

They then arranged twelve stones in a group on some turfs close by.<sup>1</sup> These stones were said to represent some of the peaks in the vicinity of *kong chen*, considered to be the suite or soldiers of *kong chen*. The men put a bamboo pipe beside each stone, stuck flowers into the pipes and poured milk into them. Then they placed eggs, decorated with black line-drawings, and some large leaves covered with rice and various seeds and grains on the ground between the stones. Each household gave a chicken to the ceremony, and these chickens were hung on poles and branches around the site.

Finally the men made elaborate altar-like arrangements around a large stone representing *kong chen*, using bamboo pipes filled with butter as lamps. Many people brought offerings: large leaves with heaps of seeds were placed round the stones, and baskets full of vegetables were hung in the branches round about. When the recitation of the ritual began they all burnt incense.

Everything being ready *hlam bo* (see the village of Tingbung, House No. 6, see p. 49), assisted by a woman and a man, stepped forward and began the recital of the ritual, now and then sprinkling *ci* into the air in different directions.

Then, when *hlam bo* stopped reciting, some men removed the chickens hanging on the poles and branches and killed them by striking them on the head. They took the dead chickens into the jungle and cooked them.

When the men returned with the cooked chickens, *hlam bo* resumed his recital. From time to time he sprinkled *ci* in the direction of some mountain or locality mentioned in his recital, while the men assisting him threw pieces of the cooked chicken in the same direction.

The recital by *hlam bo* runs as follows:

(Text No. 31)

[Invocation of *kong chen* and other supernatural beings].

- (1) "To *kong chen* we have given a present (i. e. offering).
- (2) To *tã lom pán grim* we have given a present.
- (3-4) To *gyũng sor kã ku* and to *pyák sor kã kyót* we have given a present.
- (5-6) To *tak se thing* and to *tak bo thing* we have given a present.
- (7) To *cya dũng ra zo mũ nyũ*,
- (8) and to *hik tí mũ nyũ*,
- (9) and to *zo mon pã tam*,
- (10) and to *pã wo hũng rí*,
- (11) and to *kã por kong chen* we have given a present.
- (12) Do not give sickness to this place!
- (13) Do not give illness!
- (14) Do not cause us to be ill!
- (15) Do not cause death!
- (16) Do not cause disease to spread!

<sup>1</sup> Morris p. 155 mentions that at the Cherim ceremony at Lingthem eight stones were picked up from the path and placed in position.

[Addressed to *tak se tson(mung)*].

- (17) *tak se tson!*  
 (18) Now we have given the life of this hen,  
 (19) we have given its blood and meal (flesh).  
 (20) Eat you these things!  
 (21) To this place do not give disease and sickness!  
 (22) Do not cause us to be ill!  
 (23) Do not cause death!

[Addressed to *tak bo tson(mung)*].

- (24) *tak bo tson!*  
 (25) Do not give sickness to this place!  
 (26) Do not give illness!  
 (27) Do not cause us to be ill!  
 (28) Do not cause death!  
 (29) Do not cause disease to spread!  
 (30) Now we have given the life of this hen,  
 (31) we have given its blood and meat (flesh).  
 (32) Eat you these things!  
 (33) To this place do not give disease and sickness!  
 (34) Do not cause us to be ill!  
 (35) Do not cause death!

[Addressed to various *mung*. Ll. 25–35 were repeated after the name of each *mung*].

- (36) *pān jing* mountain (*mung*)! (+ repetition).  
 (37) *la ni gong* mountain (*mung*)! (+ repetition).  
 (38) *pān song* mountain (*mung*)! (+ repetition).  
 (39) *pā li gang* mountain (*mung*)! (+ repetition).  
 (40) *mā ro li pāng* (*mung*)! (+ repetition).  
 (41) *sā no lāng kyol* (*mung*)! (+ repetition).  
 (42) *lāng song* mountain (*mung*)! (+ repetition).  
 (43) *kā cer vi* (*mung*)! (+ repetition).  
 (44) *sā hyór* mountain (*mung*)! (+ repetition).  
 (45) *pān dong* mountain (*mung*)! (+ repetition).  
 (46) *pā ki* mountain (*mung*)! (+ repetition).  
 (47) *sā rong* mountain (*mung*)! (+ repetition).  
 (48) *lāng yi* mountain (*mung*)! (+ repetition).  
 (49) *dang dū* mountain (*mung*)! (+ repetition).  
 (50) *pā zor* mountain (*mung*)! (+ repetition).  
 (51) *pa tel* mountain (*mung*)! (+ repetition).  
 (52) *rang dyang* mountain (*mung*)! (+ repetition).  
 (53) *rang gang* mountain (*mung*)! (+ repetition).  
 (54) *kār ni kār song* mountain (*mung*)! (+ repetition).  
 (55) *tang dong* mountain (*mung*)! (+ repetition).  
 (56) *sāng cer mit* mountain (*mung*)! (+ repetition).  
 (57) *tak cyom* mountain (*mung*)! (+ repetition).

- (58) *lāng góm* mountain (*mung*)! (+ repetition).  
 (59) *tat kṛi* mountain (*mung*)! (+ repetition).  
 (60) *sā ling sā tho gen* mountain (*mung*)! (+ repetition).  
 (61) *sā mok sā bok* mountain (*mung*)! (+ repetition).  
 (62) *ā nyo kǎn do mǔ* (*mung*)! (+ repetition).  
 (63) *sǎng kyon dǎng zot* mountain (*mung*)! (+ repetition).  
 (64) *pǎ cyor pǎ tang* mountain (*mung*)! (+ repetition).  
 (65) *pǎn kṛor hla shen* (*mung*)! (+ repetition).  
 (66) *lǎ mar cyo men* (*mung*)! (+ repetition).

It was also at Tingbung that I was fortunate enough to obtain the wording of another Cherim ritual; however, as I am not sure whether this ritual belongs to the summer or the winter ceremony, I give it here simply as a Cherim ritual. It deals with the *sā kyu thing* (cf. p. 90), and is especially interesting because it sheds new light on these beings, their wanderings and behaviour, and the reactions of the various peoples to them.

(Text No. 32)

- (1) "Honourable *sā kyu* who appeared from *kār ko*!  
 (2) When you went into Tibet,  
 (3) you got one hundred sheep;  
 (4) when you went into Bhutan,  
 (5) you got one hundred Bhutanese dresses;  
 (6) when you went into Nepal,  
 (7) you got one hundred *kōng ka ji* dresses and *ka sā bok* dresses;  
 (8) when you came into Sikkim,  
 (9) you got one hundred bottles of *cí*,  
 (10) and you got one hundred leaf plates (with offerings).  
 (11) Now we have offered bird(s), *cí*, rice, a rupee and a scarf.  
 (12) These things we have given to *rǔm* (i. e. the *sā kyu*).  
 (13) To us, do not cause sick legs!  
 (14) To us, do not cause sick hands!  
 (15) To us, do not cause sick eyes!  
 (16) To us, do not cause sick ears!  
 (17) To the honourable *sā kyu* we have given presents!  
 (18) You *rǔm*! Please, go (instead) down to the large place and the large water!

#### THE GREAT *kong chen* CEREMONY OF TINGBUNG

Time and again, *kong chen*, the Lepcha name of Mount Kanchenjunga<sup>1</sup>, has been mentioned above as the residence of the great Lepcha *rǔm* of that name. This *rǔm* exercises great influence on the ceremonies associated both with the life of the family and of the individual, but, as will appear from the following pages, he is also intimately associated with the whole of Lepcha society.

First some general remarks. Mount Kanchenjunga is the third highest mountain in the world, the highest being Mount Everest and the next highest Mount Godwin Austen in Karako-

<sup>1</sup> Concerning the various forms of the name of Kanchenjunga, cf. van Manen 1932, pp. 198 ff.

rum. The Kanchenjunga, 28,146 ft. high, is situated almost on the border of Sikkim and Nepal, and dominates completely this part of the Himalayas, being visible from everywhere within the area. At a distance it looks like a snow-white tent hovering above the long ranges of the peaks and ridges of the Sikkim Himalayas; it forms a fascinating feature in the landscape, and exerts an almost magnetic influence on one; looking round, the eye inevitably returns to it and dwells on it. No wonder it plays a main part in the religion of the Tingbung Lepchas, just as it does in the religion of the lamas of the Sikkim monasteries, who perform their own ceremonies and dances to the Kanchenjunga as the great war god of Sikkim.<sup>1</sup>

The Tingbung Lepchas celebrate annually a great *kong chen* ceremony with far-reaching national aspects, and yet it seems to be little known, sometimes quite unknown, outside the localities of Northern Sikkim. Tamsang of Kalimpong had never heard of it, and he was much astonished to learn of it from me. But the Tingbung people were well aware of its world-wide importance—a point of view which became obvious to me during my increasing contacts with them. Naturally, they often pondered over my presence among them and over my queer questions, until one day one of them arrived at a conclusion which put an end to further discussion. My obvious deep interest in the *kong chen* ceremonies revealed to them that the fame of this mountain god had spread to my remote country, and therefore I had come to pay homage to *kong chen* himself.<sup>2</sup>

As stated in the description of Tingbung (p. 58) an important shrine called *hla thu* is situated in this locality, in the village of Nung. A priest living at Nung was in charge of this shrine, which is the centre of two annual ceremonies to *kong chen*. One minor ceremony takes place in the month of *nūm tsam*, but unfortunately I did not obtain any information about that ceremony. The other and greater ceremony is celebrated in the month of *kūr sōng*. It will be described below.

### 1. *The Priest of kong chen.*

The priest of *kong chen*, who was said to be a male *mūn*, was an old man, whose age was given as seventy-five. He had a peculiar, wrinkled face (Pl. VII) with small, cunning eyes, and a tall slim figure with long limbs. In spite of his age he moved easily, and one day I found him working in his farm-yard.

In daily life he was known as Junggi, but sometimes he was called Sanggyut, while his birth name was said to be Yangkyok. The last name was rarely used, and it was only disclosed when I asked if he was known by any other names, too.

He led an ordinary life with his family in his own house (see p. 58, Nung Village, House No. 2), and he appeared to be rather well-off. He was a great and mysterious personality in the eyes of the other members of the community, who treated him with a special reverence mixed with awe. I was told that the priests of *kong chen* had always been equipped with a small tail, a detail which unfortunately I never had the opportunity to verify.

It was difficult to approach Junggi; he was shy by nature and seemed to be particularly afraid of me, the foreigner, who presumably was accompanied by some strange and powerful *mung*, as Tsering explained to me. I later realised that this fear had been corroborated by the fact that his one-year-old son (or grandson?) unhappily died of a disease immediately after my arrival at Tingbung.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Waddell 1939, p. 511; Gorer pp. 201 ff.; Morris pp. 274 ff.; Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956a, pp. 216 ff.

<sup>2</sup> This conclusion agrees in a strange way with the legend concerning the origin of the *kong chen* cult, see p. 192.

I waited some time until his first grief was over, and then I began to pay courtesy visits to his house, presenting him with small gifts, and invited him to dine with me in my tent. In this way he gradually gained confidence in me, and at last I succeeded in persuading him to grant Tsering and me some interviews. Thus we obtained the wording of several highly significant rituals, which later were supplemented by additional descriptions and information given by other Lepchas, and so by degrees we secured a comprehensive picture of the great cult of *kong chen*.

By way of illustrating our collaboration I shall describe what happened one day when Junggi was sitting in my tent with Tsering and me. During our interview I asked Junggi to give us the complete wording of the Processional Song (Text No. 34). It was immediately obvious that this request put him in a difficult position, and he replied with timid eyes that it was impossible, because it was a holy and secret song. I tried to persuade him, but in vain. I then asked Tsering to try to find out what was the matter, and at last we got the reply that he feared the measures of the *mung* in case he disclosed this song to a foreigner. After some consideration I decided to resort to an unusual course of action. I ordered Angdawa to stand sentry outside the tent and to call out if anything extraordinary happened; then I closed the tent door carefully and asked Junggi to whisper the words into the ears of Tsering and me. At long last he agreed, and we got the ritual.

An ancient legend illustrating the importance of the *kong chen* cult and the origin of its hereditary priests is current among the Tingbung Lepchas. It runs as follows:

*“It mu created kong chen. He is the eldest son of it mu. When he was created he asked it mu to make him the chief god. He did not like to become a god only of Tibet, or of Nepal, or of Bhutan, but he wanted to be the god of all countries. In every country of the world they now worship kong chen.*

At first when he was created, there was not a single man to worship *kong chen*. *it mu* therefore created a big serpent called *pã yel bū*. When *it mu* created *pã yel bū*, it came out from under the earth, and it stayed at the foot of *kong chen*. One day, when *pã yel bū* was coming down the river Rangnyu, it blocked the waters; and instead of floating down the river, it went backwards up the river. Then the waters returned and spread as far as the bottom of *pang yung cu*. At the bottom of *pang yung cu* there is a place called Sangnok *pã tãm*, where six male and one female beings used to live. They were brothers and sister, and the sister used to work in the fields sowing seeds of millet and Nahu. She prepared *ci* from the grains of millet and meals from Nahu.

Once when she was working in the fields, her six brothers went to *kong chen* and became his soldiers, and were changed into *mung*. Although they were *mung*, they used to come to their sister's house, and she then prepared *ci* and meals for them. The eldest brother became *sang fon vik*, the second brother *kam dun vik*, the third brother *rang kyol vik*, the fourth brother *mã dyang vik*, the fifth brother *rang nok vik*, and the sixth brother *tã lóm pan dím vik*.

They now visited their sister very seldom, but still she used to await them every day, and she told them that she was very unhappy because they visited her so seldom. Therefore one day she prepared *ci* in a big vessel, and while she and her brothers were drinking *ci* from the vessel, she told them that she would leave them and go southwards. If she gave birth to human beings, they would perform ceremonies to her brothers, but if she got no children, the brothers must not be content with ceremonies from other people. Then she left and went to *la ven*,<sup>1</sup> where she stayed.

<sup>1</sup> *la ven* is a place on the other side of the river, opposite Tingbung.



At *la ven* she met a young man and lived with him, and later she gave birth to a son who suffered from stammering. At that time the serpent *pā yel bū* came out from the bottom of *kong chen*, went down the river Rangnyu, and came to *dang dyal*. There it blocked the river, and the waters floated backwards to *pang yung cu*. The river was completely blocked, and not even a drop of water trickled downwards.

The other people now studied their books and thought that if the stammering boy would perform a ceremony to *kong chen* and to *pā yel bū*, the waters would flow downwards again. Then all the people gathered and went to *la ven* and asked the boy to perform the ceremony. The boy agreed, but he asked the people not to stand close to the river, and not to keep their cattle there.

The boy took some fowl, made some small baskets into which he put various kinds of crops, and went close to *dang dyal* in order to perform a ceremony. He made a bamboo altar and arranged it with two small lamps, a piece of cloth, a rupee and a ceremonial scarf. He burnt incense, killed the fowl, and gave their lives and some pieces of their meat to his six uncles.

Thereafter the serpent *pā yel bū* let the waters free and floated himself down the stream to *cya dūng ra zo*, the wife of *kong chen*.

Later on the boy married a girl, and she gave birth to a son. When the father died, the son kept up the custom of performing the same ceremony to *kong chen*, and so did all his descendants. He is the ancestor of the *kong chen* priests, of which Junggi is the present one. The name of the stammering boy was 'ayeng bōng'.<sup>1</sup>

Just like many other Lepchas of the Tingbung area, Junggi also had his own house altar standing along the end wall of a large, empty room. I only once got the opportunity to visit this room, which was in semi-darkness as the daylight came in only through the peep-hole. I therefore had to content myself with a rough impression of what could be seen.

The centre of the altar table was occupied by a book, wrapped up in a piece of yellow cloth before which seven small vessels with water and rice and a Mandala base of metal were standing. A printed cloth was hanging on the back wall behind the altar, and four small flags could be seen to the left; to the right of the altar a gun, a spear, a fairly large elephant tusk, called *tyang mo vik*,<sup>2</sup> about 1.80 m. long, and a smaller elephant tusk were leaning against the wall. I was told that the spear was used for the killing of the yak at the *hla thu* place (see p. 197 f.). The big elephant tusk was said to be a present from one of the Maharajahs. There was also a large knife hanging on the wall, and a pan of charcoal stood on the floor. The smell of incense filled the air, witness to the recent performance of a ceremony.

In the same room I further noticed several quivers with arrows. We were shown three arrows tied together, their heads covered by a leaf; two of the arrow-heads were of iron, the third was of bamboo. They were said to have been smeared with a dangerous vegetable poison.

We were told that the priest celebrated his ordinary ceremonies before this altar, and that the villagers joined him in the greater celebrations. Some of the implements were used only at the *kong chen* ceremony, e. g. the spear and the elephant tusks.

The priest is strictly forbidden to leave the Tingbung area except for his regular visits

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dict. 263b *bōng* 3 vb. n. 1. to be without power, without strength, weak, feeble, helpless, etc. . . . 'ayeng *bōng* a helpless infant; to be dumb, speechless etc.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dict. 145a *tyang* 3, . . . *tyang-mo vik*, s. ivory.

to Gangtok to celebrate the initial part of the *kong chen* ceremony there, and for occasional visits to Mangan bazaar for buying necessary goods. This prohibition is rooted in the dangerous powers residing in the *mung* who follow him, and if he wandered about these *mung* would spread diseases and troubles among the inhabitants of the villages he visited.

*The Shrine hla thu.*

The priest was in charge of a peculiar open-air shrine standing a few hundred yards above his house, quite close to a path running from Tingbung to the river. I have never met a similar shrine, and it struck me as something exceptional both in structure and in function.

The shrine was built of two groups of natural stones, a bamboo platform for vegetable offerings, and two poles to which the sacrificial yak (see p. 197) was tied. Two prayer flags were hanging in a tree on the opposite side of the path.

At first sight the stones seemed to be lying in disorder, but their arrangement became obvious to me when I was told that they represented mountain peaks or ridges. *rig zing*, my local informant, was able to give me the names of the bigger stones, representing the most prominent peaks or ridges.

Each group of stones had a bigger stone as its centre: one centre stone represented *kong chen* surrounded by several minor stones, i. e. minor peaks or ridges which were called his followers or soldiers; the other centre stone represented Sakvok, said to be a wife of *kong chen*, and the smaller stones around it were her followers or soldiers; another stone was *cya dŭng ra zo*, who, to my knowledge, is the ordinary wife of *kong chen*.

It became clear that the shrine was constructed as a miniature replica of the mountain panorama, and that it so to speak shadowed forth the divine and spiritual environment of the inhabitants. It testified pre-eminently to the Lepchas' sensitive experience of nature, and demonstrated an ancient manner of re-shaping such experiences in a religious form.

The most prominent stones of the first group (Pl. VIII nos. 1–9) represented: 1. *kong chen*; 2. *pang yung cu*; 3. *pā kí cu*; 4. *sā rong cu*; 5. *pā lyang cu*; 6. *sa hyŭr cu*; 7. *pa yóng cu*; 8. *lang do cu*; 9. Bagebo.

The stones of the second group (Pl. VIII nos. 10–19) represented: 10. Sakvok (said to be a wife of *kong chen*); 11. *sap dŭt ra ho*; 12. *pā wo hŭng rí*; 13. Samo Gadyong; 14. Sumu King *cu*; 15. Sangshong *dar mít*; 16. Sakvok *mŭ nyŭ*; 17. *cya dŭng ra zo* (the ordinary wife of *kong chen*); 18. Kati *mŭ nyŭ*, 19. Sabru.

The entire shrine was called *hla thu*, a word which appears to be identical with the Tibetan *lha tho*, an abode of a god or *lha*,<sup>1</sup> here obviously meaning the place where the local deity, i. e. *kong chen*, has his cultic dwelling.

It is this shrine which forms the cultic centre for the great ceremony to *kong chen*, celebrated during the month of *kŭr sŏng*.

#### THE INDIVIDUAL STAGES OF THE *kong chen* CEREMONY

There can be no doubt that this ceremony is the most important religious function among the Lepchas of the Tingbung area. The people frequently referred to it and always in such a way as to indicate that they were talking of something very holy. They told me that the

<sup>1</sup> The *hla thu* question will be dealt with in Part III.

custom of celebrating this ceremony was very, very old, and they added proudly that the Maharajahs had always taken a great interest in it. They also informed me that the present Maharajah had impressed on them the necessity of keeping up the ceremony in order to avoid the evil influence of the *mung*.

During the days of the ceremony all the villagers must abstain from normal sexual life, they can do no work, neither attend their fields nor collect fuel, and those who do not partake in the ceremony must remain at home.

### 1. *The Initial Ceremony.*

The initial ceremony takes place in the palace grounds at Gangtok. Headed by the priest about twenty men set out from Tingbung and walk to Gangtok. In the palace grounds the Maharajah (or his representative?) receives them, presenting them with a yak, some pieces of cloth, some rice, and some *cí*.

While still in the palace grounds they decorate the horns of the yak with the pieces of cloth, and presenting it with the rice and some money, they join the priest in the following prayer which he recites in front of the yak:

- (1) "rūm! Do not cause us sickness! (Text No. 33)
- (2) Do not cause us disease and sickness!
- (3) Do not cause us cough and cold and sickness!
- (4) The sky and the sun have given this yak.
- (5) Now we here, the life of this animal,
- (6) the meat and the blood, are giving to you, rūm!
- (7) Do accept this animal here!"

In this brief opening prayer the main points of the entire *kong chen* ceremony immediately come to the fore: The invocation of the rūm, i. e. *kong chen*; the threefold request to *kong chen* that they may not be infested with diseases; the Maharajah's participation in the ceremony by donating the sacrificial animal; the people's presentation of the sacrificial animal to *kong chen*; and the final prayer to *kong chen* to accept the sacrifice. The words "the sky and the sun" (4) are a current honorific term for the Maharajah.

### 2. *The Procession from Gangtok to the hla thu Shrine.*

Thereafter the men set out in procession to the *hla thu* of Tingbung: the yak is led at the head of the procession, followed by the priest, and after him the other Lepchas. Some men are equipped with drums and bells, playing as an orchestra in honour of the yak, while now and again young men perform ceremonious steps as a processional dance. Not only the arrangement of the procession, but also the persons acting in it, characterise the entire performance as a very holy undertaking.

From time to time the priest intones a holy and secret hymn (cf. p. 192) in a low murmuring voice, the men joining him by raising their voices at the end of each line. This hymn is simple and monotonous, but rich in references to Lepcha mythology. It runs as follows:

- (1) " *mã yel tong* has created,
- (2) *mũ lǔng tong* has created,
- (3) *tar bom bũ* has created,
- (4) *na rip bũ* has created,
- (5) *kãm si thing* has created,
- (6) *kam yũ thing* has created,
- (7) *sak tsũm thing* has created."

(Text No. 34)

These few verses sound rather obscure, but all Lepchas would respond immediately to them with feelings of religious gratitude and praise. The supernatural beings or *rũm* invoked as creative powers have, each of them, had their particular share in making the world into a habitable, fruitful, and orderly place for mankind.

*mã yel tong* and *mũ lǔng tong* have created the paddy-rice, the millet, and the maize; *tar bom bũ* has instituted all religious songs; *na rip bũ* has created both the cultivable and the uncultivable soil; *kãm si thing* has instituted the marriage of human beings; *kam yũ thing* has created all edible things; *sak tsũm thing* has created the thoughts of man and his ability to think.

It will easily be seen that the priest by the recital of this hymn has, in a way, encircled the entire Lepcha culture; the most significant creations and institutions of their culture are here enumerated, and the supernatural beings, once active in the shaping of them, are now invoked through this processional hymn.

On the fourth day in the evening the procession, following the route: Gangtok—Dikchu—Mangen—Jongu—Tingbung, arrives at the *hla thu* place. Here the ground and the stones are cleansed, the yak is tied to the poles, and the presents are placed nearby. While the majority of the participants in the procession proceed to the priest's house, a few men are left at the site as guardians. They light a fire, burn incense, and keep vigil.

### 3. *The Nocturnal Ceremony in the Priest's House.*

Meanwhile a great body of men have assembled in the altar room of the priest's house, and during the following night a ceremony will be celebrated here by the priest. They light the butter lamps and, while prostrate in front of the altar, the priest recites the following prayer:

- (1) "King *kong chen!*
- (2) King *kóng lo!*
- (3) For the Maharajah, the king:
- (4) the evil breath of *mǎng ti yang (mung)*,
- (5) the evil breath of *mã yũm (mung)*
- (6) bad thing will come.
- (7) In the middle of *dar (mung place)*,
- (8) in the middle of *sóm róng (place)*,
- (9) in the rainbow:
- (10) the cloud will come,
- (11) the tiger will come,
- (12) the Bhutanese king will come,

(Text No. 35)

- (13) the Bhutanese queen will come,
- (14) the Nepalese will come,
- (15) the Limbus will come,
- (16) the king *kím* will come.
- (17) That these will not come,
- (18) King *kong chen*,
- (19) you yourself give help!''.

This prayer is an invocation of *kong chen* and *kóng lo* on behalf of the Maharajah entreating them to prevent the *mung* mentioned from doing any harm to the Maharajah. All the obscure phrases and names refer to *mung* or to neighbouring peoples supposed to be governed by *mung*; among these are enumerated the Bhutanese king, the Nepalese, and the Limbus; peoples with whom the Lepchas have had quarrels or wars during the last centuries.

#### 4. *The Sacrifice of the Yak at the hla thu Shrine.*

Very early next morning the people from Tingbung gather at *hla thu* bringing *cí* and rice, and soon the priest arrives accompanied by the men who have joined him in the night ceremony in his house. They bring the spear, the big elephant tusk, a *tor ma*, pieces of cloth, small altar vessels, and the gun from the priest's house.

The priest decorates the yak with pieces of cloth, while some prayer flags, which have been presented by the Maharajah, are hung in the top of one of the trees. The priest then arranges the bamboo platform as a provisional altar with the *tor ma*, the vessels, and some other pieces of cloth. He then smears small lumps of butter on the tops of the stones of the shrine, fills the vessels with a mixture of rice and *cí*, steps forward, and throwing rice and *cí* into the air he recites the following prayer:

- (1) ''*kong chen*! (Text No. 36)
- (2) Let there be nothing evil to the Maharajah!
- (3) Let there be no trouble to the Maharajah!
- (4) Let the Maharajah's life be long!
- (5) In this place among the smaller animals and the bigger animals,
- (6) in order that nothing of sickness and illness may happen,
- (7) having collected the whole tribute,
- (8) we have given it to king *kong chen*.
- (9) *cya dǔng ra zo*, Majesty!
- (10) having collected offerings of first-fruits crops, we have offered.
- (11) Do not put us into sickness and illness!
- (12) Let us live in peace!
- (13) To *rǔm* we have given presents (i. e. offerings).

The meaning of this prayer, imploring protection, is obvious. The priest requests *kong chen* not to cause any harm or trouble to the Maharajah, but to give him a long life; he beseeches *kong chen* not to cause any illness to come upon the cattle and the people, but to give them a peaceful life; and he emphasises that today they have given tribute to *kong chen* and offerings of first-fruits to his wife.

When the priest has finished his prayer, a man, naked to the waist, steps forward, ready to kill the yak. This act is his particular duty, he has been appointed to it by the Maharajah, and he performs it every year. He grasps the spear, which has been brought from the priest's house, and thrusts it into the heart of the yak. The Lepchas say that no drop of blood gushing out will fall to the ground, but all the blood will disappear immediately and completely—an omen that the sacrifice has been accepted. When the yak has died, some men hastily skin it, cut open the body, and cutting a piece from each important part of the body, they collect these pieces and boil them.

The priest then steps forward, takes these pieces, and mixing them with rice and with blood from the yak, he moulds them into small lumps. While invoking the supernatural beings, one by one, he throws the lumps into the air, requesting the *rūm* and the *mung* to accept the sacrifice.

Tsering and I succeeded in obtaining two versions of this prayer, a longer one given by the *kong chen* priest himself, and a shorter one given by Marji. I shall first quote the longer one:

- |      |   |               |
|------|---|---------------|
| (1)  | “ <i>kong chen!</i>                             | (Text No. 37) |
| (2)  | Offering [i. e. sacrifice], there!              |               |
| (3)  | <i>chūng rí gam páng!</i>                       |               |
| (4)  | <i>tak se tsám!</i>                             |               |
| (5)  | <i>sa nyór lóng tsám!</i>                       |               |
| (6)  | <i>lāng kór!</i>                                |               |
| (7)  | <i>sa hyūr mountain, offering!</i>              |               |
| (8)  | <i>tá lóm, offering!</i>                        |               |
| (9)  | <i>pǎ kí mountain, offering!</i>                |               |
| (10) | <i>lóng ni gong!</i>                            |               |
| (11) | <i>tāk sóm!</i>                                 |               |
| (12) | <i>tūm long!</i>                                |               |
| (13) | King <i>lang do</i> , offering!                 |               |
| (14) | To the majestic king <i>tak bar</i> , offering! |               |
| (15) | To lord <i>gap ce yüm ce</i> , offering!        |               |
| (16) | Lord <i>kū dāng!</i>                            |               |
| (17) | To <i>rip</i> soldier, offering!                |               |
| (18) | <i>lāng kó mountain!</i>                        |               |
| (19) | <i>pǎ lyang mountain!</i>                       |               |
| (20) | <i>kū bóng mountain!</i>                        |               |
| (21) | <i>lāng di yang rāng gón mountain!</i>          |               |
| (22) | <i>ra byk!</i>                                  |               |
| (23) | <i>mā dyang dól</i>                             |               |
| (24) | <i>kam fon!</i>                                 |               |
| (25) | <i>par wot pan dot!</i>                         |               |
| (26) | <i>ram bong tūm!</i>                            |               |
| (27) | <i>tak cyóm kǎ óm!</i>                          |               |
| (28) | <i>mam brām!</i>                                |               |
| (29) | <i>tak lo na nít!</i>                           |               |
| (30) | <i>lāng gom mountain!</i>                       |               |
| (31) | <i>ta kri mountain!</i>                         |               |

- (32) *kap li kam cen!*  
 (33) *rak sol lang dǒng* mountain, offering!  
 (34) We have offered to *luk ni lǎng bong* mountain (*mung?*)!  
 (35) We have offered to *sang jǒm sāng pi gok!*  
 (36) We have offered to *sa kyet pā tok!*  
 (37) We have offered to *na rǎm* mountain!  
 (38) We have offered to *nam bǔ* mountain!  
 (39) We have offered to *na ryeng lǎng seng!*  
 (40) *pi yǎng gong* up in the mountains!  
 (41) *dam su bik sǒ!*  
 (42) *yǎm bǔ yat bǔ!*  
 (43) *lǎng sǒk lang dok,* offering!  
 (44) *ra gor ram!*  
 (45) Soldier *ram!*  
 (46) Gangtok, Enche!  
 (47) *ta dǎng sāng voki!*  
 (48) *hik lí mǔ nǔ!*  
 (49) *cya dǎng ra zǒ!*  
 (50) ? ? ?  
 (51) To these, we have offered!  
 (52) To (those?) down, we have offered!".

The shorter version given by Marji runs as follows:

- (1) "'*kam fǒn* soldier!  
 (2) *kam mǎn* soldier!  
 (3) *sak po* soldier!  
 (4) *sak lu* soldier!  
 (5) *tǎ lǒm* mountain soldier!  
 (6) *pǎn grǎm* soldier!  
 (7) *sa cyong* soldier!  
 (8) *pǎn krong* soldier!  
 (9) *rǎng yang dang* soldier!  
 (10) *lǎng tyól* soldier!  
 (11) *rǎng nǒp* soldier!  
 (12) *sa hem cǒm (tsǒm)* soldier!  
 (13) *sang fyók* soldier!  
 (14) Gangtok soldier!  
 (15) Enche soldier!  
 (16) *kyo fo* soldier!  
 (17) *vi rǎm* soldier!  
 (18) King (of) *ra vo,* soldier!  
 (19) Kalimpong soldier!  
 (20) Tashiding soldier!  
 (21) Pemayangtse soldier!  
 (22) To you here, we have given these things!

(Text No. 38)

- (23) Please eat these things!
- (24) Return to your own dwelling-place!
- (25) Those who are from the upper regions, please return up there!  
Those who are from the lower regions, please return down there!''.

In spite of the differences between the two versions a close examination of their contents will show that the two rituals have the same theme: an invocation of the important supernatural beings of the old Lepcha country (i. e. Sikkim and surrounding areas); beginning with the immediate neighbourhood of Mount *kong chen* and Tingbung, it proceeds through the central and southern parts of Sikkim and takes in a few places outside Sikkim proper (viz. Chumbi Valley and Kalimpong). The intention of the prayers is obvious: By distributing these pieces of meat to the supernatural beings, the latter ought to be satisfied, and the people hope that they will not attack them again, causing illness and death, but that they will return to their own dwelling-places.

The priest then steps forward again and recites once more the prayer used before the sacrifice of the yak (Text No. 36).

Thereafter the yak hide is cut into two halves, one for the *kong chen* group of stones, and one for the other group (see p. 194). The remaining important pieces of meat, the heart, the liver, the brain, etc., are divided into two equal parts, and carefully put on the two halves of the hide.

The priest now smears blood on top of the stones and recites the following:

- (1) "Today we have given you red blood and red meat! (Text No. 39)
- (2) Having eaten (accepted) these things,
- (3) return to the rock house,
- (4) return to your house at the base of the tree!
- (5) Take and eat these pieces of meat!
- (6) Until the rain clears away next year,  
do not cause us hurt (temptation?), sickness and illness!''.

In this prayer the supernatural beings are implored to accept the blood and the meat of the animal, to return to their own dwellings, and not to cause the people any evil until the next ceremony to *kong chen*.

##### 5. *The Common Meal on the Remainder of the Yak and the Priest's Final Prayer.*

The people collected now enjoy a common meal on the remainder of the rice and the meat, and drink what is left of the *ci*, but everybody always throws something of his meal and some drops of his *ci* into the air as gifts to the supernatural beings. When the meal is over the people depart and return to their houses, each of them taking some pieces of meat with him for the members of his family.

The priest receives the head, the hide of the yak, and some selected pieces of meat as his share. He goes to his house altar, lights some lamps, burns incense, and prays to *kong chen*. I did not succeed in obtaining the wording of this prayer, but I was told that he asks *kong chen* not to cause him trouble, pain and damage in the year to come between now and the celebration of the ceremony the next year.



### 6. *One or Two After-Ceremonies.*

I was told that some days (or perhaps weeks?) later the people perform a brief after-ceremony. On this occasion they remove the four prayer flags, which are usually hanging to the left of the priest's house altar (cf. p. 193), and stick them into the ground to form a square. They build a kind of hut or house in the middle of the square, and in front of this the priest performs a ceremony, the details of which I did not obtain.

However, this ceremony may – or may not – be identical with a ceremony which Tsering and I attended on June 11th. On that day we were busy interviewing the mother of *kā lók*, when he himself suddenly arrived telling us that Junggi was just then performing a minor ceremony at Nung to *kong chen*. We hurried off, and found that two small altars, one for *kong chen* and one for his wife, had been erected in a field with a view across the river valley to the south. Sheltered by a Lepcha rain shield against the persistent monsoon, Junggi sat before the altar of the wife of *kong chen*, murmuring a prayer. After a while a man, at his order, sacrificed a goat to *kong chen* by thrusting a pointed bamboo stick several times into its heart. They also sacrificed a chicken to the wife of *kong chen*. Finally some eggs were broken, and Junggi and some of the attending men examined the surface of the yolks meticulously for prophecies.

Afterwards we all gathered in a field house said to be dedicated to a field deity, and there we were given *cí*. In the evening a man brought me some pieces of meat from the sacrificed goat, a ceremonial gift to the stranger who had attended their religious ceremony.

# LEGENDS AND STORIES

## I. THE STORY OF *gye bu*.<sup>1</sup>

### *Lepcha Version of the Kesar or Gesar Legend.*

Informant: Jukne

Interpreter: Tsering

Taken down at Singhik, July 1949

*gye bu* was born in heaven. His father's name was Hlasin Ongbo,<sup>2</sup> his mother's name was Yum Chokyung Gyemo.<sup>3</sup>

As there was no king in *ling*<sup>4</sup> his parents sent him to rule there when he was eight years old. Accordingly he left heaven when he was eight years old, and he arrived at *ling* when he was twelve years old. He ruled in *ling* for a long time.

One day he decided to go to war, but before he set out, he asked his paternal uncle to look after the palace while he was away. *gye bu* planned a war against the Ca Shang Shang<sup>5</sup> *mung* who at that time blocked the rays of the sun with the result that the earth had become dark. He told his wife, called Menla Zepe Sacung, not to follow him to war, and he said that he would return in three days.

He had a very fine steed called Tamerling Jukbo<sup>6</sup> that could fly in the air. Mounted on this horse he set out against the *mung* Ca Shang Shang, and at last he came to the place where the *mung* lived. When he arrived there he observed that all the people of the country had been killed by tigers and wolves which had come from the jungle because the rays of the sun had been blocked by the *mung*, and therefore it was as dark as night.

*gye bu* had divine powers and could act as he would. When he arrived at this place, he dismounted and turned his horse into a grain of barley which he put in his pocket. He was equipped with bow and arrows, and a gun.

When he caught sight of the *mung* he noticed that the *mung* wore iron armour which covered his body completely. He realised that it would be impossible for him to kill the *mung* with

<sup>1</sup> For the Tibetan legend see Stein 1956, Roerich 1942, Hermanns 1966. The Lepcha story of *gye bu* is a short, popular rendering of some few main points of that legend. A shorter Lepcha version may be found in Stocks 1927, pp. 404-406. -- Tsering translated *gye bu* as "defeater", cf. Dict. 61b *gyal* and *gye* Tib. *rgyal* 1. *gye* . . . *gye-bo* Tib. *rgyal-ba* s. a conqueror, a victor, a winner, and Tib. Jäs. 108a *rgyal-ba* l. vb. to be victorious, etc., see under the title "Vainqueur" in Stein 1956, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Stein 1956, pp. 19 f. 3a has Don-grub, cf. Roerich 1942, p. 286; cp. Tib. Jäs. 571b Dongrub, the personal name of Gautama Buddha.

<sup>3</sup> According to Tsering *gye mo* was said to be used by the Tibetans in the sense of "eldest daughter".

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Stein 1956, p. 5 . . . "La petite principauté Gling, gouvernée par un chef tibétain, se trouve sur la route du Nord de Ts-tsién-lou à Jyekundo . . ."; cf. also Roerich 1942, p. 286. Dict. 350a *ling pā-no* name of an ancient king sent by *rām* to subdue the evil spirits.

<sup>5</sup> To Ca cf. Dict. 76a *ca* Tib. *bya* s. a bird, a fowl, and Tib. Jäs. 372b *bya*. To Shang Shang cf. Tib. Jäs. 556b *shang-shang* s. a fabulous creature with wings and bird's feet, but otherwise like a human being.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Stein 1956, pp. 21 f. 8b and Dict. 124b *ta* Tib. *rta* s. a horse, and Tib. Jäs. 211a *rta-mgrin*, name of a demon, a terrifying deity. For *rta mgrin* as a Tibetan horse-god (Hayagriva) see Gulik p. 28; cf. also Tucci 1919 a, II, pp. 587 f.

his arrows or his gun; but on closer inspection he discovered a tiny hole in the breastplate of the armour.

Before shooting at the *mung* he prayed to his parents requesting them to give him power to kill the *mung*. Then he shot an arrow against the *mung*. The arrow was so powerful that it crashed like a thunderbolt and made the earth quake. The arrow flew directly into the hole in the breastplate, and caused much pain to the *mung*. Until then the *mung* had kept its wings stretched out, and had in this way hidden the rays of the sun. Because of the great pain the *mung* was forced to lower its wings somewhat, and at once the rays of the sun reached the earth, and everything became clear. But as soon as it became clear, *gye bu* grew afraid because the *mung* would now be able to see him. He therefore prayed again to his parents requesting them to protect him against the *mung*. When he had finished his prayer, his parents luckily removed him from the spot and thereby saved his life, as the *mung* immediately lost its position hiding the sun and fell to the ground.

When the *mung* fell to the ground, *gye bu* at once rushed forward and killed it with his sword. He then separated the flesh from the bones of the dead body, and cut the flesh into small pieces which he distributed to the ants. He then gathered all the bones and placed them on a flat stone, and by means of another stone he ground the bones into powder, and at last he threw the powder into the air.

*gye bu* had among his possessions a yak tail. He went up to the people who had been killed by the *mung*, and swept the tail twice over each body: first from the head to the feet, and then from the feet to the head. As soon as he had done so, they all became alive again. When the people had come to life again, they were very happy and made a great feast with *gye bu*. For seven days and nights they held this feast, eating and drinking, singing and dancing.

On the seventh day *gye bu* said that it was now his duty to go to another place in order to kill another *mung*. But before he left he admonished them to live in peace and to prosper.

He then took from his inside pocket the grain of barley and turned it again into a steed. *gye bu* had three balls of gold which he gave the steed to eat. When the steed had eaten the balls, it told *gye bu* that if it could not fly through the air now, it would not be a real steed. When the steed had said so, it at once flew up into the air with *gye bu*, and returned with him to his kingdom and palace.

When he arrived at his palace, he found his uncle and his wife living in peace and happiness. For seven days he stayed with them in the palace, and then told them that it was his duty not to stay for a long time with them, but that he must go to another place in order to kill a female *sū mu mung* at a place called Cong.<sup>1</sup>

*gye bu* had in his palace a very brave soldier who kept an eye on everything. This soldier was protected by eight chains of iron round his body. *gye bu* told his paternal uncle and his wife to treat this soldier well, and to provide him daily with eight bottles of *chang* (*ci*), eight plates of rice, and eight plates of meat. He emphasised that if this soldier did not take care of the palace, the thieves would come and steal everything.

*gye bu* then set out for his second war, but first he gave his steed three balls of gold to eat. When the steed had eaten the balls, it told *gye bu* that if it could not fly through the air, it would not be a real steed. When the steed had said so, it at once flew up into the air with *gye bu* and carried him to Cong, where the female *sū mu mung* lived.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dict. 84b *cong*, see 76b *cang*, Tib. *byang*, s. the north, cf. Jäs. 374a, 1. north . . . 2. northern country.

On the way to this place they had to cross three lakes and two very steep mountains. From time to time these mountains collided, and all the animals and birds that lived in the space between them were killed.

The mountains were very high, and their peaks almost touched the sky (heaven). When *gye bu* and his steed came close to the mountains, the steed told him to be very careful and steady, as it would now fly almost up into the sky (heaven) in order to escape the peaks of the mountains. However, they succeeded in crossing the peaks safely, and at last they arrived at Cong.

When they came to the palace where *sũ mu mung* lived, *gye bu* first went to the back of the palace and tied his steed to a pole. Then he entered the palace and caught sight of the *mung*. She was very beautiful, just like a human being, like a very beautiful woman. She was so beautiful that *gye bu* immediately fell in love with her.

She asked him how he had been able to enter this place, because it was a *mung* place, guarded by two very high peaks. But *gye bu* made no reply. Then they ascended to the next floor, sat down, ate and drank, and *gye bu* informed her that he would only stay for a short while, and that he intended to return to his kingdom. She asked him not to leave her again, but to become her husband and to remain with her for ever, and she told him that if he would not agree to her proposal, she would kill him and eat him. On hearing this *gye bu* became very frightened, and told her that he would comply with her request, that he would be her husband, and that he would remain with her for the rest of his life.

But as she did not trust his words and had a feeling that he would deceive her, she gave him a sleeping draught so that he fell fast asleep. When she had watched him for a long time, she went to the back of the palace, where the steed was tied up. She put two nails into the shoulders of the horse and fastened two tins to the nails.<sup>1</sup> Then she ordered the horse to carry water in these tins from a spring to the palace. The horse did so for many days.

Meanwhile, there lived a *mung* called *hor mu* in another place called *hor*.<sup>2</sup> This *mung* had no wife, and he therefore sent out two birds in search of a wife for him. For a long time these birds had flown hither and thither searching in vain, and at last they arrived at the palace belonging to *gye bu*.

There lived *gye bu*'s paternal uncle and *gye bu*'s queen. Now it happened that *gye bu*'s uncle was very keen on coming into power when *gye bu* died, and he therefore invited the two birds to the palace and asked them to fly away with the queen. But the queen refused to go away with the birds in order to become the wife of the *mung*.

It also happened that another paternal uncle, who was also living in the palace, beat the two birds, and they grew much afraid of him. But the first-mentioned uncle told them not to fear him.

Meanwhile *gye bu* was still fast asleep in the palace belonging to *sũ mu mung*. A long time had elapsed, and *sũ mu* was pregnant with a child by *gye bu*, and at last she gave birth to a son.

In the meantime *gye bu*'s wife had become very unhappy because he had been away for so long a time and still did not return. At last she pressed some drops of blood out from her nose, and by means of these drops she wrote on her handkerchief a message to her

<sup>1</sup> "Tin" is probably a modernism for "Can".

<sup>2</sup> For the Tibetan legend of the war against the tribes of *hor* cf. Stein 1956, pp. 22 f., 13b passim and Roerich 1942, p. 279 passim.

husband. She described how miserable she was, and informed him that *hor mu* had sent two birds to fetch her and take her to his palace in order to make her his wife. She then caught a small green bird, and instructed it to fly with the message to her husband. Then she turned the bird in the direction of the palace of Cong, where her husband had gone, and sent it away. The bird flew to Cong and into the palace, where *gye bu* was lying fast asleep. But the *sū mu mung* caught sight of the bird and took the handkerchief on which the unhappy queen had written the message to her husband. *sū mu mung* read the letter and made a reply as if it had been written by the king himself. She wrote that the queen must follow the two birds to *hor mu mung* and become his wife.

The green bird took the letter with the reply, and flew back to the queen. When she read the letter, she became very unhappy and wrote at once a letter to *gye bu* asking him to return, if only for a moment, in order to talk with her.

When the bird reached the Cong palace, the king was still fast asleep. *sū mu* took the letter and read it and made a reply as if it had been written by the king himself. She wrote that the queen should not wait for him, as he had got a wife that was far more beautiful than she was, and she added that he, the king, considered himself as divorced from her from this day, and that she should also consider herself as divorced.

Meanwhile the two birds which *hor mu* had sent out, and which had been beaten by the king's paternal uncle, had returned to *hor mu*, and had told him what had happened to them. *hor mu* now ordered some of his soldiers to go and fetch the queen and to return with her.

When the soldiers arrived at the palace with the order of *hor mu*, they were refused, and when they tried by force to carry out their task, they were fought by an uncle of the king, and most of them were killed. But another uncle of the king told them to bring a yak-tail and to sweep it over the dead bodies. In this way the killed soldiers would become alive again. The soldiers did so, and all the dead bodies became living soldiers again. Then the battle started anew, and the uncles could not prevail, but were all killed, except the treacherous uncle. The queen became profoundly depressed in her heart, and she wrote another letter to her husband. She informed him how the soldiers had fought the uncles, and that the soldiers had conquered, and therefore were now ready to take her to *hor mu*. And she implored him to come at once and relieve her. She despatched this letter with the same bird as before.

When the bird reached the palace of the *sū mu mung*, the king was still fast asleep. *sū mu* took the letter, and read, it, and replied in the same way as before.

However, when the treacherous uncle realised the miserable condition of the queen, he himself became very unhappy. When he had shown treachery, the other uncles and the queen had withdrawn from him, and had stopped supplying him with meat, rice and *chang*. As he had had nothing to eat and to drink, he was therefore now very weak. In his sorrow he became very angry with *hor mu*, and in fury he broke to pieces the chains around his breast, went up to the queen, and asked her for something to eat. Instead of a meal the queen gave him a vessel full of water in which she had washed her clothes. In his weakness he immediately drank the water, and thereafter went away to fight with *hor mu*.

When he arrived at *hor mu*'s palace, he was met by *hor mu*'s strongest and bravest soldier. This soldier was protected by an iron house inside which he stayed. When the uncle caught sight of the iron house, he kicked in the door so violently in his fury that it sprang open, and the soldier came out to meet him in single combat.

This single combat developed into a long and very severe struggle. During this fight they arrived at the lake called *gyam tsho*.<sup>1</sup> They fell into the lake, but got out again, still fighting. The combat now brought them so far away that they reached the gods in their heaven. The uncle was now very weary because of his starvation, and he asked the gods for something to eat. But they replied that they could not provide him with anything, because they themselves never ate. Then the combat brought them down again into the lake. While they were there, its waters suddenly turned into hot, boiling blood. But their severe combat still went on, until they at last disappeared in the boiling waters, and were drowned. But when the uncle died, he turned himself into a small white bird, and *hor mu*'s soldier turned into a small black bird.<sup>2</sup>

Meanwhile the queen's bird returned with the letter from *sū mu*. When the queen had read the letter, she asked the bird to whom it had handed over the letter despatched by her, and who had written the reply. The bird then told her that it had not seen *gye bu* himself but only a beautiful woman who had taken the letter, had read it, and had given the reply. Then the queen wrote a new letter describing how she was being guarded by *hor mu*'s soldier, and that she was on the point of being taken away to *hor mu* in order to become his wife. Before she sent off the bird she instructed it not to hand over the letter to anybody except the king himself.

According to the queen's instruction the bird flew again to the palace of the *sū mu*. But this time it did not hand over the letter to *sū mu* herself. Instead it flew secretly into the palace and searched for the king. Unseen by *sū mu* it at last found the king fast asleep near the hearth. He was sleeping with his mouth wide open, and the bird grew afraid that he might be dead. It then flew over his head and let drop some excrement into his open mouth. The king awoke and at once looked for his steed. The bird now flew down to him, sat on his shoulder, and gave him the letter. When the king had read it, he immediately wrote a reply. In that letter he explained that he up to now had been completely unaware of what had taken place in his palace, as he had been fast asleep because of the sleeping draught. He told her that if she was taken to *hor mu*, she must take care to be faithful to him and to keep herself pure and to avoid *hor mu*. At last he wrote that he could not come at once because he first had to fetch his horse that was flying high up in the heaven.

The bird returned with the letter to the queen and related what had happened, and when she read the letter she realised that the bird told the truth. As she did not want to follow the soldiers to *hor mu*, she decided to hide herself from them. There was in the palace a separate room for the statues of the gods. She entered this room, and hid herself among the statues, and she resembled the statues of the gods to such a degree that it was impossible for the soldiers to distinguish her from the gods. One of the soldiers, however, hit on an idea. He suggested throwing a handful of sand in the face of each statue. In this way it would be possible to discover the queen because she would blink her eyes. The statues, of course, did not blink with their eyes, but the queen blinked, and she was at once seized by the soldiers and taken to the palace of *hor mu*.

However, the queen happened to have two aunts in heaven. They decided to do their best to protect her. When she was taken to the palace of *hor mu*, they descended from heaven,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dict. 61a *gya-tsho* or *gyam-tsho*, s. the sea, the ocean, cf. Gram. p. 82, cf. Tib. Jäs. p. 106a *rgya-mtsho*, l. sea, ocean.

<sup>2</sup> I was told that this white bird and this black bird could still be found living near the rivers of Sikkim.

and sewed up her generative organ because they knew she was a daughter of a god and therefore wanted to protect her from any sexual intercourse with a *mung*.

While the queen was staying in the palace belonging to *hor mu*, he one day went up to her rooms in order to have intercourse with her, but it was in vain. Surprised he looked at her, unable to understand that a girl so beautiful had no generative organ. He then examined himself, and realising how large his own organ was when erect he thought that perhaps it could not penetrate because it was too large. He therefore called a physician and told him to cut some of it off to make it smaller so that it might then be able to penetrate. But even then he did not succeed.

Meanwhile the queen was eagerly awaiting the arrival of her husband, hoping that he would fight *hor mu* and relieve her and carry her to safety. One day she therefore went out into the courtyard, arranged her loom, and began to weave. And for many years she went daily into the courtyard in order to weave while she waited for the arrival of her husband. But he did not come. Then at last she took some excrement of fowls and dogs and threw them into the fire; and she waved the smoke from the burning excrement towards her generative organ, and in this way she broke the threads by which it had been sewn up. After that time she had intercourse with *hor mu* and from now on she always used two threads on her loom, a white one and a black one, and therefore the cloth became half white and half black. And she only washed one half of her body.

Meanwhile *gye bu*, lying in the palace belonging to *sū mu*, had risen from his sleep. When *sū mu* became aware that he had recovered, she at once planned to put him to sleep again. She therefore prepared a meal of rice for both of them. She prepared it in two vessels, but she poured a lot of drugs into the vessel containing the meal prepared for *gye bu*. Then she put the vessels on the fire. While the pots were boiling, she had to go outside for a moment in order to pass water. *gye bu* immediately took advantage of this opportunity to swap the two vessels on the fire. When she returned, they sat down to eat. *gye bu* felt comfortable at his meal, but *sū mu* straight away fell into a deep sleep.

Then *gye bu* left the room and went outside to the back of the palace in search of his steed. However, he could find it nowhere, but in the place where he had left it, he saw instead a very tall tree. While *gye bu* had been sleeping, the horse had left the place at the back of the palace, and had reached a high mountain from which it used to fly up to heaven. As the horse wanted something to eat, it caught sight of the plant from the leaves of which the people used to make besoms. It was just going to eat the leaves when it happened to remember that these leaves were used for besoms which the people swept over sick persons in order to make them recover. While the horse was considering this, the king arrived in the same place. He instructed the horse not to fly to heaven again, but instead to take him to the *mung* in order to fight them.

The horse refused, and requested him to kill it. The king did so, and took the dead horse on the palm of his hand and blew it away. No sooner had he done so than a quite new steed appeared, much better and braver than his first steed. *gye bu* and his new steed now went down to the palace of *sū mu*. There were two very fine and brave steeds belonging to *sū mu*. *gye bu*'s steed told him to beware of them, and it instructed him to cut their hamstrings. *gye bu* dismounted at a place outside the palace, left his horse there, and walked round the palace in search of the two steeds belonging to *sū mu*. When he found them he acted as his steed had advised, and cut their hamstrings. Then he entered the palace.

*gye bu* found *sū mu* still fast asleep in the palace. He left the palace again and went outside to his steed and gave it three balls of gold to eat. It told him that it would carry him through the air to his palace; they would, however, be followed by *sū mu* who would try to call him back. And the steed emphasised that however much she called for him, he must not turn his head to look at her.

Then *gye bu* and his steed began flying homeward through the air. Soon afterwards *sū mu* awoke from her sleep, and immediately realising that *gye bu* had disappeared, she went straight to her horses, and tried to ride them, but because their hamstrings had been cut by *gye bu* they could not fly through the air. She then seized her drum and seating herself on the drum with her son that she had got by *gye bu*, they flew on the drum through the air, following *gye bu*. But they could not reach *gye bu* and his horse. In her anger she threw her knife after *gye bu*, but it only touched his horse at the foot. Horses therefore still have a groove at the back of their feet, just above the hoof.

As she could not kill *gye bu*, she became furious, and in her rage she killed her son by cutting off his head. She flung the head after *gye bu*, and returned with the body to her palace.

In the meantime *gye bu*'s steed flew with him high above the earth, and at last they reached the peak of a very high mountain. From there *gye bu* had a look at *ling*, his kingdom, and discovered that his palace was hidden, completely overgrown by the creepers of the jungle. Then they flew from the peak to the palace, and he dismounted, and kept the horse outside the palace. Thereupon he began to cut all the creepers, and at last he made the palace look as before.

While the horse was standing outside the palace, it shook all over so violently that the earth quaked. *gye bu*'s wife, staying in the palace belonging to *hor mu*, realised from this earthquake that *gye bu* had returned.

Meanwhile the gods in heaven had made preparation to make war against *hor mu*, but when this came to the knowledge of *gye bu*, he sent a message to the gods requesting them not to make war against *hor mu* as he himself intended to go and fight *hor mu* in order to kill him; but he requested the gods to give him their power and wisdom.

*gye bu* did not proceed himself to the palace of *hor mu*, but he shot an arrow against the palace. This arrow was so powerful that it made the noise of a thunderbolt and caused the earth to quake, and on the way it pierced the mountains. Outside *hor mu*'s palace a small boy, *hor mu*'s nephew, was playing. When he heard the noise of a thunderbolt and the noise of an earthquake, he at once ran into the palace and jumped up to *hor mu* who was sitting on his iron throne. The boy told him what he had heard, but *hor mu* did not pay any attention to it. The boy then said that it might be *gye bu* who was coming, but *hor mu* replied jokingly that if the boy was hungry he could go to the kitchen and get something to eat.

Then the boy ran outside the palace to the place where he had been playing before. Again he heard the great noise from a thunderbolt and from an earthquake, but this time it was much closer. He ran into the palace and told *hor mu* that it might be *gye bu* who was coming. But *hor mu* informed him that there was no reason to be afraid because *gye bu* would not be able to penetrate the iron walls that surrounded his palace. The boy then seized *hor mu* by the arm and drew him to a corner of the throne where he covered him with a piece of cloth.

Immediately afterwards *gye bu*'s arrow reached *hor mu*'s palace and flew about inside the palace, unable to find *hor mu*. It then flew to the throne room, but could not even there



find *hor mu*. However, a precious ornament was hanging on the wall, and the arrow flew straight to this ornament, and hit it so violently that it remained sticking to the ornament, quivering. When *hor mu* caught sight of the arrow he laughed, went up to the ornament, and tried to pull out the arrow. But it pushed him away. Several times *hor mu* tried to pull out the arrow, but he did not succeed. Then he summoned his subjects and ordered them to pull out the arrow, but in vain. He now took his book of prophecies in order to find out who would be able to do it. It was learnt from this book that only Sacung, *gye bu*'s former wife, now the wife of *hor mu*, would be able to do it.

Accordingly he called Sacung, and asked her to draw out the arrow. She took a vessel full of rice, and planted a beautiful flower in it. Then she carried the vessel up to the arrow, and asked the arrow to eat the rice. So doing the arrow fell to the floor. She picked it up, put it into a bamboo quiver, and closed the lid. When she had closed the lid, the arrow began moving inside, hither and thither. It was because the arrow was eating one of *hor mu*'s arrows. When *hor mu* heard the noise from the quiver he said happily, 'Oh, now one of my arrows is eating *gye bu*'s arrow'.

*hor mu* again sat down on his throne. The arrow was still moving violently inside the quiver, and at last it jumped out. It flew about in the room, and at last it hit *hor mu*. It could not, however, kill him, but hit him in one of his thumbs, and then it flew away with the thumb to *gye bu*'s palace in *ling*. It put the thumb before *gye bu*, and then flew back into its quiver. It used to rank foremost among all the other arrows, but as it now felt ashamed because it had not succeeded in killing *hor mu*, it hid itself behind the other arrows.

Now it was so that before *gye bu* returned to his country, the treacherous uncle had seized power and was reigning, but when *gye bu* returned, the uncle became so afraid that he hid himself in a corner of the palace. When *gye bu* returned, he looked for him everywhere, and at last he found him in a corner of the palace. *gye bu* put a lot of questions to him: Why the palace had been overgrown with creepers, where his queen was, and what had happened? The uncle replied that *hor mu*'s soldiers had come, and that he had fought them, but in vain. Finally they had gone away with the queen.

Before *gye bu* left his palace, he used to have a very valuable stone in [on] which he burnt incense. The treacherous uncle had taken this stone, and had thrown it away somewhere on the bank of the river. *gye bu* now asked for this stone, but the uncle told him that *hor mu*'s soldiers had thrown it away somewhere on the bank of the river. *gye bu* now told his uncle that they should both go down to the river in search of the stone. The uncle, however, did not follow *gye bu*, but went alone by another route. While the uncle was walking along, he was met by heavy rains and big hailstones falling on him and almost killing him. Later on the rains and the hailstorms stopped, and the sun began shining. But now the sun was so powerful that he was almost killed by the heat. At last he succeeded in reaching the bank of the river where the stone was lying, and so did *gye bu*, and they found the stone. The uncle took the stone, and then they returned, each his own way, just as they had come. Again the uncle was met by heavy rains, hailstones, and hot sun, so powerful that once he almost died; but at last he reached the palace with the stone.

Before they entered the palace *gye bu* told his uncle to say that the stone was a stone of the gods. But instead of saying so the uncle said that it was *gye bu*'s head. No sooner had he said so than the stone disappeared and returned to the bank of the river.

Again they had to go down to the bank of the river in order to fetch the stone, and this time again the uncle was met by the same difficulties from the rains, the hailstones and the

sun. When he returned with the stone to the palace, *gye bu* again told him to say that it was a stone of the gods. But the uncle again said that it was *gye bu's* head, and the stone immediately disappeared and returned to the bank of the river.

This happened several times. At last, when they again came down to the bank of the river, they had no rope for tying up the stone. *gye bu* therefore cut with his knife some strips of skin from the uncle's back, and tied the stone by means of these strips. When they returned to the palace, the uncle this time said as *gye bu* had ordered him, and from that time on the stone remained in the palace.

On their return to the palace *gye bu* let his uncle know that he was well aware of his treason, and that it was because of his behaviour that *hor mu's* soldiers had been able to abduct his wife. He had therefore now made up his mind to kill him as a punishment. The uncle pleaded for his life, and offered to serve *gye bu* as a slave for the rest of his days. The king then cut off the uncle's knee-caps, and since then the uncle served him as a crippled slave inside the palace.

By that time *hor mu* realised that *gye bu* had returned to his own palace, and he therefore sent his soldiers to fight him. *gye bu* was well aware that the soldiers would come, but as he had nobody to fight for him, he disguised himself as a common, brawny Tibetan, and taking with him one of his royal cups he went up to heaven to a house belonging to one of his aunts. The aunt received him and put before him something to eat and drink, but when she caught sight of the cup, she was much astonished. She asked him how he came into possession of that cup, and he therefore revealed that he was King *gye bu* himself. He told her how he had fled from the soldiers of *hor mu*, who had come to attack his palace in order to kill him, and he now requested her to assist him in his fight with *hor mu*. On hearing this she became very sorrowful, but she promised that she would help him. She would not, however, come on the same day, but on the following day.

Next day she arrived at the palace of *gye bu*. She had the peculiar faculty that she could turn her divine appearance into a *mung* appearance, and vice versa. For six days she stayed in *gye bu's* palace, eating and drinking, singing and dancing, and making merry. On the seventh day she set out against *hor mu*. She was met by *hor mu's* soldiers, who had come to kill *gye bu*, but she fought them so vigorously that they were all killed. Thereafter she turned her appearance into that of *sū mu*, and proceeding to the palace of *hor mu*, she arrived in the courtyard. She fought vigorously with his many brave soldiers, and killed them all. At last only *hor mu* himself was left. Then she returned to *gye bu's* palace.

Before entering *gye bu's* palace she turned her appearance again into that of a god. During her fight with *hor mu's* soldiers her hands had become smeared all over with blood, and the handle of her curved knife stuck firmly to her hand because of this. *gye bu* washed and cleaned her hands, and thereupon she made merry for six days, eating and drinking, singing and dancing. And she told *gye bu* that he need no longer fear the soldiers of *hor mu* because she had killed them all. On the seventh day she returned again to heaven.

Next day *gye bu* disguised himself as a merchant and gathered together many traders, ponies and mules. Then they all went to *hor mu's* palace, and made a lot of noise, feasting for several days. They used up all the fuel and water belonging to his palace. *hor mu* then sent his ministers to the traders asking them to pay for the water and the fuel. The ministers were answered by *gye bu*, but because of his disguise they did not recognize him. *gye bu* told them that they were ready to pay for the water and the fuel, but first *hor mu* had to

pay for a goat and a kid which he once had taken from *gye bu's* palace; and he added that it was because of this kid and this goat that they had come to *hor mu*.

For several days the traders had their camp there, and each day the ministers came to get their money, but the traders would never pay, because *hor mu* would not pay for the kid and the goat. Then one day the traders suddenly left and returned to *ling*. On the third day when the ministers came out to the camp, they discovered that it was completely empty. Nothing had been left except a big heap of used tea dust. The ministers wondered at the quantity of tea which had been drunk, and one of them pushed his stick into the heap and began exploring it. Then he discovered that a small black boy was sitting inside the heap. He was much astonished, and went straight to *hor mu* to inform him.

When *hor mu* learnt what had happened, he ordered the child to be brought to him. When he saw the child it reminded him of his old, brave soldier who had been killed in the fight with *gye bu*, and the child's appearance and complexion was quite similar to that of the soldier. *hor mu* now kept the boy in his palace, but one day he decided to test the boy in order to find out if he really was the reincarnation of that soldier. For this purpose *hor mu* collected a great number of arrows among which were the arrows that had belonged to the soldier. When the child was about to select the arrows, *gye bu's* divine aunt came to his assistance and unheard by *hor mu* whispered in his ear which of the arrows had belonged to the soldier. The child accordingly picked all the right arrows.

Now *hor mu* became very happy, because he thought that he had got the brave soldier back again, and he kept the boy in the palace. The boy grew up occupied in making arrows, swords, knives, and guns. One day he also made a golden flute on which he sometimes played; and it pleased *hor mu* so much that he now and then took the boy and kissed him.

One day the boy also made a spoon, and gave it to *hor mu's* wife, *gye bu's* queen. He had written a message to her on the handle of the spoon saying that when *hor mu* died she should take his brain, his tongue, his heart, and his male organ—on this spoon. She read what was written on the handle but could not understand the purpose of it.

Meanwhile the boy occupied himself with making arrows, swords, knives, and guns. *hor mu* had very big ears, and before he went to sleep at night he had made it a habit to take off his big ears, using one of the ears as a bed, and the other as a cover. When he had gone to sleep the boy would then play for some time on his body, and at last he would lie down to sleep on the outer part of the ear that was used as a bed. *hor mu* quietly submitted to this behaviour for he looked on the boy rather as a son than as a soldier. *hor mu* had also two very big teeth, one in the upper jaw, and one in the lower jaw. One of the teeth reached almost to heaven, and the other tooth almost to the earth. If it happened that one of the gods touched the tooth, *hor mu* would give him a thrust with the tooth.

One day the boy and *hor mu's* brothers went out to a plain called Pemo Petong Patam<sup>1</sup> in order to shoot arrows at a target. But although they trained eagerly, only the boy was able to hit the target.

When the uncles<sup>2</sup> told this to *hor mu*, he was highly pleased and said that the boy would be a very brave and clever soldier. And he told the boy that one day he would be able to kill King *gye bu*. The boy replied, however, that he preferred to be a grown-up man before that contest took place.

<sup>1</sup> Meaning: the plain called Pemo Petong. Patam: plain, cf. Diet. 125b *tam* 2. plain . . . Deriv. *pā-tam*, *pūr-tam* s. a level surface, a plain.

<sup>2</sup> From now on "the brothers" of *hor mu* are called "uncles".

Some time later the boy made an iron ladder and placed it, unknown to *hor mu*, on the roof of the palace. The iron ladder was placed so that it went down through the roof and the ceiling of the palace, and ended a little above *hor mu*'s head. That night *hor mu* had a dream of a spider coming down from the ceiling, just over his head.

The following day the boy and the uncles set out for *ling* in order to fight King *gye bu*. Whilst on their way the boy asked the uncles for permission to go in advance in order to kill *gye bu*; but the uncles would not allow him to do so. Then he managed to get the uncles to walk in single file, himself at the very back. While proceeding so, he prayed to the gods in heaven to give him strength and power. Then he shot with all his might an arrow at the uncles walking before him, and the shot was so powerful that the arrow pierced through all of them, and they were killed immediately.

The boy then jumped into a thorny bush and threw himself hither and thither, and tumbled about in the bush so that he got a lot of wounds on his body. He then hurried back to *hor mu* and related that they had had a violent fight with *gye bu*, and that all the uncles had been killed and he himself wounded. On hearing so *hor mu* took the boy in his lap and soothed him, and he fetched some medicine and treated his wounds.

The following day an uncle of *hor mu*, who had not taken part in the first war against *gye bu*, and the boy set out for *ling* to kill King *gye bu*. This uncle boasted that he was very brave and that even fire could not harm him. As they went on their way the boy asked the uncle to go before him. He did so, and the boy then set all the surrounding bushes on fire, and in no time the uncle was burnt completely to ashes.

Then the boy again wounded himself in the bushes, returned to *hor mu* and told the same story. *hor mu* comforted him again, and the next day the boy set out with another uncle. This time the boy went in advance and reached a high-lying lake. When the uncle went on, the boy made the waters of the lake rush down on him, and the uncle was drowned.

When he returned to *hor mu*, he told the same story. Now only one uncle was left, and the following day they set out. This uncle was supposed to be the greatest and bravest warrior. His body was protected all over by iron armour, and the boy wondered for a long time how he would be able to kill him. He first proposed jokingly that the uncle should shoot at his thumb, but the uncle did not like to do so. Then the boy proposed that he should shoot at the uncle's thumb. To this the uncle agreed. But when the uncle raised his hand, the boy discovered a small hole in the armour in the middle of the armpit. The boy prayed to the gods requesting them to give him strength and power, and then he shot his arrow at the hole in the armpit. The arrow hit the hole in the armpit, and passed straight through the body to the heart, killing the uncle instantly.

The boy again went into the thorny bushes and took care that his body was amply wounded by the thorns. He then returned to *hor mu* and related full of sorrow that the uncle had been killed in the fight with *gye bu*, and that he himself had been seriously wounded. *hor mu* comforted him and told him not to be depressed, assuring him that he should not be afraid as from now on the boy would be his bravest soldier and would be able to kill *gye bu*.

The boy now stayed for a long time with *hor mu*. One day he told *hor mu* that when *hor mu* grew old and died, only he would be left to fight *gye bu*. He would therefore like to know how *hor mu* got all his power, and the secret of his strength.

*hor mu* then told him that far away there was a place called Pochu Mochu Ram<sup>1</sup> and that there were two lakes and that three trees were growing between the lakes. One of the lakes was full of water, and there lived an ordinary fish; the other lake was full of milky water, and in it there lived a white fish. In case these two fish were killed *hor mu* would lose a little of his strength and would turn giddy. There also lived in one of the trees a big bird called Kadong Kahlet Fo<sup>2</sup> which resembled an eagle. If this bird was killed, *hor mu* would lose still more of his strength.

But the boy was not satisfied and questioned him still more. Then *hor mu* told him that there was a heap of bugs on the roof of his house. If all these bugs were killed and none of them escaped, he would lose even more of his strength. When the boy wanted to know how these bugs could be killed, *hor mu* told him that some one had to cover the bugs with a piece of cloth, and to wrap it up in a bundle. The bundle with the bugs must then be held over boiling water. If the bugs were killed in this way, he would lose even more of his strength.

The following day the boy made ready his bow and his arrows and collected some small pieces of iron. The next day he armed himself with the bow and the arrows and set out for the two lakes. When he arrived there, he shot the Kadong Kahlet Fo in the tree. Then he felled the three trees, cut the wood into pieces, and made a big fire of the wood. He put two big stones on the top of the fire, and when they had become red-hot, he flung them into the lakes. In this way the waters of the lakes came to the boil, and the two fishes were killed.

Thereafter he returned to the palace and found *hor mu* much weakened. The boy went upstairs to the roof of the palace, and found the heap of bugs. He gathered the bugs in his bag and went downstairs. Then he brought some water to the boil, and thus all the bugs were killed.

At this time *hor mu* was much weakened and had lost half of his strength. He had also gone blind.

Late in the afternoon, the same day when *hor mu* was much weakened, the boy sat down beside him and began playing his golden flute. Now and then he stopped playing and chewed something. Once *hor mu* asked him what he was chewing, and the boy replied that he was chewing a piece of his own ear. When *hor mu* heard this he asked the boy to give him a piece of his ear to chew. But the boy gave him one of the iron pieces he had collected the other day. These iron pieces were of course without any taste and very hard to chew, and therefore *hor mu's* teeth at last were broken, except his two big tusks.

Meanwhile the boy was still chewing. *hor mu* asked again what he was chewing, and the boy replied that he was chewing his own teeth. *hor mu* then asked him to give him his own teeth to chew. The boy answered that he did not know how he should manage to do so, but *hor mu* pressed him. The boy then fetched a big hammer, and broke *hor mu's* big tusks completely. Then he gave the pieces to *hor mu* to chew. *hor mu's* mouth was now bleeding heavily, his body was aching, and he was almost dying.

The boy remembered that *hor mu* was still in possession of his bow, his arrows, and his sword. He therefore searched all over the palace for the weapons, and he found a box with the bow and the arrows. He took the bow and the arrows, broke them into pieces, and threw the pieces away. In search of the sword he at last came to an iron room, where the sword

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dict. 234a *pho* s. a male, comp. Tib. Jäs. 345a *pho* II. man, male, and Dict. 89a *chu* comp. 444a *ung* s. 1. water, 2. running water, river. — Cf. Dict. 295b *mo*, *a-mo*, s. mother, woman and Tib. Jäs. 419a *mo* II., woman, female, opp. to *pho*. — Cf. Dict. 331b *a-ram* s. 1. a fountain head, a spring *ung ram*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dict. 5a *kā-grōng-fo* s. a species of hornbill (*Buceros casatis?*) and Dict. 9a *kā-hlet-fo* s. a name of a bird with a large beak and red neck, *Homrada bicornis?*, a species of *buceros*.

was kept on an iron shelf. When he entered the room the sword aimed a blow at him, but he told the sword not to do so because he was a divine person. When he reproached the sword, it became ashamed and was calmed. He then promised the sword that if it would agree, he would take it with him to his own palace and keep it on a golden shelf. And the sword agreed to this proposal.

The boy now entered the room where *hor mu* was lying below the ladder which the boy had long ago fastened to the ceiling. The boy climbed the ladder and jumped down on the chest of *hor mu*. He then asked *hor mu* why he had killed his uncles and his brave soldiers, why he had abducted his queen, and where he kept her. *hor mu* told him that he did not know where *gye bu*'s queen was, except that she was somewhere in the palace. He need not search for her anywhere else. Then the boy drew the sword, and cut off *hor mu*'s head. In this way *hor mu* was put to death. The boy took the dead body, and separated the bones from the flesh; he cut the flesh into very small pieces, and gave them to the ants; he crushed the bones into powder, and flung the powder into the air.

Then he began searching for his wife, and at last he found her in the corner of a room. When she heard that he was coming, she instantly hid the adolescent son she had by *hor mu*, and she told him that if he was a brave boy he would grow up to be a great warrior and would be able to kill *gye bu*.

When *gye bu* found his wife, he had again turned himself into his original divine shape, and asked her if she was ready to return to the palace of *ling*. She replied that she was ready if someone would take her there.

Then *gye bu* took his queen, and set off with her. When they reached half-way between *hor mu*'s palace and *ling*, *gye bu* recollected that he had forgotten his sword, and he therefore decided to go back. When the queen learnt of his plan, she offered to go back herself in order to fetch the sword. But *gye bu* would not allow her to do so. She then told him that when he entered *hor mu*'s palace he must not enter the room where he had found her. *gye bu* agreed to this, and then he set off.

When he arrived at *hor mu*'s palace, he found his sword in the room where *hor mu* had been killed. But as he was about to return he recollected his wife's request not to enter the room where she had been found. It occurred to him that there might be something peculiar inside, and at last he could not resist the temptation to open the door of the room. Inside the room he saw the young boy shooting with bow and arrows. The boy hit an iron target with his arrow and pierced it completely. This led him to suppose that the boy might be a *mung* son, and he therefore hastily put him to death with his sword. He put the dead body into a big brass vessel, lit a fire under it, and boiled the dead body.

Before returning he gathered an ass, a cat, and a cock. He ordered the ass to fetch the necessary water so that the vessel could always be full; he ordered the cat to stir the water with its paw in order to keep it in permanent motion; and he ordered the cock to blow fresh air to the fire with its wings if the fire should threaten to go out. Then he took *hor mu*'s head and put it above the vessel, as if it was the intention that father and son could look at each other.

Then he left, and returned to his wife, and they both went to *ling*. On their arrival at *ling*, *gye bu* turned his wife into her original divine shape, and from that time she forgot everything about the days when she had been *hor mu*'s wife. *gye bu* then invited his six aunts in heaven to come and hold a great celebration with them, and for six days they made merry, eating and drinking, singing and dancing. Thereafter the aunts returned to heaven, and *gye bu* lived with his wife in great happiness.

## II. THE STORY OF *ra zo pǔ nǔ*.

Informant: Adir

Interpreter: Tsering

Taken down at Singbik, July 1949

Many, many years ago there was a country called *ra zo*. There lived a king called *ra zo pǔ nǔ*. He had a queen named *shing ra ni pǔn dí*.

For many years they lived in great happiness without anything to trouble them. There was outside the palace a brook from which they got their drinking water. One day the queen went down to the brook and washed her hair in its waters. While washing, one of her hairs fell into the brook and was at once carried away by the stream and taken to the country called *lǎng dǎ*.

When the hair arrived at *lǎng dǎ*, it was turned into a rainbow. This rainbow was seen standing on the bank of the brook, but when the people came nearer to look at the rainbow, they could not see it, but found instead a divine hair. When the people discovered this hair, they went to the king of *lǎng dǎ* and informed him of it.

The king of *lǎng dǎ* was the king of all the *dǔt mung*, and for a long time he had been searching for a wife everywhere, but had been unable to find one.

Now it happened that the king had a sister called *sǔ mu*. When the king learnt from the people that there was a divine hair on the bank of the brook, it suddenly occurred to him that the hair might be a girl. He therefore decided to send his sister *sǔ mu* to go and search for the girl, and when he asked his sister to go there, she agreed to his request. But before she set out, she turned herself into a crow. She went down to the brook and followed the stream upwards until she reached the *ra zo* country.

Close to the palace of *ra zo pǔ nǔ* there was a big tree. When she arrived there in the shape of a crow, she sat on one of the branches of the tree. After a moment she caught sight of the queen, and she was instantly much impressed by her beauty. She therefore wanted to get her as a wife for her brother. She flew back to the *lǎng dǎ* palace, and told her brother everything.

When the king had received this information, he held a meeting with his people, and they jointly decided that the king's sister should go again to the *ra zo* country, but this time in the shape of a *khan do<sup>1</sup> mung*. She was told to make friends with the queen in order to persuade her to leave her husband.

At that time the *ra zo pǔ nǔ* had decided to go to the jungle in order to hunt wild animals. His queen had tried to prevent it, but in vain. The king dressed as a hunter and took his bow, arrows and sword with him. Then he went to the jungle.

At the same time the *khan do mung* arrived at the *ra zo* palace and tried to make the queen go back with her, but the queen would not, and therefore she returned in fury to her own country. There she collected a great number of *dǔt mung* soldiers, and went with these soldiers against the *ra zo* palace.

When the queen caught sight of the many *mung* soldiers, she immediately closed all the doors and windows of the palace, and hid herself in one of the rooms. The *mung* soldiers attacked the palace, but they were unable to enter the room where the queen was hiding, and they therefore took the entire room with them, and brought the room and the queen

<sup>1</sup> I was told that a *khan do mung* is a female *mung*.

to the king of *lǎng dǎ*. They placed the room on the top of the palace, and the king ordered all the *mung* soldiers to stand on guard around the room.

Meanwhile the *ra zo* king, while hunting in the jungle, crossed twelve mountains and twelve rivers, but he did not meet a single wild animal. When he returned to his palace, he could not find his queen anywhere, although he looked for her everywhere. It made him so angry and depressed that he fainted and was unconscious for the whole night.

Next morning when he awoke, he became still more angry. He put on his royal robe and, equipped with his big sword and his bow and arrows, he followed the queen. That day he arrived in the middle of the jungle and went to sleep under a tree called *Tsan den*. While he was sleeping under the tree, two birds came flying, and sat on the branches of the tree. The birds told him that next day he would see two monkeys fighting with each other in order to snatch something. One of the monkeys would be black; it was a *mung*. The other monkey would be white; it was a *rūm*. Further the birds told the king that he should take his bow and arrow and shoot the black monkey. The king decided to do as the birds had told him, and next morning when he awoke, he proceeded on his way to *lǎng dǎ*.

When he had travelled for a very long time, he reached a very big plain. In the middle of the plain was a mango tree, full of fruit. He discovered among the branches of the tree a big white monkey and a big black monkey, fighting for a mango. For a long time he watched their fight. At last he became aware that the black monkey was on the point of killing the white one, and according to the instructions of the two birds, he hastily caught up his bow and arrows, and shot at the black monkey. The arrow hit the black monkey in its heart and killed it instantly.

When he had done so, there appeared an enormous number of white monkeys that were the followers of the big white monkey. They thanked him because he had killed their enemy, and they gathered a lot of mangoes which they gave to the king, and they all made a great feast on the plain. Finally the big white monkey and all his followers promised to help the king in any trouble. That night they slept on the plain, and next morning they all proceeded to *lǎng dǎ*.

At that time the king of *lǎng dǎ* had created an enormous lake around his palace so that nobody could cross the lake and enter the palace.

When *ra zo pū nǚ* and the monkeys arrived at the lake, they did their best to cross it, but it was impossible. The big leader of the monkeys then noticed a wooden picture over the entrance door of the palace. He advised the king to shoot an arrow at that picture; and the king did so.

The big leader of the monkeys then ordered the king to shoot another arrow, this time aiming at the end of the first arrow that was sticking into the picture. The king did accordingly. The big leader of the monkeys now told the king to shoot a third arrow, this time aiming at the end of the second arrow, and so on. In this way the king at last succeeded in making a complete bridge of arrows, reaching from the palace to the place where they were standing.

Then the big leader of the monkeys wanted to be the first to test the bridge. The monkey walked out onto the bridge, and danced and jumped on it. Then it went back and took the king on its back, and carrying the king, they both of them crossed the bridge. The great multitude of monkeys now followed them. When the last monkey crossed the bridge, it continuously picked up the arrow that was behind it, and thus there was no bridge left, when they had all crossed by it.



The big leader of the monkeys now hid the king and his own followers, and taking the king's ring and a mango seed, he approached the palace. But he could not enter because the palace was surrounded everywhere by *mung* soldiers, and the queen's room on top of the roof was encircled by huge flames of fire so that even the *mung* soldiers dared not enter it.

As the leader of the monkeys could not enter, he threw his mango seed on the ground, and immediately a big mango tree grew up, and it became so high that it reached the roof where the queen's room was. The leader of the monkeys climbed up the tree and approached the room, but as it was encircled by the huge flames of fire, he could not enter. From outside he therefore told the queen that he had come from the king in order to rescue her. But she would not believe him. He then produced the king's ring and showed it to her. Then she believed him, and the flames of fire disappeared immediately. He gave the ring to the queen, took her on his back, and left the roof of the palace. Jumping from tree to tree, a different way from the one by which he had arrived, he reached at last the place where the king was staying.

As the *lǎng dǎ dūt mung* now realised that the queen had disappeared, he collected all his *mung* soldiers, and set out to meet the *ra zo* king on a large plain. The monkey king now attacked the *mung* soldiers, jumping in front of them, but when they rushed forward to kill him with their swords, he jumped high into the air. The swords of the *mung* soldiers therefore clashed, and they wounded one another. When the monkey king came down again to the ground, the *mung* soldiers once more rushed forward to kill him, but just before they reached him, he again jumped into the air. This went on for a long time, and that day half of the *mung* soldiers killed one another.

Next day the monkey king again went out to meet the *mung* soldiers. Just as on the previous day he jumped high into the air, but this time the soldiers succeeded in catching him, and they put him into an iron jail. All the *mung* soldiers were eager to kill him with their swords, but he told them that it would be in vain, as he was able to revive. Meanwhile they had carried him into the *lǎng dǎ* palace, and now they asked him in which way he preferred to be killed. He then told them that in order to kill him they had to gather a lot of butter, and put it into a vessel, and boil it. Then they must let his tail hang down into the butter, and when it was completely covered by butter, they must draw it up, and set fire to it. Then they did accordingly. However, no sooner had they set fire to his tail covered with butter, than he jumped round everywhere in the palace from top to bottom, and set fire to all of it. In this way the palace was razed to the ground, and almost all of the *mung* were killed. His tail still being in flames, the monkey king at last jumped into the lake, and the fire was extinguished.

The monkeys now attacked the remaining *mung* soldiers, and killed all of them. Thereafter they killed the entire *mung* people; they seized the *mung* children, and put them down into big mortars, and crushed them with pestles. But before the *mung* died they cursed the monkeys.

Thereafter they set out for the return journey, and on the first day they arrived at the place midway between the *lyang bar* country and the *ra zo* country. That night they slept on a large plain. But owing to the curse put upon the monkey soldiers, they died that night all of them, and only the monkey king, the king, and the queen were alive next morning.

Now there was a place called "man do ling"<sup>1</sup> where one could get medicine for reviving

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dict. 298a *món* 2, Tib. *smān*, s. medicine, drugs and Tib. Jäs. 426b *smān*, 1. medicine, physic, remedy, both artificially prepared and crude: medicinal herb, drug, and Jäs. 183a *ljongs*, a large valley, principal or main valley; region, district, province . . . *smān-ljongs*, a country of medicinal herbs (*Zamatog*, a treatise on Tibetan grammar and orthography).

dead persons, and the king asked the monkey king to go and fetch some of this medicine. The monkey king accordingly set out, and returned with some medicine, but it was not the right kind. Next day the same thing happened. On the third day the king again asked him to go there, but he was rather reluctant, and instead he took all the dead monkey soldiers and the earth on which they were lying, and carried all of it to the medicine place. There they got the necessary medicine, and they were all revived. Thereafter they returned, and the same day they reached the *ra zo* palace.

Next day the king invited all the neighbouring kings and queens, princes and princesses, and for seven days and seven nights they celebrated a great feast, eating and drinking, singing and dancing. On the eighth day all the guests departed. But before the monkey soldiers departed, the king presented each of them with a complete dress of golden cloth and a golden hat. And before they left, they promised to help him in the future.

For the remainder of their lives the king and the queen now lived in great happiness.

### III. THE STORY OF KATHAK LOKDE *pū nū*.

Informant: Adir

Interpreter: Tsering

Taken down at Singhik, July 1949

Once upon a time there was an orphan king, called Kathak Lokde, who had neither parents, nor brothers and sisters. He lived in a very fine palace, and once when he had spent seven days in great happiness, he made up his mind to make a journey all over his country.

For this purpose he left his palace and travelled through his kingdom. At the same time a neighbouring king called *tūk fyił rūm bol dūt pū nū*<sup>1</sup> also set out for a journey through his own country. This king was a *mung*.

Now it happened that these two kings met on their journeys. They sat down on two large flat stones, and the *mung* king began putting questions to the orphan king.

First the *mung* king asked: If the fire and the water fought against each other, who would be the winner? The orphan king replied: The water!

Then the *mung* king asked: If the cloud and the wind fought against each other, who would be the winner? The orphan king replied: The wind!

Then the *mung* king asked: If a god and a *mung* fought against each other, who would be the winner? The orphan king replied: The god!

When the *mung* king got these replies he challenged the orphan king, and they decided to fight in that same place in three days' time. Then they returned, both of them, to their own palaces.

When the *mung* king returned to his palace, he gathered an enormous number of *mung*, and made a great feast for them, and he told them that after the feast they would go and fight the orphan king.

The orphan king had no soldiers, and he therefore had to fight alone with the *mung* king and his soldiers. However, he put on his armour, and took with him his bow and arrows.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dict. 130b *tūk-fyił*, s. an ant, emmet and Dict. 336b *rūm* 1. swift, *rūm-bol* 2. a spec. of ant, the same as *nūm-bol*, cf. Dict. 197a *nūm-bol* s. a species of black ant (large head).

his sword and shield. And one day before they had decided to meet, he went to the place where the fight was going to take place.

Now it happened that there were two roads from the *mung* king's palace down to the place where the fight was to be. One of the roads was very wide, and the other was very narrow. The soldiers of the *mung* king were accustomed to use the wide road, and the orphan king therefore made a stone trap on the wide road. This stone trap was made so that the stones would fall down and kill any one who tried to pass along the road. Then he went up to the narrow road in order to keep watch.

The following day the *mung* king and his soldiers left the *mung* palace and started for the place selected. The *mung* king himself and most of his soldiers followed the wide road. When they passed the stone trap it fell down and killed the *mung* king and all the soldiers. The small party of the soldiers who followed the narrow road met the orphan king, and were all killed by him.

Although the *mung* king had been killed in the stone trap, he came to life again and returned to his palace. Next day he gathered a still greater number of soldiers, and went to the battlefield. But the orphan king did just the same as on the previous day, and he won the battle.

Although the *mung* king was killed this day also, he came to life again, and returned to his palace. There he had a lama, called Gyasi Thunglung, who was able to revive dead persons, and on the request of the *mung* king, this lama revived all the dead *mung* soldiers. Next day the *mung* king collected all his revived soldiers and set out to fight the orphan king again. But this time, too, the *mung* king was defeated.

The lama again revived all the dead soldiers. The *mung* king then decided to go against the orphan king anew, but this time he took the lama with him, and ordered him to revive the soldiers, as soon as they were killed. During the battle it came to pass that the lama was standing in the middle of the stone trap, and when the orphan king discovered it, he rushed to the trap, and put it in action. In this way the lama was killed, and during the battle all the *mung* soldiers were killed. Only the *mung* king himself was still alive, but as he could not revive any of his soldiers, they were dead for ever.

The *mung* king, however, told the orphan king not to be too proud of his victory, and he said that even if he was alone, he would fight him.

First they fought with bows and arrows, but neither of them was able to kill the other. Then they fought with swords. The *mung* king had three heads, one in the middle, and one at each side. During the fight with swords the orphan king succeeded in cutting off the two outer heads of the *mung* king, but he was unable to kill him completely.

By and by their fight passed into a wrestling match. This was so furious and violent that it produced a roar like falling thunderbolts, and the earth trembled as from an earthquake.

At last the orphan king succeeded in throwing the *mung* king to the ground, and at once jumped on his chest, cut his throat, and killed him. Thereupon he separated the flesh from the bones of the dead *mung* king. He cut the flesh into small pieces, and gave the pieces to the wild birds. Then he ground the bones to powder in a hand-mill, and threw the powder into the air.

However, there was in the palace of the dead *mung* king a divine girl whom the *mung* had adopted as a daughter. The orphan king was aware of this, and he therefore went to the palace and married her. Her name was *jer yang rāng mīt pūn dī*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dict. 101a *jer* 4, Tib. *gser*, s. 1. gold, and *jer a-yang* fine gold. — *mīt* cf. Dict. 289b forms the fem. form of — *mo* in sense of a female inhabitant of a place. — *pūn dī* queen, cf. Dict. 216b.

After the marriage they went to his palace and lived there. And the orphan king became king of the dead *mung* king's country, too. The *mung* country was called *mã shok mã tel*.<sup>1</sup>

When the orphan king had married the divine girl and brought her to his palace, he invited the *tsük lat*<sup>2</sup> king and the *tsük kyär*<sup>3</sup> king to his palace. For seven days they celebrated a great festival, eating and drinking, singing and dancing. On the eighth day the invited kings returned to their own countries, and the orphan king and his queen lived in his palace and governed his two countries.

#### IV. THE STORY OF *ryót kǔp pǔ nǔ*.

Informant: Adir

Interpreter: Tsering

Taken down at Singhik, July 1949

Once upon a time there was a man in *lyang bar* who was an orphan. He had no parents, no brothers, no sisters, no fields, and no domestic animals. And he had no food to eat. He therefore used to go into the jungle and collect jungle food, and in this way he kept body and soul together.

One day when he was searching for food in the jungle, he found an edible root called *kǎ sók buk*.<sup>4</sup> He plucked it and brought it to his house. Now the root suddenly spoke to him and told him not to eat it, but to keep it on a shelf. Consequently, he did not eat the root, but kept it, and he went to sleep without any food at all. Next day he awoke early in the morning and went into the jungle to find some edible fruits. But although he searched the whole day, he found nothing. Therefore, when he returned in the evening, he was very hungry and almost starving. But when he entered his house, he discovered that everything was ready for him, and that a meal was waiting. He looked around, but could find nobody who had done it, and he did not see any person in the house. Finally he therefore thanked God, ate the meal, and went to bed.

Next morning he again went into the jungle to collect edible fruits, but he did not succeed. When he returned home, everything was ready, just as the day before. This happened for three days.

On the third day he made up his mind to find out who did all these things. He therefore did not leave for the jungle, but hid in a corner of the house. Every day he used to leave his house at a fixed time, and at that time he noticed the *kǎ sók buk* jump down from the shelf and fall to the floor. When it touched the floor, a very beautiful, divine girl stepped out of the root. She looked after the house, prepared a good meal for him, replaced everything again, and when she had finished the work, she disappeared into the root again. Then the root jumped up on the shelf again. The man was, of course, much astonished, but he neither said nor did anything. He only left the house by another door, and entered again

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dict. 434b *shok* 2, s. the end, the limits. Cf. Dict. 138b *tel*, 2. vb. to be ended, to be finished. Cf. pp. 229, 232.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dict. 306b *tsük-lat*, the east, the rising of the sun.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Dict. 306a *tsük-kyär*, s. the setting of the sun, the west.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Dict. 259a *buk* 1. s. 1. *yam* . . . 259b *kǎ-sók ka-cū* . . . [mentioned among the inferior species of *yam*]. Risley 1892, II, p. 212 . . . a fine species of *yam* called "bookh" which grows all over the mountains, at elevations from 1500 to 3000 feet.

by the entrance door. Then he ate the meal prepared for him, but he decided that he would try to catch the girl.

Next day the same thing happened, but when the girl was preparing the meal for him, he suddenly jumped forward and caught her, and he snatched the root and flung it into the fire. From now on the girl stayed with the man, and they made a feast, eating and drinking, and singing, and they were very happy.

When they had lived in happiness for a long time, the man one day made up his mind to go to the border between *lyang bar* and *lǎng dǎ*. When he arrived at this border, he was met by the *mung pǔ nǚ* who had descended from above to this border. There they sat together, and the *mung* put three questions to the man.

First the *mung* asked: If the fire and the water fought against each other, who would be the winner? The man replied: The water!

The *mung* then asked: If the cloud and the wind fought against each other, who would be the winner? The man replied: The wind!

At last the *mung* asked: If a god and a *mung* fought against each other, who would be the winner? The man replied: The god!

When the *mung* got that reply, he straightway challenged the man to fight with him three days later. And the *mung* informed the man of the conditions for their single combat. They should both of them excrete on this place on the border. The point was that he whose excrement was the whiter should be the winner and have the right to take the wife of the other one. It was no advantage to the man, as the *mung* had a very ugly wife.

After this decision each went home to his own place. The man was very sad because of the conditions for the contest, and when he returned home his wife asked him what was the matter with him. When he had told her everything, she informed him that next day he should go to the jungle and collect the white underground root, called *pǔn zók buk*.<sup>1</sup>

He did so, and when he returned to his wife she prepared a meal consisting only of this root.

Meanwhile the *mung* returned to his house and prepared a meal from white rice and white meat fat.

Next day they both of them went to the place on the border, and excreted there. The *mung* was the first to excrete, and his excrement was completely red. Then the man excreted, and his excrement was completely white. Accordingly, the man had won the contest.

But although the *mung* had lost the contest, he did not want to give in, and he told the man that they ought to have a new contest in three days. This contest should take place between the man's cock and the cock belonging to the *mung*.

Very uneasy, the man returned to his house and told his wife what had happened, but she consoled him, and told him not to worry. She said to him that next day he should go to a place where three lakes were situated close to one another, and there he should call for *lu pǔ nǚ* and ask him to send him a cock. The man did accordingly. When he had expressed his wish, one of the lakes boiled up three times. The third time a very small chicken appeared. The man took the chicken and brought it home with him. The wife gave the chicken some paddy rice to eat, and blessed it so that it should win the cock-fight.

Next day the man took the chicken to the place on the border. The *mung* also arrived there, and he had brought with him seven very big and strong cocks.

<sup>1</sup> A species of wild yam, cf. Dict. 319a *zók* 2 . . . *pā-zók*, *pān-zók* s. the forest, the jungle, the uncultivated land, and Dict. 259a *buk* 1. s. 1. yam . . . and 259b . . . *pā-zók* [mentioned among the good species of yam].

Now the cock-fight started. As soon as the small chicken began to fight, it quickly grew bigger and bigger, and at last it was so big and strong that it killed the seven cocks. In this way the man won the contest. But the *mung* was not satisfied, and he told the man not to be proud too soon. The *mung* informed him that they must have yet another combat in three days, and that the man should bring with him a ram.

The man returned home very depressed, and told his wife everything. But she told him to go again to the lakes and ask *lu pū nū* to give him a ram. The man did as she told him, and when he asked *lu pū nū* to give him a ram, one of the lakes boiled up three times, and a small lamb appeared. He brought the lamb home, and his wife blessed it for the coming combat.

Next day the man took the lamb and went to the place on the border. When the *mung* arrived he had with him a ram, as big and as strong as a very big bull.

Now the fight started, and the lamb immediately grew bigger and bigger, and at last it was so big and strong that it killed the ram of the *mung*.

But still the *mung* was not satisfied and told the man not to be too proud, as they were going to have yet another combat. This time the man should bring a bull. The man then led his ram home, and told his wife everything. She again instructed him to go to the lakes and ask *lu pū nū* to help him. The man took the ram with him, went to the lakes, and asked *lu pū nū* to send a big and strong bull. One of the lakes boiled up three times, and a new-born bull-calf appeared.

When he brought the bull-calf to his wife, she gave it three small bundles of grass and blessed it for the coming fight.

Next day the man led the bull-calf to the place on the border. The *mung* had brought a very big and strong bull, but the fight ended in the same way as the previous fights. The *mung*, however, was not satisfied, and told the man not to be too proud, as they were going to have yet another combat. The *mung* would bring his soldiers, and the man should bring his soldiers, and then they would fight each other.

This time, when the man returned home, he was more depressed than ever, because he had no soldiers at all. But his wife told him not to be afraid, but to go again to the lakes and to ask *lu pū nū* for help. The man led the bull to the lakes, and drowned it in one of the lakes. This lake boiled up three times as usual, but instead of soldiers he got a middle sized wooden box which he carried home. While going home he heard some sounds from inside the box, and when he returned home his wife told him not to open the box until the fight with the *mung* soldiers was going take place.

Meanwhile the *mung* had called together all his soldiers, and he had killed all his big bulls, and had made a great feast with lots of meat and drink for his soldiers. This feast went on for three days.

On the third day the man carried the box to the spot on the border. While walking he could hear sounds coming continually from inside the box, and at last he could not resist the temptation, but opened the lid of the box a little. Inside the box were two thunderbolts, a male and a female. When the box was opened, the male thunderbolt escaped at once. That is why we can still hear the thundering. The man immediately closed the box again, and proceeded to the place on the border.

Here all the soldiers of the *mung* were collected, and when they discovered that he had no soldiers with him, they scolded and insulted him, and they kicked the box here and there. In this way the lid was at last opened a little—and instantly the other thunderbolt escaped. With great thundering, in no time it killed all the soldiers of the *mung*.

The *mung*, however, was still not satisfied, and wanted to have a single combat with the man. First they used bows and arrows, but neither of them was killed. Then they used swords, but with just the same result. At last the *mung* caught the man round the body, and they began wrestling. It went on for a long time and was very violent; they wrestled through the jungle, and changed a big jungle into a desert. Finally the man succeeded in throwing the *mung* to the ground, he jumped on to the chest of the *mung*, and with his sword he cut off the head of the *mung*. Thereafter he cut the flesh of the body of the *mung* into small pieces, and threw it to the birds. He put the bones of the *mung* into a hand-mill, and ground them to powder, and threw the powder into the air.

Then he went to the house of the *mung*. It was a very big and fine house. The walls were decorated with many valuable and precious stones. He took most of the valuables consisting of gold, silver, rupees and stones. Then he lit a big fire all around the house and burnt it to the ground.

As he had now fought and killed the *mung*, there was nobody to be his equal. He therefore became king of both the *lyang bar* country and of the country of the *mung*. As he was originally an orphan boy who had now become king, he was called *ryót kǔp pū nǔ*.<sup>1</sup>

## V. THE STORY OF THE ORPHAN BOY

Informant: Tsering

Taken down at Tingbung, June 1949

Once upon a time there was an orphan boy who had neither father and mother, nor brothers and sisters. He had a bow and arrows, and he used to go hunting the wild animals in the jungle.

While hunting in the jungle one day he caught sight of an eagle flying high in the air. This eagle was about to kill another boy, eight years old, who was the son of *lu pū nǔ*, the underground god. The child had come out from the underground in order to play on the earth.

When the eagle had been killed, and the orphan boy approached it, the child ran up to him, embraced him, and said that he had saved his life. The child urged the orphan boy to follow him down into the underground. While going downwards the child told the orphan boy that he must close his eyes until they reached his palace. The orphan boy did accordingly, and at last they reached the place of *lu pū nǔ*. The child took the orphan boy to his father, and told him how he had saved him from the eagle.

When *lu pū nǔ* heard this, he thanked the orphan boy and invited him to stay for seven days, and gave him food and presented him with a dress and other things.

*lu pū nǔ* had a daughter, and while he stayed with *lu pū nǔ* the orphan boy and the daughter fell in love. One day the daughter informed the orphan boy that when he would take his leave, her father would offer him whatever he wanted of diamonds, jewellery, gold, money, dresses, and so on. She, however, told him to ask for nothing but the coat of a dog. It was a trick planned by her in order to go with the boy, because she would be inside the coat.

On the seventh day *lu pū nǔ* offered him anything he wanted, but the orphan boy asked only for the coat of a dog. The king granted him this request, and in this way the daughter came up to the surface of the earth with the orphan boy.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dict. 342b *ryót* 2. vb. n. to be parentless, to be an orphan . . . *ryót kǔp* 1. an orphan.

Before the orphan boy went down to *lu pū nū*, there were no wild animals, no birds, and no domestic animals on the earth, but when he returned to the surface of the earth, all these animals followed him from the place of *lu pū nū*.

The orphan boy settled in his own house and lived there. The girl was still inside the coat of the dog, but he did not know it. In the daytime he went to work in his fields, and when he returned in the evening he found his meals prepared and everything ready. But he did not know how it came to pass.

In order to find out he one day remained at home and hid in a corner of the house. In this way he noticed a very beautiful girl coming out of the coat of the dog. He immediately rushed up to her and caught her. Then he took the coat of the dog and burnt it in the fire. And from that day they lived together, and the orphan boy became very rich, much richer than *tsūk kyār pū nū*<sup>1</sup> who is the king of the place where the sun sets.

In order to find out how the orphan boy became so rich, *tsūk kyār pū nū* sent out some men. When these men returned they informed the king of all the riches belonging to the orphan boy, and of the beautiful girl who was his wife. The king then called the boy and asked him how he had obtained such riches, and the orphan boy related how everything had happened.

The king had a queen with a big boil on her neck, and the king now wanted to get the boy's beautiful wife by means of a trick. He therefore proposed a cock-fight to the orphan boy: if the boy's cock came out the winner he should have the king's queen, but if the king's cock came out the winner, he should have the boy's wife.

The orphan boy did not like this proposal, and he returned home and informed his wife. But she encouraged him saying that he should not worry. She told him to go to the place from where they had come out of the earth, and to ask *lu pū nū* to send him a cock. When he did so *lu pū nū* sent him a cockerel. Although the orphan boy did not believe that the cockerel would come out the winner, he took it with him to *tsūk kyār pū nū*, and the following day the cock-fight started. During the fight the cockerel grew bigger and bigger, and at last it was very big, and came out the winner.

Then the king proposed that next day they ought to have a fight between goats. He then returned to his wife and informed her. She again advised him to ask her father to send him a goat. He got a kid, took it to the king, and there was a fight. This time, too, the kid grew bigger and bigger during the fight, and at last the kid came out the winner.

Now the king proposed a fight between two bulls, but everything happened just as before.

At last the king proposed a fight between his own subjects and the boy's subjects. When the orphan boy returned to his wife with this message, he was very sad. But his wife again instructed him to go to her father and ask for his help. *lu pū nū*, however, did not send him any soldiers, but a large box which his wife instructed him not to open before the fight. But he could not withstand the temptation, and on the way he opened the box a little. There were two thunderbolts inside the box, and when he opened it a little, one of the thunderbolts escaped, and exploded in the air. From that moment thunder was created, and that is why we sometimes hear a peal of thunder.

The boy proceeded to the king, and when he asked the boy to show his soldiers, he opened the box. At once the other thunderbolt escaped and during a great peal of thunder the king and all the inhabitants of his country were killed.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dict. 306a *tsūk-kyār* s. the setting of the sun, the west.



VI. THE STORY OF *hlā bū pū nū*.

Informant: Adir

Interpreter: Tsering

Taken down at Singhik, July 1949

Once upon a time in the country of *lyang bar*<sup>1</sup> there was a king who had two sons. The elder son was called *hlā bū*,<sup>2</sup> and the younger son Karmabu.

One day the two brothers gathered many people from the villages in order to arrange a big hunting party. It was decided that any one who let an animal escape should not be allowed to stay any longer in *lyang bar*, but would have to leave it at once.

Next day they all went into the jungle, and the villagers let the two brothers stay at a place where the wild animals used to come. Meanwhile the villagers drove the wild animals up towards the two brothers; but at that time they were playing and the animals therefore escaped, and they did not shoot any of the wild animals.

In the evening the villagers could not understand why all the animals had escaped, and they investigated what had happened. Finally they realised that it was due to the brothers, and according to the rules the two brothers were driven out of *lyang bar*.

As the brothers now went along, they roamed for a long time in a foreign country, but at last they arrived at a large forest. At that time they had nothing to eat and nothing to drink, and they were starving. In the forest they looked for a shelter for the night.

They found a big tree and made a shelter at its foot. While they were sitting there, a small bird flew up into the tree and sat on one of its branches. This bird told the brothers that they could kill it and eat it; if they took the meat of its head and ate it, they would be kings of the *gya gar sha*<sup>3</sup> country, but if they ate the hind quarters, they would fall into great trouble.

They now killed the bird and prepared it on the fire for a meal. When it was ready, they divided it into two portions, one portion consisting of the head, the other portion of the hind quarters. The elder brother took the two portions on his palm, but the younger brother was so hungry that he immediately snatched the head, and ate it. Thereafter the elder brother ate the hind quarters.

There was no king in the *gya gar sha* country, and the people therefore suffered from many troubles. The astrologers tried hard to find out from which direction they could await a king who would assume power and govern the country. At last it was disclosed to them by dice that two princes would come from the country *lyang bar* to their country, and that the prince who walked in front would be their king. The astrologers found a very good horse and dressed it as a royal steed, and sent it ahead to meet the prince walking in front.

Meanwhile the brothers had risen early in the morning and had left the place where they had eaten the bird. While proceeding through the forest the elder brother who had eaten the hind quarters of the bird felt very thirsty and went to a brook to drink water. The younger brother, however, was still walking forwards.

When the elder brother had quenched his thirst he looked round for his younger brother, but could not find him anywhere. Meanwhile the messenger who had come from the *gya gar sha* country with the horse met the younger brother, put him on the horse, and brought him to the *gya gar sha* country, where the people in the meantime had built a magnificent

<sup>1</sup> *lyang bar*, the mythical country between heaven and the earth, cf. Dict. 364a-b *lyang bar*: country between.

<sup>2</sup> *hlā bo*, presumably: leader, guide, cf. Dict. 380b: *hlā* 1. vb. to be before or in advance, *lóm hlā-bo*, a guide.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Dict. 60b *gya*, Tib. *rgya*, s. extent, width . . . *gya-gar*, Tib. *rgyar-gar*, s. India.

palace. When the younger brother arrived mounted on the royal steed, he moved into the palace, and became king of the country.

Meanwhile the elder brother was roaming about in the forest feeling very lonely as he searched in vain for his younger brother. At last he came to the *gya gar sha* country where he met with a groom who instantly dug a hole into the earth, in which he hid the elder brother, covering his body with earth, only his head being free.

At that time the people of the *gya gar sha* country went into the jungle and collected wood of which they made a very big tube in which the king could take a bath. But when they tried to bring the tube back to the palace, they were unable to carry it. Next day more than one thousand men gathered in order to transport the tube, but even they could not move it.

The dice of the astrologers now told them that in order to move the tube it would be necessary for the king first to sacrifice a man. For this purpose some men were sent out from the palace searching for a victim whom they could sacrifice. At last one of these men arrived at the groom's house, and the groom told him that he had a man whom he was willing to sell. This man was the elder brother.

The messenger paid a large sum of money and valuable stones to the groom, and brought the elder brother back to the palace, where the people made preparations for a human sacrifice. But before they did so the elder brother informed the people that he was ready and able to carry the tube to the palace. He was therefore released, went out into the jungle, and alone carried the tube to the palace.

Thereafter the people locked him up in a very dark room, but as in those days there was a rich trader who was looking for a servant, the people sold him to this trader. This man became fond of the elder brother, treated him well, and gave him food and good bedding. And the elder brother accompanied the trader as his servant to the *gya nók*<sup>1</sup> town.

This trader had many servants who accompanied him to the *gya nók* country, where they made their camp close to the *gya nók* palace. They stayed there for a long time, doing a great deal of trade. The trader made great friends with the king of the *gya nók* country, and was invited to the king's palace, where they made merry. They also played cards, and the trader lost everything, including his servants; he kept only the elder brother as his servant.

Next day the trader went up to the king's palace taking with him the elder brother. The trader played cards with the king and set the elder brother as his stake. This time the trader was lucky and won back half of the wealth he had lost the previous day. The third day he again played cards with the king, and got back all his wealth. The following day the king again wanted to play cards with him, and although the trader was averse to it, the king compelled him, and the trader had to agree. But this day the trader was in continuous luck, and he won not only all the king's wealth, but also everything in his palace, and at last even the king's daughter, called *gya nók* Hlanzuk Potid.

The trader then returned to his camp and began sending away all his things and all his servants, and at last only the trader, the king's daughter, and the elder brother remained in the camp. They stayed there for three days, and the king's daughter and the elder brother fell in love. She was a very beautiful girl, and the trader, too, had fallen in love with her, and he desired to marry her.

On the fourth day they started to leave. Between the *gya gar sha* country and the *gya nók*

<sup>1</sup> *gya nók* cf. Dict. 60b *gya*, Tib. *rgya*, s. extent, width . . . *gya-nók* or *gya-nak*, Tib. *rgya-nag*, s. China, cf. Tib. Jäs. 105b *rgya-nág* (the "black extent") China.

country there was a bridge, suspended over a river, which they had to cross. First the princess crossed the river alone. Then the trader and the elder brother followed, crossing the river at the same time. When they reached the middle of the bridge, the trader pushed the elder brother over the bridge and down into the river, where he was drowned.

The trader and the princess proceeded, and at last they arrived at the trader's house, and stayed there. The trader urgently tried to make the princess his wife, but she did not want to marry him.

Meanwhile the elder brother was carried far away by the river, and at last he was taken to a place where an old gardener was living. This gardener was occupied in a garden, and very often he had to cut some flowers and bring them to the palace belonging to the king of the *gya gar sha* country. One day when the gardener stood at the bank of the river, he caught sight of something floating down the river. It looked like a beam of wood, and he took a long hooked bamboo stick by means of which he succeeded in drawing the beam up on the bank. To his astonishment he discovered that it was not a beam, but a very handsome prince. He brought the prince home with him, and kept him in his house, and from that day he was very prosperous, and at last he was able to build a very fine house.

When the people observed the growing prosperity of the gardener, they were much surprised, but finally they realised that it was due to the prince. The rumour of the gardener's great luck also reached the king in his palace, and it reached even the trader in whose service the prince had once been.

One day when the gardener brought flowers to the palace, the king questioned him eagerly how he had obtained his great prosperity. And the gardener told the king everything.

Then the king invited the prince to visit him in his palace, and he put many questions to him, and investigated his life thoroughly, until he discovered that the prince was his own, long lost, elder brother.

The king grew very angry when he learnt of his brother's unhappy life, and he decided to punish heavily everyone who had contributed to his bad fate. Now there was in the palace a big iron jail, full of snakes. Into that jail the king threw the groom, the people who had sold the prince, the trader, and all the people who had treated his elder brother badly.

Thereupon the two brothers married the princess whom the trader had brought to his house, and from then onwards they were kings and she was queen of the *gya gar sha* country. And they lived in great happiness.

## VII. THE STORY OF *dang bo pū nū*.

Informant: Adir

Interpreter: Tsering

Taken down at Singhik, July 1949

Once upon a time there lived in the *lyang bar* country a king who had a wife who was a *sū mu mung*. They had three sons, two of whom were *dūt mung*, but the third son called *jer bang pū nū* was a divine person.

In a place called *dang*, there lived a very big snake. This snake was the king of the *dang* country and had adopted a very beautiful divine girl. From each corner of the world princes came to woo that girl, but the snake refused all of them.

Now the queen of the *lyang bar* country, the *sū mu mung*, planned to kill her third and divine son and make her two eldest sons, the *dūt mung*, kings when her husband died. The *sū mu mung* queen therefore told her third and divine son that if he could bring the divine princess from the *dang* country, he would become king at the death of his father.

So this third son one day put on his royal robe and informed his parents that he would set out, and that he would return in three years or in eight years.

After many days of travelling the prince arrived at the *dang* country. At that time the snake king had gone away beyond eight rivers and eight mountains in search of his prey of human beings and wild animals. When the prince came close to the palace he saw that it was very big and very high and that the princess was making threads for her loom while walking around on the verandah of one of the upper storeys.

The princess told him that if he did not leave he would be eaten by the snake king, and she therefore advised him to return to his own country. But the prince did not listen to her advice.

Now it happened that the princess lost the end of her thread, and it fell to the ground outside the verandah. The prince immediately caught hold of the thread and climbed up to the verandah by it. The princess led him to her room, and provided him with a good meal and fine wine. In the evening the prince changed into a fly and hid himself in a crack in the wall.

In the evening the snake king returned to his palace, and when he arrived, it sounded like thunder and the earth trembled as from an earthquake. He brought with him a lot of dead human beings and wild animals. He put the whole prey in the courtyard, entered the palace, and as soon as he came inside, he instantly smelled the scent of a human being. At once he became very angry, and asked the princess if there was any human being in the palace. She replied that there was none. This, however, did not satisfy the snake king, and she therefore said that as she was of divine origin, it was only necessary for her to think of human beings, and immediately the smell could be scented in the palace. This remark satisfied the snake king. The princess then prepared for the snake king a big vessel of *chang* [i. e. Tibetan beer, wine], a big vessel of rice, and a big vessel of meat. When the snake king had finished his meal, he went to sleep in his own room. But the prince remained in the crack as a fly.

Next morning the snake king went to the jungle, and the fly turned himself into the prince, but when the snake king returned in the evening, the prince again turned himself into a fly. This went on for three days.

When the snake king returned on the third day in the evening, he asked again if there had been any human being, and that evening he made up his mind to search the whole palace during the night. On the question of the snake king, the princess became much alarmed, and she now told the snake king that she had a brother. If the snake king would promise not to eat him, she would show him to the snake king.

The princess then showed the prince to the snake king. When the snake king saw the handsome young man, he turned himself into a royal prince, and that evening all the three of them ate and drank and were very happy.

Next morning the snake king turned himself again into a snake in order to go out into the jungle to fight a *dūt mung*, and he asked the prince to assist him. The prince accompanied him, and they met the *dūt mung* who appeared in the shape of a black snake, while

the snake king was in the shape of a white snake. Both that day and the following day the white snake fought with the black snake, but the prince took no part in the single combat. But on the third day, the black snake was very successful and began to devour the white snake, and when it had devoured almost half of the white snake, the prince seized his bow and arrow, and killed the black snake.

The snake king now turned himself again into a royal prince, and thanked the prince heartily because he had saved his life, and they returned to the palace. The snake king gave the princess in marriage to the prince, and from that day they became husband and wife. For some days they held a great celebration, eating and drinking, singing and dancing.

Some days later the prince and the princess made up their minds to return home to his country. The king bestowed upon them many horses, much gold and silver, and many valuable stones. Thereafter they took their leave.

When they arrived at his parents' palace, his mother and his two brothers became much frightened, and they asked him to go to a *mung* place, called *mā shok mā tel*<sup>1</sup> and to bring back a big bull-like animal<sup>2</sup> living in the forests. The prince left, but when he arrived at *mā shok mā tel* he found no animal, and that night he stayed in the house of two *dūt mung*. They were very happy in his company, he made friends with them, and they promised to help him.

Next day all three of them proceeded to the mountains, and they reached a large lake, where they found the animal swimming. As they could not catch it and could not get it out of the lake, the two *mung* brothers lay down and began to drink the waters of the lake, and at last they emptied it completely.

The prince made a long rope, threw it around the animal, and by united efforts they drew it up onto the shore. Then they brought the animal to the house of the two *mung*, and that night they ate, drank, and made merry.

Next morning all three of them proceeded to his parents' palace, where his mother and his brothers became very frightened because they thought that the two *dūt mung* would kill them. The prince was very angry with them because they had required him to embark on this difficult task, and he therefore asked the two *mung* to kill them. And they did so. They killed them by means of their swords, cut their bodies into pieces, and threw the pieces into the river. Finally they killed the father, too. At first it had not been their intention to kill the father because he was a divine king by birth, but through his marriage with a *mung* queen he had turned into a *mung* himself. Thereafter the two *dūt mung* returned to their country *mā shok mā tel*, and the prince appointed them kings of that country.

The prince now wanted to create a new divine father for himself. He therefore thoroughly investigated the bones which were left from his father, and he found a small piece of divine bone left. From that piece of bone he created a new divine father. Thereafter these three, the father, the prince, and his wife lived in great happiness.

<sup>1</sup> *tel*, cf. Dict. 138b *tel* 2, vb. to be ended, to be finished, to terminate . . . *a-tel* s. the end, the extremity, the horizon. *shok*, cf. Dict. 434b *shok* 2 s. the end, the limits. *mā shok mā tel* may perhaps be understood as a place without ends and without limits. Cf. pp. 220, 232.

<sup>2</sup> The interpreter could not give any Lepcha name of this animal, but he said that it was called "methun" (?) in Nepalese.

VIII. THE STORY OF *lǎng dǎ pǔ nǚ*.

Informant: Adir

Interpreter: Tsering

Taken down at Singhik, July 1949

The king of *lǎng dǎ*, called *lǎng dǎ pǔ nǚ*, had seven *dīt mung* children. The king of the *lyang bar*<sup>1</sup> country had seven divine sons who had one wife in common. Her name was *'ayū rūm mīt pūn dí*.<sup>2</sup>

For a long time these seven brothers and their wife lived in great happiness. Then one day the brothers decided to go into the jungle to hunt, and although their wife did her best to keep them back, she could not persuade them. At last she requested that at least some of them should remain with her lest temptation and untoward events should befall her. But the brothers would not listen to her, and equipped with swords, bows and arrows they set out for the jungle.

Far away from *lyang bar* there was a place called *da bí da shap*.<sup>3</sup> There used to live *sū mu pǔ nǚ* who was a *mung*. This *mung* king had planned to steal *'ayū rūm mīt pūn dí*, and as he was aware that her brothers had set out to hunt in the jungle, he considered it a good opportunity for carrying out his plan.

One day he set out for the *lyang bar* country taking with him a long and big knife called *sar ví bang hur*.<sup>4</sup> When he arrived at the courtyard of the *lyang bar* palace, *'ayū rūm mīt pūn dí* was preparing a meal for her seven husbands who were hunting in the jungle.

The *sū mu mung* stood in the courtyard and called her to come out instantly, but she did not give him any reply and remained in the palace. The *mung* then called her again, but still she did not give him any reply. The *sū mu mung* now grew angry with her, and when he called her for the third time, she got much frightened and supposed that she might be eaten by the *mung*. She therefore squeezed some drops of blood out of her nose, and using these drops as ink, she wrote a letter to her seven husbands on a piece of white cloth. She told them that before they started, she had requested at least some of them to stay at home and protect her, but they would not listen to her. Now the *sū mu mung* had come and would abduct her, she could not prevent it. But she begged her husbands not to follow after her. Then she put the letter on her pillow and spat on the pillow, in the hearth, and close to the entrance door. Thereupon she went out to the *sū mu mung*.

As soon as she came out, the *sū mu mung* immediately caught her and sucked her blood. He drew his sword and cut her body into three pieces, through her neck and through her waist. He threw her head and her chest on the road and flung her legs close to the road. Then he returned to his own place.

Meanwhile the seven brothers hunting in the jungle had caught a big wild animal, called *sā cī*.<sup>5</sup> They were preparing this animal for a meal when the eldest brother deep within

<sup>1</sup> *lyang bar*, the mythical country between heaven and the earth, cf. pp. 217, 220 ff., 225.

<sup>2</sup> *'ayū*, cf. Dict. 451b *'ayū 2*, Tib. *gyu* s. 1. the turquoise, lapis lazuli, *rūm mīt*, goddess, cf. Dict. 336b *rūm. pūn dí*, queen, cf. Dict. 216b.

<sup>3</sup> *da bí* cf. Dict. 255b *bí 1*, *a-bí* s. a place . . . *da-bí* s. the sleeping place, *da shap* cf. Dict. 426a *shap 2*, vb. n. to make rest as bird, pig, rat, etc. *da* cf. Dict. 168b *da 1*. vb. n. to recline, to rest to lie down.

<sup>4</sup> *sar ví bang hur*, cf. Text No. 28,9, *sar ví*, knife. To *bang hur* cf. Dict. 371b *hur* s. a species of knife, used by women, *ban hur* or *hur ban* s. a sickle. Cf. also p. 88. Ordinary word for knife is *ban*, cf. Dict. 254a.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Dict. 396b *sā-cī* s. a species of deer (serow) *Nemorhoedus bubalina*, Watt p. 1264. According to Gammie, *Gaz.* p. 239, the serow frequents the rockiest ravines over 6,000 feet.

himself had an uneasy feeling. He told his brothers, and they decided instantly to leave their meal and start for their return to the palace.

When they arrived at the palace, the eldest brother called for *'ayū rūm mīl* by name. The other brothers did the same. When they crossed the entrance, they heard her voice once as a reply to their calling.

Now they entered surmising that she was inside the house, and when they came up to the hearth, they again called her. From the hearth they heard her voice replying. They looked here and there and everywhere, but they could not see her.

At last they came quite close to her bed and called her for the third time. From her bed they heard her voice, and the eldest brother rushed forward and found her letter. Reading it, he became very sad and angry, and he was so overcome by his feelings that he fell to the ground in a faint.

When he recovered he was mad with rage. He took his sword, bow and arrows, and set out to follow the *mung*. When he came out on the road, he discovered the three parts of her dead body. Stricken with horror he collected the pieces and put them on a big heap of flowers, and set fire to it.

Next morning he set out anew for the palace of the *mung*, and hurrying along he came across a deer running towards the jungle. By that time he was very angry and intent on killing the deer, and he therefore pursued it. But although he pursued it for a long time, he was unable to shoot it. Finally the deer turned itself into a cloud. Still mad with anger he turned himself into a tempest and pursued the cloud. The cloud then turned itself into a fish and disappeared in a huge ocean. Then the tempest turned itself into a sea monster pursuing the fish. The fish now turned itself into a rock, and the sea monster turned itself into a thunderbolt that struck the rock and crushed it to pieces. But the rock immediately turned itself into a *mung* with two heads, and the thunderbolt turned itself into his original, natural shape.

The *mung* now asked him to spare his life, promising to be his slave for the rest of his life. The eldest brother agreed to this proposal and accepted the *mung* as his slave.

They now proceeded to the palace of *sū mu mung*, and when they arrived there, the eldest brother from outside the palace invited *sū mu mung* to come out and meet him. But *sū mu mung* did not reply. The eldest brother again invited *sū mu mung* to come out, and asked if he preferred that he should go inside.

The *sū mu mung* was standing on his verandah, and when he heard this he got very angry and jumped to the ground, keeping his big knife in his hand. He rushed at the eldest brother, and they began to wrestle. Their wrestle sounded like claps of thunder, and the ground trembled like an earthquake beneath their bodies. Finally the eldest brother succeeded in throwing the *mung*, and jumped onto his chest, and cut off his head. Then he asked his *mung* slave to eat the dead body. The slave did so with pleasure.

However, in the palace of the *sū mu mung* lived his sister called Panzi Lungkying, who was a more powerful *mung* than *sū mu mung*. But the eldest brother decided that he would kill her too. Standing outside the palace he invited her to come out; but she did not give any reply. For the second time he invited her to come out, and he informed her that if she would not come out, then he would go in to her.

When she heard that she got very angry, and she rushed outside and began wrestling with him. At last he succeeded in throwing her to the ground, and he jumped onto her chest, and tried to cut off her head with his sword. But her neck was so big that it was impossible. Now it happened that she had a big knife which had fallen to the ground when they were

wrestling. He tried to pick up that knife, but it was too heavy. He then spoke to the knife saying that now it would come to taste *mung* meat and *mung* blood. Then the knife immediately became so light that he was able to move it, and with this knife he cut off her head. Then he asked his *mung* slave to eat the dead body. The slave did so with pleasure.

Now it happened that when the eldest brother had left the place where he had burnt his wife, a flower had grown up, and in the middle of this flower in bloom was the reincarnation of the wife of the seven brothers. But in *mā shok mā tel*<sup>1</sup> there were twelve *a ról*<sup>2</sup> *mung* brothers. The eldest brother who had twelve heads now went to the *lyang bar* country and took the flower and the reincarnation of the queen.

When the eldest brother returned to the place where he had burnt his wife's body, he looked for the flower in bloom, but could not find it. As he was of divine origin, he at once realised that it had been stolen by the eldest *a ról mung* and he therefore hurried to the *mā shok mā tel* country to fight the *a ról mung*.

When he arrived at their palace, and the twelve *mung* brothers caught sight of him they immediately realised that the *lyang bar pū nū* had come to fight them. The eldest *mung* brother therefore sent his youngest brother to fight with him; but the *lyang bar pū nū* killed him with his sword.

Next day the youngest brother but one was sent out, but he, too, was killed by the *lyang bar pū nū*. In this way all the brothers were killed, at last even the eldest *mung* brother himself.

Then the *lyang bar pū nū* entered the palace and began searching for his wife. He came to a large room the walls of which were decorated with gold and silver. There he found the flower. He carried it outside and washed it first in water and then in milk, and when he had finished washing it, it turned into the queen.

In this palace were, however, many other reincarnations. He took them out and washed them in milk and water, and they again turned into their original shape. They were princes. They expressed their gratitude to the *lyang bar pū nū*, and they all started for the *lyang bar* country in great happiness.

Now it happened that while the *lyang bar pū nū* was away from his home, the seven *dūt mung* brothers from *lāng dā* had come to his palace, and had beaten his six brothers and driven them into the jungle. And the eldest *dūt mung* brother had made himself king of the *lyang bar* country.

When the eldest *lyang bar* brother returned with the queen and the princes to his palace, they found conditions very bad: the palace was completely covered by creepers from the jungle.

When the *mung* brothers discovered the arrival of the party, the eldest of them sent the youngest brother to fight them. But the king caught him, threw him to the ground, and killed him. Now the next brother was sent out, but he was killed in the same way. So it happened that all the brothers were killed, except the eldest *mung* brother who remained inside the palace as he did not venture to go out.

The king then entered the palace and caught the eldest *dūt mung*, carried him outside the palace, and killed him with his sword.

Then the king's six brothers returned from the jungle, repaired the palace, and restored

<sup>1</sup> *mā shok mā tel*, a *mung* place, cf. pp. 220, 229.

<sup>2</sup> *a ról mung*, cf. Text No. 4,1.



it to its former appearance. Thereafter they killed a great number of bulls, yaks, pigs, and other animals, and held a great celebration beating their drums and playing their flutes.

When the great noise from this celebration reached the ears of the *dūt mung pū nū* of *lāng dā*, he supposed that it was a great festival, celebrated because his son had succeeded in ascending the throne of the *lyang bar* country. But as he was not sure, he sent out some servants to investigate. When the servants arrived at the *lyang bar* country, they saw that everything was well there, and from a distance they observed that the *lyang bar* palace was finer than it had ever been before. Satisfied with this impression they therefore returned without any further investigation.

When the king heard the servants' description, he thought to himself that this fine condition of the palace pointed to the fact that the seven brothers, and not his son, were in possession of the power. He therefore summoned his eighteen ministers, and they consulted about the matter. They decided to send a letter to *lyang bar* challenging the king and his people to fight with the *lāng dā* king and his people on the third day.

The king of *lyang bar* replied by letter that although the king of *lāng dā* had an enormous number of *mung* soldiers, and although neither he himself nor his people had challenged the *lāng dā* country, he was ready to meet them and fight with them on the third day.

Both kings now gathered all their soldiers and made great feasts for them with yaks, bulls and pigs, and they ate, drank, and sang.

Now there were three roads between *lyang bar* and *lāng dā*. The enormous number of *mung* soldiers starting from *lāng dā* divided into three parties, each party following one of these roads. From *lyang bar*, however, only three persons set out, the eldest brother, the second brother, and the queen. The eldest brother was equipped with an old sword which had been kept in the palace. It was so powerful that its bearer only had to stretch it out against the sky in order to make the clouds disappear. The second brother was equipped with a sword, bow and arrows. The queen was equipped with a big hooked knife. Each of them proceeded along one of the three roads to meet the *mung* soldiers of *lāng dā*, as there were no other roads or connections between the *lyang bar* country and *lāng dā*.

When the two brothers and the queen had arrived at the places where the roads were narrowest, they hid themselves. When the *mung* soldiers arrived at these places, they could only pass one at a time, and they were consequently killed one by one by the elder brother, the second brother, and the queen. This went on throughout the whole day, and at last all the *mung* soldiers were killed.

The king of *lāng dā*, however, sent a message to the king of *lyang bar* informing him that it was too soon for him to be proud of his victory, as next day he would meet still more *mung* soldiers ready to fight with him. The following day it happened in the same way as the day before, and although there were still more *mung* soldiers, they were all killed.

As almost all the *mung* soldiers of the *lāng dā* country had been killed, the king of *lāng dā* gathered the young boys of his country and sent them out to fight. But they were killed, too.

Finally the king of the *lyang bar* country, his second brother, and the queen set out for the palace of *lāng dā* in order to fight the king himself. When they arrived at the palace, the eldest brother challenged the king of *lāng dā* to come out and fight with them, or they would force their way into the palace to fight with him. The king of *lāng dā* had an elder sister, who was very strong and more powerful than any one else in the palace. When she heard of this challenge, she flew into a rage, seized her big hooked knife, and jumped from the verandah of the palace down in front of the king of the *lyang bar* country.

They now began wrestling, and it went on for a long time. At last the king succeeded in throwing the *mung* woman to the ground, and he hastily drew his sword and cut off her head.

When he had killed her, the king of the *lyang bar* country for the second time challenged the king of *lǎng dǎ*. He had to invite him six times before the king of *lǎng dǎ* became angry and came out. First they fought with bows and arrows, but none of the arrows could pierce their bodies. Then they fought with swords, but again there was no result.

At last they began wrestling. After a long combat the king of the *lyang bar* country succeeded in throwing the *mung* king to the ground, and he drew his sword, and cut off his head. But the head alone continued to fight, and it had almost succeeded in killing the king of the *lyang bar* country, when the second brother and the queen rushed to his rescue, and with their swords cut the head into small pieces.

The two brothers and the queen then entered the palace and found a lot of gold and silver and precious stones which they carried outside. Thereafter they locked the four entrance doors of the palace and set it on fire. While it was burning and the smoke ascended to the sky, the *mung* king and his sister turned themselves into two birds, flying upwards with the smoke. When the king of the *lyang bar* country observed the birds, he seized his bow and arrows and shot them, and the birds fell down into the burning palace.

The king of the *lyang bar* country, his second brother, and the queen returned full of joy to the *lyang bar* country with all their riches. And the seven brothers and their queen ruled the two countries *lyang bar* and *lǎng dǎ*.

## EPILOGUE

Contemplating what I have written on previous pages about the results of my field work I think it will be useful to emphasise once more that I have confined myself to giving facts, i. e. what I saw and heard, what was taken down by my interpreters, and what I collected of items from the material culture. When my own opinions appear in some sentence or other it is only because I have considered these necessary in the context. It has, at all events, been my intention to present a publication of facts about the Lepchas. Such an intention is, of course, an ideal, especially when one has only a rather limited knowledge of the language and had to rely on interpreters in most respects.

The reader may have found inconsistencies here and there, and may consequently have wondered that I did not try to solve them immediately (one could mention, for instance, the various names of the supernatural being *na zong* / *na zong nyo* / *na zong m̄ nyũ*; the supernatural being Sakvok appears twice in the enumeration of names associated with the second group of stones of the *hla thu* place). Concentrating on the factual information I received, I have considered it, however, most appropriate to reserve all discussions of such problems to Part III. The same reservation applies also to the legends and stories, and their position in the culture and religion of the Lepchas.

Although much new information may be collected by future investigators, I think, nevertheless, that what we know at present will suffice to give by means of an analytical study the main outlines of the structure and function of the religion of the Lepchas. Part III of this book will be devoted to this purpose.

## ABBREVIATIONS

a	when added to the page number of a book whose pages are divided into two columns, the reference is to the left hand column.	imp.	imperative.
abb.	abbreviated, abbreviation.	inf.	infinitive.
adj.	adjective.	L.	Latin.
adv.	adverb.	L., Ll., ll.	line, lines.
approx.	approximately.	lit.	literally
b	when added to the page number of a book whose pages are divided into two columns, the reference is to the right hand column.	m.	metres.
caus.	causative.	MS	manuscript.
Cf., cf.	confer, conferendum.	No.	number.
cm.	centimetres.	n. pr.	nomen proprium.
Cp., cp., comp.	Compare.	opp.	opposite.
dat.	dative.	p., pp.,	page, pages.
deriv.	derivative.	Part II, Part III, Part II and Part III of the	present publication.
Dict.	Dictionary (see Bibliography).	pass.	passive.
ed.	edited	perf.	perfect.
Ed., edn.	edition.	pers.	person, personal.
e. g.	for instance.	pl.	plural.
esp.	especially.	postp.	post-position, post-positive.
Ff.	folio.	pref.	prefix.
f., ff.	following.	ref.	refer, reference.
fem.	feminine.	s., sbst.	substantive.
Fig., fig.	figure, figuratively.	singl.	singular.
ft.	feet.	Skt.	Sanskrit.
gen.	genitive.	Tib.	Tibetan.
Hind.	Hindustani, Hindi.	trsl.	translated, translation.
ibid.	in the same publication.	v., vb.	verb.
i. e.	that is	vb. n.	verb neuter.
		viz.	namely.
		Vol., vol.,	volume.

## ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

- õ may be found in a few places in this book: it should be read as ó.
- p. 69. *Annual Sacrifice of Bull to lí rúm*. Line 2: "In the month *it*, shortly after the Lepcha New Year. . ." should read: "In the month *lt*, around the period of the Lepcha New Year. . .".
- p. 128. The personal name *phem bo*: Saturday,

registered under the section for *Names of Men and Boys*, should be registered on p. 130 under the section *Names of Women and Girls* (subsection: *III. Names Associated with the Calendar*).

I was, however, told that personal names derived from the names of the days of the week may be given to boys as well as to girls.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

(For the benefit of those interested in further reading on the Lepchas and on Sikkim etc., works other than those relevant to the points discussed in this book are included in this section.)

- Administration Report of the Sikkim State of the Year 1931-32. Kalimpong 1935.
- Aitchison 1892: *Treaties etc.* Vol. I. By C. U. Aitchison. 3rd. edn., Calcutta 1892.
- Ali 1962: *The Birds of Sikkim.* By Salim Ali. (Oxford University Press). 1962.
- Atkinson 1882-84: *Gazetteer of the Himalayan Districts.* By E. T. Atkinson. Allahabad 1882-84.
- Atkinson 1884: *Notes on the History of Religion in the Himalaya of the North-West-Provinces.* By E. T. Atkinson. (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 53). 1884.
- Avery 1885: *On the Language of the Lepchas in Sikkim.* By J. Avery. (*Proceedings of the American Oriental Society*, p. 77). New Haven, Connecticut, October 1885.
- Bacot J. et al. 1940: *Documents de Touen-Houang etc.* Par Bacot, Thomas et Toussaint. (*Annales du Musée Guimet*, tome 51). Paris 1940.
- Bage 1960: *Phänomenologie der Munda-Religion.* Von Marsallan Bage. (Inaugural-Dissertation). pp. 3-182. Berlin 1960.
- Bailey 1908: *Languages of the Northern Himalayas being Studies in the grammar of twenty-six Himalayan dialects.* By T. Grahame Bailey. (*The Asiatic Society, Monographs*, vol. XII). London 1908.
- Bailey 1920: *Linguistic Studies from the Himalayas.* By T. Grahame Bailey. (*The Asiatic Society, Monographs*, vol. XVIII). London 1920.
- Band 1956: *Kangchenjunga Climbed.* By Georg Band. (*Himalayan Journal*, vol. XIX, 1955-56, pp. 33-56). Oxford University Press 1955-56.
- Barnouw 1959: *Eastern Nepalese Marriage Customs and Kinship Organization.* By Victor Barnouw. (*Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, vol. 11, no. 1, pp. 15-30). 1955.
- Bauer 1937: *Kampf um den Himalaya. Das Ringen der Deutschen um den Kantsch, den zweihöchsten Berg der Erde.* Von Paul Bauer. München 1937.
- Beames 1868: *Outlines of Indian Philology with a Map Showing the Distribution of Indian Languages.* By B. J. Beames. (Appendix A contains numerals in Lepcha etc.) 2nd. ed. London 1868.
- Bell 1931: *The Religion of Tibet.* By Sir Charles Bell. Oxford 1931.
- Benedict 1943: *Secondary infixation in Lepcha.* By Paul K. Benedict. (*Studies in Linguistics* 1, no. 19, pp. 2 ff.) 1943.
- Benedict 1945: *Chinese and Thai Kin numeratives.* By Paul K. Benedict. (*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. LXV, pp. 33-37). New Haven 1945.
- Berremen 1963: *Hindus of the Himalayas.* By G. D. Berremen. Univ. Calif. Press. 1963.
- Biswas, K. 1956: *Common Medicinal Plants of Darjeeling and the Sikkim Himalayas.* By K. Biswas. (West Bengal Government Press). Alipore 1956.
- Biswas, P. C. 1935a: *A Short Note on the Limbus of Darjeeling.* By P. C. Biswas. (*Indian Culture*, vol. 1, pp. 481 ff.). 1934-35.
- Biswas, P. C. 1935b: *The Lapchas of Sikkim.* By P. C. Biswas. (*Indian Culture*, vol. 1, pp. 483-486). 1934-35.
- Blanford 1871: *Journey through Sikkim.* By W. T. Blanford. (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. XL, Part II, pp. 367 ff.). 1871.
- Bodding 1926: *The Meaning of the Words Buru and Bongo in Santali. Further Notes on the Burus and the Bongos.* By P. O. Bodding. (*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol. XII, pp. 63, 286). 1926.
- Bodman 1964: *Observations on Proto-Chinese Morphology.* By Nicholas Bodman. (Proceed-

- ings of the Ninth International Congress of Linguistics 1962, published 1964, p. 593: Abstract). [Bodman uses the Lepcha language to throw light on the Proto-Chinese language].
- Bodsohn 1901: *Reise im unabhängigen Sikkim (Himalaja)*. Von P. L. Bodsohn. (Globus Bd. 80, pp. 253–259). 1901.
- Bonnerjea 1936: *T'oung Pao*, vol. 32: Phonology of some Tibeto-Burman Dialects of the Himalaya Region. By B. Bonnerjea. (*T'oung Pao*, vol. 32, pp. 238–258).
- Bonnerjea 1937, *T'oung Pao*, vol. 33: Morphology of some Tibeto-Burman Dialects of the Himalayan Region. By B. Bonnerjea. (*T'oung Pao*, vol. 33, pp. 301–360).
- Book of Genesis and Part of Exodus in Lepcha. Calcutta 1874.
- Bourguignon 1955: *Sikkim ou le langage du sourire*. Par Serge Bourguignon. Paris 1955.
- Boustead 1927: *An Adventure to Kangchenjunga*. By Hugh Boustead. (*The Geographical Journal*, vol. 69, pp. 344–350). London 1927.
- Braham 1956: *Kangchenjunga Reconnaissance*, 1954. By T. H. Braham. (*Himalayan Journal*, vol. XIX, pp. 18–32). 1955–56.
- Brandreth 1878: *On the Non-Aryan Languages of India*. By E. L. Brandreth. (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, New Series, vol. 10, pp. 1–32). 1878.
- Brown 1944: *Tours in Sikkim and the Darjeeling District* by Percy Brown, revised and edited with additions by Joan Townend. Calcutta 4th edn. 1944.
- Bruce 1910: *Twenty Years in the Himalayas* by C. G. Bruce. London 1910.
- Buchanan 1919: *A Recent Trip into the Chumbi Valley, Tibet* by Walter Buchanan. (*The Geographical Journal*, vol. 53, pp. 403–410). London 1919.
- Buren 1943: *Mountain Gods* by E. Douglas van Buren. (*Orientalia*, vol. 12, nos. 1–2). Roma 1943.
- Cammann 1951: *Trade through the Himalayas. The Early British Attempts to Open Tibet*. By Schuyler Cammann. Princeton 1951.
- Campbell, A. 1840a: *Note on the Lepchas of Sikkim, with a Vocabulary of their Language* by A. Campbell. (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, New Series, vol. 9, Part I, pp. 379–393). 1840.
- Campbell, A. 1840b: *Note on the Limboos, and Other Hill Tribes hitherto Undescribed*. By A. Campbell. (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, New Series, vol. 9, Part I, pp. 595–615). 1840.
- Campbell, A. 1842: *On the Literature and Origin of certain Hill Tribes in Sikkim* by A. Campbell. (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, New Series, vol. 11, pp. 4–5). 1842.
- Campbell, A. 1849: *A Journal of a Trip to Sikkim in December 1848 with a Sketch Map* by A. Campbell. (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, New Series, vol. 18, pp. 482–541). 1849.
- Campbell, A. 1852: *Diary of a Journey through Sikkim to the Frontiers of Tibet* by A. Campbell. (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, New Series, vol. 21, pp. 407–428, 477–501). 1852.
- Campbell, A. 1869a: *On the Lepchas* by A. Campbell. (*Journal of the Ethnological Society of London*, New Series, vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 143–157). 1869.
- Campbell, A. 1869b: *On the Tribes around Darjeeling* by A. Campbell. (*Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, vol. 7, pp. 144–162). 1869.
- Campbell, 1873: *Papers on the Valley of Choombi* by Dr. Campbell. (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, pp. 135 ff. 1875.)
- Campbell, 1874: *Papers of the Relations with Sikkim and Nepal* by Dr. Campbell. 1874.
- Campbell, George 1874: *Specimens of Languages of India, including those of the aboriginal tribes of Bengal, the Central Provinces and the Eastern Frontier*. By George Campbell. Calcutta 1874.
- Carrasco 1959a: *The Lesser States. No. 4. The Kingdom of Sikkim*. By Pedro Carrasco. (Land and Polity in Tibet, pp. 185–194. Map. University of Washington Press). Seattle 1959.
- Carrasco 1959b: *The Peasantry. No. 3. Sikkim*. By Pedro Carrasco. (Land and Polity in Tibet, pp. 53–61. University of Washington Press). Seattle 1959.
- Carte 1840: *Amulets in Use by the Trans-Himalayan Boodhists*. By W. E. Carte. (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. 9, pp. 904–907).
- Dalton 1872: *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal* by E. T. Dalton. Calcutta 1872.
- Das, A. K. and Banerjee 1962: *The Lepchas of Darjeeling District* by A. K. Das and S. K. Banerjee. (*Bulletin of the Cultural Research Institute, Special Series, No. 2*). Calcutta 1962.
- Das, A. K. and Raha: *West Bengal Tribes through Photographs*. By A. K. Das and Manis Kumar Raha. (*Bulletin of the Cultural Research Institute, Special Series No. 6*). Calcutta 1962.
- Das, K. K. 1896a: *The Lepcha People and their Notions of Heaven and Hell* by Kali Kumar Das. (*Journal of the Buddhist Text Society of*

- India, vol. 4, Part I, Appendix I, pp. 1-5). Calcutta 1896.
- Das, K. K. 1896b: The Limbus or the Kirati People of Eastern Nepal and Sikkim by Kali Kumar Das. (Journal of the Buddhist Text Society of India, vol. 4, Parts III and IV, Appendix I, pp. 31-34). Calcutta 1896.
- Das, K. K. 1897: Tibetan Funeral Ceremonies by Kali Kumar Das. (Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1897.)
- Das, S. C. 1892: The Origin of the Tibetans by Sarat Chandra Das. (Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 1892, pp. 84-90) Calcutta.
- Das, S. C. 1893: The Marriage Customs in Tibet by Sarat Chandra Das. (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal). Calcutta 1893.
- Das, S. C. 1897: Description of a Tibetan Funeral by Sarat Chandra Das. (Journal of the Buddhist Text Society of India, vol. 5, Part II, pp. 1-4). Calcutta 1897.
- Das, S. C. 1902: Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet. By Sarat Chandra Das. London 1902.
- Das, S. C. 1934: A Tibetan-English Dictionary by Sarat Chandra Das. London 1934.
- Dash 1947: Gazetteer of the Darjeeling District, Bengal District Gazetteer. By A. J. Das. (Bengal Government Press). Alipore 1947.
- David-Neel 1936: With Mystics and Magicians in Tibet by Alexandra David-Neel. London 1936.
- Desgodins 1872: La Mission du Thibet par Abbé C.-H. Desgodins. Verdun 1872.
- Desideri 1937: An Account of Tibet. The Travels of Ippolito Desideri of Pistoia S. J. 1712-1727. Edited by Filippo de Filippi. Revised Edition. London 1937.
- Dict.: Dictionary of the Lepcha-Language, compiled by the late General G. B. Mainwaring, revised and completed by Albert Grünwedel. Berlin 1898.
- Dict. Thib.-Latin-Franç. 1899: Dictionnaire thibétain-latin-français par les Missionnaires Catholiques de Thibet. Par C.-H. Desgodins, Renou et Fage. Hong Kong 1899.
- Diringer 1951: The Alphabet . . . by David Diringer. (Lepcha p. 356). New York 1951.
- Donaldson 1900: Lepcha Land, or six weeks tour in the Sikkim Himalayas by P. and F. Donaldson. London 1900.
- Douglas 1953: Beyond the Himalayas by William O. Douglas. 1953.
- Drouin 1901: Spécimen de Textes Leptcha par E. Drouin. (Journal Asiatique, ser. 9, vol. 17, pp. 558-563). 1901.
- Duncan 1955: Harvest Festival Dramas of Tibet by M. H. Duncan. Hong Kong 1955.
- Dyhrenfurth 1952: Zum dritten Pol. Die Achte-tausender der Erde. Von G. O. Dyhrenfurth. 1952.
- Earl 1901: On Polyandry in Sikkim and Tibet by A. Earl. (Census of India, vol. VI, Bengal Secretarial Press, Part I, Report. Appendix V, pp. 27-30). Bengal, Calcutta 1901.
- Edgar 1874: Report on a Visit to Sikkim and the Tibetan Frontier in 1873 by J. Ware Edgar. Calcutta 1874.
- Eickstedt 1926: The Races and Types of the Western and Central Himalayas by E. von Eickstedt. (Man in India, vol. 6, pp. 237-276). 1926.
- Eliade 1951: Le Chamanisme et les Techniques Archaïques de l'Extase. Par Mircea Eliade. Paris 1951.
- Evans-Wentz 1949: The Tibetan Book of the Dead. By W. Y. Evans-Wentz. Oxford 1949.
- Evans-Wentz 1958: Tibetan Yoga and Secret Doctrine or Seven Books of Wisdom of the Great Path, According to the Late Lama Kazi Dawa-Samdup's English Rendering. Arranged and edited by W. Y. Evans-Wentz. (Oxford University Press). 1958.
- Faulmann 1880: Illustrierte Geschichte der Schrift von Carl Faulmann. Leipzig 1880.
- Feer 1898: Spécimen de la Langue Lepcha (ou Rong). Par M. L. Feer. (Journal Asiatique, IX<sup>e</sup>. série, XII, pp. 177-188). 1898.
- Festschrift für Adolf Bastian. Berlin 1896.
- Forbes 1878: On Tibeto-Burman Languages by C. J. F. S. Forbes. (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. 10, pp. 210-227). 1878.
- Forrest 1962: The Linguistic Position of Rong. (Lepcha). By R. A. D. Forrest. (Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. 82, pp. 331-335). Baltimore 1962.
- Forstmann 1926: Himatschal. Die Throne der Götter. 25 Jahre im Himalaya. Von Karl Forstmann. Berlin 1926.
- Foy 1913: Fadenstern und Fadenkreuz. Von W. Foy. (Ethnologica, vol. 2, pp. 67-109). Leipzig 1913.
- Francke 1898: Die Respektsprach im Ladaker tibetischen Dialekt. Von H. Francke (Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft, vol. 52, pp. 275-281).
- Francke 1923: Tibetische Hochzeitslieder. Von A. H. Francke. Hagen i W. u. Darmstadt 1923.
- Freshfield 1902: The Glaciers of Kangchenjunga. By Douglas W. Freshfield (Geographical Journal Vol. 19, pp. 453-475. 1902).
- Freshfield 1903: Round Kangchenjunga. By Douglas W. Freshfield. London 1903.
- Freshfield 1905: The Gates of Tibet. By Douglas

- W. Freshfield. (*Journal of the Society of Arts*. No. 53. 1905).
- Fuchs 1956: *Der Hochgottglaube bei den Primitivstämmen des Nordöstlichen Vorderindien*. Von. Stephen Fuchs (*Die Wiener Schule der Völkerkunde. Festschrift anlässlich des 25-jährigen Bestandes des Institutes für Völkerkunde der Universität Wien 1929–1954*. pp. 281–290.) Wien 1956.
- Fürer-Haimendorf 1955a: *Pre-Buddhist Elements in Sherpa Belief and Ritual*. (*MAN*, vol. LV. Article No. 61. pp. 49 ff. 1955). By C. von Fürer-Haimendorf.
- Fürer-Haimendorf 1955b: *Himalayan Barbary (Subansiri Area, Apa Tani Valley, Assam)*. London 1955. By C. von Fürer-Haimendorf.
- Fürer-Haimendorf 1958: *Images and Offerings made Mainly of Yak Butter. A Report on little-known but fascinating Requisites of Buddhist Ritual*. By C. von Fürer-Haimendorf (*Illustrated London News*, vol. 233. December 13. pp. 1041–1042. 1958).
- Fürer-Haimendorf 1964: *The Sherpas of Nepal. Buddhist highlanders*. By C. von Fürer-Haimendorf. London 1964.
- Gammie 1894: *Reports on a Botanical Tour in Sikkim*. By G. A. Gammie. (*Records, Botanical Survey of India*. Vol. 1, No. 2). Calcutta 1894.
- Gawler 1873: *Sikhim: with hints on mountain and jungle warfare: exhibiting also the facilities for opening commercial relations through the State of Sikhim with Central Asia, Tibet and Western China*. By J. C. Gawler. London 1873.
- Gaz. = *The Gazetteer of Sikhim*. With an introduction by H. H. Risley. Calcutta 1894.
- Gaz. 1908: *The Gazetteer of India*. Oxford 1908. Cf. *Imperial Gazetteer*.
- Ghurye 1951: *Indian Costume*. By G. S. Ghurye. Bombay 1951.
- Gorer: *Himalayan Village. An Account of the Lepchas of Sikkim*. With an Introduction by J. H. Hutton. By Geoffrey Gorer. London 1938. 2nd. edn., revised and enlarged, 1967. [As the present book was written before the appearance of the 2nd. edn. of Gorer's book, all references are to the first edition].
- Gospel: *The Gospel of John in Lepcha*. Calcutta 1872.
- Gram. = *A Grammar of the Róng (Lepcha) Language as It Exists in the Dorjeling and Sikim Hills*. By Colonel G. B. Mainwaring, Bengal Staff Corps. Calcutta 1876.
- Grierson 1909: *Linguistic Survey of India*. Vol. 3. *Tibeto-Burman Family. Part I. General Introduction. Specimens of the Tibetan Dialects, the Himalayan Dialects, and the North Assam Group*. pp. 233–249: *Lepcha or Róng*, and pp. 254–271: *List of Standard Words and Sentences*. By G. A. Grierson, Calcutta 1909.
- Grünwedel 1892: *A Róng-English Glossary*. By Albert Grünwedel. (*T'oung Pao* vol. 3, pp. 238–309). 1892.
- Grünwedel 1896a: *Ein Kapitel des Ta-she-sung*. Von Albert Grünwedel. (*Festschrift für Adolf Bastian zu seinem 70. Geburtstage*. pp. 461–482. Berlin 1896).
- Grünwedel 1896b: *Drei Leptscha Texte mit Auszügen aus dem Padma-Than-Yig und Glossar*. (*T'oung Pao*, vol. 7. pp. 526–561). 1896.
- Grünwedel 1897: *Leptscha-Text mit Übersetzung*. Von Albert Grünwedel. (*Veröffentlichungen aus dem königlichen Museum für Völkerkunde zu Berlin, Bd. V. Buddhistische Studien I*, pp. 118–126).
- Grünwedel 1898: *Padmasambhava und Mandarava. Leptscha Übersetzung des Mandarava-Legende*. Von Albert Grünwedel. (*Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*. Bd. 52, pp. 447–461).
- Grünwedel 1913: *Padmasambhava und Verwandtes*. Von Albert Grünwedel. (*Baessler-Archiv*, Bd. 3, pp. 1–37).
- Guha 1937: *An Outline of the Racial Ethnology of India. An Outline of the Field Science of India*. By B. S. Guha. November 1937, Calcutta.
- Guha 1938: *Progress of Anthropology in India during the past Twenty-five Years. Progress of Science in India during the past Twenty-five Years*. By B. S. Guha. Calcutta 1938.
- Gulik: *Hayagrīva, the Mantrayānic aspect of horse cult in China and Japan*. By R. H. van Gulik. (*Inter. Archiv für Ethnogr. Supp.* Bd. 33). Leiden 1935.
- Haarh 1958: *Contributions to the Study of Mandala and Mudrā. (Analysis of two Tibetan Manuscripts in the Royal Library in Copenhagen)*. By Erik Haarh. (*Acta Orientalia*, vol. XXIII. 1–2). Copenhagen.
- Haarh 1959: *The Lepcha Script*. By Erik Haarh. (*Acta Orientalia*, vol. XXIV, pp. 107–122). Copenhagen.
- Haberlandt 1890: *Zur Kenntnis von Sikkim und Nepal*. Von M. Haberlandt. (*Mitteilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, vol. XX, p. 65 f.).
- Heine-Geldern 1928: *Die Megalithen Südostasiens und ihre Bedeutung für die Klärung der Megalithenfrage in Europa und Polynesien*. Von R. von Heine-Geldern. (*Anthropos*, vol. 23, pp. 276–315).



- Heine-Geldern 1959: Das Megalithproblem. Von R. von Heine-Geldern. (Wenner-Gren Foundation, New York. Beiträge Österreichs zur Erforschung der Vergangenheit und Kulturgeschichte der Menschheit. Symposium 1958, pp. 162–182).
- Herbert 1830: Particulars of a Visit to the Siccim Hills etc. By J. D. Herbert. (Gleanings in Science, vol. II, pp. 89ff. Calcutta).
- Hermanns 1948–1949: Schöpfungs- und Abstammungsmythen der Tibeter. Von Matthias Hermanns. (Anthropos vols. 41/44, pp. 275–298 and 817–847).
- Hermanns 1954: The Indo-Tibetans. The Indo-Tibetan and Mongoloid Problem in the Southern Himalaya and North-Northeast India. By Fr. Matthias Hermanns. Bombay 1954.
- Hermanns 1965: Das National-Epos der Tibeter. Gling König Gesar. Von Matthias Hermanns. Regensburg.
- Hobson-Jobson 1903: A Glossary of Anglo-Indian Colloquial Phrases and of Kindred Terms, Etymological, Historical, Geographic, and Discursive. By H. Yule. New edn. London 1903.
- Hodgson 1847: On the Aborigines of the Sub-Himalayas. With Comparative Vocabularies of Tibetan, Sérpá, Bhútani, Lepcha, Limbu, Kiránti, Murmi, Néwár, Gúrúng, Magar and Súnwar. By Brian Houghton Hodgson. (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. 16, Part 2, pp. 1235–1246, Calcutta).
- Hodgson 1848: Ethnography and Geography of the Sub-Himalayas. Extract of a Letter from G. B. Hodgson. By Brian Houghton Hodgson. (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. 17, Part I, pp. 544–549, Calcutta).
- Hodgson 1874: Essays on the Languages, Literature and Religion of Nepál and Tibet, together with Further Papers on the Geography, Ethnology and Commerce of those Countries. By Brian Houghton Hodgson. 11 vols. London 1874.
- Hodson 1914: Note on the word for "Water" in Tibeto-Burman dialects. By T. C. Hodson. (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, pp. 143–150).
- Hoffman 1892: Exploration in Sikkim: in the North-East of Kanchinjinga. Journey to Tolung etc. by White and T. Hoffman. By T. Hoffman. (Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. XIV. September 1892, pp. 613–619).
- Hoffmann 1950: Quellen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Bon-Religion. Von Helmut Hoffmann. (Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse. Jahrgang 1950. No. 4. Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz. 1950. Wiesbaden).
- Hoffmann 1956: Die Religionen Tibets. Bon und Lamaismus in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung. Von Helmut Hoffmann. Freiburg/München 1956.
- Hooker 1855: Himalayan Journals or Notes of a Naturalist in Bengal, the Sikkim and Nepal Himalayas, the Khasia Mountains etc. By Joseph Dalton Hooker. A New Edition, Carefully Revised and Condensed. I–II. London 1855.
- Hosten 1909: Paháriā Burial-Customs (British Sikkim). By Fr. H. Hosten. (Anthropos, vol. IV, No. 3, 4, pp. 669–683).
- Hummel 1952: Zur Karte von Sikkim und Bhutan. Von Siegbert Hummel. (Erdkunde VI. pp. 287–89. Bonn).
- Hummel 1957a: Die Heilige Höhle in Tibet. Von Siegbert Hummel. (Anthropos, vol. 52, pp. 623–631).
- Hummel 1957b: Heilige Berge in Tibet. Von Siegbert Hummel. (Anthropos, vol. 52, pp. 944–949).
- Hummel 1959a: Die Gottheiten der Schulter in Tibet (Phrag-Lha). Von Siegbert Hummel. (Rivista degli studi orientali, vol. 34, pp. 183–197. Roma 1959).
- Hummel 1959b: Anmerkungen zur Ge-sar-Sage. Von Siegbert Hummel. (Anthropos, vol. 54, pp. 517–535).
- Hummel 1961: Die Leichbestattung in Tibet. Von Siegbert Hummel. (Monumenta Serica. Vol. XX, pp. 266–281. Nagoya 1961).
- Hummel 1962: Die Herrin der Berge. Probleme der lHa-mo. Von Siegbert Hummel. (Ethnos, Stockholm, pp. 23–34).
- Hummel 1964: Die verschlossene Urflut im Stadtempel zu Lhasa und die Weiden vor dem Heiligtum. Von Siegbert Hummel. (Kairos. Zeitschrift für Religionswissenschaft und Theologie. Heft. 3–4. Jahrg. 1964, pp. 173–180).
- Hummel 1965: Die Steinreihen des tibetischen Megalithikums und die Ge-sar-Sage. Von Siegbert Hummel. (Anthropos 60, 1965, pp. 833–838).
- Hunter 1868: A Comparative Dictionary of the Languages of India and High Asia. By W. W. Hunter. London 1868.
- Imperial Gazetteer: The Imperial Gazetteer of India, vol. XXII. New Edition, Oxford 1908.
- Indian and Pakistan Year Book and Who's Who, The (A Times of India Publication). Bombay. 1952–53.
- Inglis 1935: Game Birds of Sikkim, including the

- Darjeeling District and of the Jalpaiguri District, Bengal. By C. M. Inglis. (*Journal of the Darjeeling Natural History Society*, vol. 9, pp. 87–92).
- Izikowitz 1951: Lamet, Hill Peasants in French Indochina. By Karl Gustav Izikowitz. (*Etnologiska Studier*. No. 17. Göteborg).
- Jest 1960: Religious Beliefs of the Lepchas in the Kalimpong District (West Bengal). By M. Cornelle Jest. (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, October 1960, pp. 124–134).
- Jettmar 1957: Heidnische Religionsreste im Hindukusch und Karakorum. Von K. Jettmar. (*Wissenschaft und Weltbild*. 10 Jahrgang, pp. 126–131).
- Jettmar 1958: Völkerkundliche Forschung im Haramoshgebiet (Gilgit Agency). Von K. Jettmar. (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*. Bd. 83. Heft 2. pp. 252–56. Braunschweig, 1958).
- Joshi 1910–13: The Festival of the Cuckoos and the Origin of the Name and the Practice of Sati. By Purushottam Balkrishna Joshi. (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. 9, 1910–13, pp. 554–567).
- Jäs.: A Tibetan-English Dictionary with Special Reference to the Prevailing Dialects. By H. A. Jäschke. Late Moravian Missionary at Kyèlang, British Lahoul. 1881. Reprint, London 1934.
- Jørgensen et al. 1966: Anthropological Investigations of the Lepchas and the Boros. From the 3rd Danish Expedition to Central Asia. By J. Balslev Jørgensen and Halfdan Siiger. (*The Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters*. Vol. 4, No. 4, 1966: Anthropological Researches from the 3rd Danish Expedition to Central Asia. By H. R. H. Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark, L. Edelberg, J. Balslev Jørgensen, K. Paludan and H. Siiger, pp. 57–76).
- Kauffmann 1934: Landwirtschaft bei den Bergvölkern von Assam und Nord-Burma. Von Hans-Eberhard Kauffmann. (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Bd. 66, pp. 15–111). Berlin.
- Kauffmann 1939: Das Fadenkreuz im Hinterindien. Von Hans-Eberhard Kauffmann. (*Forschungen und Fortschritte, Nachrichtenblatt der deutschen Wissenschaft und Technik*, Berlin 15. Jahrg. Nr. 15, pp. 1–3).
- Kauffmann 1943: The Thread-Square Symbol of the Nagas of Assam. (*Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. 73, pp. 101–106).
- Kawakita 1957: Ethno-Geographical Observations on the Nepal Himalaya. By J. Kawakita. (See: Kihara, H. *Peoples of Nepal Himalaya*. Vol. III, pp. 1–362. Kyoto, Japan 1957).
- Kellas 1912: The Mountains of Northern Sikkim and Garhwal. By A. M. Kellas. (*Geographical Journal*, vol. 40, pp. 241–263).
- Kirfel 1920: Die Kosmographie der Inder. By W. Kirfel. Bonn 1920.
- Kirfel 1935: Vom Steinkult in Indien. Von W. Kirfel. (*Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur der nahen und fernen Osten*. Festschrift für Paul Kahle, pp. 163–172. Leiden 1935).
- Knutsson 1954: Hos människor i Himalaya. By G. Knutsson, Uppsala 1954.
- Konow 1909: Linguistic Survey of India (Rong . . . assigned to the unpronounced Himalayan group of the Tibeto-Burman languages. By Sten Konow). (See Grierson 1909).
- Krishnaswami 1949: Megalithic Types of South India. By V. D. Krishnaswami. (*Ancient India*, No. 5, pp. 35–45).
- Langues du Monde 1952: Les Langues du Monde. Sous la direction de A. Meillet et Marcel Cohen. Paris 1952.
- Latham 1859: Descriptive Ethnology I–II. By R. G. Latham. London 1859.
- Laufer 1900: Ein Sühngedicht der Bonpo. Aus einer Handschrift der Oxforder Bodleiana. Von Berthold Laufer. (*Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse*. Bd. 46. VII. Abhandlung 60. Wien 1900).
- Laufer 1908: Die Bruza-Sprache und die Historische Stellung des Padmasambhava. Von Berthold Laufer. (*T'oung Pao Ser. 2*, vol. 9, 1908, pp. 1–46).
- Laufer 1914: Bird Divination among the Tibetans. By Berthold Laufer. (*T'oung Pao* vol. 15, pp. 1–110. Leiden 1914).
- Laufer 1915: The Prefix A – in the Indo-Chinese Languages. By Berthold Laufer. (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, pp. 757–780).
- Lepcha Primer 1874: A Lepcha Primer in Lepcha Characters. Darjeeling 1874.
- Lessing 1951: Calling the Soul. A Lamaist Ritual. By F. D. Lessing. (*University of California Publications in Semitic Philology*, vol. XI, pp. 263–84).
- Louis 1894: The Gates of Thibet. A Bird's Eye View of Independent Sikkim, British Bhootan and the Dooars. By J. A. H. Louis. Calcutta.
- Macaulay 1885: Report of a Mission to Sikkim and the Tibetan Frontier. By Colman Macaulay. Calcutta 1885.
- MacDonald, A.W. 1953: Une Note sur les Mégolithes Tibétains, par A. W. Macdonald (*Journal Asiatique*, Tome CCXLI, pp. 63–76. Paris 1953).
- Macdonald, D. 1909: Linguistic Survey of India,

- vol. 3, 1. By David Macdonald, pp. 233–241, 242–249, 255–271 (see Grierson 1909).
- Macdonald, D. 1929: *The Land of the Lama*. By David Macdonald. London 1929.
- Macdonald, D. 1931: *Touring in Sikkim and Tibet*. By David Macdonald. Kalimpong 1931.
- Macdonald, D. 1939: *Tibetan Tales*. By David Macdonald. (Folk-Lore, December 1939, pp. 178–192, 294–315, 447–464).
- Mackean 1907: *A Lepcha Primer*. By W. G. Mackean. Calcutta 1907.
- Mackean 1920: *Sikkim (Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics edited by James Hastings)*. Vol. XI, Second impression, pp. 511 ff. 1920. By W. G. Mackean.
- Mainwaring 1876: *A Grammar of the Róng (Lepcha) Language as it Exists in the Dorjeling and Sikim Hills*. By G. B. Mainwaring. See: Gram.
- Mainwaring 1898: *Dictionary of the Lepcha Language etc.*, by G. B. Mainwaring. See: Dict.
- Majumdar 1961: *Races and Cultures of India*. By D. N. Majumdar. 4th edn. Asia Publ. House. London 1961.
- Mandelbaum 1949: *Materials for a Bibliography of the Ethnology of India*. By David G. Mandelbaum. (University College Press, Berkeley, California, 1949).
- Manen 1919: *Minor Tibetan Texts. I. The Song of the Eastern Snow-Mountain*. By Johan van Manen. (Bibliotheca Indica, The Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series, No. 1426, pp. 1–86. Calcutta 1919).
- Manen 1932: *Concerning the Name Kang-chen-Dzönga*, by Johan van Manen. (Himalayan Journal, vol. IV, pp. 198–214).
- Map: Northern Sikkim.  
To illustrate the Paper by Dr. A. M. Kellas. (The Geographical Journal, London, vol. 40, pp. 352. September 1912).
- Map: Sikkim.  
(Article: Richard Temple 1881: *The Lake Region of Sikkim*).  
(Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society. Vol. 3, pp. 321–340, 384).
- Map: Sikkim.  
(Talung chu, Kanchenjunga and Surroundings).  
(Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. 14, pp. 615. 1892).
- Markham 1879: *Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet, and of the journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasa*. Ed. by C. R. Markham. 2nd. edn. London 1879.
- Marx 1891: *Three Documents relating to the History of Ladakh: Tibetan Text, Translation and Notes*. By Karl Marx. (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. LX Part I, pp. 97–135. Calcutta 1891).
- Mason 1955: *Abode of Snow. A history of Himalayan exploration and mountaineering*. By Kenneth Mason. London 1955.
- Mitra 1928–1932: *Tibetan Folklore from Kalimpong in the District of Darjeeling in the Eastern Himalayas*. By Sarat Chandra Mitra. (Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, vol. 14, pp. 458–467).
- Morris 1935: *A Journey in Bhutan*. By Colonel John Morris. (The Geographical Journal, London, No. 86, pp. 201–217).
- Morris: *Living with Lepchas. A Book about the Sikkim Himalayas*. By John Morris. London 1938.
- Müller 1927: *Die Krankheits- und Heilgottheiten des Lamaismus*. Von F. G. Müller. (Anthropos, 1927).
- Nakane 1958: *A Study of Plural Societies in Sikkim. (Lepcha, Bhutia and Nepalee)*. (In Japanese). By Chie Nakane (Journal of the Japanese Ethnological Society, vol. 22, No. 182, pp. 15–64).
- Nakao 1957: *Peoples of Nepal Himalaya. Scientific results of the Japanese expeditions to Nepal Himalaya 1952–53*. By S. Nakao. See: Kihara, H. (see Kawakita 1957), pp. 397–420. Kyoto, Japan.
- Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1947: *Die bisherige Ergebnisse der Bön-Forschung*. Von René Nebesky-Wojkowitz. (Archiv für Völkerkunde, Wien, Bd. II, pp. 26–68).
- Nebesky-Wojkowitz and Gorer 1951: *The Use of Thread-Crosses in Lepcha Lamaist Ceremonies*. By René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz and Geoffrey Gorer. (The Eastern Anthropologist, vol. 4, No. 2, pp. 65–87). Lucknow.
- Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1952a: *Hochzeitslieder der Lepchas*. By René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz. (Asiatische Studien VI, pp. 30–40). Bern.
- Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1952b: *Ancient Funeral Ceremonies of the Lepchas*. By René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz. (The Eastern Anthropologist, vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 27–40). Lucknow.
- Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1953a: *Die Legende vom Turmbau der Lepcha*. By René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz. (Anthropos, vol. 48, pp. 889–897).
- Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1953b: *Neuerwerbungen aus Sikkim und Tibet*. By René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz. (Archiv für Völkerkunde, Wien, Bd. 8, pp. 269–272, 1953).
- Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1953c: *Hunting and Fishing among the Lepchas*. By René de Nebesky-

- Wojkowitz. (*Ethnos*, 1953, pp. 21–30). Stockholm.
- Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1954: A Report on Ethnographical Research in the Sikkim Himalayas 1950–1953. By René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz. (*Wiener Völkerkundliche Mitteilungen*, 2 Jahrg., Nr. 1, pp. 33–38).
- Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956a: Oracles and Demons of Tibet. The Cult and Iconography of the Tibetan Protective Deities. By René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz. Leiden. 1956.
- Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956b: Where the Gods are Mountains. Three Years among the People of the Himalayas. By René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz. Trsl. by M. Bullock. London 1956.
- Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956c: Forschungsberichte. Ergebnisse der 2. Forschungsreise nach Nepal und Sikkim 1956/57. By René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz. (*Wiener Völkerkundliche Mitteilungen*, 4 Jahrg. Nr. 2, pp. 213–216).
- Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1958: Tibetan Blockprints and Manuscripts in Possession of the Museum of Ethnology in Vienna. By René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz. (*Archiv für Völkerkunde*, Wien, Bd. XIII, pp. 174–209).
- O'Connor 1900: Routes in Sikkim. By W. F. O'Connor. Calcutta 1900.
- Olschak 1956: Sikkim. Himalajastaat zwischen Gletschern und Dschungeln. By B. C. Olschak.
- O'Malley 1917: Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Sikkim. By L. S. S. O'Malley. Cambridge 1917.
- Pander/Grünwedel 1890: Das Pantheon des Tschangtscha Hutuktu. Ein Beitrag zur Iconographie des Lamaismus. Herausgegeben von Albert Grünwedel. (*Veröffentlichungen aus dem Museum für Völkerkunde zu Berlin*, Band 1). Part II: Siiger, Halfdan and Jørgen Rischel: The Lepchas. Culture and Religion of a Himalayan People. Part II. (*Nationalmuseets Skrifter, etnografisk Række*, XI, II, Copenhagen 1967). See Siiger and Rischel 1967b.
- Peter, Prince of Greece and Denmark 1947: Tibetan, Toda and Tiya Polyandry. A Report on Field Investigations. By H. R. H. Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark. (*Transactions of the New York Academy of Science, Series II*, vol. 10, pp. 210–225).
- Peter, Prince of Greece and Denmark 1963: A Study of Polyandry. By H. R. H. Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark. The Hague 1963.
- Pott 1951: Introduction to the Tibetan Collection of the National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden. By P. H. Pott. (*Mededelingen van het Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde*, Leiden, No. 8 en 9). 1951.
- Prochnow 1882: Erinnerungen einer 15-jährigen Tätigkeit unter den Bergvölkern des Himalaya. (*Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde*, Berlin, Bd. 9, pp. 180–181).
- Raha: Forest in Tribal Life. By Manis Kumar Raha. (*Bulletin of the Cultural Research Institute*, vol. II, No. 1, pp. 56–61. Tribal Welfare Department, Govt. of West Bengal).
- Rinzin 1915: Narrative Account by Rinzin Nimgyel of his Exploration of the Country to the North and North-West of Kinchinjunga with notes by Colonel H. C. Tanner and Mr. W. Robert. (*General Report of the Survey of India 1884–85*. Calcutta 1886. Republished in *Records of the Survey of India*, vol. 8, Part II, pp. 359ff.).
- Rischel and Siiger 1967: The Lepchas. Culture and Religion of a Himalayan People. Part II. By H. Siiger and J. Rischel. See Siiger and Rischel 1967b.
- Risley 1892: Tribes and Castes of Bengal. I–II. By H. H. Risley. Calcutta 1891 [listed as 1892].
- Risley 1894: The History of Sikkim and its Rulers. By H. H. Risley. (See: *Gaz.* pp. 5–38).
- Risley 1896: History of Sikkim. By H. H. Risley. (*Journal of the Buddhist Text Society of India*, Calcutta, vol. IV, Part I, Appendix II, pp. 6–16).
- Rock 1953a: Excerpts from a History of Sikkim. By Joseph F. Rock. (*Anthropos*, Band 48, pp. 925–948).
- Rock 1953b: The Tsongs or Limbus and Mangars. By Joseph F. Rock. (See above: Excerpts etc., pp. 946–948).
- Roerich 1942: The Epic of King Kesar of Ling. By G. N. Roerich. (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters*, vol. VIII, pp. 277–311). Calcutta 1942.
- Ronaldshay 1923: Lands of the Thunderbolt. By the Earl of Ronaldshay. London 1923.
- Róng-sa vám 1893: Róng-sa vám. Lāpchā-gīta-samgraha. Darjeeling.
- Roy 1916: A Lepcha Funeral. By Sarat Chandra Roy. (*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol. 2, pp. 475–480).
- Roy 1928: Oraon Religion and Customs. By Sarat Chandra Roy.
- Sandberg 1895: Manual of the Sikkim Bhutia Language or Dénjong Ke. By Graham Sandberg. Calcutta 1888, 2nd edn. Westminster 1895.
- Scherman 1926: Ethnographisches aus Sikkim. Von L. Scherman. (*Der Erdball*, Bd. I, pp. 6–13. 1926).
- Schlagintweit 1863: Buddhism in Tibet. By Emil Schlagintweit. Leipzig and London.
- Schlagintweit 1881: Le Bouddhisme au Tibet.

- Par Emil Schlagintweit. (Annales du Musée Guimet. Tome III).
- Schlagintweit 1905: Die Lebensbeschreibung von Padma Sambhava, dem Begründer des Lamaismus. II Teil. Wirken und Erlebnisse in Indien. Aus dem Tibetischen übersetzt von Emil Schlagintweit. (Abhandlungen der Königlichen Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-philologische Klasse, Bd. 22, Abt. 3, pp. 519–576). München.
- Schmid 1967: Shamanistic Practice in Northern Nepal. By Toni Schmid. (Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis, I, pp. 82–89. Stockholm 1967).
- Schmidt 1926: Die Sprachfamilien und Sprachengruppen der Erde. Von W. Schmidt. Heidelberg 1926.
- Schott 1881: Über die Sprache des Volkes Róng oder Leptscha in Sikkim. Von Wilhelm Schott. (Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin. Phil. Hist. Klasse. No. 5, pp. 15 ff.).
- Schroeter 1826: A Dictionary of the Bhotanta or Boutan Language . . . to which is prefixed a grammar of the Bhotanta Language. By F. C. G. Schroeter. Serampore 1826.
- Schulemann 1958: Geschichte der Dalai-Lamas. Von Günther Schulemann. Leipzig 1958.
- Schweinfurth 1957: Die horizontale und vertikale Verbreitung der Vegetation im Himalaya. Von Ulrich Schweinfurth. (Bonner Geographische Abhandlungen. Heft 20). Bonn 1957.
- Sen 1896: The Sacred Books of the Lepchas. By Kali Kumar Sen. (Journal of the Buddhist Text Society of India, Calcutta, 1896).
- Shafer 1941: The Vocalism of Sino-Tibetan. By Robert Shafer. (Journal of the School of Oriental and African Studies. Vols. 60, pp. 302–337, 1940, and 61, pp. 18–31, 1941).
- Shafer 1950a: Classification of some Languages of the Himalayas. By Robert Shafer. (Journal of the Bihar Research Society, vol. 34, pp. 192–214).
- Shafer 1950b: Phonétique comparée de quelques Préfixes simples en sino-tibétain. Par Robert Shafer. (Bulletin de la société de Linguistique de Paris, vol. 46, pp. 144–171).
- Shafer 1957: Bibliography of Sino-Tibetan Languages. By Robert Shafer. (Wiesbaden 1957).
- Shaha 1884: A Grammar of the Lepcha Language. By Brojo Nath Shaha. Calcutta 1884.
- Shelton 1925: Tibetan Folk Tales. By Albert le Roy Shelton. New York 1925.
- Sherwill 1852: Map of British Sikkim from Surveys by Captain Sherwill. Calcutta 1852.
- Shorto 1962: A Dictionary of Modern Spoken Mon. Lower Burma and Thailand. By H. L. Shorto. London 1962.
- Shorto 1963: Bibliographies of Mon-Khmer and Tai Linguistics. By H. L. Shorto et al. London 1963.
- Siiger 1951: Dancing Pilgrims from Tibet. By Halfdan Siiger. (Dansk Geografisk Tidsskrift, vol. 51, pp. 1–26. Copenhagen 1951).
- Siiger 1955: A Cult for the God of Mount Kanchenjunga among the Lepcha of Northern Sikkim. (Actes du IV<sup>e</sup> Congrès International des Sciences Anthropologiques et Ethnologiques. Vienne 1952, Tome II, Ethnologica pp. 185–189. Wien 1955).
- Siiger 1956: Ethnological Field-Research in Chitral, Sikkim, and Assam. Preliminary Report. By Halfdan Siiger. (Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser udgivet af Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Bind 36. No. 2, Copenhagen 1956).
- Siiger 1967a: Fate in the Religion of the Lepchas. By Halfdan Siiger. (Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis, II, pp. 150–157. Stockholm 1967).
- Siiger and Rischel 1967b: The Lepchas. Culture and Religion of a Himalayan People. Part II. Lepcha Ritual Texts and Commentary by Halfdan Siiger. Phonetic Transcriptions of Lepcha Ritual Texts with Introduction by Jorgen Rischel. (Nationalmuseets Skrifter, etnografisk Række XI, II. Copenhagen 1967).
- Snellgrove 1957: Buddhist Himālaya. Travels and Studies in Quest of the Origins and Nature of Tibetan Religion. By D. L. Snellgrove. Oxford 1957.
- Sprigg 1966: The Glottal Stop and Glottal Constriction in Lepcha, and Borrowing from Tibetan. By R. K. Sprigg. (Bulletin of Tibetology, Vol. III, No. 1, pp. 5–14. Namgyal. Institute of Tibetology, Gangtok, Sikkim).
- Stein 1956: L'Épopée tibétaine de Gesar dans la version lamaïque de Ling. Par R. A. Stein. (Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque d'Études. Tome 61). Paris 1956.
- Stocks 1926: A Rong-Folk Tobacco Story. By C. de Beauvoir Stocks. (Folk-Lore, vol. 37, pp. 193–195).
- Stocks: Folk-lore and Customs of the Lap-chas of Sikkim. By C. de Beauvoir Stocks. (Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. New Series, vol. 21, pp. 325–505. Calcutta 1927).
- Stulpnagel 1878: Polyandry in the Himalayas. By C. R. Stulpnagel. (Indian Antiquary, vol. 7, pp. 132–135).

- Svery 1885: On the Language of the Lepchas in Sikkim. By J. Svery.
- Temple 1881: The Lake Region of Sikkim on the Frontier of Tibet. By Richard Temple. (Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. 3, pp. 321-340).
- Thompson 1852: Himalaya Occidental and Tibet. By E. D. Thompson.
- Toussaint 1923: Padma-than-yig. Par Gustave-Charles Toussaint. (Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême Orient, Tome XX, 4, pp. 13-56, and Journal Asiatique 1923 pp. 241 ff.).
- Toussaint 1933: Le Dict de Padma. Padma Thang Yig. MS de Lithang. Traduit par Gustave-Charles Toussaint. (Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises. Tome III).
- Tucci 1949a: Tibetan Painted Scrolls, I-II. By Giuseppe Tucci. Rome 1949.
- Tucci 1949b: Tibetan Folksongs from the District of Gyantse. By Guisepe Tucci. (Artibus Asiæ Supplementum VII. Ascona 1949).
- Turner 1806: An Account of an Embassy to the Court of the Teshoo Lama in Tibet etc. By Samuel Turner. 2nd edn. London 1806.
- Ujfalvy 1883: Les traces des religions anciennes en Asie centrale et au sud de l'Hindou-Kouch. Par Ch. de Ujfalvy. (Bulletin Sociologique d'Anthropologie. Tome VI, pp. 278 ff. Paris 1883).
- Waddell 1892: Place and River-Names in the Darjiling District and Sikkim. By L. A. Waddell. (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. LX, pp. 53-79 (1891), Calcutta 1892).
- Waddell 1893: Frog Worship. By L. A. Waddell. (Indian Antiquary, vol. 22 pp. 292-294, 1893).
- Waddell 1894a: The History of Sikkim and Its Rulers. By L. A. Waddell. (The Gazetteer of Sikkim, pp. 5-38).
- Waddell 1894b: Lamaism in Sikkim. By L. A. Waddell. (The Gazetteer of Sikkim, pp. 241-392. Calcutta 1894).
- Waddell 1899: The Lepchas or Róng and Their Songs. By L. A. Waddell. (Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie, Band XII, pp. 41-57).
- Waddell 1900: Among the Himalayas. By L. A. Waddell. 2nd edn. Westminster 1900.
- Waddell 1914: Demonolatry in Sikkim Lamaism. By L. A. Waddell. (Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXIII, pp. 197-215).
- Waddell 1939: The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism. By L. A. Waddell. (1st edn. 1894, Cambridge, 2nd edn. reprint 1939).
- Wales 1953: The Sacred Mountain in the Old Asiatic Religions. By Quaritch Wales. (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, pp. 23-30).
- Walsh 1904: A Note on Stone Implements found in the Darjeeling District. By E. H. C. Walsh. (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. 73, Part III, pp. 20-24).
- Watt 1889-1896: A Dictionary of the Economic Products of India. 6 vols. By George Watt. Calcutta 1889-1896.
- Westerlund 1937: Kanchenjunga. By Per Westerlund. Helsingfors 1937, Stockholm 1938.
- White 1909: Sikkim and Bhutan. Twenty-one years on the North-East Frontier, 1887-1908. By J. C. White. London 1909.
- Who's Who 1952-53: Who's Who for 1952-53. Compiled by "The Times of India", Bombay. (See: India and Pakistan Year Book and Who's Who 1952-53).
- Wolfenden 1929: Outlines of Tibeto-Burman Linguistic Morphology, with Special Reference to the Prefixes, Infixes and Suffixes of Classical Tibetan and the Language of the Kachin, Bodo, Nâgâ, Kuki-Chin and Burma Groups. By Stuart N. Wolfenden. (Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London, Prize Publication Fund, no. 12).

In the India Office Library, London, there are two Hodgson MSS (Hodgson MSS Vol. 78, folios 128-155 and Vol. 80, folios 147-161) listing the names of various *râm* and *mung* and the sacrifices pertaining to them. These problems will be dealt with in Part III.

## INDEX

(In order to facilitate the application of the Index to the reader not familiar with the Lepcha alphabet, words beginning with letter 'a are registered under the letter a).

- A**
- a bāk* 123  
*a den* 116  
*a dīng mūn* 165  
*Adir* 40, 63, 64, 82, 88, 96, 105, 108, 109, 118, 119, 129, 134, 135, 148, 153, 160, 177, 178, 215, 218, 220, 225, 227, 230  
*a fōng* 55  
*a gām* 123  
*a gyeng* 128  
*a hryān* 60, 128  
*a jāk* 52, 130  
*a jen* 7, 104, 110, 163, 182-183  
*a kīt* 47, 57, 58  
*a kūng rūm* 141  
*a-kūp mā-nyin-nā-ba nyi-lā zuk-shāng-sā cho* 24  
*a kyeng* 128  
*a mik kā ta bo* 7, 180  
*a nang* 128  
*a nan mūn* 7, 165, 166  
*a nyit a jom* 91  
*ā nyo kân do mū (mung)* 190  
*a nyo rūm* 163  
*a pīl* 151, 162, 163, 165  
*a pīt* 56, 57, 130  
*a pót* 48, 127  
*a rót (mung)* 232  
*a rót a fūng mung* 70  
*a shāp* 129  
*a shek* 6, 137-138  
*a shók* 129  
*a shūl* 127  
*a thīng rūm* 163  
*a tsóng* 7, 110, 163, 182-183  
*a tūp* 53, 58  
*a tyāp* 127  
*'ayeng bōng* 193  
*'ayit (see also it)* [October-November] 61, 78, 79  
*ayóng kūk-shāng-sā cho* 24  
*'ayu* 72, 75  
*'ayū rūm mīt* 231  
*'ayū rūm mīt pūn dt* 230
- B**
- Baknar* 40, 41, 108, 150, 151, 152, 153  
*Bān* 82  
*ban* 55, 78, 101, 150
- bang hur* 88  
*bang kūp* 88  
*bang mo* 53, 129  
*bar fōng mo* 116  
*bi* 141  
*bi-ro-tsa-na-sā cho* 23  
*blung [June-July]* 78, 79, 87  
*bong thīng* 7, 16, 41, 61, 68, 69, 78, 98, 99, 109, 110, 111, 114, 115, 132, 136, 137, 138, 143, 144, 145, 146, 153, 161, 162-163, 165, 167, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185  
*Bongthings* 31  
*bri lón bu* 137, 138  
*bri mīt* 137, 138  
*buk [potatoes, yam]* 84  
*Bum-thīng* 161  
*bū nam* 80  
*byek bo* 134, 136, 137, 138, 139
- C**
- Caryota urens (L.)* 103  
*ce bo* 130  
*ce mo* 130, 167, 168  
*cen* 16, 68, 102, 123, 146  
*chang [cí]* 203, 205  
*chang [Tib. wine]* 228  
*che ring* 58  
*cho bo kāk lók* 129  
*Choder* 47, 48, 76, 86  
*cho kóng* 111, 114, 115, 143  
*cho rūm* 142  
*cho ten* 60, 130  
*cho-ten-sā cho* 23  
*chūng ri yam pāng* 198  
*cí* 16, 62, 64, 68, 69, 70, 84, 86, 87, 97, 99, 101, 102, 104, 105, 111, 115, 122, 123, 128, 132, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 144, 145, 146, 150, 151, 152, 153, 157, 158, 159, 164, 165, 168, 169, 170, 173, 178, 179, 180, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 190, 192, 195, 197, 200, 201, 203  
*cí bup* 105  
*cīng* 52  
*cīng gí* 97  
*cók* 140  
*cók bli* 140  
*cók den* 140
- có ro* 55, 127  
*cu, Sumu King* 194  
*cu pán* 119  
*Cusemo* 40, 49, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171  
*cya dūng ra zo* 145, 175, 193, 194, 197, 199  
*cya dūng ra zo mū nyū* 188  
*cyóm pá mar* 90
- D**
- dā, Kohol* 95, 112, 172, 173, 174  
*da bí da shap* 230  
*da bryó pót* 96  
*da bryó sá lí* 96  
*dā kam* 49, 130  
*dāk-da-bo-sā mat-shāng-sā cho* 23  
*dā mik* 99  
*dam su bík só* 199  
*dang* 227, 228  
*dang bo pū nū* 8, 227  
*dang dū (mung)* 189  
*dang dyal* 193  
*dang nyi kung* 130  
*dang-po (Tib.)* 79  
*Danun* 47, 50, 73, 169  
*dar (mung place)* 125, 196  
*dar (mīt)* 24  
*dar mīt, Sangshong* 194  
*dā wa* 130  
*dem bo* 128  
*dik-po lā-yo tó-shāng-sā cho* 23  
*dūm jóm* 73  
*dū-nót tsók-shāng-sā cho* 23  
*dul* 147  
*dūt* 16, 50, 52, 68, 102, 123, 146  
*dūt mung* 215, 217, 227, 228, 229, 230, 232  
*dūt mung pū nū* 233
- F**
- fā lo gra fā lo rūm* 159  
*fat [earth]* 77  
*fat sá 'ayak [Friday]* 77  
*fen lók* 157  
*fit (see fyit)* 99  
*fo gróng thīng* 92  
*fōng* 60  
*fyān mung tsók-shāng-sā cho* 23  
*fyit (see also fit)* 99

## G

Gangtok 8, 10, 21, 26, 29, 34, 35, 36, 37, 41, 43, 44, 82, 102, 134, 194, 195, 196, 199  
*gap* 65  
*ga pu* 128  
*gār bu* 51, 128, 134  
*ge bu* 123  
*Git* 6, 10, 13, 41, 98, 145, 162, 178  
*glu* [September-October] 79, 87, 128  
*gra fā lo* 52  
*grām tse* 66  
 Guru Rimpoche 23, 31, 32, 44, 50, 55, 172  
 Gyad-dBhum-gSags 29, 113, 161  
*gya gar sha* 225, 226, 227  
*gyā lā* 53, 130  
*gyam tsho* 206  
*gya nók* 226  
*gya nók* Hanzuk Potid 226  
*gya pán* 6, 16, 34, 38, 39, 46, 47, 63, 118-120  
*gye bo* [Victor] 57, 58, 128  
*gye bo lüng ji rām* 178, 179  
*gye bu* [Victor] 8, 40, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 214

## H

*hik nam* [Hen Year] 80  
*hik ti mū nyū* 188, 199  
*hik van* 76  
*hing* [ginger] 158  
*hlā bū* 225  
*hlā bū pū nū* 8, 225  
*hlak bo* [Wednesday] 48, 77, 128  
*hlam bo* 40, 48, 49, 127, 168, 188  
*hla ri bo* 53  
*hla thu* 8, 191, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197  
*hla thu* Shrine 8, 58, 59, 194, 195, 197  
*hlo* 174  
*hlo (mung)* 146  
*hor* 204  
*hor mu (mung)* 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214  
*hrit* [comb] 75

## I

*it* (see also *'ayit*) [October-November] 61, 69, 78, 79, 88, 110  
*it de bo rām* 163  
*it i* 51, 130  
*it mu* (see also *it nyo mu*) 89, 95, 168, 172-176, 192  
*it nyo mu* (see also *it mu*) 112, 174

## J

*ja guk* 74  
*jāt* 75  
*jer bang pū nū* 227  
*jer mū* 123  
*jer thing* 123  
*jer yang rāng mī pūn dī* 219  
*jīng* (see also *sām*) [April-May] 79, 93

*jīng mo* 53, 130  
*jīp* 51, 130  
*jo mo* Kingsa 175  
*Junggi* 39, 58, 59, 191, 192, 193, 201  
*Jukne* 40, 150, 202  
*jiyūng sor kā ku* 188

## K

Kabi 28  
*kā bōng* 198  
*kā cer* [wheat] 84  
*kā cer vi (mung)* 189  
*kā cu(tsu) lóm (mung)* 124  
*kā dung* 65  
*kā hryók fo* 175  
*kā ju* [dog] 173  
*kā ju nam* [Dog Year] 80  
*kā ka* 76  
*kā kyo* [barley] 84  
*kā kyūp* [ring] 75  
*kā tī* [squirrel] 57, 127  
 Kalimpong 5, 6, 7, 10, 13, 15, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 27, 30, 35, 36, 37, 41, 44, 66, 67, 68, 69, 71, 76, 77, 78, 79, 83, 86, 91, 94, 99, 104, 110, 112, 113, 115, 116, 121, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 141, 143, 147, 153, 157, 158, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 179, 180, 182, 183, 184, 191, 199, 200  
*kā lók* [rat] 40, 47, 48, 50, 72, 86, 96, 104, 105, 122, 129, 168, 201  
 Kalok *hlo* 160  
*kā lók tī* 49, 130  
*kā lók kyong* 49, 129  
*kā lók nam* [Rat Year] 80  
*kā lók pa nyóm* 59, 129  
*kam dun vik* 192  
*kam fón* 198, 199  
*kam lí, kam lí gen* 46, 49  
*kam lí gen rām* 169  
*kam mín* 199  
*kām mū* 123  
*kām si thing* 196  
*kām yū lóm (mung)* 124  
*kam yū thing* 196  
 Kanchenjunga 16, 28, 41, 43, 149, 156, 190, 191  
*kap lí kam cen* 199  
*kā por kong chen* 188  
*kār ko* 190  
*kār nīl kār song (mung)* 189  
*kar vo* 101  
*ka sā bok* 190  
*kā sók buk* 220  
 Kathak Lokde *pū nū* 8, 218  
*ka thóng fi* 92  
*Kati mū nyū* 194  
*kāt thāp* 129  
*ka zār* 50, 130  
 Kazi 30, 34, 118-120  
 Kesong 5, 44, 46, 50, 52, 60, 61, 72, 73, 127, 128, 145, 154  
*kha cung* 74  
*khan do mung* 215  
*kha tak* 52, 53, 65  
 Khyé-Bumsa 28, 29, 82

*ki lo* 142  
*ki lo rām* 141  
*kim* 197  
*king tsum dar mīt* 24  
*king-tsum-sā cho* 23  
*king tsum zóng bu* [Kanchenjunga] 28  
 Kohum 114  
*kól bung* 49  
*kóm sí lóm (mung)* 124  
*kong chen* 8, 16, 38, 39, 43, 69, 89, 91, 112, 114, 115, 141, 145, 169, 172, 174, 175, 188, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 200, 201  
*kong chen rām* 175  
*kóng ka jí* 190  
*kóng lo* 196, 197  
*kre mik-kün dün-sā cho* 23  
*kri bo* 52, 54, 59  
*kū dūng* 198  
*kūm shi thing* 132  
*kūm thyóng nam* [Eagle Year] 80  
*kung tho* (see also *tho*) 65  
*kūn tsong* [maize] 83  
*kūp tshóp* 108  
*kūr nyit* [January-February] 78, 79, 87, 101  
*kūr sōng* [February-March] 78, 79, 87, 99, 115, 164, 168, 191, 194  
*kyab thyók* 52, 128  
*kyán-sā cho* 23  
*kyo fo* 199  
*kyuk* 65

## L

*la mi yong (mung)* 189  
*lāng* [stone] 77  
*lāng dā* 215, 216, 217, 221, 230, 232, 233, 234  
*lāng dā pū nū* 8, 230  
*lāng dī yang rāng gón* 198  
*lang do* 198  
*lang do cu* 194  
 Langdyang 44, 55, 127, 128, 130, 167  
*lāng gom* 198  
*lāng góm (mung)* 190  
*lāng góm cũ* 169  
*lāng góm gen rām* 169  
*lāng kó* 198  
*lāng kór* 198  
 Langku 5, 53, 59, 61, 128  
*lāng sū 'ayak* [Tuesday] 77  
 Langshol 61, 146  
*lāng sók lang dok* 199  
*lāng song (mung)* 189  
*lāng tā lep* 46  
*lāng yi (mung)* 189  
 Lasho *mung* 113, 116  
*la ven* 192, 193  
*la vo* 52, 128  
*lā vo nyet* 78  
*le tūp* 52  
*lha* (Tib.) 194  
 Lha-bTsun 30, 32  
*lha tho* (Tib.) 194  
 Lhatsün Chhembo 29  
*lí* 63



*li dòng kung* 68  
*ling* 202, 208, 209, 211, 212, 214  
*Lingthem* 20, 35, 46, 49, 60, 61,  
 78, 79, 82, 94, 161, 167, 177  
*li râm* 5, 60-70, 163  
*lo kor* 79  
*lóm thong* 138, 139  
*lóng mi yong* 198  
*lóng nam* 80  
*lo thó zak* 81  
*lūk* [sheep] 168  
*lūk blo* 53  
*lūk nam* [Sheep Year] 80  
*luk ni láng bong* 199  
*lũng ji, lũng ji mung* 7, 178-179  
*lũng lók sum* 64  
*lu pũ nũ* 221, 222, 223, 224  
*lyang a-kyet zuk-shāng-sā cho* 24  
*lyang bar* 217, 220, 221, 223, 225,  
 227, 228, 230, 232, 233, 234  
*lyang bar pũ nũ* 232  
*lyang râm* 7, 163, 179-180  
*lyang sã-sã cho* 23

## M

*mã dyang dó* 198  
*mã dyang vik* 192  
*mak-ba lóm frón-shāng-sã cho* 23  
*mak nyóm* (mung) 7, 123, 146,  
 153, 175  
*ma kyám* 90  
*mã la râm* 141  
*ma lóng* 90  
*mam brũm* 198  
*Manang* 46  
*mandal* 6, 34, 40, 118, 119, 120  
*māng dyam* (mung) 124  
*Mangkayang dā* 48  
*māng la* 106  
*māng li yang* (mung) 124, 196  
*māng lyang mung* 124  
*mang yang* (mung) 124  
*Mani* 46, 51  
*mar* [December-January] 78, 79,  
 87, 184  
*Marji* 40, 54, 61, 70, 146, 198, 199  
*mã ro li Blu* 175  
*mã ro li pāng* (mung) 189  
*mã-rũm nyi-shāng-sã cho* 23  
*mã shok mã tel* 220, 229, 232  
*Mayel* 21  
*mã yel* 5, 89, 90, 91, 92, 106  
*mã yel lyang* 83  
*mã yel râm* 5, 83, 89, 90, 92, 93  
*mã yel tong* 89, 90, 173, 196  
*mã yũm* (mung) 196  
*mí* [fire] 77  
*mík chap kung* 144  
*mik mar* [Tuesday] 77, 159  
*mi pyet* 75  
*mí sã 'ayak* [Sunday] 77  
*Mon* 27  
*móng* [millet] 83  
*móng brí sǒng* 76, 77  
*món nam* [Pig Year] 80  
*muktair* 6, 118  
*mũ lũng tong* 196

*Mun* 21, 161  
*mũn* 5, 7, 16, 39, 40, 47, 48, 49,  
 61, 67, 68, 69, 89, 109, 115, 122,  
 132, 136, 137, 138, 143, 146, 147,  
 153, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165-167,  
 169, 173, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183,  
 184, 185, 186, 191  
*mung* 5, 6, 7, 16, 37, 38, 40, 46,  
 48, 55, 57, 67, 68, 70, 72, 74, 77,  
 80, 89, 95, 102, 112, 113, 115,  
 116, 124, 125, 126, 127, 129, 143,  
 144, 145, 146, 147, 149, 151, 152,  
 153, 154, 161, 164, 166, 167, 168,  
 170, 172, 173, 174, 175, 177, 178,  
 179, 180, 181, 182, 185, 186, 189,  
 191, 192, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198,  
 199, 202, 203, 204, 207, 210, 214,  
 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221,  
 222, 223, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233,  
 234  
*mung gór ríp* 164  
*mung gum râm* 69  
*mũng kũng* 106  
*mung kung râm* 69  
*mung nan-shāng-sã cho* 23  
*mung pũ nũ* 221  
*mung ryak-shāng-sã cho* 23  
*mũ nyũ, Sakvok* 175, 194  
*Mut* 98, 99  
*myók thyoł* 137, 138

## N

*nã chat* [pain] 48, 49, 127  
*na dòng* 57, 128  
*na fyāt* 130  
*nam* 78, 79  
*nam bãn* [New Year] 184  
*nam bũ* 199  
*Namchut* (see also *rũng ji*) 47, 57,  
 58, 102, 112  
*Namprik* 5, 44, 49, 50, 55, 56, 57,  
 61, 75, 134, 154, 167, 169  
*nam pũt* 51, 130  
*nam-ryu-lã zuk-shāng-sã cho* 23  
*nāng lĩt* 124  
*nāng yang* 124  
*na o* 175  
*Na-ong* 27  
*nã óng* 27, 116  
*na rím* 199  
*na ríp* 141  
*na ríp bũ* 196  
*na ríp nom* 132, 139  
*na ryeng tǎng seng* 199  
*nat fet* 76, 77  
*na zong* 112, 174, 175  
*na zong mũ nyũ* 122  
*na zong nyo* 95, 172-175  
*na zóng nyu* 92  
*ner bũ* 124  
*ne-yuk-sã cho* 23  
*ngó-gyóng-shāng-sã cho* 23  
*ngũ eng* [fish] 123  
*ngũ mung* [fish] 99, 123  
*ngũ ying* 99  
*nir bong* 124  
*nom bo* 55, 130  
*nó nát bu mung* 146

*nor den* 47, 128  
*nũm kũm* [July-August] 79, 87  
*nũm tsam* [May-June] 79, 86, 191  
*Nung* 5, 39, 44, 47, 57, 59, 61, 88,  
 101, 102, 128, 129, 191, 201  
*nũng ten* 92  
*nũng lyeng no* 97, 98  
*Nyckong-Nal* 29  
*nyen* [milk] 77  
*nyen jo mo* 7, 40, 48, 49, 134, 161,  
 164, 167-168  
*nyen sã 'ayak* [Wednesday] 77  
*nyl bryo pã lĩt* 155  
*nyl kung ngal* 27, 28  
*nyó* 59, 128  
*nyóm byłt* 186  
*nyóm rek* 73, 74  
*nyóm sã a far* 132, 137  
*nyóm lūk vil* 130  
*nyóng* 67  
*nyung pũn dí* 175

## O

*óng* 130  
*Ongdi Buru* 41, 145, 162, 163,  
 164, 178  
*ong mo* 53

## P

*pã cyor pã tang* (mung) 190  
*pã dím râm* 6, 61, 62, 110, 123,  
 169, 174, 175  
*pã jĩt* (see also *pók*) 168  
*pák* 48, 49, 127  
*pã ki* 189, 198  
*pã ki cu* 53, 54, 145, 175, 194  
*pã kóm* 64  
*pã lit keng* 155  
*pã li yang* (mung) 189  
*pã lyang* 198  
*pã lyang cu* 194  
*pã mól bũ* 80  
*pãn dong* (mung) 189  
*pãn dong râm* 164, 165, 169  
*pang khar* [walking stick] 127  
*pãn grũm* 199  
*pang yung cu* 175, 192, 193, 194  
*pãn jing* 189  
*pãn krong* 199  
*pãn krór hla shen* (mung) 190  
*pã nol* 6, 136  
*pãn song* (mung) 189  
*pãn song râm* 165, 169  
*Pantor* (mung) 7, 55, 146  
*pa o* 167  
*pa ri rǎng gón* 124  
*pár mo* 165  
*par vot pan dot* 198  
*pa sang* [Friday] 77, 128  
*pã shor* 165  
*Sangnok pã tǎm* 192  
*pã tek* 55, 57  
*pa tel* (mung) 189  
*pã thok* 49, 127  
*pã ting* 53, 60  
*pa wo* 161, 167  
*pã wo hũng rí* 175, 188, 194

Payel 5, 44, 46, 47, 49, 50, 61, 75, 88, 128, 130, 134, 167, 169, 174  
*pá yel bū* 192, 193  
*pá yóng* [bamboo] 111, 155  
*pá yóng cu* 194  
*pá zor (mung)* 189  
*pe mo* 129  
*phem bo* [Saturday] 48, 77, 128  
 Phieungung 29  
*phík* 163  
*phur bo* [Thursday] 58, 60, 77, 128  
*pí pán* 119  
*pí yǔng gong* 199  
*plyong (mung)* 123  
*pók*(see also *pá jí*) 168  
*po mik po lóng* [bamboo] 84  
*po-mu nang-se-sá cho* 23  
 Posiok Bug 113  
*pót* (also *a pót*) 60  
*po thar* 144, 180  
*po thyt* 165  
*pót mo* 180  
*po tsum* 144, 180  
*pro* [Bhutanese] 57, 128  
*pǔng jeng* [iron] 77  
*pǔng jeng sá 'ayak* [Saturday] 77  
*pǔn só* 53, 60  
*pǔn lóng pá lít* 155  
*pǔn zók buk* 221  
*pūr tam* 172, 174  
*pūr vīm* [August-September] 79, 87, 168  
 Put 47  
*pū tsho* 6, 16, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 108, 109, 112-117, 131, 132, 139, 161, 162, 163, 165  
*pū tsho rām* 108  
 Putso 30  
*pyák sor ká kyót* 188  
 Pyak Tsé 29  
*pyó khuk* 75

## R

*ra* [November-December] 78, 79, 88, 184  
*ra bylk* 198  
*rak sot lang dóng* 199  
*ram* 199  
*ram bong tūm* 198  
*rang dyang (mung)* 189  
*rang gang (mung)* 189  
*rang kyol vik* 192  
*rang nok vtk* 192  
*rǎng nóp* 199  
*rǎng yang dang* 199  
 Rapgyor 40, 47  
*ra vo* 199  
*ra yor ram* 199  
*ra zo* 215, 216, 217, 218  
*ra zo pū nū* 8, 215, 216  
*ráo rje* (Tib.) 65  
*rel bū* 173, 174  
*rel bū kúp* 141  
*ren jyonng ne ma yel tyang* 131  
*rig zing* 38, 89, 46, 47, 48, 63, 64, 65, 66, 77, 89, 90, 119, 122, 125,

128, 134, 141, 154, 167, 168, 174, 187, 194  
*ring tham* 108  
*rip* 198  
*ritsám pa* 180  
*rām* 5, 6, 7, 16, 43, 46, 68, 90, 91, 92, 95, 102, 106, 110, 111, 125, 132, 141, 159, 161, 163, 164, 165, 167, 168, 169, 170, 174, 175, 182, 190, 195, 196, 197, 198, 216  
*rām fat-shāng-sá cho* 23  
*rǎng jí* 39, 57, 68, 69, 102, 112, 128, 174  
*rung jí bong* 59  
*rǎng nyit* 157  
*rǎng nyo* 157  
*ryót kúp pū nū* 8, 220, 223

## S

*sá 'ayak* 76  
*sá ci* 230  
*sa cyong* 199  
*sá dyār nam* [Thunderbolt Year] 80  
*sá gl* 7, 163, 164  
*sa hem cóm (tsóm)* 199  
*Sahor dā* 47  
*sá hū nam* [Monkey Year] 80  
*sá hyór (mung)* 189  
*sá hyor rām* 6, 101, 102  
*sa hyūr* 198  
*sa hyūr cu* 175, 194  
*sak-ctn sám kyet-sá cho* 24  
*sak cām(tsūm) sak par lóm (mung)* 124  
*sak lu* 199  
*sá-kon de-lok* 24  
*sak po* 199  
*sak tsūm thing* 196  
 Sakvok 194  
 Sakvok mǔ nyū 175, 194  
*sa kyet pǎ tok* 199  
*sá kyū* 91, 92, 106, 190  
*sá kyū rām* 90  
*sá kyū thing* 190  
*sá lí* [bow] 96, 97  
*sá ling sá tho gen (mung)* 190  
*sá lu* [quiver] 97  
*sám* (see also *jing*) [April-May] 79, 86, 87, 168  
*sá mik dye tok* 24  
*sá mok sá bok (mung)* 190  
*sán dyam sán tyól* 123  
*sǎng cer mil (mung)* 189  
*sang fon vik* 192  
*sang fyók* 199  
*sǎng-gye shāng-sá cho* 24  
*sang jóm sǎng pí yok* 199  
*sǎng kyon dǎng zot (mung)* 190  
*sǎng lo lón bo* 142  
*sǎng lo rām* 141  
 Sangvo 5, 44, 46, 59, 61  
*sǎng vo* 125  
*sá no lǎng kyol (mung)* 189  
*sá nóm* 92  
*sá nyí* 76  
*sá nyim bo* 60, 128  
*sa nyór lóng tsám* 198  
*sap dók (mung)* 146, 154

*sap dok á mǔ mung* 124  
*sap dūt rǎ ho* 175, 194  
*sá pik bū* 74  
*sar dū* 165  
*sá rong cu* 194  
*sá rong (mung)* 189  
*sar vi* 165  
*sar vi bang hur* 230  
*sa ryók* 120  
*sǎ-tap tsók-shāng-sá cho* 24  
*sá thāng nam* [Tiger Year] 80  
*sá tsūk rām* 6, 110-111, 163  
*sá vi rām* 90, 91  
*sa vok mu (mung)* 145  
*Scitamineæ (L.)* 103  
*sen bū* 173, 174  
*sen bū kúp* 141  
*shǎ rǎng rām* 90, 91  
*shǎ só rǎk rok* 91  
*she rap* 50, 51, 128  
*shing ra ní pǔn dí* 215  
*shing te kúp* 66, 69  
 Shulang 59, 101  
 Shubet 48, 134, 135, 167, 168  
 Singhik 7, 8, 37, 40, 41, 47, 48, 49, 53, 61, 106, 108, 150, 153, 158, 167, 177, 202, 215, 218, 220, 225, 227, 230  
*so fyo* 76  
*so la* 76  
*sóm róng* 196  
*so nap* 76  
*sóng mo* 53, 54  
 Song Pe (Tib.) 167  
*sór (mung)* 123  
*so sóng* 76  
*so tsók-shāng-sá cho* 24  
*sūk mát* (see also *sǎng mát*) 77  
*sūk mát sá 'ayak* [Thursday] 77  
*sūm bryong* 176  
*sū mu* 215  
*sū mu (mung)* 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 210, 227, 228, 230, 231  
*sū mu pū nū (mung)* 230  
*sung bo* 53, 128  
*sǔng fām* 76  
*sǔng lí* 90  
*sǔng lí kung (tree)* 105  
*sǔng mát* (see also *sūk mát*) [wind] 77  
*sǔng rū kung (tree)* 50  
*sǔng vo* [river] 62  
*sur du* 88

## T

*tǎ 'ayū* 60  
*tá dǎng sǎng vok* 199  
 Tafa [May-June] 79, 86  
*tá fri* 65  
*ta go* 73  
*ta jen (mung)* 145  
*tak bar* 198  
*tak bo rām* 142  
*tak bo thing* 95, 112, 172, 173, 174, 175, 188  
*tak bo tsom* 189  
*tak bo tsom (mung)* 189  
*tak cyóm ká óm* 198

*tak cyom (mung)* 189  
*ták lók* 124  
*tak lo na nit* 198  
*tá ko na lí* 90  
*tak pū* 123  
*ta kra* 123  
*ta kri* 198  
*tak se thng* 188  
*tak se tsám* 198  
*tak se tsom (mung)* 189  
*tak she rām* 142  
*tāk sóm* 198  
*ta la bo [crab]* 51, 91, 127, 134  
*tá lí* 65  
*tā ling [pestle]* 64  
*tā lóm* 198, 199  
*tā lóm pan dím vik* 192  
*tā lom pán grim* 188  
*tā lūk [tree frog]* 105, 127  
*ta lyū mū mū* 90  
*tā lyung* 64, 104  
*ta mar [tree]* 55  
*ta mar (mung)* 145  
*tā mar cyo men (mung)* 52, 190  
*tāng bong* 124  
*tang dong (mung)* 189  
*tāng tyól* 199  
*tar bom bū* 196  
*tar bong* 141  
*tar bong bo (see also tar bong mu and tūr bak mu)* 139  
*tar bong mu (see also tar bong bo and tūr bak mu)* 132  
*tā-she shāng-sā cho* 23  
*tā she thng* 24  
*tat kri (mung)* 190  
*Tesi [Guru Rimpoche]* 31  
*tham bo [yeast]* 92  
*thang ka (Tib.)* 65  
*The Kong Tek* 29, 30, 113, 161, 162  
*Thikung Men Salong* 27  
*tho (see also kung tho)* 65  
*thók ró dum* 72  
*thón [March-April]* 79, 87  
*thong tyók* 127  
*thong ta lyū* 124  
*tho she* 154  
*thu-klón-shāng-sā cho* 23  
*thūng cu(tsu) lóm (mung)* 124  
*thyak tūk* 78

*ti kung tek* 27, 28  
*Tingbung* 5, 6, 7, 8, 35, 36, 38, 39, 40, 43, 44, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 57, 58, 59, 61, 63, 64, 66, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 94, 95, 96, 97, 99, 101, 104, 106, 107, 110, 112, 117, 119, 122, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 134, 141, 145, 146, 148, 153, 154, 156, 157, 158, 161, 164, 167, 168, 169, 172, 177, 187, 188, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 200, 223  
*tom bo* 128  
*tor ma* 7, 65, 90, 95, 115, 116, 146, 147, 150, 151-152, 153, 167, 169, 178, 179, 197  
*tsán dóng rām* 68  
*tsát* 162  
*tsering mo rām* 115  
*tshe ring i* 50, 180  
*tshū hlam mo* 52, 180  
*tsók dun dun [cuckoo]* 98  
*tsóm rik* 74  
*tsóng [arrow]* 96  
*tsóng sá sāt lí* 157  
*tsóng tūk* 52, 127  
*tsu* 97  
*tsūk ke* 76, 77  
*tsūk ker* 76  
*tsūk kyār* 220  
*tsūk kyār pū nū* 224  
*tsūk lat* 76, 77, 220  
*tsūk nang* 76, 77  
*tsūk zan* 76  
*tsum po mar* 93  
*tsu-pe-sā cho* 23  
*tūk* 75  
*tūk bo* 93  
*tūk bya* 97  
*tuk chuk mo* 180  
*tūk fyel [bird]* 93  
*tūk fyil [ant]* 57  
*tūk fyil rām bol dūt pū nū* 218  
*tūk mar* 105  
*tūk mar zo* 105  
*tūk po [string]* 49, 52, 127  
*tūk po kung* 168  
*tūk tsam [mortar]* 64  
*tūm long* 198  
*tūng dar [drum]* 128  
*tūng dyu* 155

*tāng gíp* 74, 75  
*tāng tsóm nyóm* 105-106  
*tūr 'aek pá no (also tūr 'agek pá no)* 27, 28  
*tūr 'aeng pá no (also tūr 'ageng pá no)* 27  
*tūr bak mu (see also tar bong bo and tar bong mu)* 131  
*tūr sang pá no* 27  
*tūr sòng pá no* 27  
*tūr ve pá no* 27  
*tyām bu* 72  
*tyáng mo* 175  
*tyang mo vik [ivory]* 108

## U

*ung [water]* 77  
*ung sá 'ayak [Monday]* 77  
*un nam [Horse Year]* 80

## V

*vik [soldier]* 43  
*vik rām* 167  
*ví rām* 199

## Y

*ya ba* 161  
*yāk* 161  
*ya ma* 161  
*yap ce yūm ce* 198  
*youni* 6, 119, 120  
*yūk rām* 142  
*yūm bū yat bū* 199

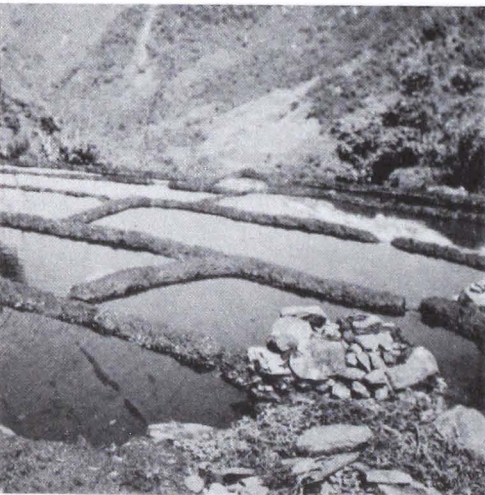
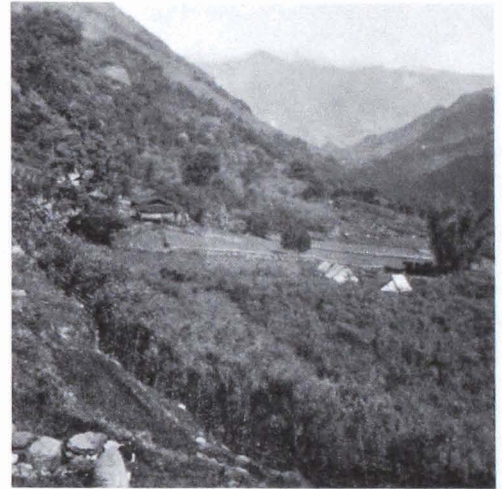
## Z

*za da o [Monday]* 61, 77  
*Zamola rām* 6, 95  
*za nyi ma [Sunday]* 77  
*zo [rice]* 88, 156  
*zo bāt thóm* 92  
*zo gul* 138, 140  
*zo khe bu* 27, 28  
*zo lok bo* 92  
*zo mal* 156  
*zo mal bo* 92  
*zo mon pá tam* 188  
*zo nyo kung* 92  
*zu ka* 104

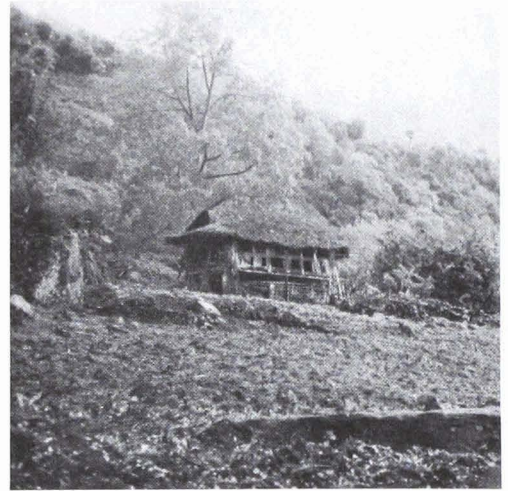
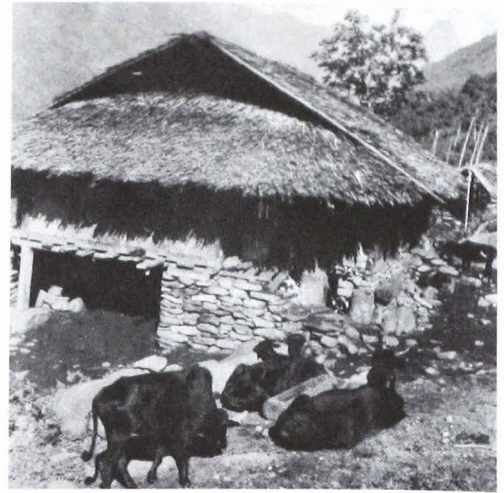


## PLATES



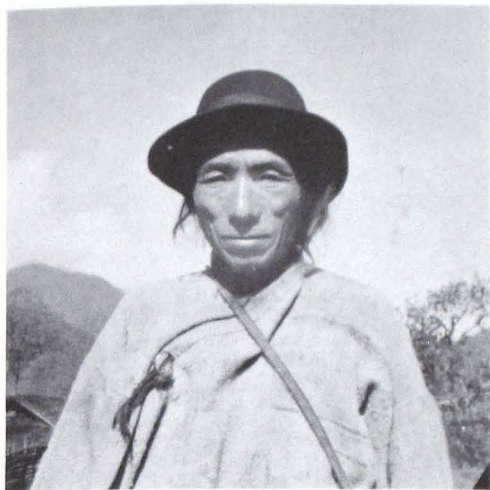


The River Talung. — Bamboo suspension bridge crossing the Talung river on the way to Tingbung. — View from Tingbung towards the western mountains. — View of Tingbung towards the east, author's camp to the right. — Rice fields. — The interpreter, Mr Tsering, and local children.

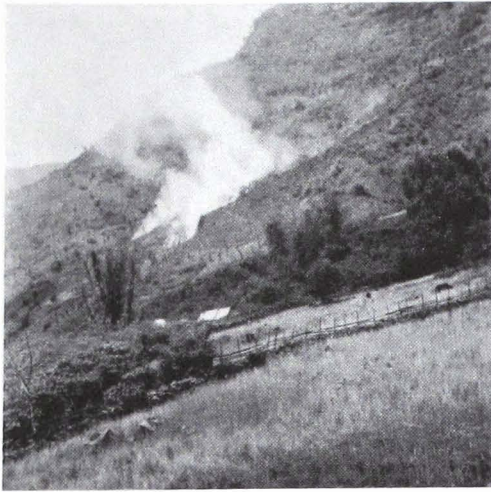


The house belonging to *rig zing*. — House and cattle. — House with implements (e.g. rain-shield, fences). — The abandoned Tingbung house haunted by the *mung*. — Man and boy working with pestle and mortar. — The mother of *kā lók*, making thread.





*rig zing*. — *kā lók's* mother with a child (note her goitre). — *Nagu*, a cousin of *kā lók*. — *kā lók's* wife. — *Danun* and a boy. — *Baknar* of *Singhik*.



Burning of virgin jungle. — *rig zing* carrying agricultural implements. — Ploughing with oxen. — Women harvesting. — Woman threshing. — *ka lok* in hunting outfit. (His modern boots were from the Mangen bazaar.)



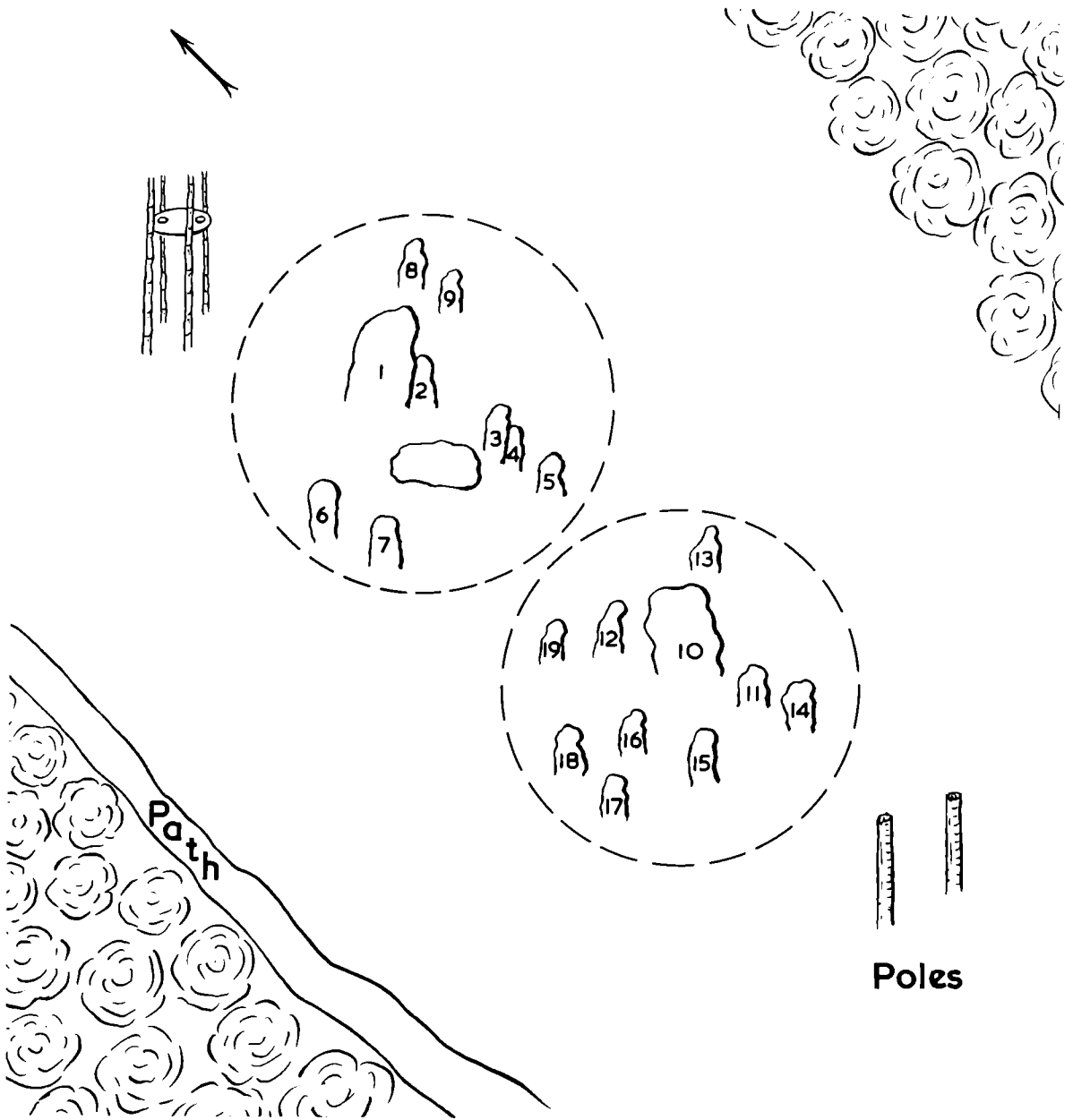
The *nyen jo mo* dancing ceremony (cf. pp. 168 ff.). It was impossible to photograph at the original night ceremony, these photographs were taken the following day.



The Cherim ceremony: *hlam bo* and other men making preparations for the ceremony. — Arrangements of stones, canes, etc. — *hlam bo* reciting the ritual. — The assisting men offer pieces of the cooked chicken. — The Karamchun Tree, a *mung* tree between Tingbung and Nung. — The big *mung* stone called *lāng tã lep*, on the path from Tingbung to Payel.



Junggi, the *kong chen* priest. — The place of *hla thu*. *rig zing* points to the stone representing *kong chen*. — The place of *hla thu*. The stone representing *kong chen* and some of the surrounding stones seen from another angle. — The place of *hla thu*. The second group of stones. The tall stone represents Sakvok. — The place of *hla thu*. The *kong chen* stone and surrounding stones seen from another angle. — From the funeral ceremony at Singhik. The corpse of the young man is carried away.



The *kong chen* ceremony, the shrine *hla thu*:

The bamboo platform for vegetable offerings.

The most prominent stones of the first group represent 1. *kong chen*, 2. *pang yung cu*, 3. *pā ki cu*, 4. *sā rong cu*, 5. *pā lyang cu*, 6. *sa hyār cu*, 7. *pa yóng cu*, 8. *lang do cu*, 9. Bagebo.

The stones of the second group represent 10. Sakvok (said to be a wife of *kong chen*), 11. *sap dāt ra ho*, 12. *pā wo hūng ri*, 13. Samo Gadyong, 14. Sumu King *cu*, 15. Sangshong *dar mīl*, 16. Sakvok *mā nyū*, 17. *cya dūng ra zo* (the ordinary wife of *kong chen*), 18. Kali *mā nyū*, 19. Sabru.

The two poles to which the sacrificial yak was tied.

The arrow indicates the direction towards *kong chen*.

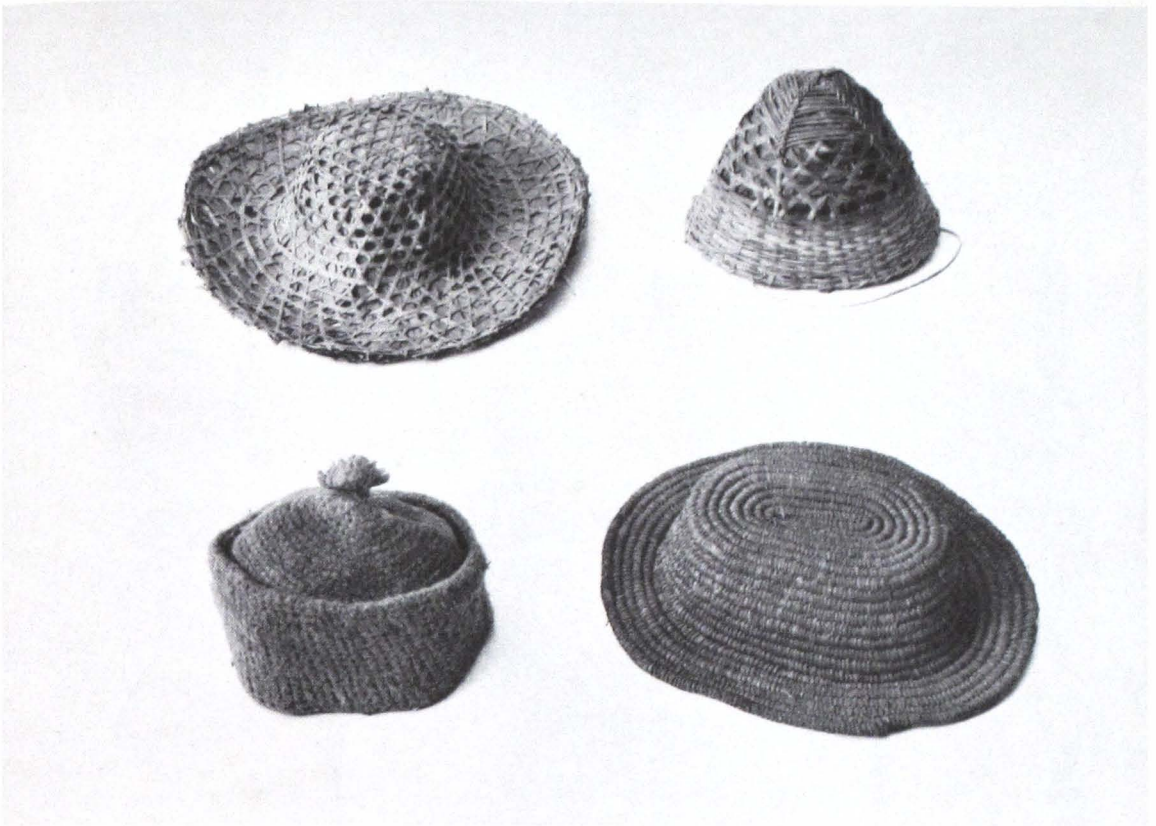
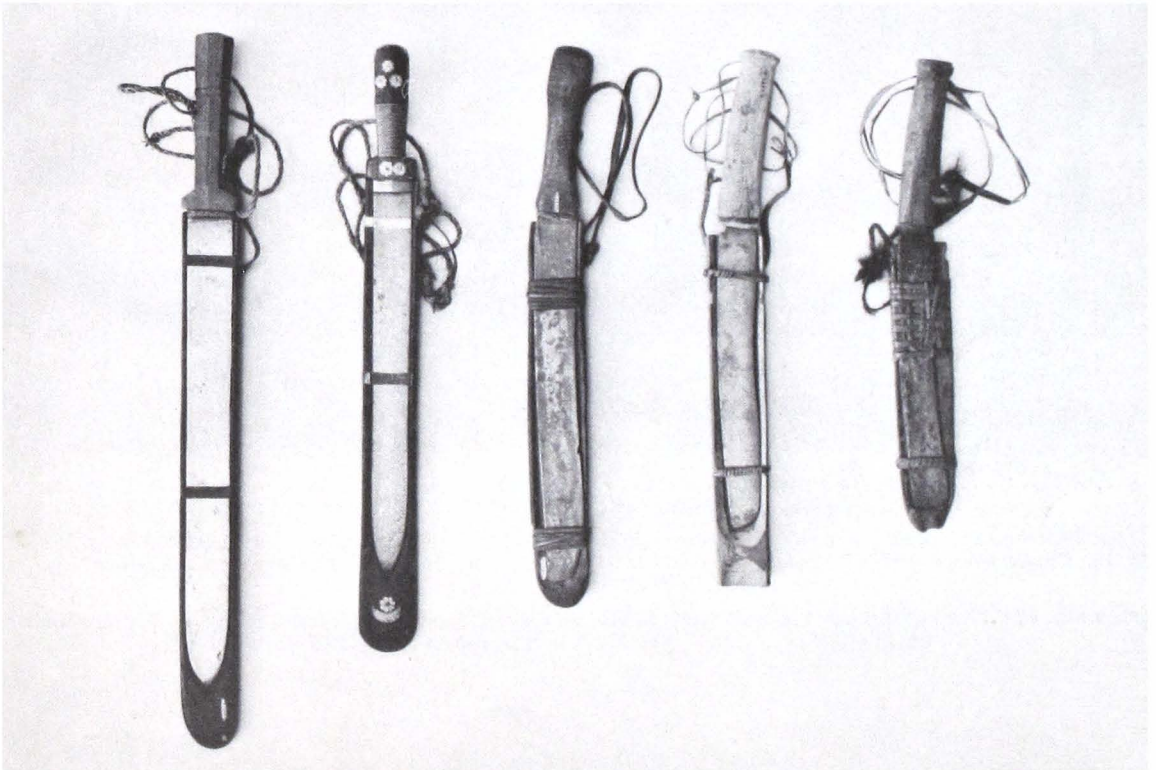
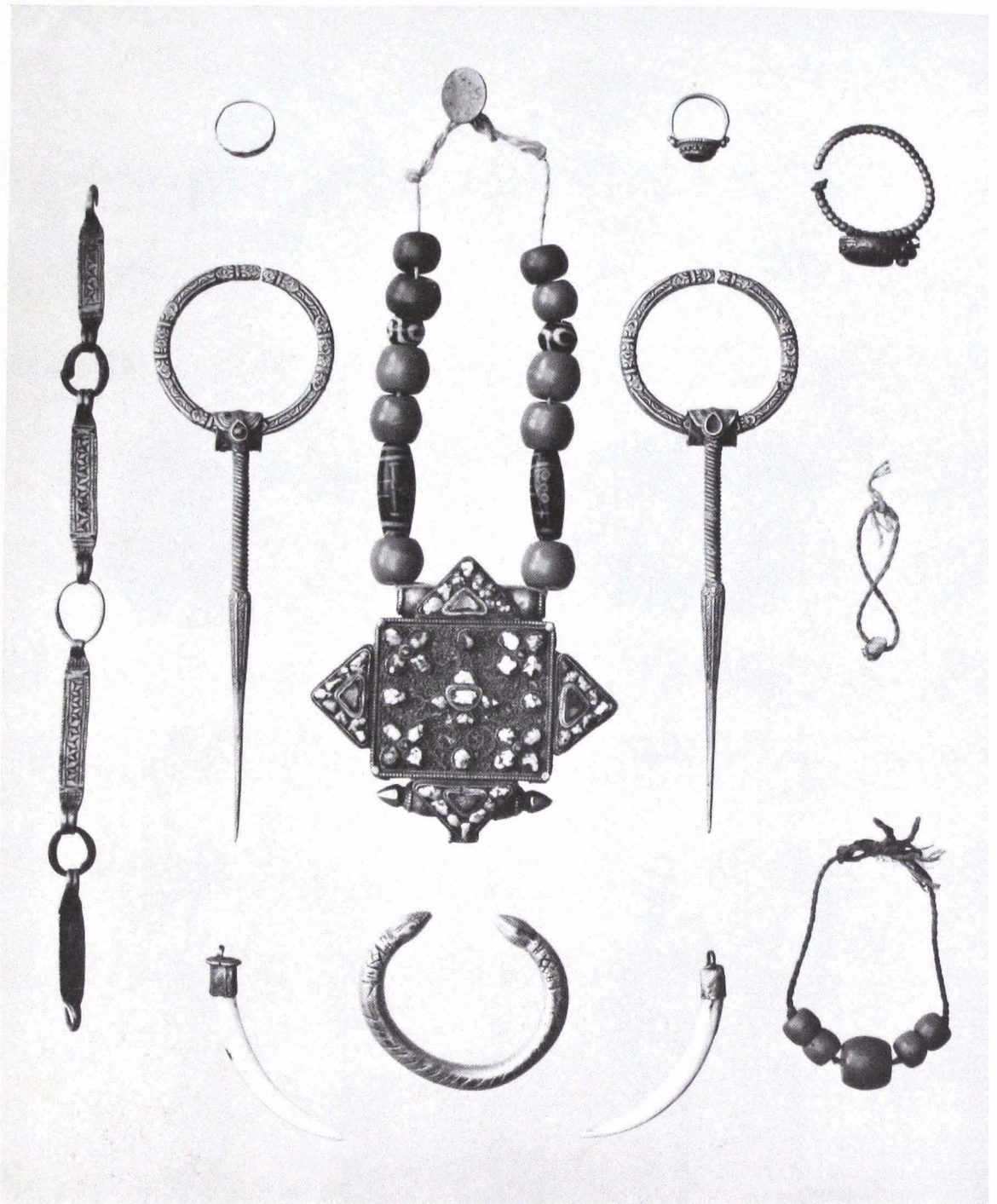


Fig. 1. A circular bamboo hat with crown and broad brim (C. 6316, p. 72). — Fig. 2. Cone-shaped hat of bamboo (C. 6317, p. 72). — Fig. 3. Grey woollen cap (C. 6318, p. 72). — Fig. 4. Boat-shaped greyish black hat (C. 6315, p. 72).



Swords or long jungle knives:

Fig. 5. (C. 6280, p. 73). — Fig. 6. (C. 6281, p. 73). — Fig. 7. (C. 6279, p. 73). — Fig. 8. (C. 6277, p. 73). — Fig. 9. (C. 6278, p. 73).



*Top row:* Fig. 10. Silver ring for a woman (C. 6332, p. 75). — Fig. 11. Silver ring for a woman (C. 6331, p. 75). — Fig. 12. Ear-ring for a man (C. 6330, p. 72).

*Middle row:* Fig. 13. Girdle pendant for a woman (C. 6339, p. 74). — Fig. 14. Silver brooch (C. 6329a, p. 75). — Fig. 15. Square amulet box with beads (C. 6337, p. 74). — Fig. 16. Identical with fig. 14 (C. 6329b, p. 75). — Fig. 17. Ear ornament (C. 6333, p. 75).

*Bottom row:* Fig. 18. Animal (boar?) tusk (C. 6334, p. 74). — Fig. 19. A bracelet (C. 6350, p. 74). — Fig. 20. Similar to fig. 18 (C. 6335, p. 74). — Fig. 21. A necklace for a man (C. 6336, p. 73).



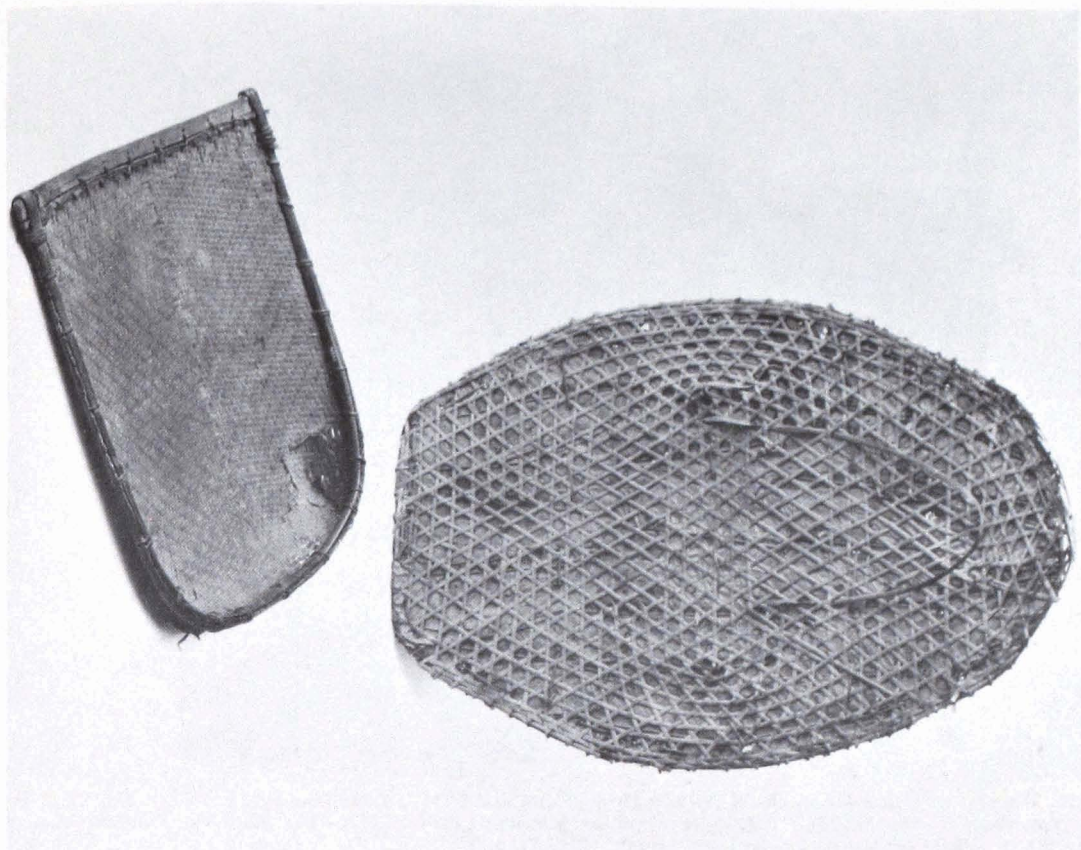


Fig. 22. A winnowing basket (C. 6358, p. 64). — Fig. 23. A rain-shield (C. 6297, p. 75).



Fig. 24. A low table (C. 6307, p. 66). — Fig. 25. A small, low table (C. 6306, p. 66).

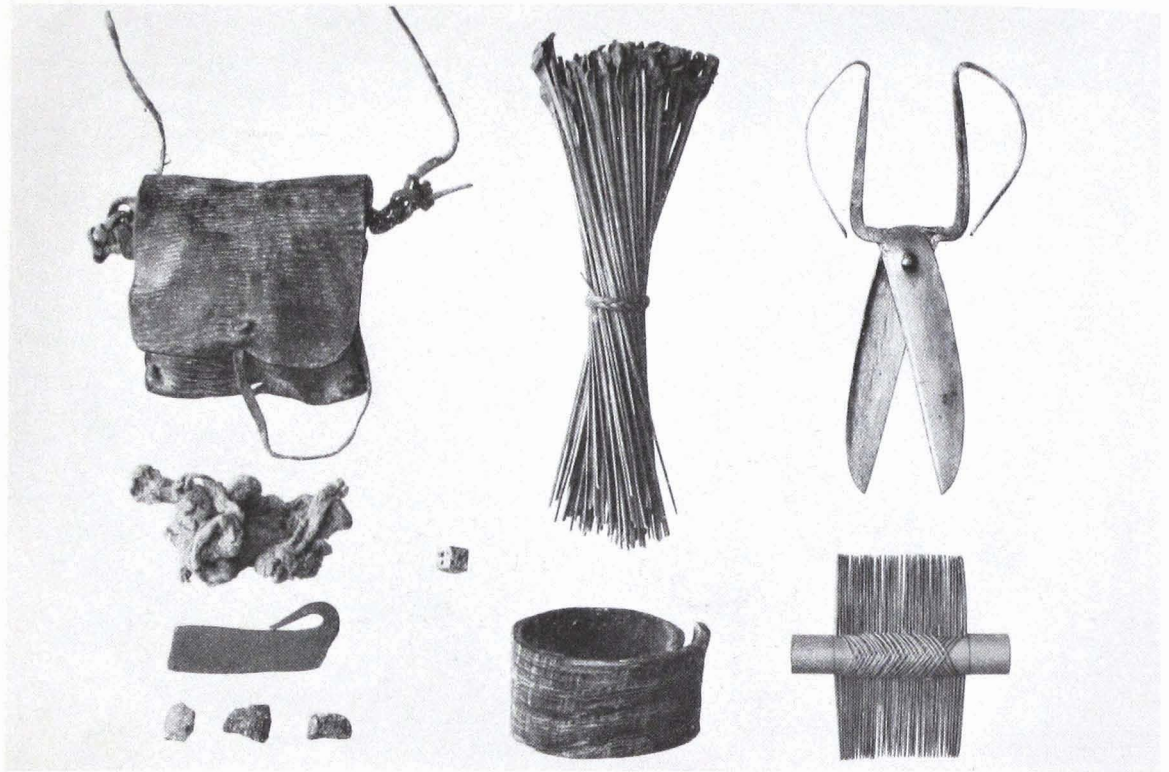


Fig. 26. Tinder-box with some shreds of cloth, a piece of iron and 3 small flints (C. 6309, p. 75). — Fig. 27. A brush of bamboo fibres (C. 6303, p. 75). — Fig. 28. A pair of iron scissors (C. 6304, p. 75). — Fig. 29. A *bong thing* die (cf. p. 162). — Fig. 30. A wristlet of yak horn used by hunters (C. 6282, p. 97). — Fig. 31. A comb of bamboo (C. 6310, p. 75).



Fig. 32. A square basket of bamboo wickerwork, used as a plate (C. 6312, p. 65). — Fig. 33. A cylindrical grain measure of wood (C. 6300, p. 65). — Fig. 34. A mug of wood with a handle of bamboo fibres (C. 6313, p. 65). — Fig. 35. A wooden chilli bowl with handle (C. 6298, p. 65). — Fig. 36. A cylindrical wooden dish with a rim of fibres (C. 6299, p. 65).

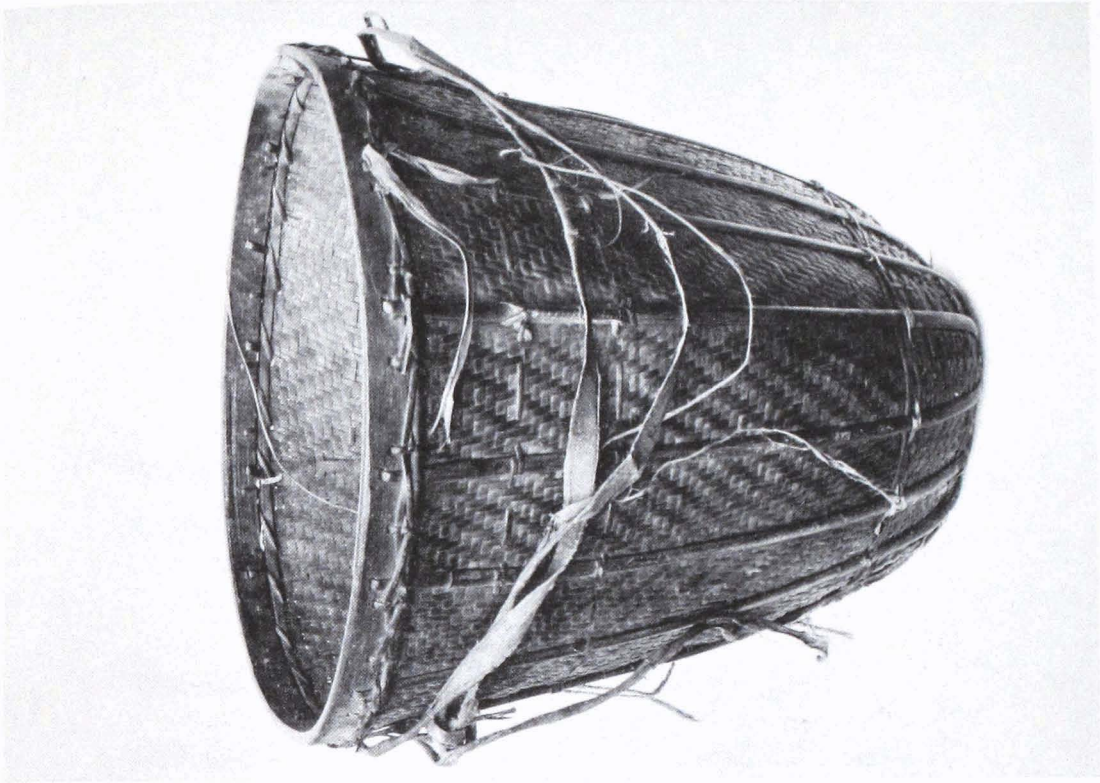


Fig. 41. A large pannier (C. 6295, p. 88).

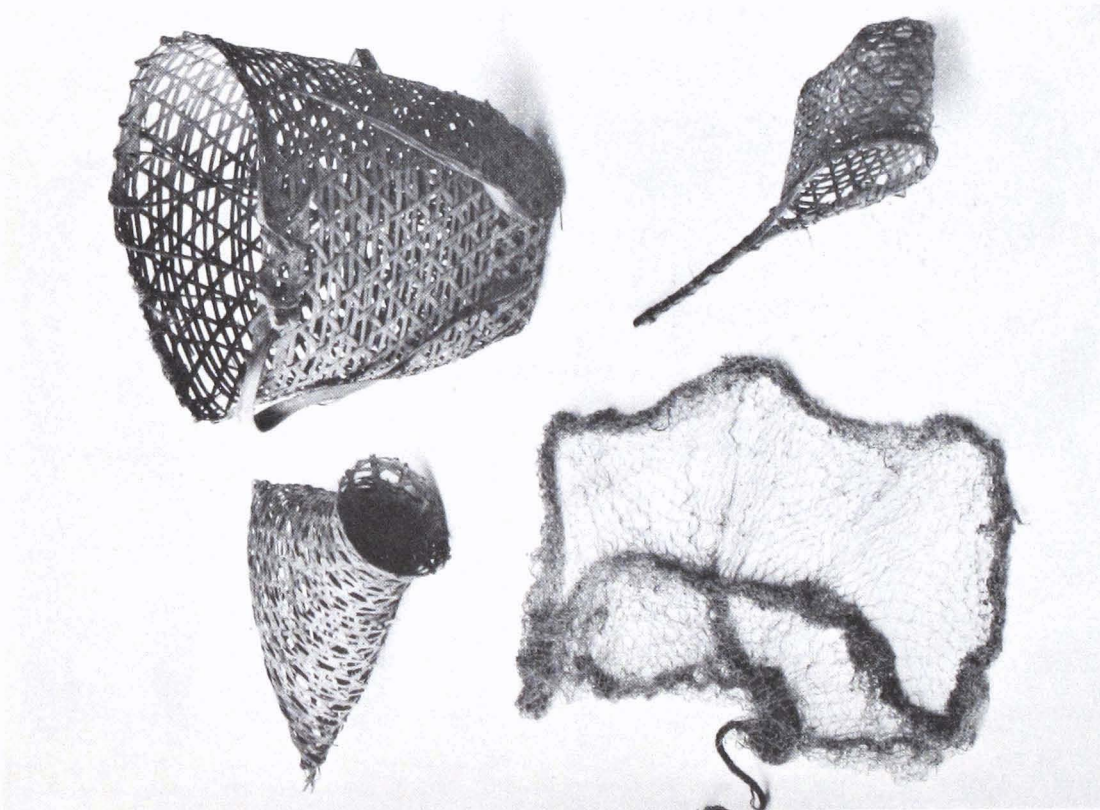


Fig. 37. A fishing trap of plaited bamboo (C. 6293, p. 99). — Fig. 38. A large pannier (C. 6294, p. 88). — Fig. 39. A fishing net (C. 6292, p. 99). — Fig. 40. An oblong fishing trap of plaited bamboo (C. 6296, p. 99).

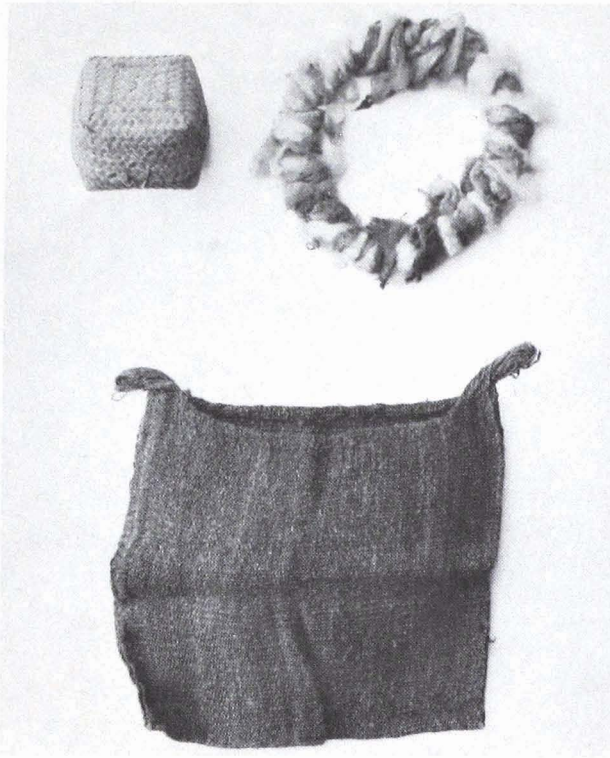


Fig. 42. Square work-basket of wickerwork with lid (C. 6308a-b, p. 75). — Fig. 43. Headgear used by the *nyen jo mo* during her ceremonial dance (C. 6319, p. 168). — Fig. 44. Old, coarse bag made of vegetable fibres (C. 6323, p. 74).



Fig. 45. A flat triangular hoe (C. 6290, p. 88). — Fig. 46. An iron axe-head (C. 6283, p. 88). — Fig. 47. A wooden hammer (C. 6302, p. 65). — Fig. 48. A long, flat ladle of wood (C. 6305, p. 65). — Fig. 49. A scoop of bamboo (C. 6301, p. 65). — Fig. 50. Knife with wooden handle, used for reaping cardamom (C. 6289, p. 88). — Fig. 51. A spud of iron with wooden handle (C. 6288, p. 88). — Fig. 52. A spud of iron with wooden handle (C. 6287, p. 88). — Fig. 53. A crooked iron implement used as a tool in the cardamom fields (C. 6285, p. 88). — Fig. 54. An iron sickle with wooden handle (C. 6286, p. 88). — Fig. 55. A longish iron weeding implement (C. 6284, p. 88).

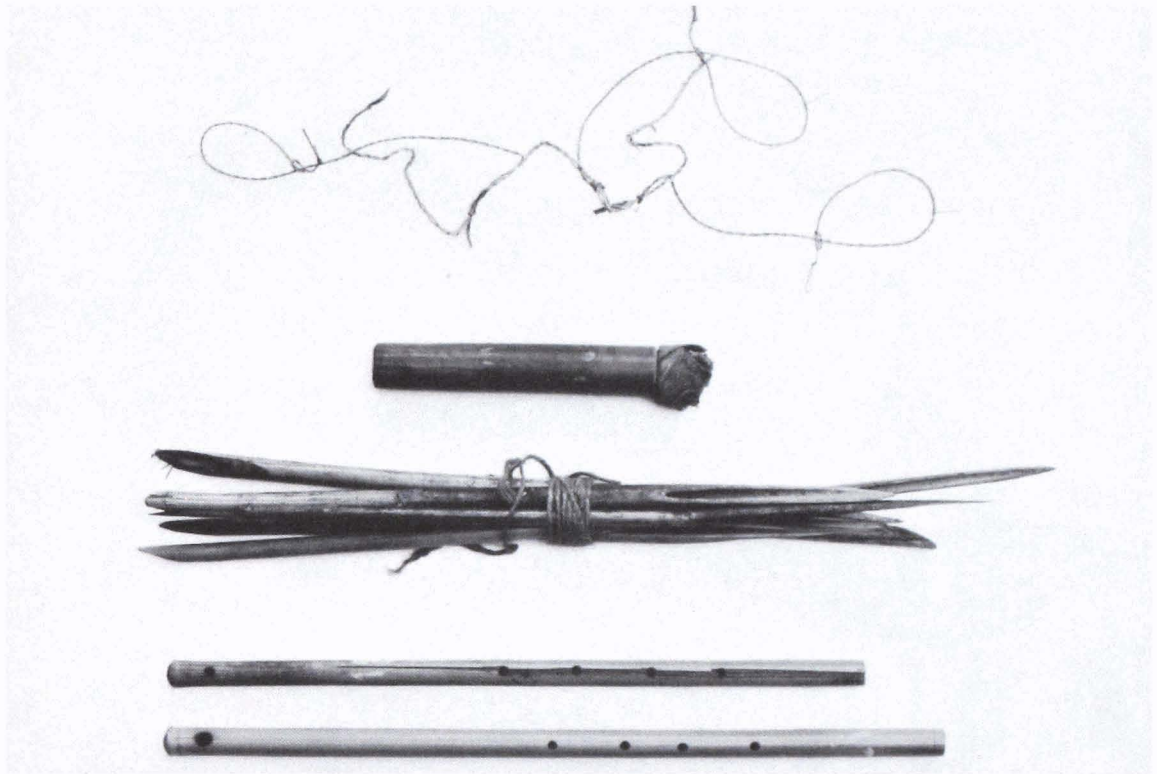


Fig. 56. Part of a bird trap (C. 6341 c, p. 97). — Fig. 57. A snuff-box (C. 6344, p. 75). — Fig. 58. Bamboo stakes used for hunting wild animals (C. 6291, p. 97). — Fig. 59. A flute (C. 6342, p. 155). — Fig. 60. A flute (C. 6343, p. 155).

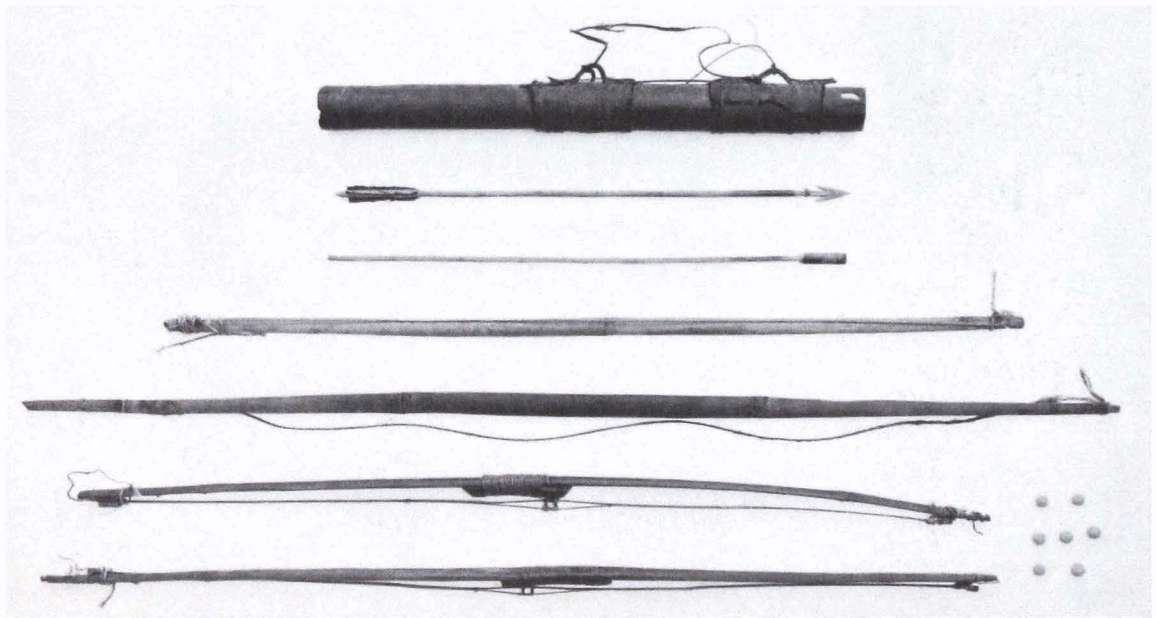


Fig. 61. A quiver (C. 6275, p. 97). — Fig. 62. An arrow (C. 6274b, p. 97). — Fig. 63. An arrow used for stunning birds (C. 6273b, p. 96). — Fig. 64. A bow (C. 6274a, p. 97). — Fig. 65. A bow (C. 6273a, p. 96). — Fig. 66. A pellet-bow (C. 6271, p. 96). — Fig. 67. A pellet-bow (C. 6272, p. 96). — Fig. 68. Bottom right, Pellets (Cf. p. 96).

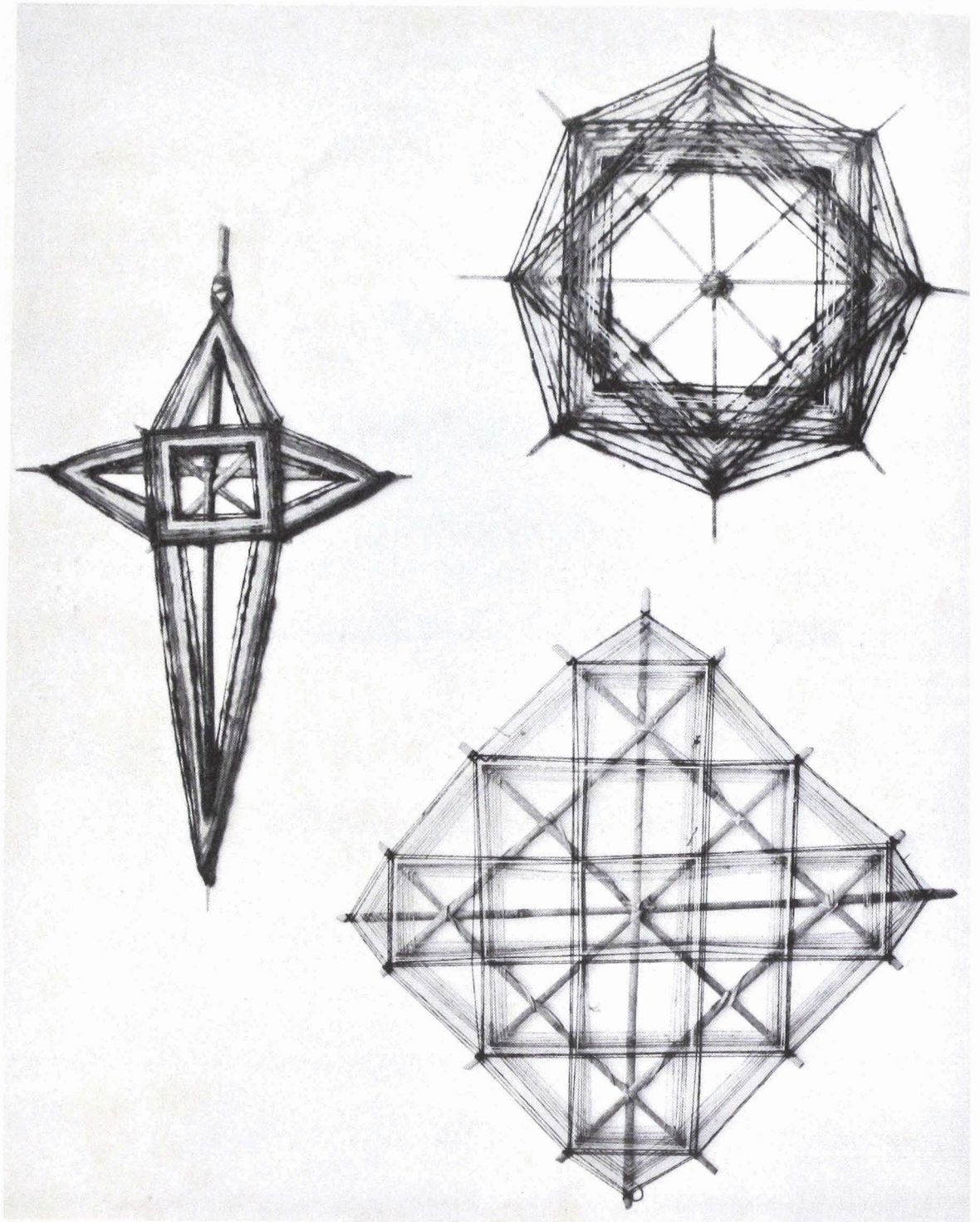
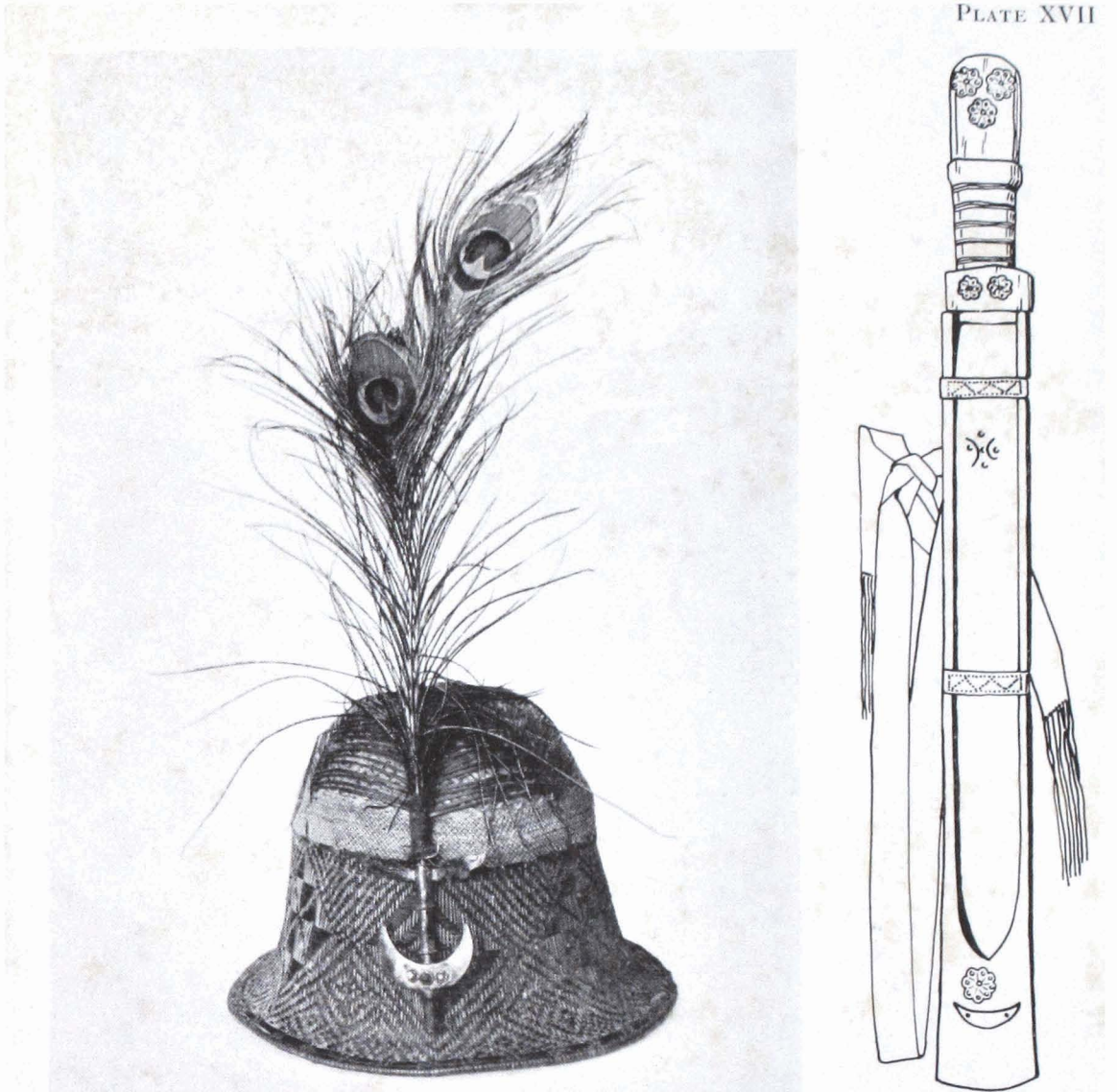


Fig. 69. Octagonal thread-cross (C. 6352, p. 154). — Fig. 70. Cruciform thread-cross (C. 6354, p. 154). — Fig. 71. A square thread-cross (C. 6351, p. 154).



At the Royal Palace of Gangtok some Lepcha men serve the Maharajah as his personal guard. Ancient Lepcha habits can be found in some parts of their stately uniform and equipment, for instance in the shape of their hats and swords. The influence of the Court can be seen in the beautiful peacock feathers and the silver badge on the hat and the silver ornaments on the sword (C. 6328).

Donation from His Highness the Maharajah of Sikkim.

Books Published by  
**The National Museum of Denmark**

ARCHEOLOGICAL HISTORICAL SERIES - ARKÆOLOGISK-HISTORISK RÆKKE  
(In quarto)

- I. AXEL STEENSBERG: Ancient Harvesting Implements. 1943.
- II. THERKEL MATHIASSEN: Studier over Vestjyllands Oldtidsbebyggelse (English summary). 1948 (out of print).
- III. C. M. SMIDT: Roskilde Domkirkes Middelalderlige Bygningshistorie (Resumé français). 1949.
- IV. ANDERS BÆKSTED: Målruner og Troldruner. 1952 (out of print).
- V. RUDI THOMSEN: Early Roman Coinage. Vol. I. 1957 (out of print).
- VI. MARIE-LOUISE BUHL: The Late Egyptian Anthropoid Stone Sarcophagi. 1959 (out of print).
- VII. THERKEL MATHIASSEN: Nordvestsjællands Oldtidsbebyggelse. 1959.
- VIII. O. E. RAVN: A Catalogue of Oriental Cylinder Seals and Impressions in the Danish National Museum. 1960.
- IX. RUDI THOMSEN: Early Roman Coinage. Vol. II. 1961.
- X. RUDI THOMSEN: Early Roman Coinage. Vol. III. 1961.
- XI. MOGENS ØRSNES: Form og Stil i Sydskandinaviens Yngre Germanske Jernalder (Mit deutscher Zusammenfassung). 1966.

ETHNOGRAPHICAL SERIES - ETNOGRAFISK RÆKKE  
(In quarto)

- I. Ethnographical Studies. Published on the Occasion of the Centenary of the Ethnographical Department National Museum. 1941.
- II. C. G. FEILBERG: La Tente Noire. 1944.
- III. HENNY HARALD HANSEN: Mongol Costumes. 1950 (out of print).
- IV. C. G. FEILBERG: Les Papis. 1952.
- V. MARTHA BOYER: Mongol Jewellery. 1952 (out of print).
- VI. KAJ BIRKET-SMITH: The Chugach Eskimo. 1953 (out of print).
- VII. HENNY HARALD HANSEN: The Kurdish Woman's Life. 1961.
- VIII. NIELS FOCK: Waiwai, Religion and Society of an Amazonian Tribe. 1963.
- IX. JOHANNES NICOLAISEN: Ecology and Culture of the Pastoral Tuareg. 1963.
- X. JENS YDE: Material Culture of the Waiwai. 1965.
- XI. Part I. HALFDAN SIIGER: The Lepchas. 1967.
- XI. Part II. HALFDAN SIIGER and JØRGEN RISCHEL: The Lepchas. 1967.
- XII. HENNY HARALD HANSEN: Investigations in a Shi'a Village in Bahrain (in preparation).

MONOGRAPHS - STØRRE BERETNINGER  
(In folio)

- I. P. J. RIIS: Hama (II<sub>3</sub>). Les Cimetières à Crémation. 1948.
- II. OLE KLINDT-JENSEN: Bornholm i Folkevandringstiden (English summary). (out of print).
- III. P. J. RIIS, V. POULSEN et E. HAMMERSHAIME: Hama (IV<sub>3</sub>). Les Verreries et Poteries Médiévales. 1957.
- IV. E. FUGMANN: Hama (II<sub>1</sub>). L'Architecture des Périodes pré-hellénistiques. 1958.
- V. MARTHA BOYER: Japanese Export Lacquers from the Seventeenth Century in the National Museum of Denmark. 1959.
- VI. C. J. BECKER: Føtømersk Jernalder i Syd- og Midtjylland (Mit deutscher Zusammenfassung). 1961.
- VII. GUNHILD PLOUG, EVELYN OLDENBURG, E. HAMMERSHAIME, R. THOMSEN and F. LØKKEGAARD: Hama (IV<sub>3</sub>). Les petits objets médiévaux sauf les verreries et poteries (in preparation).

DANSKE VOLDSTEDER FRA OLDTID OG MIDDELALDER

- I. VILH. LA COUR and HANS STIESDAL: Tisted Amt. (English summary). 1957.
- II. VILH. LA COUR: Næsholm. (English summary) 1961.
- III. VILH. LA COUR and HANS STIESDAL: Hjørring Amt. (English summary). 1963.

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

- SAMUEL H. ELBERT and TORBEN MONBERG: From the Two Canoes. Language and Culture of Rennell and Bellona Islands. Vol. I. 1965.
- TORBEN MONBERG: The Religion of Bellona Island. Language and Culture of Rennell and Bellona Islands. Vol. II. Part 1. 1966.
- The National Museum of Denmark. Editor: AAGE ROUSSELL. 1957.



PUBLICATIONS OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM

*Ethnographical Series. Vol XI, Part II*

---

# THE LEPCHAS

*Culture and Religion of a Himalayan People*

PART II

by

HALFDAN SIIGER

and

JØRGEN RISCHER

THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF DENMARK

---

*Copenhagen 1967*

NEPAL  
RESEARCH CENTER



NATIONALMUSEETS SKRIFTER, ETNOGRAFISK RÆKKE, XI, II  
*The Publications of the National Museum, Ethnographical Series, Vol. XI, Part II*

---

From  
The Third Danish Expedition to Central Asia  
Sponsored by  
The Carlsberg Foundation

# THE LEPCHAS

*Culture and Religion of a Himalayan People*

## PART II

Lepcha Ritual Texts and Commentary  
by  
HALFDAN SIIGER

Phonetic Transcriptions of Lepcha Ritual Texts  
with Introduction  
by  
JØRGEN RISCHER

THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF DENMARK

---

*Copenhagen 1967*

*The Carlsberg Foundation*  
*has defrayed the whole cost of the publication*  
*of the present volume.*

PRINTED BY  
BIANCO LUNOS BOGTRYKKERI A/S  
COPENHAGEN

# CONTENTS

	Page
PREFACE (Halfdan Siiger).....	8
GENERAL INTRODUCTION (Halfdan Siiger).....	11
INTRODUCTION TO THE PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTIONS (Jørgen Rischel).....	15
§ 1. General Remarks .....	15
§ 2. Stress and Rhythm .....	16
§ 3. Quantity.....	19
§ 4. The Consonants.....	20
§ 5. The Vowels .....	23
§ 6. Guide to the Phonemic Spelling of the Words .....	25
§ 7. Specimens of Lepcha Pronunciation .....	26
§ 8. Phonetic Notes to the Texts.....	27
THIRTY-NINE LEPCHA RITUAL TEXTS AND ONE PROSE TEXT	
Taken down in Lepcha Script and Published in Latinised Transcription with an Additional Commentary to Each Text (Halfdan Siiger).....	30
Interlinear Phonetic Transcription to Ten of the Ritual Texts and to the Prose Text (Jør- ger Rischel).....	30
THE TEXTS	
<i>The Village</i>	
No. 1. Prayer to <i>pā dīm rūm</i> . From Tingbung, Sikkim.....	30
<i>The House</i>	
No. 2. Carpenter's Prayer before Housebuilding. From Tingbung, Sikkim.....	31
No. 3. Carpenter's Prayer after Having Built a House. From Tingbung, Sikkim .....	32
No. 4. Apotropaic Ritual Associated with the House. From Tingbung, Sikkim. (Phonetic Tran- scription by Jørgen Rischel).....	33
<i>Agriculture</i>	
No. 5. Incantation of a <i>mung</i> before Cultivation. From Tingbung, Sikkim.....	35
No. 6. Rice and Millet Sowing Song. From Tingbung, Sikkim.....	36
No. 7. Song of the Sowing Season. From Tingbung, Sikkim .....	39
No. 8. The Old People's Prayer at the Dry Rice Cultivation Ceremony. From Kalimpong ....	40
No. 9. A Song at the Sowing of Rice. From Kalimpong.....	43
<i>Domestic Animals</i>	
No. 10. Prayer to Zamola <i>rām</i> for the Domestic Animals. From Tingbung, Sikkim .....	45
<i>Hunting</i>	
No. 11. Hunter's Prayer to <i>nāng lyen no</i> . From Tingbung, Sikkim .....	46
<i>Fishing</i>	
No. 12. Prayer Associated with Fishing. From Tingbung, Sikkim.....	47

	Page
<i>The Blacksmith</i>	
No. 13. The Blacksmith's Yearly Prayer to <i>sā hyor rām</i> . From Tingbung, Sikkim .....	48
No. 14. The Blacksmith's Prayer in Favour of His Son. From Tingbung, Sikkim .....	49
<i>Mealtime Prayers</i>	
No. 15. Mealtime Prayer. From Singhik, Sikkim .....	51
No. 16. Mealtime Prayer. From Tingbung, Sikkim .....	51
<i>The Family</i>	
No. 17. Prayer to <i>pā dtm rām</i> at a Triennial Ceremony. From Tingbung, Sikkim .....	52
<i>Childbirth</i>	
No. 18. Prayer at the Childbirth Ceremony. From Tingbung, Sikkim. (With a phonetic transcription by Jørgen Rischel).....	52
<i>Wedding</i>	
No. 19. Prayer at the Wedding Ceremony. From Tingbung, Sikkim. (With a phonetic transcription by Jørgen Rischel).....	69
<i>Diseases</i>	
No. 20. A <i>bong thing's</i> Prayer for a Sick Man. From Git .....	79
No. 21. Entreaty to Pantor in Case of Epidemics. From Tingbung, Sikkim .....	80
No. 22. Entreaty to a <i>mung</i> in Case of Disease. From Tingbung, Sikkim .....	81
<i>Warfare</i>	
No. 23. Warrior's Prayer before Warfare. From Tingbung, Sikkim.....	83
No. 24. Family's Prayer for Man on Warfare. From Tingbung, Sikkim .....	84
No. 25. Warrior's Prayer after Warfare. From Tingbung, Sikkim.....	85
<i>bong thing Prayers</i>	
No. 26. Invocation at the <i>sā gi</i> Ceremony. From Git .....	86
No. 27. Invocation at the <i>sā gi</i> Ceremony. From Git .....	88
No. 28. Ritual for an Ill Male <i>mün</i> . From Tingbung, Sikkim .....	89
<i>Entreaties to lüng ji mung</i>	
No. 29. Offering to <i>lüng ji mung</i> . From Git.....	92
No. 30. Sacrifice to <i>lüng ji mung</i> . From Git.....	92
<i>Cherim Ceremonies</i>	
No. 31. The First Cherim Ritual. From Tingbung, Sikkim. (With a phonetic transcription by Jørgen Rischel).....	93
No. 32. The Second Cherim Ritual. From Tingbung, Sikkim. (With a phonetic transcription by Jørgen Rischel).....	102
<i>The kong chen Ceremony</i>	
No. 33. Prayer in Gangtok Palace Grounds. From Tingbung, Sikkim. (With a phonetic transcription by Jørgen Rischel).....	106
No. 34. Procession Song. From Tingbung, Sikkim. (With a phonetic transcription by Jørgen Rischel).....	108
No. 35. The Night Prayer in the Priest's House. From Tingbung, Sikkim. (With a phonetic transcription by Jørgen Rischel) .....	109
No. 36. The Ceremony at the <i>hla thu</i> . The Priest's First Prayer. From Tingbung, Sikkim. (With a phonetic transcription by Jørgen Rischel).....	113
No. 37. The Ceremony at the <i>hla thu</i> . The Priest's Prayer after the Sacrifice of the Yak. The Longer Version. From Tingbung, Sikkim .....	116
No. 38. The Ceremony at the <i>hla thu</i> . The Priest's Prayer after the Sacrifice of the Yak. The Shorter Version. From Tingbung, Sikkim .....	121
No. 39. The Ceremony at the <i>hla thu</i> . The Priest's Final Prayer. From Tingbung, Sikkim. (With a phonetic transcription by Jørgen Rischel).....	124

*Prose Text*

No. 40. Mr. Tamsang's Brief Autobiographical Notes. From Kalimpong. (With a phonetic transcription by Jørgen Rischel) .....	126
LIST OF WORDS OCCURRING IN THE TEXTS .....	131
LIST OF THE NAMES OF THE SUPERNATURAL BEINGS, THEIR ABODES, ETC. OCCURRING IN THE TEXTS	141
LIST OF PERSONAL NAMES. Dictionary Analysis of the Personal Names Given in Transcription in Parts I-II .....	146
Names of Men and Boys .....	146
Names of Women and Girls .....	148
ABBREVIATIONS .....	150
LEPCHA WORDS USED FREQUENTLY WITHOUT ANY EXPLANATION .....	150
ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA .....	151
LITERATURE .....	152





## PREFACE

It gives me much pleasure to record my gratitude to the research funds and institutions, as well as to the scholars and private individuals who in so many different ways have contributed so much to the publication of the present book.

The Carlsberg Foundation has not only defrayed all the expenses for my work in the field, but also the entire cost of the publication of this book. The Rask-Ørsted Foundation gave me a grant which enabled me to spend a month at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London. Without the financial support of these two Foundations it would never have been possible for me to undertake the work or bring it to a conclusion. My gratitude to the two Foundations is correspondingly great.

In my Preface to Part I, I have already referred to the great courtesy shown me and the assistance given me in so many ways during my stay in India and in Sikkim. It is, however, only appropriate that I again here specially thank my Lepcha interpreters and informants, Mr. Kharpoo Tamsang of Kalimpong and Mr. Pollo Tsering of Gangtok, as well as Mr. David Macdonald of Kalimpong and Father Brahier of Git. Happy indeed is the student who finds such ready and reliable helpers.

In 1952 the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, put their excellent recording system at my disposal, for which I am most indebted to them as this enabled me to persuade Mr. Tamsang (who at that time worked at the School as a research assistant) to record the most varied texts so that we could work from the recordings and not only from the texts as taken down in writing. Mr. Keith Sprigg, Lecturer in Phonetics at the School, did everything in his power to assist me during my stay in London. As Mr. Jørgen Rischel, M. A., amanuensis at the Institute of Linguistics and Phonetics, the University of Copenhagen, is responsible for the phonological and phonetic part of the present book, he will give detailed account of Mr. Sprigg's most valuable assistance in the relevant chapter. I may, however, add here that Mr. Rischel has told me that it was partly owing to the advice offered him by Mr. Sprigg that he was able to make a transcription of the Lepcha recordings. It should, however, also be added that Mr. Sprigg is in no way responsible for the phonetic presentation of the material. It is all the more necessary to emphasise this, as the method adopted here differs considerably from that of Mr. Sprigg's own approach to linguistic description. This, of course, renders our gratitude for his unfailing kindness and readiness to advise us all the greater.

From the very first time that I played my Lepcha recordings to Professor Eli Fischer-Jørgensen, the Institute of Linguistics and Phonetics of the University of Copenhagen, she showed the keenest interest in the phonological Lepcha studies and even went so far as to go through some of the longer texts with me for which I am very grateful to her. In this connection I wish to thank the Institute of Linguistics and Phonetics and its late

head, Professor Louis Hjelmslev, for placing the aid of the Institute at our disposal. As I am not competent myself to deal with phonological studies, I was very relieved indeed when Mr. Rischel undertook the difficult task of compiling and preparing the phonological material for publication. Thus everything dealing with phonology and phonetics in this book has been worked out by Mr. Rischel. It need not to be emphasised that I am very grateful to Mr. Rischel for the great efforts he has put into the phonetic part of this publication.

The Institute of Central Asian Studies, the University of Copenhagen, and its Lecturer in Tibeto-Burman Languages, Mr. Erik Haarh, Librarian, the Oriental Department of the Royal Library, Copenhagen, have rendered me great help, and I am especially indebted to Mr. Haarh for his advice on Tibetan philology. I also wish to thank the staffs of the Royal Library, the University Libraries, Copenhagen, and the State Library, Aarhus, for their never failing kindness and courtesy. And I am also indebted to the Library of the India Office, London, for kind help.

Finally I wish to record my debt to Major C. L. Bayliss, Secretary to the British Embassy, Copenhagen, for the great trouble he took to correct my English.

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

For more than a century various investigators have published contributions to our knowledge of Lepcha culture, but only very little interest has been shown in the collecting of prayers, hymns, songs, etc. and their publication in extenso with critical apparatus. This is as strange as it is regrettable, all the more so as the material is abundant and of a kind which enables us to penetrate to the Lepchas' religious conceptions and to gather what aspects of religion mean most to them.

In 1899 Waddell published nine songs (No. 1, "Joy!" No. 2, "New Year Song." Nos. 3-8, "Love Songs." No. 9, "Inhospitability.") in Lepcha script with a free translation and supplied with a few notes.<sup>1</sup> Four of these songs (Nos. 1, 3, 5, and 6) were even more freely translated and incorporated into his book of 1900.<sup>2</sup> Three of these songs (Nos. 1, 2, and 6) have a religious background, but they are unfortunately somewhat difficult to understand owing to the lack of a commentary. All the nine songs are, however, most valuable, displaying cultural aspects not illustrated by my texts.

Mrs. Stocks has published two songs (Song of the "Chak doon-fo Bird" and "The Beetle Song"; the former appears to be another version of Text No. 9 given below), taken down in Latin script by ear, and provided with a free translation.<sup>3</sup>

Nebesky-Wojkowitz has published three songs from wedding ceremonies, of which the first and third are given only in a German translation, while the second is given in Lepcha script with a consistent transliteration and with a German translation.<sup>4</sup> These songs illustrate the joy and happiness of the wedding celebration, but they contain also details of religious importance. The same author has also published the legend of the Building of the Lepcha Tower in transliteration with a German translation (Die Legende vom Turmbau der Lepchas), and with some valuable cultural notes.<sup>5</sup>

Hermanns has published three *bong thing* or *mün* prayers in transliteration with an inter-linear word-for-word translation, and a current German translation with some notes.<sup>6</sup> Gorer has published twelve lines of a translated fable (The Story of the Blackbird and The Crab) in transliteration.<sup>7</sup>

The above-mentioned texts by Nebesky-Wojkowitz are excellent and exhibit a well-established and consistent Kalimpong spelling; the texts given by Stocks and Hermanns are difficult to use, as the authors have developed their own methods of transliteration, which,

<sup>1</sup> Waddell 1899, pp. 49-57.

<sup>2</sup> Waddell 1900, pp. 294-297.

<sup>3</sup> Stocks pp. 477-480.

<sup>4</sup> Nebesky-Wojkowitz, AS. VI, 1-4. pp. 33-36.

<sup>5</sup> Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1953 a, pp. 890 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Hermanns 1954, pp. 63-72.

<sup>7</sup> Gorer pp. 494 f.

moreover, are not always consistent. In many instances I have been unable to identify the words transliterated. Gorer uses his own method, which is easier to understand.<sup>1</sup>

Grünwedel's prose texts are translations of Tibetan sources into Lepcha, and thus cannot be regarded as genuine Lepcha texts.<sup>2</sup>

From the first day in the field the present author decided to devote as much time as possible to the collecting of prayers, hymns, religious songs, etc. in order to preserve them in their local, original form, as handed down orally from generation to generation. It may be added that this was not always an easy task, and that Mr. Tsering, my interpreter, and I frequently found it somewhat difficult and certainly strenuous to do so properly. When we had learnt of the existence of a prayer or a song, our first concern was to persuade some one familiar with it to recite it for us privately, as it is usually quite impossible to take down the wording of a prayer while a ceremony is being performed. Various objections were frequently made to our request on the score that it was unseemly to recite a prayer except on the proper occasion, that the *mung* might punish the man who ventured to mention his name as that meant to ask the *mung* to be present without giving him a sacrifice, that the song was secret, and so forth.

When these objections had been overcome, we had first to secure the wording of the prayer, and then to obtain the local translation and the necessary explanations. Tsering therefore re-read the text to the informant, and we asked for his comments, word by word. Later, Tsering and I examined the whole text, comparing our results with other texts. Thus when nothing is said to the contrary both texts and explanations given below are those of the local informants. The paraphrases have generally been made by the interpreters and me jointly.

The texts were divided into lines by my interpreters and me. In some instances I have broken up a long line into shorter ones. We abstained from any attempt to explore the possibility of the "iambic" structure, mentioned by Mainwaring, our main concern being the meaning of the words.<sup>3</sup>

The texts given here have been arranged in the order adopted in Part I. Any reader who wants to obtain a deeper understanding of the texts themselves and their importance in the religious life of the people is therefore advised first to read the texts in their current English translation in their proper context in Part I.

The majority of the texts, 32 in all (Nos. 1-7, 10-19, 21-25, and 31-39), were collected in Tingbung, Sikkim, and taken down in Lepcha script by Mr. Tsering. Five texts (Nos. 20, 26, 27, 29, and 30) are from Git, east of Kalimpong, and were taken down by the author with the assistance of Father Brahier, but were later corrected and annotated by Mr. Tamsang. Two texts (Nos. 8 and 9) are from Kalimpong, and were taken down by the author and later corrected and interpreted by Mr. Tamsang. As I have only Mr. Tamsang's word for word translation of Text No. 9, I have with some hesitation added a current translation of my own. Text No. 40 is a prose text, which is not given in translation in Part I, as it does not belong to any particular situation. It contains some autobiographical notes, which Mr. Tamsang wrote at my request, and which he was kind enough to provide with a word for word translation, a current translation, and some notes.

<sup>1</sup> Gorer pp. 493 f.

<sup>2</sup> See Part I Chapter: "Investigations of the Lepchas. A Brief Historical Survey."

<sup>3</sup> Gram. p. 139. Cf. also Das, who writes "... The Lepchas have no books written in verse. When reading prose they are fond of reciting the subject in measured cadence, and their wandering Bijooas chant their tales and legends in sonorous and rhythmic strains. Their songs are composed chiefly of Tang-bôr (of low pitch). The numbers run smoothly, in general from 5 to 10 measures, but they are not always regularly sustained. The verse is mostly iambic ..." Das 1896, Part I, Appendix I, p. 4.

When studying the texts the reader is asked to bear in mind that the vast majority of the Lepchas can neither read their own language nor write in it, and that those who can, have rarely any cause to do so. Therefore, very few Lepchas can be said to master the intricate art of proper and consistent Lepcha spelling. Moreover, those who do write, have no printed dictionaries or grammars to consult, except perhaps an old edition of Mainwaring's Grammar. Thus I found an old copy of this grammar in the house of the schoolmaster of Lachung, and Tsering had also been taught according to Mainwaring's Grammar; sometimes, indeed, he put Mainwaring's dot under some initial consonants in order to indicate a pronunciation deviating from the spelling (see Gram. pp. 10f.).

It is therefore quite natural that most educated Lepchas have a particular, sometimes peculiar, and often inconsistent spelling of their own. Among the Lepchas those of Kalimpong seem to be the most skilled in orthography. When Mr. Tamsang and I met in London in 1952 he scrutinised my texts and corrected minor and obvious mistakes, but on the whole we decided to let the Tingbung spelling remain unchanged, as we thought it might be valuable to preserve these samples of Jongu spelling, which exhibit an orthography sometimes differing from that in use among the Lepchas of Kalimpong.

The commentary accompanying the present texts is primarily based on explanations provided by our local informants. Thus the first explanation of a word or sentence is the local one, then others may follow, supplied by other Lepchas, e. g. Tsering, Tamsang, Baknar, etc. In a few instances I have added some suggestions of my own, but in all cases I have given the source. All of this work was done in the field. Later, when working my material I have added references to Mainwaring/Grünwedel's Lepcha-English Dictionary, to Mainwaring's Grammar, to other publications on Lepcha problems, etc. These sometimes opened up new possibilities; when so, I have added them in the form of suggestions. In the cases where I am indebted to others for such suggestions, I have given my source.

I have written the present book for any reader interested in anthropology and in comparative religion, and therefore I have made the philological commentary rather extensive in order that a reader not familiar with the Lepcha Dictionary or with a Tibetan dictionary may conveniently look up references to any word discussed. As the alphabetical order in these dictionaries is quite different from that of Latin, I have added the number of the page referred to. I have also added a list of words used in the texts with translations and page references so as to facilitate a study of cross-references and comparisons and obviate the necessity for a study of the texts in numerical order.

Due to the frequent inconsistencies in Lepcha spelling, mentioned above, inconsistencies, which, moreover, are specially prevailing with regard to the vowels, it has often been necessary to compare the textual words with different lexical roots. Such comparisons are often mere suggestions, added in an attempt to identify a root or to determine the basic or figurative sense of a word or sentence.

The frequent references to Tibetan words illustrate the affinity of Lepcha to Tibetan. It cannot, however, be immediately concluded that Lepcha is always secondary to Tibetan. The Lepchas, and, I think, especially the Tingbung Lepchas, have many words of Tibetan origin, but Mr. Haarh, the tibetologist, has told me that many Lepcha words seem to represent a more ancient form than that of the corresponding Tibetan word. Further investigations may well show that some Tibetan equivalents represent a later development. But these problems must be left to the tibetologists.

The question of the grammar of the Lepcha language is a great problem. On the whole,

it is extremely difficult to subscribe to Mainwaring's attempt to apply the principles of Latin grammar to the Lepcha language. On the other hand, to try to make a new Lepcha grammar based on the structure of the language itself, must, for obvious reasons, be left to others. Consequently, I have had to use Mainwaring's terminology and classifications, but only in default of something better; the Latin grammatical terms used in this book are therefore to be considered only as a traditional means of understanding the sentences.

Any one studying Lepcha texts has to use the Lepcha-English Dictionary by Mainwaring/Grünwedel (abbrev. Dict.) and I have therefore adopted the method of transliteration used in that dictionary. However, for reasons of printing it has been found advisable to substitute consonants for diacritical marks.

## Mainwaring/Grünwedel

*kǎ**nǎ**ñ**čǎ**čǎ**ťǎ**pǎ**tšǎ**šǎ*

## The present author

*khă**ngă**ng**čă**chă**thă**phă**tshă**shă*

In accordance with modern usage in the transliteration of Tibetan, I omit, both in Tibetan and in Lepcha, the hyphen used by Mainwaring, Grünwedel, and other authors.<sup>1</sup> One Lepcha word immediately below another in the texts indicates that the MS. reading is not clear, and that the two readings are possible. When ( ) are used in the texts it indicates the ordinary spelling or a conjecture (see the Commentary).

MS. Text No. 31, 1. Mr. Tsering's Hand-Writing.

MS. Text No. 40, 1. Mr. Tamsang's Hand-Writing.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. e. g. Tucci 1949, and other modern authors.

# INTRODUCTION TO THE PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTIONS

By

JØRGEN RISCHEL

## § 1. *General Remarks*

The transcriptions rendered below are based on three recordings by Mr. Kharpoo Tamsang from Kalimpong, India. The recordings, which have been made in the University of London, except for one preliminary recording made by HMV, contain some of the ritual texts collected by Professor H. Siiger in the Lepcha village of Tingbung, Sikkim, some single words, the lists of vowels, consonants, and consonant clusters in Mainwaring's Grammar, and a brief story of Mr. Tamsang's life (text No. 40). The rituals have been read from the written texts which have been taken down (in Lepcha characters) by Mr. Tsering, a Sikkim Lepcha by birth.

We have tried to establish a phonemic transcription, i. e. a simplified (broad) phonetic transcription which only uses one symbol for each distinct sound unit (phoneme) without indicating the free or bound varieties. As some of the sounds vary rather much (even in repeated occurrences of a word in the same surroundings), a narrow phonetic transcription would involve a lot of rather arbitrary decisions and certainly not be practical to use. We have preferred to give a survey of the phonetic varieties of each sound unit in this introduction. For a rough identification of the sounds § 6 may be consulted.

A phonetic transcription of some of the recorded texts was first made in team work between Prof. Eli Fischer-Jørgensen, Prof. Siiger, and the present author. After we had made a preliminary analysis of the sound pattern, the whole material was transcribed and this introduction worked out by the present author, who has profited very much from discussions with Prof. Fischer-Jørgensen. The work was completed in 1957.

The analysis of the recordings has confronted us with numerous problems, and much remains obscure. The material is very restricted, and there has been no opportunity of working with a native informant. Moreover, neither of the two phoneticians who have taken part in the work had any knowledge of the language. It has therefore been of very great value to us that Mr. R. K. Sprigg, Lecturer, the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, who has worked with Mr. Tamsang, has kindly provided us with examples from his material on Lepcha, which have given us a much clearer picture of the distribution of the sounds and made it possible to solve a good many of the problems. Mr. Sprigg has also read the phonetic transcriptions and given valuable corrections and comments. We are very grateful for this help. We also thank Dr. Nicholas Bodman, Alexandria, U.S.A., who has kindly replied to some questions especially concerning the vowels in Lepcha.

There are several sources of complications concerning the recordings. One is that there may be a dialectal difference between the original informant and Mr. Tamsang. Another is that the interpreter's orthography differed from the orthography familiar to Mr. Tamsang. Some misreadings may have been conditioned by this fact. A third source of complication is that it has been most unnatural for Mr. Tamsang to read the ritual texts aloud. Mr. Sprigg has informed us that Mr. Tamsang has spoken the rituals in the style of pronunciation used in reading from Lepcha printed books, not in the style used in reading from manuscripts.

In the phonetic transcriptions to the texts, evident misreadings (except those concerning rhythm) and omissions of syllables are indicated by \* and - -, respectively. For those of the texts which have been spoken twice, the instances where the HMV-recording has correct readings of words misread in the final recording, will be mentioned in a brief phonetic commentary (§ 8 of this introduction). The commentary, to which the added numbers in the texts refer, also contains notes to the words the phonemic interpretation of which is especially problematic.

In this introduction, [ ] and // (or no brackets) indicate narrow and broad transcription, respectively.

## § 2. *Stress and Rhythm*

As the phonetic transcription of the ritual texts was not made from the original recitation by the priests, it may not be quite representative of any particular style. This fact may reduce the value of indications of stress and rhythm. On the other hand, the material contains numerous parallel constructions and repetitions, and the ritual texts may thus (together with Mr. Tamsang's autobiographical notes) give a rather reliable picture of the general rules concerning the accentuation and grouping of the syllables in certain grammatical constructions (on this point it would probably be possible to widen the scope of the traditional grammar, which comprises statements about word order but fails to give sufficient information on the sentence rhythm of the spoken language). It must of course be taken into consideration that the texts are spoken somewhat hesitantly. The first occurrence of a word or a construction is often read more slowly than the following ones, and it may even be misread, compare e. g. the sequence *ngan la zong* 'sitting as' in 19.8 with the occurrences in 19.12, 19.15, etc. Moreover, our indications of stress and rhythm necessarily involve a good deal of arbitrariness, because the prosodic contrasts are relative rather than absolute differences. It is difficult to avoid making a mixture of indications of absolute and relative degrees of stress and pause in the analysis of a material of this kind. Especially our distinction between 'zero stress' and 'secondary stress' has not been consistently made.

The aim of this paragraph is to describe how the syllables cluster in 'rhythm groups' and 'stress groups', but the examples may give a slight indication of the grammatical or semantic categories most frequently represented by the different prosodic types.

Almost every line in the texts is spoken with a final pause, and if the line ends a period (a series of parallel sentences), the pause is accompanied by a terminal pitch contour: 4.12 /sə-<sup>l</sup>rəŋ-rən tə-<sup>l</sup>do: <sup>l</sup>bam-ljaŋ-ka: <sup>l</sup>nu-<sup>l</sup>o: / 'today from <sup>l</sup> your own abode to <sup>l</sup> go!' ends on a low pitch-syllable: [-nu -o:]. Low pitch is also associated with reduced or weak stress, and in some instances we may have confused intonation and stress. We have not indicated the intonation, which is on the whole rather monotonous.



The syllables of the single sentence or line cluster in *rhythm groups*, which are separated from each other by small pauses. In our phonetic transcription the syllables within one such group are conjoined by means of hyphens: 31.1 /kəŋ-<sup>l</sup>tʃhen-ka:/ 'kong chen to', 35.3 /tə-<sup>l</sup>ljaŋ-sə-<sup>l</sup>tsuək/ 'sky (and) sun'.—Very often there is a point of 'loose contact' within a sequence of syllables, so that it is difficult to decide whether there is one or two rhythm groups. We indicate this sort of division by a small curved line: 31.1 /sa-<sup>l</sup>ho ◡ <sup>l</sup>təp-<sup>l</sup>mo:/ 'present given have', while the distinct pauses are indicated by empty spaces: /kəŋ-<sup>l</sup>tʃhen-ka: sa-<sup>l</sup>ho ◡ <sup>l</sup>təp-<sup>l</sup>mo:/ 'kong chen to <sup>l</sup> present given have' (31.1). It may be advantageous to distinguish two *levels* in the phonemic hierarchy: the unit defined by surrounding pauses may be called a *phrase*, while the unit defined by surrounding pauses or points of loose contact may be called a rhythm group. The rhythm group is thus a constituent of the phrase. There is, however, so much overlapping between the different sorts of pause and 'juncture' that the hierarchical organization is very disputable.

To a certain extent, our distinctions between internal pause, 'loose contact', and close contact seem to reflect differences of grammatical level. The single rhythm group is generally a single 'word' (with or without affixes) or a sort of compound, cf. the types /sa-<sup>l</sup>ho/, /<sup>l</sup>təp-<sup>l</sup>mo:/, /kəŋ-<sup>l</sup>tʃhen-ka:/, and /tə-<sup>l</sup>ljaŋ-sə-<sup>l</sup>tsuək/ in the examples referred to above. If ◡ is involved, the construction may e. g. comprise a logical subject plus the sentence verb, cf. 34.1 /,ma-jəl-<sup>l</sup>təŋ-nə ◡ <sup>l</sup>i:t/ 'Mā yel tong (by) created' (instrumental complement plus verb), or object plus verb: /sa-<sup>l</sup>ho ◡ <sup>l</sup>təp-<sup>l</sup>mo:/, also compare 18.2 /a-<sup>l</sup>la:t ◡ <sup>l</sup>zuk-<sup>l</sup>bu:/ 'newcomer maker'. More independent complements may be preceded and followed by pauses, cf. 4.12 and 31.1.—It seems to be a characteristic feature of the sentence rhythm that a construction which is a complex object plus a verb, has the main division between the parts of the object; the second 'noun' and the verb are more intimately connected than the two 'nouns'. It is a relative rather than an absolute difference, cf. 33.2 /<sup>l</sup>nje:t ◡ <sup>l</sup>dək-mə-<sup>l</sup>kə:n/ 'disease sickness not cause!', 18.57 /<sup>l</sup>vi: a-<sup>l</sup>hrum-<sup>l</sup>thəŋ-<sup>l</sup>ʃəŋ/ 'blood hot drink', 33.4 /a-<sup>l</sup>re: <sup>l</sup>ʃə:k ◡ <sup>l</sup>bo:-<sup>l</sup>mo:/ 'this yak given have'. A postposition is normally combined with the preceding word without an intervening pause, but it may either constitute its own rhythm group or be spoken as an enclitic syllable, cf. 40.18 /ka-<sup>l</sup>ju: ◡ <sup>l</sup>sə: ◡ <sup>l</sup>li: ◡ <sup>l</sup>ka:/ 'our ('we of') house to' versus 36.5 /<sup>l</sup>ljaŋ-ka:/ 'place in'. If the postposition is affixed to a sequence of two nouns, the second noun and the postposition are generally more intimately connected than the two nouns, cf. 4.3 /təŋ-<sup>l</sup>vjeŋ ŋəŋ-<sup>l</sup>jaŋ-ka:/ 'door threshold on', 33.4 /tə-<sup>l</sup>ljaŋ ◡ sə-<sup>l</sup>tsuək-nə:/ 'sky sun (by)'.

A rhythm group consists of one or more *stress groups*: syllable clusters containing one heavy stress.

In most cases a rhythm group is constituted by a single stress group. A unit of this kind, which may be called an *isolated stress group*, normally contains one, two, or three syllables. A syllable preceding the heavily stressed syllable is generally quite weakly stressed, while a syllable following after the heavily stressed syllable may be somewhat more prominent. This difference between the pretonic syllables and the posttonic ones may be considered automatic, so that both degrees of stress can be rendered in the transcription as 'zero stress'. The difference between zero stress and heavy stress must be indicated in the transcriptions, because the place of the heavy stress cannot (in all cases) be predicted from the phonemic structure of the syllables. Heavy stress is rendered as /<sup>l</sup>/ (put before the syllable); zero stress is indicated by no stress mark.

In isolated stress groups, heavy stress and zero stress are combined in the following ways:

heavy stress alone

e. g. 32.3 /lək/ 'sheep', 40.2 /go:/ 'I', 40.3 /gəm/ 'is', 40.4 /ən/ 'and'

zero stress plus heavy stress

e. g. 19.43 /mar-|gən/ 'butter', 33.1 /ka-|jum/ 'us', 40.1 /mə-|o:/ 'is', 31.13 /mə-|thap/ 'not give', 31.3 /kə-|kʊ:/ 'eight'

heavy stress plus zero stress

e. g. 19.5 /rju:-|a:/ 'well, good', 40.22 /fən-|ə:/ 'but', 32.3 /gjo:-|kat/ 'hundred', 36.5 /ljaŋ-|ka:/ 'place in', 39.5 /mə:n-|pəŋ/ 'meat (pl.)'

zero stress plus heavy stress plus zero stress

e. g. 18.83 /sə-|ʒər-|a:/ 'better (again)', 33.4 /sə-|tsuk-|nə:/ 'sun (by)', 31.12 /a-|re:-|ka:/ 'this to', 18.47 /a-|re:-|pəŋ/ 'these' (and numerous ritual words in text 18).

Of these types, the first two are more frequent than the others. The first type is mainly represented by independent roots, but also postpositions may be heavily stressed (see below). Constructions of the second type generally consist of a prefix plus a root morpheme, but the zero stress-syllable may also be a root morpheme, ex.: /mar-|gən/ (cf. *mar* 'butter'). In constructions of the third and fourth type, the zero stress-syllable which follows after the heavily stressed syllable, is generally a particle of some kind, which modifies the meaning (and grammatical function) of the root morpheme.

Isolated stress groups with two weakly stressed syllables in succession seem not to occur in normal speech. 40.11 /a-|bo: sə-a-|gi:t/ 'father's descent' is misread (Mr. Tamsang has hesitated and interpolated *sǎ*, cf. line 12).—

In e. g. the first syllable of 18.1 *zuk bu* 'maker' and the third syllable of 33.6 *a re re* 'this (the)', we have registered a stress degree which is definitely heavier than zero stress but weaker than the heavy stress of the stress group. In order to indicate this, we tentatively set up a third intermediate stress degree: 'secondary stress', which is rendered as /,/, e. g. /,zuk-|bu:/, /a-|re:-,re:/.

The stress groups in which we have registered /,/, are not confined to the types described above. The heavy stress-syllable may be preceded and followed by more than one syllable, cf. 39.6 /,so:-mə-|san-a-|tɛ:t/ 'rain (clears) until', 40.2 /kəm-|thjəŋ-,na:m-|ka:/ 'eagle year in', 40.14 /,mi-ni-|mit/ (or perhaps /,mi-,ni-|mit/) (a name).

As the examples show, the syllables with secondary stresses are often root morphemes. In these cases the secondary stresses may be interpreted grammatically as reduced heavy stresses (/kəm-|thjəŋ/ + /|na:m/ → /kəm-|thjəŋ-,na:m/, etc.); the stress reductions make the syllables cluster around one stress peak, so that the sequence is perceived as one whole in accordance with the meaning. From the phonemic point of view it would perhaps be a better solution to interpret the difference between secondary stress and heavy stress within one such group as a difference operating on a higher level in the prosodic hierarchy. If higher-level heavy stress were indicated by /<sup>||</sup>/, 39.6 /,so:-mə-|san-a-|tɛ:t/ might be rendered as /<sup>||</sup>so:-mə-<sup>||</sup>san-a-|tɛ:t/, i. e. as a sequence of *three stress groups* clustering around the nucleus /<sup>||</sup>san/; the advantage of this sort of analysis would be that all stress groups would be in conformity with the types set up above.

The analysis of the accentual system is complicated by the fact that we hear varying degrees of stress in connection with certain postponed particles. The adverb formative *lǎ* and the plural formative *pǎŋ* seem to be really weakly stressed: /rju:-|a:/, /mə:n-|pəŋ/, but postpositions such as *sǎ* 'of' and *ka* 'to, in' sound more or less prominent, cf. 36.5 /ljaŋ-|ka:/ 'place in', 40.16 /li:-,sə:/ 'house of', 40.18 /li: ˘ |ka:/ 'house to'. The distinction between

secondary stress and zero stress may not be valid in posttonic syllables.—In sentence final verb constructions we have registered several occurrences of posttonic syllables with secondary stresses, cf. 19.58 /<sup>l</sup>ʃu-<sup>l</sup>tho:-<sup>l</sup>mo:/ 'request (put) have' (vs. 36.8 /<sup>l</sup>so-<sup>l</sup>tho-<sup>l</sup>mo:/ 'given have'); in this position our (tentative) distinction between /<sup>l</sup>/ and /,/ may perhaps reflect differences of intonation.

Constructions involving the particle *bū*, which indicates agentive function, have a strange stress pattern. It seems that the particle is normally heavily stressed, while the preceding root morpheme (verb) carries a secondary stress or a zero stress, cf. 18.1 /,zuk-<sup>l</sup>bu:/ 'maker', 18.3 /,la:t-<sup>l</sup>bu:/ 'who lets come', 4.2 /<sup>l</sup>thi:-ŋan-<sup>l</sup>bu:/ 'come sitting'. Cf. however 32.1 /<sup>l</sup>pləm-bu:/ 'appeared', where the syllable /pləm/ sounds more prominent.

It must finally be mentioned that the frequently occurring word *pā nu* 'king' has a very variable (or indistinct) stress pattern, cf. 35.12 /<sup>l</sup>pə-<sup>l</sup>nu:/, 36.3 /pə-<sup>l</sup>nu:/, 36.8 /,pə-nu:/, i. e. three differently sounding accentuations in the same context (*pā nu + ka*).

The preceding survey only comprises rhythm groups containing one heavy stress. Rhythm groups containing two heavy stresses (i. e. two stress groups) occur very frequently, and even three or four heavy stresses may occur within one stress group (in sentence final verb constructions).

The most common stress patterns in complex rhythm groups are *heavy stress plus zero stress plus heavy stress* and especially *heavy stress plus heavy stress*. In a rhythm group of the former type, the two stress groups share a component: the syllable with zero stress, ex.: 4.3 /<sup>l</sup>thi:-ŋan-<sup>l</sup>bu:/ 'come sitting', 31.14 /<sup>l</sup>dək-mə-<sup>l</sup>kə:n/ 'sick not cause'.

The latter type is characteristic of sentence final verb constructions: 19.41 /<sup>l</sup>tho-<sup>l</sup>mo:/ 'put have' etc., but it also occurs in other constructions, cf. 40.16 /<sup>l</sup>bəŋ-<sup>l</sup>thiŋ/ 'bong thing (priest)', 40.3 /<sup>l</sup>tʃhe-<sup>l</sup>riŋ/ (name). The complex may be preceded or followed by zero stress syllables: /fə-<sup>l</sup>ŋo-<sup>l</sup>tha:p/ 'fifteen' (the numerals), 39.3 /sə-<sup>l</sup>gər-<sup>l</sup>li:-ka:/ 'rock house to'.

In the sentence final verb constructions the accentuation varies considerably, and even when a construction occurs several times with the same accentuation, it may be difficult to fix the stress pattern: one may alternatively hear one syllable or the other as the more prominent one (probably because the pitch peak is on one syllable, and the dynamic peak on the other). In the very frequently occurring *bo o* 'give!' and *bo mo* 'given have' we have generalized to /<sup>l</sup>bo-<sup>l</sup>o:/ and /<sup>l</sup>bo-<sup>l</sup>mo:/ everywhere. In *bo o*, the second syllable is generally the more prominent, while the opposite is the case with *bo mo*, but in both cases, varieties with the opposite accentuations occur. In some instances we have rendered the second syllable of such constructions as an enclitic syllable with zero stress, but the difference we hear between e.g. 19.38 /<sup>l</sup>ʃu-mo:/ 'requested have' and 19.41 /<sup>l</sup>tho-<sup>l</sup>mo:/ 'put have' is spurious.

The stress and rhythm of proper names is a very problematic matter. In the names of localities which are transcribed below, we do not indicate the accentuation at all. The names which consist of two syllables have an accentuation similar to the one found in verb constructions of the type /<sup>l</sup>tho-<sup>l</sup>mo:/. We hear now one now the other syllable more prominently, but the differences are small, and the accentuations may all be variations of one type: heavy stress plus heavy stress: /<sup>l</sup>gaŋ-<sup>l</sup>tə:(k)/, /<sup>l</sup>sik-<sup>l</sup>kim/, etc. (but perhaps /<sup>l</sup>dəp-<sup>l</sup>liŋ/).

### § 3. Quantity

In pretonic zero stress-syllables the vowel is almost always short, cf. 18.1 /a-<sup>l</sup>ge:k/ 'birth', 33.3 /mi-<sup>l</sup>dju:p/ 'cough and cold', but occasionally, a long vowel occurs: 18.16 /na:-<sup>l</sup>tʃe:t/

'bad thing' (due to hesitation and/or misreading?). In other syllables the vowel may be long or short.

In 'open' syllables the vowel is generally long, ex.: 19.19 /<sup>l</sup>rju:-la:/ 'well'. There are many examples of short vowels in open (non-pretonic) syllables, but in most cases they seem to be determined by the rhythmical grouping of the syllables. There is an obvious tendency of long vowels to be shortened before another syllable belonging to the same rhythm group, cf. /fə-<sup>l</sup>ŋo:/ 'five' but /fə-<sup>l</sup>ŋo-<sup>l</sup>tha:p/ 'fifteen' (the numerals), also compare the varying length of the vowel of *bo* and *tho* in sentence final verb constructions. This tendency is also found in 'closed' syllables, cf. /<sup>l</sup>ŋjɛ:t/ 'two' but /<sup>l</sup>ŋjɛt-<sup>l</sup>tha:p/ 'twelve' (the numerals), 33.1 /<sup>l</sup>dək-mə-<sup>l</sup>kə:n/ 'sickness not cause' but 18.24 /mə-<sup>l</sup>kən-nə-<sup>l</sup>o:/ 'not cause (let)'.—In closed syllables the vowels are mostly quite short before /ŋ/, but before other consonants they may be long or short, and it seems impossible to formulate rules for the distribution of long versus short in relation to the following consonant.

Dr. Bodman has expressed the opinion that there is probably a length contrast in all vowels. We have tried to classify our material from this point of view, and the result does in fact seem to support the possibility that vowel length is phonemic, at least in some combinations of vowel plus consonant.

We have e. g. registered /ɛ:t/ vs. /ɛt/, /ə:m/ vs. /əm/, /ə:n/ vs. /ən/, /a:m/ vs. /am/, and /ɔ:k/ vs. /ɔk/. Examples are: 39.6 /sim-<sup>l</sup>bɛ:t/ 'next year' vs. 36.7 /<sup>l</sup>tham-<sup>l</sup>tʃɛt/ 'all, whole', 18.78 /<sup>l</sup>sə:m/ 'besom' vs. 40.3,5,15 /<sup>l</sup>gəm/ 'is', 18.56 (and 33.5 etc.) /<sup>l</sup>mə:n/ 'meat' vs. e. g. 40.23 /<sup>l</sup>mən/ 'mūn' or 40 (passim) /<sup>l</sup>ən/ 'and', 19.27 /<sup>l</sup>na:m/ 'time(s)' (also compare 40.2,13,18) vs. 33.5 /bi-<sup>l</sup>jam/ 'giving are', 19.7,10 (etc.) /mə-<sup>l</sup>thɔ:k/ 'life' vs. e. g. 31.12 (etc.) /a-<sup>l</sup>dək/ 'sickness'.

In these instances there must either be a free or rhythmically determined variation between long and short vowel or a phonemic difference. The examples are selected in such a way that the syllables in question are all followed by internal pauses and heavily stressed, so the prosodic conditions should be similar. The repeated occurrence of some words with a long vowel, and of other words with a short vowel, makes it likely that the difference is phonemic. Before an immediately following syllable the difference is not clear, as the long vowels may be shortened in this position.

We have indicated vowel length in the transcriptions both in open and in closed syllables, although the difference seems to be completely neutralized in open syllables.

#### § 4. *The Consonants*

The vowel of a syllable is preceded by 0, 1, 2, or 3 consonants, cf. 40.4 /<sup>l</sup>ən/ 'and', 40.2 /<sup>l</sup>go:/ 'I', 40.6 /nəm-<sup>l</sup>hɾɛn/ 'eldest (brother)', 40.1 /a-<sup>l</sup>brjaŋ/ 'name'. It is followed by 0 or one consonant.—The inventory of initial consonants is much larger than the inventory of final consonants.

General inventory of consonant phonemes:

p	b	f	v	(w)	m				
t	d	s	z		n	r	l	and	h (and ?)
k	g	ʃ	ʒ	j	ŋ				

Initially, all consonants are found alone, and moreover, the following initial clusters occur in the texts:

		pj	ph	pr	pl					
ts	tʃ	tj	th							
		kj	kh							
		bj		br						
		dj								
		gj		gr	gl					
				fl	and	(tsh),	tʃh,	thj,	brj,	glj
		vj								
		mj								
		nj								
		rj								
		lj								
		hj		hr	hl					

In addition, the following clusters occur in Mr. Tamsang's reading of the lists of initial clusters in Mainwaring's Grammar:

prj, plj, tsh, khj, krj, kl, klj, bl, blj, grj, fj, fr, frj, flj, mr, mrj, ml, mlj, ɲr, ɲrj, hrj, hlj.

The following final consonants occur:

p t k m n ŋ r l (/p, -t, -k/ represent "neutralizations" of p/b, t/d, k/g).

The consonants /p/, /t/, /k/ are unaspirated, voiceless stops, when initial. In final position they are unvoiced before a pause and before unvoiced consonants, but they are normally voiced (= [b, d, g]) if the initial consonant of the following syllable is voiced. This assimilation not only takes place within a stress group, but also between stress groups: 18.2 /a-<sup>h</sup>la:t ɿ ,zuk-<sup>h</sup>bu:/ 'newcomer maker' is phonetically [a-<sup>h</sup>la:d ɿ ,zug-<sup>h</sup>bu:].—/p/ is bilabial. /t/ is dental or alveolar. Mr. Sprigg's material shows a difference between dental /t, d/ and alveolar /t̪, d̪/. The dental sounds correspond to *t, d* of the orthography. The alveolar sounds occur in loan words corresponding to orthographic *kr* and *gr* respectively. A certain number of these words occur in the texts, but we have not been able to hear any difference in the pronunciation, except in one case, where we have noticed two retroflex t's: 18.25 *ta krã* (only the second one was expected to be alveolar). We are, however, not too sure of our ear at this point. In the transcription of the texts, both the alveolar and dental consonants are rendered as /t, d/, but the instances where Mr. Sprigg has registered alveolar consonants are mentioned in the notes. /k/ is velar, but more or less palatalized before front vowels (/i/, /e/, /ɛ/), ex.: 40.23 [a '<sup>h</sup>cit a '<sup>h</sup>jit] = /a-<sup>h</sup>kit a-<sup>h</sup>git/ 'a kít descent'.

/b/, /d/, /g/ are the voiced stops corresponding to /p/, /t/, /k/; /g/ is palatalized before front vowels just as /k/, cf. the example above. /m/, /n/, /ŋ/ are the corresponding nasals.

Of the fricatives, /f/ and /v/ are labiodental (occasionally bilabial?); /f/ is voiceless, /v/ is voiced. The words *fāt* 'offering' and *fū* 'offer' are orthographically *phāt* and *phū* in Grünwedel's Dictionary and, Mr. Sprigg has told us, in Mr. Tamsang's own usage, too. In 18.40–41 Mr. Tamsang has followed the interpreter's spelling (*f*), but in 18.48 he has followed his own usage (*ph*).—/s/ and /ʃ/ are voiceless; the latter has a rather advanced tongue-position and sounds as if it has very little lip-rounding. /z/ and /ʒ/ are the corresponding voiced consonants. These two phonemes sometimes sound as if they are preceded by a /d/. This

pronunciation is especially found in unassimilated loan words. There is hardly any basis for setting up the phoneme clusters /dz/ and /dʒ/, especially because 36.9 /ra-<sup>l</sup>zə:/ is pronounced with [dz] in one recording, but with [z] in the other. The latter pronunciation is also found in 31.7.—/j/ is a voiced palatal fricative.

/h/ is found before back vowels, ex.: 40.18 /hu:/ 'he', and in consonant clusters. In consonant clusters it manifests as aspiration or devoicing of a neighbouring consonant: /tʃh/ is phonetically [tʃ<sup>h</sup>] in e. g. 19.54 /tʃho:/ (name), /hl/ is phonetically [l̥] in e. g. 18.52 /hlo:/ 'up in the mountains'. In /tʃh/ (and /tʃh/, 35.15) the aspiration is sometimes very weak; in the name of *kūng chen* (kong chen) we generalize to /tʃhen/ everywhere, although the aspiration is imperceptible in some occurrences of the word. Mr. Sprigg has called our attention to the fact that Grünwedel's spelling (-*cen*) suggests non-aspiration.

The distinction /z/ ≠ /ʒ/ is probably valid before back vowels but not before /i, e, ε/. A sound more like [z] is found before /i/, and a sound more like [ʒ] before /e, ε/ (rendered as /z/ and /ʒ/, accordingly). /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ sometimes sound as if followed by a /j/, ex.: 31.3 /ʒuŋ-<sup>l</sup>sər/ *jiyūng sor*. This must be a purely phonetic variation. The phoneme sequences /ʃj/ and /ʒj/ hardly occur in contrast with /ʃ/ and /ʒ/. The distinctions /k/ ≠ /kj/ and /g/ ≠ /gj/ are not valid before front vowels. The palatalized varieties occurring here are rendered phonemically as /k/ and /g/ respectively. In all of the cases mentioned in this section, the Lepcha orthography of the texts has graphic differences which are not reflections of phonemic contrasts: the orthography has *z* vs. *j* (which generally corresponds to /ʒ/) before front vowels, *k* vs. *ky* (*y* generally corresponds to /j/) before front vowels, etc. The phonemic coalescences are, however, reflected by variations in orthography.

In addition to the phonemes described above, there may be a voiced labial spirant /w/. It occurs in the reading of the letters, where it corresponds to *w* of Mainwaring's orthography, but in the rest of the material, a written *w* sounds as an [h] and is rendered phonemically as /h/. This sound may perhaps represent a phoneme in contrast with the phoneme /h/; in 32.17 *sā wo* 'present' it sounds rather like [h<sup>w</sup>]. The question cannot be answered on the basis of the material at our disposal.

Moreover, Mr. Sprigg has called our attention to a glottal consonant /ʔ/, which seems to occur a few times in the texts which we have transcribed (in some instances corresponding to 'a of the orthography); in the reading of the letters, the sequence *āyā* is pronounced almost as [ʔja:], and moreover, the following words are registered with /ʔ/: /sə-<sup>l</sup>ʔjak/ (the days of the week), 18.79 /pə-<sup>l</sup>tun pa-<sup>l</sup>daʔp/ 'hearth' (according to Sprigg certainly a misreading), 19.47 /par-<sup>l</sup>keʔk/ 'angry', 18.41 /sər-<sup>l</sup>fuʔt-mo:/ (seems to be misread, cf. 18.40 and 18.48), 40.8 and 40.10 /tə-<sup>l</sup>ʔju:/ 'sister'. In addition to these instances, Mr. Sprigg expects /ʔ/ in the word *tā lyang* 'sky', e. g. 35.3, where it is imperceptible to us.

Altogether, there is a one to one correspondence between the phonemic consonant letters and the orthographic symbols used in the transliterations of the Lepcha texts, except for the following items:

- /t/ corresponds to *t*, *kr* (on *kr* and *gr*, see above)
- /d/ corresponds to *d*, *gr*,
- /f/ corresponds to *f*, *ph*
- /ʃ/ corresponds to *sh*, *s*
- /z/ corresponds to *z*, *j*

- /j/ corresponds to *y, j*  
 /h/ corresponds to *h, w* (on *w*, see above)  
 /ŋ/ corresponds to *ng*, and /tʃ/ and /tʃh/ correspond to *ch* and *chh* (rendered by Professor Siiger as *c* and *ch*), respectively.

### § 5. The Vowels

Every syllable seems to contain one vowel phoneme. The vowels are sometimes rather diphthongized, but there are probably no phonemic diphthongs.

The following inventory is tentatively set up:

i	u	u
e	ə	o
ɛ	a	ɔ

The vowels thus form a symmetric system of 3×3, of which one parameter (the vertical one) is defined in terms of degree of opening, and the other one in terms of front-back location and degree of lip-rounding.

The vowels /i/, /e/, /ɛ/.

This series is well established. The three vowels are represented in e. g. 34.1 ff /i:t/ 'created', 39.6 /par-<sup>l</sup>tʃe:t/ 'temptation', and 18.5 /<sup>l</sup>gle:t/ 'occur'.—The difference /i/ ≠ /e/ is valid for both open and closed syllables. The phonetic values are [i, i<sup>ɪ</sup>] and [e<sup>ɪ</sup>, e], respectively. In closed syllables the contrast may only be valid before dentals. /e/ is not registered before labials except in 31.2 /ta-<sup>l</sup>lem/, which is a suspicious example (the vowel is rather high: [e<sup>ɪ</sup>] and may perhaps be /i/, but in any case the orthography suggests a completely different pronunciation).

Before /k/ we have registered a short [i] in the word /a-<sup>l</sup>mik/ 'eye' (with various spellings in 18.45, 18.68, and 32.15), and we have registered a long [e:] in e. g. 18.86 (etc.) /<sup>l</sup>de:k/ 'middle' and 40.8 /a-<sup>l</sup>be:k/ 'the middle one' (Grünwedel's spelling suggests /j/ plus /e:/ in these words, also compare note 1 to text 36). As vowel length seems to be phonemic, [i] and [e] before /k/ can certainly be reduced to bound varieties, determined by the quantity of the syllable (we have no examples of long [i:] in this position; on [i:] before /k/, see note 2 to text 31). Before /ŋ/ we have registered [i, i<sup>ɪ</sup>, ɪ] in numerous words; these varieties are all rendered as /i/. The combination /eŋ/ may be represented in 4.3 *tüŋ veng* 'door' and 18.36 *ngü eng* (name of a fish), but the pronunciation is peculiar in both cases. The syllable *veng* has a somewhat diphthongized or prolonged vowel, and *eng* sounds almost as [jiŋ]. We have rendered the syllables as /vjeŋ/ and /jeŋ/ (this interpretation is confirmed by Grünwedel's spellings *vyeñ* and *ño-yeñ*). This means that /eŋ/ occurs after /j/ only. As the combination /jiŋ/ is not registered, there is no commutation between /i/ and /e/ before /ŋ/; [i] and [e] are bound (or partly free) varieties. If this conclusion holds, there is only one front vowel-unit before velar consonants; /ɛ/ is not registered in these combinations, and /i/ and /e/ are in 'complementary distribution' before /k, ŋ/ in our phonemic notation.

There are also problems with /i/ and /e/ before and after /r/. In 18.84 *ner bü nir bong* we have registered [nr] in both words; the vowel is rendered as /i/. There seems, however, to be a distinction between the two phonemes before /r/ if they are long, cf. 18.87 /täŋ-<sup>l</sup>zi:r/

'opening' vs. 18.27 /<sup>l</sup>ʒe:r/ *jer*. After /r/ we hear a very high [e<sup>l</sup>] in 33.6 /a-<sup>l</sup>re:-,re:/ 'this (the)', but the vowel is certainly different from the [i] of e. g. 18.58 /ri:/.

The difference /e/ ≠ /ɛ/ is valid for both open and closed syllables, but in closed syllables before labials and dentals only (/ɛ/ does not occur before /k, ŋ/, cf. above). /ɛ/ is phonetically [ɛ̃], but the long /ɛ:/ may be more or less diphthongized before dentals; 18.5 /glɛ:t/ is pronounced [glɛ<sup>ɾ</sup>ɛ̃].

The vowels /u/, /ə/, /a/.

According to our material, it seems necessary to set up three central or unrounded back vowels: /u/, /ə/, and /a/, since the difference between e. g. the vowels in the heavily stressed syllables of 40.18 [h<sup>l</sup>u:] 'he', 19.11 [ta-<sup>l</sup>lə:] 'sleeping', and 19.4 [mə-<sup>l</sup>la:-,rəm] (name) cannot be explained as a bound variation. The distinction seems to be valid in closed syllables, too, at least before /k/, cf. 35.9 /sə-<sup>l</sup>tsuk/ 'sun' opposed to 35.6 /dar-<sup>l</sup>tək/ 'bad thing' and 19.33 /<sup>l</sup>tha:k/ 'put' (before most consonants only /ə/ and /a/ occur). In the transcriptions we have distinguished these three units in stressed syllables. /u/ is phonetically [u], but [u<sup>+</sup>,<sup>u</sup>] after /j/, in which position /u/ is also rather front, so that /u/ and /u/ are not always clearly different from each other (there is, however, commutation in e. g. 33.5 /ka-<sup>l</sup>ju:/ 'we' vs. 34.6 /kəm-<sup>l</sup>ju:-<sup>l</sup>thiŋ/ (name)). [ʊ] is a common stressed variety of the phoneme /ə/, to which we ascribe the varieties [ó, ó, ə, ʌ], too. The second vowel of *a kó* 'hand' sounds as [u:] in 18.61 and 32.14, but as [ʊ:] in 18.43, and the second vowel of *tǎ lya* 'water' sounds as [u:] in 19.11, but as [ʊ:] in 18.49. In these two words, we have generalized to the transcription /ə/, which is preferable according to Mr. Sprigg. *kǎ kǔ* 'eight' is invariably pronounced with [u:], i. e. /u:/, in the second syllable.— [ʊ:, ó:, ə:] are registered as free variants in the word *mán* 'meat', and [ə, ʌ] as free variants in the word *rǔm* 'god'. The most frequent manifestation of /ə:/ is [ʊ:], while /ə/ is generally [ə] or [ʌ].

In syllables with zero stress the close vowel [u] is not found at all (31.10 [hu] for *hǔng* (name) is obviously misread). In pretonic syllables it is difficult to distinguish between /ə/ and /a/. /ə/ shows a considerable variation, which seems to a certain extent determined by the vowel of the following syllable (for example, *mǎ* 'not' occurs with an [ə]-variety before /ə/ of the following syllable, ex.: 33.1 [dək-mə-<sup>l</sup>kə:n] ə: /dək-mə-<sup>l</sup>kə:n/ 'sickness not cause'). We follow Mr. Sprigg's suggestions concerning the distribution of pretonic /a/ and /ə/. In our preliminary analysis we differed from Mr. Sprigg in writing /a/ in those cases where we heard an intermediate sound between [a] and [ə], e. g. text 19 *mǎ rǔm* 'life' and *mǎ thok* 'lifetime', i. e. we considered /a/ to have a great latitude of variation and /ə/ to vary little, while Mr. Sprigg has chosen the opposite alternative, which is in conformity with the spelling (/ə/ thus corresponding to *ǎ*, /a/ to *a*).

We have found a sort of alternation between /a/ and /ə/ in the enclitic *sǎ* 'of', cf. 40.10 /a-<sup>l</sup>juk-,sa:/ and 40.12 /a-<sup>l</sup>mo:-sə/. Mr. Sprigg has given us the following information on this point: There are two particles: I Genitive in function (*sa*) [sə/sə:], II Agentive, etc. in function (*sə*) [sa], e. g. [bansə] 'of the knife', [bansa] 'by/with the knife'. Some of the alternation may be due to this.

The vowels /u/, /o/, /ə/.

The difference /u/ ≠ /o/ ≠ /ə/ is well established in open syllable. The phonetic values are [u, u<sup>ɾ</sup>], [o], [ə], respectively. There is a strong nasalization of back vowels in the com-



bination nasal plus long vowel. After initial /p b m n ŋ/ the difference /u/ ≠ /o/ is difficult to perceive. After /n/ we have only registered /u:/: 36.9 /pə-<sup>1</sup>nu:/: 'king'. After /ŋ/ we have registered /u:/: in 18.36 /<sup>1</sup>ŋu:-jɛŋ/ (fish) and /o:/: in 40.15 (etc.) /fə-<sup>1</sup>ŋo:/: 'five', but the vowels are not very different from each other. After /m/ we have registered /u/ in e. g. 34.2 /mu-ləŋ-<sup>1</sup>təŋ/ (name) and 40.4 /<sup>1</sup>za:-mu:/: (name), whereas we have rendered the frequently occurring verbal particle *mo* as /mo:/. Mr. Sprigg suggests the transcription /mu/ for this verbal particle in e. g. 18.10 *bo mo* 'given have', but the vowel sounds rather open to us. We do not want, however, to insist upon our transcription of /u/ and /o/ after /m/. It would be tempting to suggest that they do not commute at all in open syllable after nasal consonant. Our distinction is made mainly on the basis of the Lepcha orthography. After /j/, /u:/: has a rather front variety [u<sup>+</sup>:], ex.: 19.5 /<sup>1</sup>rju:-la:/: 'well'.

In closed syllables, there may be three distinct units, too, at least this seems to be the case before /k/ and /m/, cf. 40.10 /a-<sup>1</sup>juk-,sa:/: 'last of' vs. 18.35 /a-<sup>1</sup>bjok/ 'small plate of leaves' vs. 39.6 /a-<sup>1</sup>dək/ 'sickness', 33.4 /jə:k/ 'yak', and 33.1 /ka-<sup>1</sup>jum/ 'us' vs. 36.7 /<sup>1</sup>gjom-nən/ 'collected having' vs 31.21 /<sup>1</sup>njet-jə:m/. Before most consonants, only two distinct qualities are found, of which one is [u, u<sup>+</sup>, ɔ], and the other one [ə, ɒ]. They are rendered phonemically as /u/ and /ə/, respectively, except before /r/, where the high quality is [o] and is rendered as /o/. Before /ŋ/, there may be three distinct units, but /u/ and /o/ show very little difference. We follow Mr. Sprigg's suggestions in our transcription of /u/ and /o/ before /ŋ/ (these suggestions are in conformity with the Lepcha orthography used in Grünwedel's Dictionary, but differ from Mr. Tsering's orthography in one case: 18.44 *a thūng* 'leg', where Mr. Sprigg suggests orthographic *o*, too). We are not sure of our ear, but the difference may be there.

The orthographic representation of the vowel phonemes is much more inconsistent than the representation of the consonant phonemes, and the orthography is of little help in the establishment of the phonemic system. The following schedule will show this:

/i/	corresponds to <i>í, i, yu, yǔ</i> ( $yǔ = /j/í/$ )
/e/	corresponds to <i>e, (ǔ), (o)</i>
/ɛ/	corresponds to <i>e, á, ǎ</i>
/u/	corresponds to <i>u, ũ, á</i>
/ə/	corresponds to <i>u, ũ, o, ó, á, a, ǎ</i>
/a/	corresponds to <i>á, a, ǎ, ó, o</i>
/u/	corresponds to <i>u, ũ, ó, o</i>
/o/	corresponds to <i>ó, o, a</i>
/ə/	corresponds to <i>ó, o, á, a, ǎ, í</i>

Some details of this schedule are matched by the information on spoken and written vowels in the Dictionary, page viii, but the discrepancy between spelling and pronunciation which is found in our material, is much larger than one expects after having consulted the work of Mainwaring and Grünwedel (Waddell 1899, p. 44 criticizes the standard orthography because of similar discrepancies).

## § 6. Guide to the Phonemic Spelling of the Words

The preceding pages give a rather detailed account of the phonetic varieties of each phoneme. As a cue to the identification of spoken and written Lepcha words, a rough indication of the sound value of each phonemic letter may be practical:

b, d, g, f, v, m, n, h, r, l sound almost as the letters do in English. The remaining phonemic letters demand a special explanation:

p, t, k are unaspirated as in French *peu, te, que*

s sounds as *s* of English *sake*

ʃ sounds as *sh* of English *shake*

z sounds as *s* of English *desert*

ʒ sounds as *s* of English *pleasure*

j sounds as *y* of English *yes*

ŋ sounds as *ng* of English *sing*

i sounds as in German *ihr*

e sounds as in German *sehr*

ɛ sounds as *e* of English *bed*

ɯ is an unrounded vowel, which resembles the high *u* of *just* (adverb) in American English (more accurately: tongue-position of /u/ plus lip-position of /i/)

ə resembles *er* of (British) English *term* or *u* of English *dumb*

a sounds as *a* of English *father*

u sounds as in German *gut*

o sounds as in German *rot*

ɔ sounds as *aw* of English *saw*

### § 7. Specimens of Lepcha Pronunciation

In addition to the texts transcribed below, Mr. Tamsang has spoken some single words. As some of the words or stems are repeated several times in partly different constructions (cf. /<sup>1</sup>njɛ:t/, /<sup>1</sup>njɛt-<sup>1</sup>tha:p/, /<sup>1</sup>ka:-<sup>1</sup>njɛ:t/), they may be of value especially in connection with the problems concerning stress and quantity. We have, therefore, chosen to give a transcription of them here.

The numerals:

1-10

<sup>1</sup>ka:t

<sup>1</sup>njɛ:t

<sup>1</sup>sam

<sup>1</sup>fə-<sup>1</sup>li:

<sup>1</sup>fə-<sup>1</sup>ŋo:

tə-<sup>1</sup>rɔ:k (or tə-<sup>1</sup>rək)

kə-<sup>1</sup>khjək

kə-<sup>1</sup>ku: (,kə-<sup>1</sup>ku:)

kə-<sup>1</sup>kjɔ:t

kə-<sup>1</sup>ti:

11-25

ka-<sup>1</sup>tha:p (or ,ka-<sup>1</sup>tha:p)

<sup>1</sup>njɛt-<sup>1</sup>tha:p

<sup>1</sup>sam-<sup>1</sup>tha:p

fə-<sup>1</sup>li-<sup>1</sup>tha:p

fə-<sup>1</sup>ŋo-<sup>1</sup>tha:p

tə-<sup>1</sup>rək-<sup>1</sup>tha:p

kə-<sup>1</sup>khjək-<sup>1</sup>tha:p

kə-<sup>1</sup>ku:-<sup>1</sup>tha:p

kə-<sup>1</sup>kjɔt-<sup>1</sup>tha:p

<sup>1</sup>kha:-,ka:t

<sup>1</sup>kha:-,ka:t-,sa-<sup>1</sup>ka:t

<sup>1</sup>kha:-,ka:t-,sa-<sup>1</sup>njɛ:t

<sup>1</sup>kha:-,ka:t-,sa-<sup>1</sup>sam

<sup>1</sup>kha:-,ka:t-,sa-,fə-<sup>1</sup>li:

<sup>1</sup>kha:-,ka:t-,sa-,fə-<sup>1</sup>ŋo:

30-100	100-1000
kə- <sup>h</sup> bəŋ- <sup>l</sup> njɛ:t	<sup>l</sup> gjo:- <sup>l</sup> ka:t
<sup>l</sup> ka:- <sup>l</sup> njɛ:t	<sup>l</sup> gjo:- <sup>l</sup> njɛ:t
kə- <sup>h</sup> bəŋ- <sup>l</sup> sam	<sup>l</sup> gjo:- <sup>l</sup> sam
<sup>l</sup> ka:- <sup>l</sup> sam	<sup>l</sup> gjo:-fə- <sup>l</sup> li:
kə- <sup>h</sup> bəŋ-fə- <sup>l</sup> li:	<sup>l</sup> gjo:-fə- <sup>l</sup> ŋo:
<sup>l</sup> ka:-fə- <sup>l</sup> li:	<sup>l</sup> gjo:-tə- <sup>l</sup> rək
kə- <sup>h</sup> bəŋ-fə- <sup>l</sup> ŋo:	<sup>l</sup> gjo:-kə- <sup>l</sup> kw:
<sup>l</sup> ka:-fə- <sup>l</sup> ŋo:	<sup>l</sup> gjo:-kə- <sup>l</sup> khjək (read: <sup>l</sup> gjo:-kə- <sup>l</sup> khjək, <sup>l</sup> gjo:-kə- <sup>l</sup> kw:)
	<sup>l</sup> gjo:-kə- <sup>l</sup> kjə:t
	təŋ- <sup>l</sup> tə-ka:t (according to the spelling rather: təŋ- <sup>l</sup> tək- ka:t)

*The months:*

<sup>l</sup>gər-<sup>l</sup>nji:t  
<sup>l</sup>gər-<sup>l</sup>sə:ŋ  
<sup>l</sup>thə:n  
<sup>l</sup>sə:m  
<sup>l</sup>tə-<sup>l</sup>fa:  
<sup>l</sup>glum  
<sup>l</sup>nəm-<sup>l</sup>kəm  
<sup>l</sup>pər-<sup>l</sup>vi:m  
<sup>l</sup>glu:  
<sup>l</sup>it (perhaps <sup>l</sup>i:t)  
<sup>l</sup>ra:  
<sup>l</sup>mar

*The days of the week:*

sə-<sup>l</sup>?jak \_ <sup>l</sup>sə: <sup>l</sup>brja:ŋ  
<sup>l</sup>mi: \_ sə-<sup>l</sup>?jak  
<sup>l</sup>uŋ \_ sə-<sup>l</sup>?jak  
<sup>l</sup>ləŋ \_ sə-<sup>l</sup>?jak  
<sup>l</sup>njin \_ sə-<sup>l</sup>?jak  
<sup>l</sup>sək-mət \_ sə-<sup>l</sup>?jak  
<sup>l</sup>fat \_ sə-<sup>l</sup>?jak  
<sup>l</sup>pən-,zi(:)ŋ \_ sə-<sup>l</sup>?jak

*Some localities:*

(transcription without stress)

ka-lim\_pəŋ  
git  
dəp-liŋ  
git\_bi-jəŋ  
gaŋ-to:(k)  
sik-kim  
pa:-si-diŋ  
zuŋ-gu: [dzuŋ-gu:]  
di-sta:  
məŋ-gən  
rəŋ-gi:t  
fi-vo:

§ 8. *Phonetic Notes to the Texts**Text 4:*

- 1) Sprigg expects an alveolar [t], i. e. /tə-<sup>l</sup>ŋw:/.  
2) /ka:/ belongs grammatically to the preceding group.

*Text 18:*

- 1) /<sup>l</sup>ŋan/ means 'remain'.
- 2) /<sup>l</sup>nə:/ here and in line 18 belongs grammatically to the preceding group.
- 3) Sprigg expects alveolar [nd], i. e. /gəŋ-<sup>l</sup>dən/.
- 4) Possibly a misreading due to similarity of *kyo* and *syo* (Sprigg).
- 5) Perhaps /<sup>l</sup>mɛ:l/.
- 6) Both /t/'s sound somewhat retroflex. The second should be alveolar, but the first should be dental (Sprigg).
- 7) Pronounced [jiŋ].
- 8) /tʃi-<sup>l</sup>fɜ:t/ would be the expected pronunciation.

- 9) Misread. According to Sprigg, Tamsang has confused the Verb + Particle (*fū mo*, Grünwedel *phū mo*, cf. 18.48) with a Noun *sor-fāt* (Grünwedel *-phūt*) = 'incense-offering' (the root *fāt* occurs in 18.40).
- 10) Usually [ŋan], cf. Grünwedel *ngan* (Sprigg).
- 11) [n] is very indistinct, the pronunciation may be [faŋ].
- 12) The passage is read with a wrong rhythmicization.
- 13) The pronunciation of *sóm* here and in line 77 is surprising, cf. 18.78 /<sup>l</sup>sə:m/.
- 14) /ʔ/ unexpected here (Sprigg).
- 15) Sprigg expects alveolar [dj], i. e. /<sup>l</sup>ɕju:/.
- 16) Sprigg expects /o/ for /u/ in /<sup>l</sup>glju:/.

*Text 19:*

- 1) Certainly read with a wrong rhythmicization.
- 2) Tamsang seems to have read *mā-o* (Sprigg).
- 3) Hesitation.
- 4) The final consonant may be /t/.
- 5) The final syllable here and in line 50 is pronounced [bɔ̃:].
- 6) Cf. text 18, note 3.

*Text 31:*

- 1) Sprigg expects alveolar [nd], i. e. /pən-<sup>l</sup>ɕim-ka:/.
- 2) Almost [he:k]; Sprigg expects [hɪk].
- 3) /a-<sup>l</sup>jum/ means 'you'.
- 4) /<sup>l</sup>sə:/ belongs grammatically to the preceding group.
- 5) /<sup>l</sup>njɛt-<sup>l</sup>ʔjɔ:m/?

*Text 32:*

- 1) Cf. text 31, note 4.

*Text 33:*

- 1) Sprigg has recorded [tə<sup>l</sup>ljəŋ].
- 2) Almost /<sup>l</sup>hə:-<sup>l</sup>ʒe:-<sup>l</sup>hə-<sup>l</sup>o:/.

*Text 34:*

- 1) Here, *tong* sounds aspirated.—HMV has [lɔ̃ŋ], i. e. /luŋ/, instead of [lɔ̃ŋ].

*Text 35:*

- 1) In this occurrence the name almost sounds as [kɔ̃ŋ-<sup>l</sup>ʃɛn]. We generalize from other occurrences of the name, both as to the vowel of the first syllable and as to the aspiration of the second syllable.
- 2) Cf. text 33, note 1.
- 3) HMV has [məŋ-<sup>l</sup>i:-jəŋ].
- 4) Perhaps /mə-<sup>l</sup>jum/.
- 5) HMV has [<sup>l</sup>lum <sup>l</sup>lat-<sup>l</sup>ɕim-<sup>l</sup>bu:].
- 6) Pronounced [tsɔ̃ŋ]. What we hear as a prolonging and diphthongizing of the vowel, may perhaps be a manifestation of the phoneme /h/, which is indicated in Grünwedel's spelling *ts'oi* (also *tsò*).
- 7) HMV has [mə-<sup>l</sup>lat-nə-<sup>l</sup>bɔ̃-re:].

*Text 36:*

- 1) The vowel of /de:k/, which is rather diphthongized, is perhaps to be rendered as /je/.  
—The root *tūk* is pronounced quite differently in 35.6.
- 2) Pronounced [dzo:]; H MV has [zə:].—If this word is Nepali *rājā*, then the pronunciation with [dz] would be an attempt at the foreign [dz] of [radza] (Sprigg).
- 3) Almost [m̥:]; H MV has [mō:].
- 4) H MV has [ʰə:].

*Text 40:*

- 1) /ʔ/ is imperceptible in this occurrence of the word; we generalize from the occurrence in 40.10, where the glottal stop is heard.
- 2) Tamsang has hesitated and interpolated *sǎ*, which should be grouped with *a bo* (cf. the next line).
- 3) Cf. text 4, note 2.
- 4) Certainly read with a wrong rhythmicization.
- 5) *zuk* should be stressed and grouped with *mǎ o*.
- 6) Grammatically, /ʰla/ and /so:/ belong to different groups.
- 7) Sprigg expects glottal voice quality in *fat*:

# RITUAL TEXTS AND COMMENTARY

by HALFDAN SIGER

## PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTIONS

by JØRGEN RISCHER

### Text No. 1. Prayer to *pǎ dím rǔm*.

From Tingbung

Informant: *rig zing*

Interpreter: Tsering

- |                    |                |                   |             |             |          |  |
|--------------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------|-------------|----------|--|
| 1. <i>pǎ dím</i>   | <i>rǔm</i>     |                   |             |             |          |  |
| <i>pǎ dím</i>      | god            |                   |             |             |          |  |
| 2. <i>kǎ yum</i>   | <i>ǎ dok</i>   | <i>ǎ not</i>      | <i>mǎ</i>   | <i>thap</i> |          |  |
| us                 | trouble        | pain              | not         | give        |          |  |
| 3. <i>gǔn grón</i> | <i>ma</i>      | <i>je n o</i>     |             |             |          |  |
| help               | not            | restrain (please) |             |             |          |  |
| 4. <i>a do do</i>  | <i>rong</i>    | <i>bo</i>         | <i>o</i>    |             |          |  |
| you yourself       | guide (guard)  |                   | (please)    |             |          |  |
| 5. <i>kǎ yum</i>   | <i>mí dyǔp</i> | <i>mǎ</i>         | <i>thap</i> | <i>nǎ</i>   | <i>o</i> |  |
| us                 | cough and cold | not               | give        | (not)       | (please) |  |

1. – *pǎ dím* name of mountain deity. *rǔm*<sup>o</sup> god, deity, cf. Dict. 336b s. 1. a good spirit in opposition to *mung*.

**Trsl.:** *pǎ dím rǔm!* (i. e. *pǎ dím* god!).

**Expl.:** They invoke *pǎ dím* god.

2. – *kǎ yum*<sup>o</sup> us – *ǎ dok*<sup>o</sup> trouble cf. Dict. 173b *a-dǔk* difficulty, distress, trouble, affliction, pain, torment; Interp.: trouble. *ǎ not*<sup>o</sup> pain cf. Dict. 202a *nót* 4, *a-nót* explet. to *dák*, see *a-dǎk a-nót* Dict. 167a *dák-nót* s. sickness, illness, pain. – *mǎ*<sup>o</sup> negation. – *thap*<sup>o</sup> to give cf. Dict. 150a *thap* 4 vb. t. to put into, to place in.

**Trsl.:** Do not give us trouble and pain! (Tsering)  
Do not put us into trouble and pain! (Mainwaring).

**Expl.:** Do not cause us trouble and pain!

3. – *gǔn grón*<sup>o</sup> help, assistance, approx. in the sense: to be willing to, to have the good intention of doing something; Tsering was uncertain of the spelling, but the word is presumably identical

with Dict. 54b *gǔn-rán*, Tib. *mgon-drin* s. patronage, favour of person or lord cf. Jäs. 92a *mgón-po* protector, patron and 262b *drin* kindness, favour, grace. Comp. Text No. 18,19 the same word and a similar prayer addressed to *pǎ dím*. – *ma*<sup>o</sup>... *n* negation. – *je*, unusual word, according to Tsering approximately: to restrain, to keep in, to suppress, here: do not withhold! Comp. Text No. 18,19 and Text No. 24,2 with a tentative derivation. – *o*<sup>o</sup> postp. affix, polite or precative imp.

**Trsl.:** Do not suppress your good will to help (us)!  
or: Do not withhold your help!

4. – *a do do*<sup>o</sup> you yourself, here *do* is reduplicated, presumably emphatically. – *rong*<sup>o</sup> to guide, vb. here imp. cf. Dict. 339b *róng*, see Dict. 329b *ráng* 2. vb. t. 1. to watch, to guard. – *bo*<sup>o</sup> approximately an honorary ending used when addressing gods, esteemed persons etc. in imp. To a bearer one may say *rong* (guide), imp., but to a god one will say *rong bo* please guide! *o*<sup>o</sup> see line 3.

**Trsl.:** You yourself guide (guard) us (please)!

5. - *kǎ yum*<sup>o</sup> us. - *mǐ dyǎp* (noun) cough and cold cf. Dict. 164b *thyup*, *a-tyup* s. a cold, a catarrh; Dict. 106b has *nyi* 6. in comp. "nose" and *nyi dyop* s. a cold, a catarrh. - *mǎ*<sup>o</sup> . . . *nǎ* negation. *thap*<sup>o</sup> see line 2. - *o*<sup>o</sup> see line 3.

**Trsl.:** Do not give us cough and cold (please)! (Tsering). Do not put us into cough and cold (please)! (Mainwaring).

**Expl.:** Do not cause us cough and cold (please)!

**Paraphrase:**

- I. Invocation of *pǎ dím rǔm* (1)
- II. Requests to *pǎ dím rǔm* (2-5):
  - a. not to cause trouble and pain (2)
  - b. not to withhold help (3)
  - c. to guide (guard) (4)
  - d. not to cause cough and cold (4)

NB. The ritual illustrates the dual personality of *pǎ dím rǔm*: 1. Causing trouble, pain, cough and cold to the people, 2. giving help and giving guidance (guard).

## Text No. 2. Carpenter's Prayer before Building a House.

From Tingbung

Informant: *rǔng jí*  
Interpreter: Tsering

1. <i>dok</i>	<i>mǎ</i>	<i>kon</i>	<i>o</i>						
pain	not	cause	(please)						
2. <i>kǔng</i>	<i>thyól</i>	<i>mǎ</i>	<i>kon</i>						
wood	accident	not	cause						
3. <i>prít</i>	<i>jók</i>	<i>mǎ</i>	<i>kon</i>						
axe	accident	not	cause						
4. <i>kǎ yu</i>	<i>'ayǔk</i>	<i>zuk</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>a jén</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>mǎ</i>	<i>thap</i>	<i>o</i>	
we	work	doing		bad risk	in	not	put in	(please)	
5. <i>a re</i>	<i>mán</i>	<i>ví</i>	<i>cí</i>	<i>bo</i>	<i>mo</i>				
this	meat	blood	<i>cí</i>	given	have				
6. <i>tham</i>	<i>a re</i>	<i>pǎng</i>	<i>je</i>	<i>o</i>					
things	these		consume	(please)					

1. - *dok*<sup>o</sup> pain, sickness cf. Dict. 167a *dǎk*, *a-dǎk* pain, disease, sickness. - *mǎ*<sup>o</sup> negation. - *kon*<sup>o</sup> to cause, cf. Dict. 29a to let, to allow, to permit, and Gram. p. 47. - *o*<sup>o</sup> postp. affix, here indicating polite or precative imp., cf. Dict. 446b and Gram. p. 46.

**Trsl.:** Do not cause (us or me) pain (sickness) (please)!

2. - *kǔng*<sup>o</sup> 1. tree, 2. wood (here: the timbers and rafters used at the building of the house) cf. Dict. 24b. - *thyól* Dict. 161a *thyól* caus. to *thól* to collide, to bring or to come in contact with. Interp.: Here used of accident caused by wood while building. - *mǎ* and *kon*, see line 1.

**Trsl.:** Do not cause accident by wood!

3. - *prít* axe, hatchet cf. Dict. 226b. - *jók* accident caused by axe while cutting wood, cf. *jók* Dict. 101b, see *ják* Dict. 93a vb. t. to hit the mark (as arrow) - *mǎ* and *kon*, see line 1.

**Trsl.:** Do not cause the axe to hit (us)!

**Expl.:** Do not cause the axe to hit (us) while we are building the house.

4. - *kǎ yu*<sup>o</sup> we, i. e. the carpenter and his assistants. - *'ayǔk*<sup>o</sup> work, cf. Dict. 453a *'ayok* 2. s. work, action and *'ayok zuk* to work. - *zuk*<sup>o</sup> to do, cf. Dict. 317a *zuk-ban* to do, to make, to work and *'ayok zuk* vb. to work. - *ba*<sup>o</sup>, Interp. said that *ba* indicated that the action was going on, cf. Dict. 253a, 4, particle indicating a past indefinite, and Gram. p. 45. - *a jén* bad risk,

cf. Dict. 94a *a-jän*, *a-jen* bad, evil, see also Part I, *a jen*. – *ka°* in – *mã°* negation – *thap°* vb. to put into, cf. Dict. 150a to put into, to place in. – *o°* polite or precativ imp.

**Trsl.:** When we are doing (our) work do not put (us) into (any) bad risk!

5. – *a re°* this, here referring to both *mán*, *vl*, and *cl. mán°* meat, cf. Dict. 279b flesh, meat. – *vi°* blood cf. Dict. 386b – *cl°* Lepcha beer – *bo°* to give – *mo°* indication of past tense.

**Trsl.:** We have given this meat, blood, and *cl.*

**Expl.:** The carpenter and his assistants have sacrificed the sacrificial animal, and now they present its blood and meat together with the *cl* to the *mung*.

6. – *tham°* thing cf. Dict. 150a *tham* 3. – *a re°* *päng* dem. pron. plur. cf. Dict. 439b and Gram. p. 43. These things i. e. the meat, the blood, and

the *cl.* – *je°* to eat, but as it also refers to the *cl* it is preferable to translate it as: consume; *je* has also the sacrificial meaning: to accept, cf. Tib. Jäs. 484b *bzhés-pa* I. vb. to take, to receive, accept, esp. at meals, to take, to eat. Combined with *o°*, precativ or polite imp., used with a deferential request: be pleased to consume, i. e. please accept these offering gifts.

**Trsl.:** Consume these things (please)!

**Paraphrase:** (NB. No address)

- I. Requests to the *mung* that he may not cause (1-4):
  - a. pain (1)
  - b. accidents by wood or by axe (2-3)
  - c. any bad risk (4)
- II. They stress that they have given the proper offering gifts (5)
- III. They request the *mung* to accept these gifts (6).

### Text No. 3. Carpenter's Prayer after Having Built a House.

From Tingbung

Informant: *rŭng jŭ*  
Interpreter: Tsering

- |               |             |                   |             |           |           |            |           |            |  |
|---------------|-------------|-------------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------|------------|--|
| 1. <i>dok</i> | <i>mã</i>   | <i>kon</i>        |             |           |           |            |           |            |  |
| pain          | not         | cause             |             |           |           |            |           |            |  |
| 2. <i>li</i>  | <i>a re</i> | <i>zuk</i>        | <i>thóm</i> | <i>bu</i> | <i>ka</i> | <i>pók</i> | <i>mã</i> | <i>kon</i> |  |
| house         | this        | having been built |             |           | to        | fall       | not       | cause      |  |
| 3. <i>mi</i>  | <i>dŭp</i>  | <i>mã</i>         | <i>kon</i>  |           |           |            |           |            |  |
| fire          | set on      | not               | cause       |           |           |            |           |            |  |

1. – *dok°* here pain cf. Text 2,1. – *mã°* negation – *kon°* verb. to cause.

**Trsl.:** Do not cause pain! (According to Tsering is implied: to the inhabitants of this house).

**Expl.:** This request is directed to the tutelary deity of the carpenter. NB. No address or invocation.

2. – *li* house, see *li°* – *a re°* this dem. pron. – *zuk°* to do, here: to build, *zuk thóm bu* “having been built” i. e. “built”, cf. Dict. 156a *thóm-bo* part., 2. forms the part. perf. pass., and Gram. pp. 50 and 100. – *ka°* to – *pók* vb. Tsering: to

fall, cf. Dict. 221a *pok* 1. vb. to be thrown down, to cast down, 2. vb. n. to be cast down etc. – *mã kon°* see line 1.

**Trsl.:** To this house having been built do not cause (it) to fall (or: to be cast down) i. e. Do not cause this built house to fall!

3. – *mi* fire cf. Dict. 284b *mi* fire. – *dŭp* to set fire to, cf. Dict. 181a *dop* vb. n. to burn – *mã kon°* see line 1.

**Trsl.:** Do not cause fire to burn (according to Tsering is implied: this house)!



**Text No. 4. Apotropaic Ritual Associated with the House.***A bong thing* Supplication

From Tingbung

Informant: Marji  
Interpreter: Tsering

1. *a rôt*      *a füng*      *müng*  
a-<sup>l</sup>rø:t      a-<sup>l</sup>fəŋ      <sup>l</sup>muŋ  
*a rôt*      *a füng*      *mung*
2. *dyang tet*      *ka*      *thi ngan bū*  
<sup>l</sup>djaŋ-<sup>l</sup>tə:t-ka:      <sup>l</sup>thi:-ŋan-<sup>l</sup>bu:  
tiptoe      on      come sitting
3. *tüŋ veng*      *ngäng gong*      *ka*      *thi ngan bū*  
təŋ-<sup>l</sup>vjeŋ      ŋəŋ-<sup>l</sup>jaŋ-ka:      <sup>l</sup>thi:-ŋan-<sup>l</sup>bu:  
door      threshold      on      come sitting
4. *mar ngü*      *kra ngü*      *ka*      *thi ngan bū*  
mar-<sup>l</sup>ŋu:      ta-<sup>l</sup>ŋu:<sup>1</sup>      ka:      <sup>l</sup>thi:-ŋan-<sup>l</sup>bu:<sup>2</sup>  
ridge of the roof      on      come sitting
5. *da sim*      *ka*      *thi ngan bū*  
da:-<sup>l</sup>sim-ka:      <sup>l</sup>thi:-ŋan-<sup>l</sup>bu:  
space under the eaves      on      come sitting
6. *läm sūr*      *läm dong*      *ka*      *thi ngan bū*  
läm-<sup>l</sup>sur      läm-<sup>l</sup>dəŋ-ka:      <sup>l</sup>thi:-ŋan-<sup>l</sup>bu:  
"obstacle"      on      come sitting
7. *ä lang*      *ä zim*      *a re*      *bo mo*  
a-<sup>l</sup>ləŋ      a-<sup>l</sup>zø:m      a-<sup>l</sup>re:      <sup>l</sup>bo:-<sup>l</sup>mo:  
now      present      this      given have
8. *vi*      *a hyür*      *thong*  
<sup>l</sup>vi:      a-<sup>l</sup>hji:      <sup>l</sup>thəŋ  
blood      red      drink
9. *mán*      *a hyür*      *tha na*      *lot o*  
<sup>l</sup>mə:n      a-<sup>l</sup>hji:      <sup>l</sup>tha:-nə      <sup>l</sup>lo:t-<sup>l</sup>o:  
meat      red      eaten (having)      return
10. *sā rong ren*      *lám sūr*      *läm dong*      *tho*      *mā bo*      *n*  
sə-<sup>l</sup>rəŋ-rən      läm-<sup>l</sup>sur      läm-<sup>l</sup>dəŋ      <sup>l</sup>tho:-mə-<sup>l</sup>bo:n  
today      from      "obstacle"      put      not      give
11. *sā rong ryen*      *kă süm*      *mā not o*  
sə-<sup>l</sup>rəŋ-rən      kə-<sup>l</sup>səm      mə-<sup>l</sup>nət-<sup>l</sup>o:  
today      from      me      not trouble
12. *sā rong ryen*      *tă do*      *bam lyang ka*      *nū o*  
sə-<sup>l</sup>rəŋ-rən      tə-<sup>l</sup>do:      <sup>l</sup>bam-<sup>l</sup>jaŋ-<sup>l</sup>ka:      <sup>l</sup>nu-<sup>l</sup>o:  
today      from      your own      abode      to      go

5 The Lepchas.

1. – *a ról a fũng mung*, name of a very dangerous *mung*. Tsering said in his commentary to this text that *a ról a fũng mung* lived outside Sikkim. This line is an address to and an entreaty of the *mung*.

**Trsl.:** *a ról a fũng mung!*

2. – *dyang* foot, cf. Dict. 184 b *dyang* 2. *a-dyang* the leg, the foot. – *tet* tip, end; *dyang tet* end of foot, tip of toes, tiptoe; the meaning is that the *mung* has come silently and secretly, unobserved. Dict. 151a has *thong thi* tip of toe, see *thi* 1. s. tips of fingers or toes. *ka°* on – *thi* has come, from *thi°* to come, cf. Dict. 151a *thi* 3. vb. to reach, to arrive. – *ngan°* vb. to sit, in this context: has come and is now sitting; *bũ* the same as *bo°* indicating noun “agentis”; cf. also Text No. 19,8.

**Trsl.:** has come on tiptoe and is (now) sitting . . .

3. – *tũng veng* door, cf. Dict. 391b *tũng-vyeng* door, a *tũng bór* expression. – *ngãng gong* threshold cf. Dict. 70a *ngang* vb. to move, to set in motion and Dict. 59a *góng* vb. to open in fissures, to open out (as for Tamsang’s pronunciation of *gong* comp. perhaps Dict. 328a *yóng* 2. vb. to be large, spacious, wide, broad . . . and *a-yóng* adj. broad, wide (as a gateway)); is also a *tũng bór* expression. – *ka°* on – *thi ngãng bũ* see line 2.

**Trsl.:** has come and is (now) sitting on the threshold . . .

4. – *mar ngũ kra ngũ* the uppermost ridge of the roof, a *tũng bór* expression; to *ngũ* cf. perhaps Dict. 73a *ngó* s. edge, border, cf. Tib. Jäs. 131a *dngo* 1. shore, bank, 2. edge of a knife. – For the remaining words cf. line 2.

**Trsl.:** has come and is (now) sitting on the uppermost ridge of the roof . . .

5. – *da sim* the space under the eaves. For the rest of the line see line 2.

**Trsl.:** has come and is (now) sitting in the space under the eaves . . .

6. – *lãm sũr lãm dong*, a *tũng bór* expression, is the crux in the interpretation, and the meaning was obscure to Tsering and later also to Tamsang. As an approximate translation was suggested: “obstacle”, “hindrance”, i. e. something preventing admission to the house. In this connect-

ion it may be mentioned that Dict. 417a has *sur* 2. s. a check and *sur nũk* a sort of *pól sũng*, *sur vung* s. a sign set up to show that the owner of the house does not wish to receive visits; and Dict. 180b has *dong* 3. s. 1. a cotton stem; *lãm* may be the same as *lóm*, road, way, and path or track, cf. Dict. 361b fl., and comp. the pronunciation Text No. 18,72 f. In this case *lãm sũr lãm dong* may indicate a hindrance or obstacle i. e. a kind of thread-cross put up to block admission to the house, comp. Nebesky-Wojkowitz EA, vol. IV, No. 2, p. 65, describing the Lepcha use of thread-crosses as contraptions for catching demons, and p. 69 the Mongolian term *torgaguli* “obstacle”, referring to the ritual purpose of a thread-cross. For the remaining part of the line, see line 2.

**Trsl.:** has come and is (now) sitting on the “obstacle” . . .

7. – *ã lang°* now, emphasises the cultic, ceremonial situation: at this very moment. – *ã zĩm°* present, explained by lines 8 and 9: the gifts of the sacrificial animal consisting in the red blood and the red meat. – *a re°* this, refers to lines 8 and 9. – *bo° mo°* given have.

**Trsl.:** (I) have now given this present (to you), i. e. to *a ról a fũng mung*.

**Expl.:** The context seems to imply that the donation of the cultic, ceremonial present has taken place before the recitation of line 7; in this case the ritual is divided into two main parts, lines 1–6 recited before the giving of the present to the *mung*, and lines 7–12 after.

8. – *vi°* blood, i. e. the blood of the animal sacrificed; – *a hyũr°* red; red blood, i. e. blood of an animal which has just been killed and therefore still contains the life of the animal sacrificed; it is not old, coagulated and dried blood. *thong°* vb. to drink, cf. *thãng* Dict. 147b and *thong*, to drink, to drink out, to swallow as liquid. It is hoped that the *mung* will eagerly consume the blood and enjoy it. After *thong* is implied the *na* from line 9, i. e.: after having drunk . . .

**Trsl.:** After having drunk the red blood . . .

9. – *mãn°* meat, i. e. the meat of the sacrificial animal. – *a hyũr°* red, see line 8; meat still containing the red and living blood. – *tha°* to eat – *na* particle indicating after (having) cf. Tib. Jäs. 299a *na* c. and 304b *nas* after, since, added

to verbs. Dict. 198a *-ne*, cf. Gram. p. 52, has *-ne* as a sign of pluperfect, affixed to *nón*. – *lot*<sup>o</sup> to return, here imp. Implied is: to your own abode.

**Trsl.:** after having eaten red meat, return (to your own abode)!

10. – *sā rong*<sup>o</sup> today – *ren*<sup>o</sup> from i. e. from today – *lām sūr lām dong*, see line 6, “obstacle” – *tho*<sup>o</sup> to place, to put – *mā bo n*<sup>o</sup> negation, do not give, do not cause.

**Trsl.:** From today, do not cause me any “obstacle” (difficulty).

**Expl.:** The translation is not certain.

11. – *sā rong ryen*: from today, see line 10. – *kā sūm*<sup>o</sup> me. This word introduces the person concerned in the ritual. Unfortunately I have no further information about this ritual beyond it being a supplication taken from a ceremony conducted by a *bong thing*. The “me” may therefore refer either to the *bong thing* himself or, perhaps better, to the person on whose behalf the *bong thing* performs the ceremony. – *mā*<sup>o</sup> negation – *not*<sup>o</sup> to trouble, here imp. – *o*<sup>o</sup> precatative or polite indication.

**Trsl.:** From today do not trouble me!

12. – *sā rong ryen*, from today, see line 10. – *lā do*<sup>o</sup> your own – *bam*<sup>o</sup> *lyang*<sup>o</sup>, dwellingplace, abode – *ka*<sup>o</sup> to – *nū*<sup>o</sup> go! imp. to *nóng* to go.

**Trsl.:** From today go to your own abode!

NB. The translations of *lām sūr lām dong* in line 6 and line 10 do not agree, and the explanation of this term remains a crux.

### Paraphrase:

- I. Address to and entreaty of a *ról a fūng mung* (1)
- II. The *mung* has come (2–6):
  - a. silently and secretly (to the house) (2)
  - b. sitting on the threshold (3)
  - c. sitting on the ridge of the roof (4)
  - d. sitting in the space under the eaves (5)
  - e. sitting on the “obstacle” (6)
- III. The *mung* is now presented with (7–9):
  - a. living blood (7)
  - b. living meat (8)
 and requested to consume it and to return to his abode (7–9)
- IV. Final requests to the *mung* (10–12):
  - a. not to cause him “obstacle” (difficulty) (10)
  - b. not to trouble him (11)
  - c. and to return to his own abode (12)

## Text No. 5. Incantation of a *mung* before Cultivation.

From Tingbung

Informant: Rapgyor  
Interpreter: Tsering

1. <i>a do</i>	<i>sā</i>	<i>a jet</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>kā yu</i>	<i>bam</i>	<i>mo</i>
you	of	near	to	we	sat	have
2. <i>kā yum</i>	<i>mā</i>	<i>nót</i>	<i>mā</i>	<i>gán</i>		
us	not	pain	not	trouble		
3. <i>a zím</i>	<i>a re</i>	<i>bo</i>	<i>mo</i>			
present	this	given	have			

1. – *a do*<sup>o</sup> + *sā* personal pronoun 2. pers. sing. with ending *sā*, of you, you. – *a jet* close, near, cf. Gram. p. 83 *a-zūt* adv., adj., or postposition meaning literally close, near to cf. Dict. 316b *zūt* 1. close, *a-zūt* adv. near, by the side of, incorrect also *zát*. – *bam*<sup>o</sup> to sit – *mo*<sup>o</sup> verbal par-

ticle, according to the interpreter here indicating the past tense.

**Trsl.:** We have been sitting close to you.

**Expl.:** The meaning of this line is not quite clear because the Lepchas always want to keep away

from the *mung*. It refers probably to the cultic performance; they have addressed and entreated the *mung* (whose name was not mentioned), and therefore they have been close to it. The use of the word "sat, sitting" may indicate that the ceremony has been performed in a sitting position, cf. the position of the sitting *mün* in her performance Part I, *a nan mün*.

2. – *kā yum*<sup>o</sup> us – *mā*<sup>o</sup> negation – *nót* to inflict pain – *gán* to trouble, cf. Dict. 51 a *gán*, caus. *gyán* to be troublesome, and 52b *gan* s. a burden.

**Trsl.:** Us not inflict pain, not trouble! i. e.: Do not cause us pain and trouble.

3. – *a zlm*<sup>o</sup> a cultic present, here: creature, i. e. sacrificial animal. Any kind of presents, domestic animals, crops, flowers etc., presented to a god or a *mung* in a cultic performance may be called a *zlm*, cf. Texts Nos. 4,7 and 21,2. – *a re*<sup>o</sup> this – *bo*<sup>o</sup> given – *mo*<sup>o</sup> preterite.

**Trsl.:** (We) have given this present (creature)!

### Text No. 6. Rice and Millet Sowing Song.

From Tingbung

Informant: *rǔng jí*  
Interpreter: Tsering

- |     |                                    |                          |                                   |                            |                    |
|-----|------------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------|
| 1.  | <i>sǎ kyǔ</i><br><i>sǎ kyǔ</i>     | <i>rǔm</i><br><i>rǔm</i> | <i>cong (tsong)</i><br>honourable |                            |                    |
| 2.  | <i>sǎ vi</i><br><i>sǎ vi</i>       | <i>rǔm</i><br><i>rǔm</i> | <i>cong (tsong)</i><br>honourable |                            |                    |
| 3.  | <i>shǎ rǔng</i><br><i>shǎ rǔng</i> | <i>rǔm</i><br><i>rǔm</i> | <i>cong (tsong)</i><br>honourable |                            |                    |
| 4.  | <i>ǎ lang</i><br>now               | <i>fat</i><br>soil       | <i>nyer cya</i><br>wet field      | <i>lat</i><br>become (has) |                    |
| 5.  | <i>ǎ lang</i><br>now               | <i>la vo</i><br>moon     | <i>cya</i><br>already             | <i>nóng</i><br>disappeared |                    |
| 6.  | <i>tang vi</i><br>new moon         | <i>nóng</i><br>disappear | <i>sho</i><br>will                |                            |                    |
| 7.  | <i>ǎ lang</i><br>now               | <i>kǎ yu</i><br>we       | <i>nyóm</i><br>daughter-in-law    | <i>klóng</i><br>send       | <i>sho</i><br>will |
| 8.  | <i>myók</i><br>son-in-law          | <i>klóng</i><br>send     | <i>sho</i><br>will                |                            |                    |
| 9.  | <i>ma lóng</i><br><i>mǎ lóng</i>   | <i>fat</i><br>soil       | <i>ka</i><br>in                   |                            |                    |
| 10. | <i>ma kyám</i><br><i>ma kyám</i>   | <i>fat</i><br>soil       | <i>ka</i><br>in                   |                            |                    |
| 11. | <i>to cót (tsót)</i><br>time       | <i>nóng</i><br>pass      | <i>sho</i><br>will                |                            |                    |
| 12. | <i>lo der</i><br>time (for sowing) | <i>nóng</i><br>pass      | <i>sho</i><br>will                |                            |                    |

13.	<i>kā yu</i> we	<i>ā lang</i> now	<i>cyóm</i> <i>cyóm</i>	<i>pā mar</i> <i>pā mar</i>	<i>zo</i> rice	<i>klóng</i> send	<i>shet</i> (will)	<i>gūm</i> are (fit for)
14.	<i>ta lyū</i> underground	<i>mū mū</i>	<i>ka</i> in	<i>tā ko</i> <i>tā ko</i>	<i>na lí</i> <i>na lí</i> (seeds)	<i>so</i> (back again)	<i>tho</i> put	<i>mo</i> have
15.	<i>sím bet</i> next year	<i>ā kup</i> child	<i>a mū</i> mother	<i>la</i> (acc.)	<i>le</i> take	<i>sho</i> will		

Ceremonious address to the gods. *cong* (*tsong*), honourable, cf. Dict. 84b: *cong, cong, cong*, expressions of salutations, or Dict. 307a *tsūn* 5. adj. honourable, reverend, cf. Tib. Jäs. 435a *btsūn-pa* 1. respectable, noble . . . 3. creditable, honourable. Comp. also Tib. Jäs. 456b *mtshun* . . . 2. tutelary deities, household gods or rather the souls of ancestors. Might be translated: O, you honourable . . . Cf. Text No. 18,41.

1. – *sā kyū rūm*, one of the *mā yel* gods. The interpreter said that *sā kyū rūm* was the god of paddy rice.

**Trsl.:** O, you honourable *sa kyū rūm!*

2. – *sā vi rūm*, one of the *mā yel* gods. The interpreter said that *sā vi rūm* was the god of millet.

**Trsl.:** O, you honourable *sā vi rūm!*

3. – *shā rūng rūm*, one of the *mā yel* gods. The interpreter said that *shā rūng rūm* was the god of maize.

**Trsl.:** Oh, you honourable *shā rūng rūm!*

4. – *ā lang°* now, the proper time, explained by the following words. – *fat* s. soil, cf. Dict. 237b *fāt* also *fat*, earth, soil etc. – *nyer cya* was explained as wet field; the root to *nyer* may be found in Dict. 104b *nyār* vb. to settle or allow to settle as sediment in water, cf. also Tib. Jäs. 190b *nyer-zhe* dregs, sediment and Jäs. 566a *gsher(-ba)* wet, wetness; Dict. 425a has *shāl, shel* Tib. *gsher* (wet, moisture) vb. to be wet, cf. also Waddell 1892, p. 64, *shel* to be wet or dank. – *lat°*, vb. 1. to come, 2. to become, cf. Dict. 347a where, however, the second meaning does not occur. In this place *lat* was translated as past tense: has become.

**Trsl.:** (Just) now the soil has become a wet field.

6 The Lepchas.

5. – *ā lang°* now, cf. line 4; here introducing the second sign for the proper moment: between the last phase of the old moon and the first phase of the new moon. – *la vo°* moon, here referring to the waning moon. – *cya nóng* was translated: has already disappeared. It is a free translation, and I have no explanation of the individual words; *cya* may possibly be the same as Dict. 82b *ce*, an emphatic article; the entire structure does not, however, quite agree with the construction of *nóng*, cf. Dict. 200a.

**Trsl.:** (Just) now the (waning) moon has already disappeared . . .

6. – *tang vi* the new moon – *nóng sho* will disappear, cf. *nong°* to go, to pass away and *sho°* future.

**Trsl.:** the new moon will disappear.

**Expl.:** It is just now the right season i. e. the days of the crescent moon.

7. – *ā lang°* now, the right moment for beginning the work – *kā yu°* we – *nyóm* lit. bride, also daughter-in-law (here), cf. Dict. 114a and Stocks pp. 471 ff., Part I, Wedding; here figuratively seeds of millet. – *klóng°* vb. to send, cf. Dict. 42b. – *sho°* future.

**Trsl.:** Now we will send the daughter-in-law.

**Expl.:** We will sow the seeds of millet.

8. – *myók*, lit. bridegroom, also son-in-law (here), cf. Gorer, p. 465; figuratively here: the seeds of rice. For the remaining words, see line 7.

**Trsl.:** We will send the son-in-law.

**Expl.:** We will sow the seeds of rice.

**Expl. to lines 7 and 8:** The informant stated that *nyóm* is supposed to be the daughter-in-law of *shā rung* and *myók* the son-in-law of *sā kyū*. There seems to be some mythico-botanical family

aspects behind these expressions which, unfortunately, could not be explained further, cf. also Dict. 301a *myók-ka klóng* vb. to marry son or send him to marry.

9. – *ma lóng* name of a particular kind of soil or ground used for tillage. – *fat* soil, cf. Dict. 237b *fāt* or *fat*, earth, soil, ground – *ka°* in.

**Trsl.:** In the *ma lóng* soil . . .

**Expl.:** Implied is: for sowing seeds, i. e. for sowing seeds in the *ma lóng* soil . . .

10. – *ma kyám* name of a particular kind of soil or ground with stones, comp. possibly Dict. 61b *gyam nók* s. a small field for sowing small grain. – For the remaining words see line 9.

**Trsl.:** In the *ma kyám* soil.

**Expl.:** Implied is: for sowing seeds i. e. For sowing seeds in the *ma kyám* soil . . .

11. – *to cót* (*tsót*) time, cf. Dict. 135b *tu- 5. tu-tsát* or frequently *to-tshát* period of time, season, time cf. Tib. Jäs. 254a *dus* time and 255a *dus-tsód* 1. space or measure of time, 2. often for *dus*; here: the proper time, the proper season, comp. also Dict. 284a the expression *a-mal tu-tshát* s. seed-time. *nong°* pass, pass away – *sho°* will, future.

**Trsl.:** The (proper) time will pass.

12. – *lo der* time for sowing seeds, cf. Dict. 357b *lo 4* vb. to lay out or spread out as corn, cf. also Dict. 179b *der*, *a-der* adj. s. common (as field), land belonging to many. – For the remaining words, see line 11.

**Trsl.:** The time (for sowing seeds) will pass.

13. – *kā yu°* we, the assembled people, cf. line 7. – *ā lang°* now, the time for sowing, cf. line 12. – *cyóm pǎ mar* according to the interpreter a name of paddy rice, cf. Dict. 206b *pǎ-mǎr* s. a species of *cum pǎ-mǎr* comp. Dict. 82a *cum* perhaps only expletive as in the following *cum pǎ-mǎr*; Gaz. p. 74 (White) has: Rice, chum, unhusked rice, rad; comp. also Text No. 9,5: *cum*. For cultivation of rice cf. Part I, Agriculture. *zo°* rice – *klóng* vb. to send, cf. lines 7 and 8. – *shet gǔm* the interpreter gave only a rather free translation of the construction *klóng shet*

*gǔm*: will be sent, or better: is going to be sent, i. e. we will sow seeds of paddy rice. However, to *shet°* cf. perhaps Dict. 433a *shet* 2. strength, power, force (see also *chet* II, Dict. 89b *chet-nyi* vb. to be strong) postpositive in sense of “deserving, fit for”, cf. Gram p. 97 and Text No. 18,75. The whole construction might therefore be translated: We/now *cyóm pǎ mǎr* rice to send fit for / are, i. e. We are now fit for sending *cyóm pǎ mǎr* rice, i. e. we are now ready to sow seeds of *cyóm pǎ mǎr* rice. – *gǔm°* vb. are.

**Trsl.:** We are now ready to send *cyóm pǎ mǎr* rice, i. e. We are now ready (going to) sow seeds of *cyóm pǎ mǎr* rice.

14. – *ta lyǔ mǔ mǔ*, underground (underworld), presumably a mythical term. – *ka°* in – *tǎ ko na lí* was translated as the seeds sown in the field (Has it any connection with Dict. 116a *tǎ-ku* s. the rice that remains in the mortar and Dict. 349a *lí, á-lí* s. seed?) – *so* vb. according to the interpreter approx.: to take something from a place and to put it back again; cf. Dict. 419a *so* 5. vb. 2. to convey. – *tho°* vb. to put, to place, to lay – *mo°* preterite indication. (See Addenda).

**Trsl.:** In *tǎ lyǔ mǔ mǔ* (i. e. the underground) we have put back *tǎ ko na lí* (i. e. the seeds).

15. – *slm bet* next year, cf. Dict. 415a *sǔm-byāt* adv. next year and Gram p. 71 – *ā kup°* ordinary form *a kǔp*, child, offspring – *a mǔ* mother, ordinary form *a mo* cf. Dict. 295b – *la* according to the interpreter acc. particle for object, especially used in family expressions, cf. perhaps Tib. Jäs. 539a ff. *la – le* vb. to take, cf. Dict. 356a *le 2* for *lya, lyo*, cf. Dict. 366b *lyo* vb. to take, to receive, to obtain. – *sho°* future.

**Trsl.:** Next year we shall take child and mother.

**Expl.:** The meaning: Next year we shall get mother and child, i. e. more crops, good harvest; Tamsang stated that it is just like capital + interest. To this latter explanation cf. Dict. 296a *mo, a-mo* 2. the principal of money, capital, (opposite to *a-kǔp* interest) and *a-mo a-kǔp* the usual crop. (See Addenda).

#### Paraphrase:

- I. Invocation of three *mǎ yel* gods: *sǎ kyǔ* (rice), *sǎ vi* (millet) and *shǎ rǔng* (maize) (1–3)

- II. The condition of the fields and the phases of the moon indicate that it is the right sowing season (4–6).  
 III. They will therefore now sow millet and rice (7–8)
- IV. Affirmation that they must use the right time for sowing seeds in the proper fields (9–13)  
 V. Because they have given back the seeds to the underground, they will obtain a rich harvest next year (14–15).

### Text No. 7. Song of the Sowing Season.

From Tingbung

Informant: *rŭng jĭ*  
 Interpreter: Tsering

- |    |                                       |                                  |                             |                   |
|----|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. | <i>kǎ yu</i><br>we (our)              | <i>mǎ yel</i><br><i>mǎ yel</i>   | <i>lyang</i><br>place       | <i>re</i><br>this |
| 2. | <i>a do</i><br>you (your)             | <i>a lo</i><br>work              | <i>gŭm</i><br>is            |                   |
| 3. | <i>kǎ shyar</i><br>(seeds of rice)    | <i>nang gyóng</i>                | <i>yuk</i><br>man (creator) | <i>gŭm</i><br>are |
| 4. | <i>tǎ rol</i><br>(seeds of maize)     | <i>tǎ rol bū</i>                 | <i>yuk</i><br>man (creator) | <i>gŭm</i><br>are |
| 5. | <i>mǎng jĭng</i><br>(seeds of millet) | <i>mǎng pap</i>                  | <i>yuk</i><br>man (creator) | <i>gŭm</i><br>are |
| 6. | <i>ka cyŭng</i><br>(seeds of wheat)   | <i>ka thar</i>                   | <i>yuk</i><br>man (creator) | <i>gŭm</i><br>are |
| 7. | <i>sák póm</i><br>yam                 | <i>sák lan</i>                   | <i>yuk</i><br>man (creator) | <i>gŭm</i><br>are |
| 8. | <i>a nyít</i><br><i>a nyít</i>        | <i>a jom</i><br><i>a jom</i>     | <i>yuk mi</i><br>creatress  | <i>gŭm</i><br>is  |
| 9. | <i>shǎ só</i><br><i>shǎ só</i>        | <i>rǎk rok</i><br><i>rǎk rok</i> | <i>yuk</i><br>man (creator) | <i>gŭm</i><br>is  |

1. – *kǎ yu*<sup>o</sup> we – *mǎ yel* the mythical beings residing at Kanchenjunga and bestowing agricultural fertility on the people. *lyang*<sup>o</sup> here: place – *re*<sup>o</sup> this cf. Gram. p. 23 postpositive definite article.

Trsl.: We this *mǎ yel* place i. e. This is our *mǎ yel* place.

Expl.: According to the interpreter the meaning is: This is our *mǎ yel* place. Just as the *mǎ yel* beings have their place at *kong chen*, so the people have their *mǎ yel* place in the village.

2. – *a do*<sup>o</sup> you, yourself – *a lo* work, unusual word, cf. perhaps Tib. Jäs. 545a *las* action, act, deed, work – *gŭm*<sup>o</sup> is.

6\*

Trsl.: You work is, i. e. it is your work.

Expl.: The work referred to is the creative acts mentioned in the following lines.

Expl. to lines 1–2: The *mǎ yel* beings are requested to come to the fields (the people's *mǎ yel* place) in order to give them fertility (their work).

3. – *kǎ shyar nang gyóng* seeds of rice, ceremonial word applied particularly to that part of the rice plant which contains the seeds. – *yuk*<sup>o</sup> man said to be used particularly of male gods, cf. Dict. 325a *yuk* vb. to be high in grade or birth, to be noble, s. a noble, a noble man.

**Trsl.:** (you) are the man for *ká shyar nang gyóng*  
i. e. (you) are the creator of the seeds of rice.

4. – *tǎ rol tǎ rol bǎ* maize, ceremonial word, ordinary word: *kǎn tsong*, cf. Dict. 19a where many names are given for the head of the maize according to its growth. It was said to be used particularly of big seeds of maize. – For the remaining words see line 3. (See Addenda).

**Trsl.:** (You) are the creator of (the seeds of) maize.

5. – *mǎng jǐng mǎng pap* millet, ceremonial word, the ordinary word for millet is *móng* cf. Dict. 296b 1. millet, which mentions *móng pap* among various names of species of millet. – For the remaining words see line 3.

**Trsl.:** (You) are the creator of millet.

6. – *ka cyǔng ka thar*, not quite clear, but presumably wheat, ceremonial word. – For the remaining words see line 3.

**Trsl.:** (You) are the creator of wheat.

7. – *sák póm sák lan* yam, ceremonial term, cf. Dict. 410a *sǎk-pǔm* s. a description of yam; ordinary word for yam is *buk* cf. Dict. 259a. – For the remaining words see line 3.

**Trsl.:** (You) are the creator of yam.

8. – *a nyít a jom* name of a female *mǎ yel* being, said to be the wife of *mǎ yel* (this explanation is not quite clear because there are several pairs of *mǎ yel* beings). She assists in creating the above mentioned various sorts of seeds. *yuk mi* girl,

woman, ceremonial word, used only of female gods, here: creator-goddess or creatress; to *yuk* cf. line 3; to *mi* cf. Dict. 289b *ml. a-mít* s. a female, a woman of superior beings.

**Trsl.:** *a nyít a jom* is creatress.

9. – *shǎ só rǎk rok* name of the creator and protector of minor domestic animals and fowls such as goats, pigs, and hens; when there is sickness among these animals and fowls a ceremony is performed to *shǎ só rǎk rok*. On this occasion they use a prayer similar to that addressed to *Zamola rǔm* (Text No. 10), the *rǔm* for bigger domestic animals such as bulls and cows. – For the remaining words see line 3.

**Trsl.:** *sha só rak rok* is creator (i. e. of minor domestic animals).

#### Paraphrase:

- I. Request to the *mǎ yel* beings to come and give fertility to the fields (1–2)
- II. Praise of the *mǎ yel* beings as creators of
  - a. seeds of rice (3)
  - b. – - maize (4)
  - c. – - millet (5)
  - d. – - wheat (6)
  - e. – - yam (7)
- III. *a nyít a jom* is praised as the creator-goddess (8)
- IV. *shǎ só rǎk rok* is praised as the creator (of minor domestic animals) (9).

### Text No. 8. The Old People's Prayer at the Dry Rice Cultivation Ceremony.

(Obsolete)

From Kalimpong

Informant: *ta la bo*  
Interpreter: Tamsang

- |    |                       |                    |               |            |          |
|----|-----------------------|--------------------|---------------|------------|----------|
| 1. | <i>sǎ kyǔ</i>         | <i>sǎ nóm</i>      | <i>kák</i>    | <i>ka</i>  | <i>o</i> |
|    | <i>sǎ kyǔ</i> (and)   | <i>sǎ nóm</i>      | call          | let        | us       |
| 2. | <i>a gek</i>          | <i>a lat</i>       | <i>rǔm</i>    |            |          |
|    | birth                 | life (newcomer)    | <i>rǔm</i>    |            |          |
| 3. | <i>nǔng len</i>       | <i>ka thóng fi</i> |               |            |          |
|    | <i>nung len</i> (and) | <i>ka thóng fi</i> |               |            |          |
| 4. | <i>rǔm</i>            | <i>a zum</i>       | <i>a grap</i> | <i>rǔm</i> |          |
|    | <i>rǔm</i>            | life               | fulfiller     | <i>rǔm</i> |          |



5. *na zóng nyu*                    *fo gróng thǎng*  
*na zóng nyu* (and) *fo gróng thǎng*
6. *a gek*                    *a lat*                    *rǔm*  
 birth                    life (newcomer) *rǔm*
7. *ka yu*                    *kǔk*                    *out*                    *ka*                    *o*  
 we                    invoke                    in advance                    let us
8. *kǔk*                    *out*                    *ka*                    *o*                    *mǔn lóm*                    *a gyap*  
 invoke                    in advance                    let us                    blessings                    many
9. *mǔn lóm*                    *a gyap*                    *thóp pǎng*                    *sa*                    *kǔk*                    *ka*                    *o*  
 blessings                    many                    to get                    invoke                    let us
10. *ryu la*                    *zum lóng*                    *mǔn lóm*                    *thóp*                    *la*                    *tsín lóp*  
 well (good manner)                    assembling                    prayer                    (making)                    blessing
- thóp pǎng*                    *sa*                    *zuk*                    *ka*                    *o*  
 to get                    do                    let us
11. *tshu*                    *mǔ rǔm*                    *a hren*                    *thóp pǎng*                    *sa*  
 life (life-power)                    life                    long                    to get
- shóng pu* (*shók pu*)                    *fyók tsa*                    *ngan*                    *mǎ*                    *o*  
 saluting                    bowing down                    sitting                    are (we)

1. – *sǎ kyǔ* and *sá nóm* are names of two *ma yel rǔm*, cf. Text No. 6,1. – *kák* to call, the interpreter stated that *lik* was the ordinary word, cf. Dict. 349a *lik* vb. 1. to call, 2. to invite, to summon and Dict. 537b which has for summon both *kǔk* and *lik*; I therefore suggest that *kák* is identical with *kǔk* Dict. 17b vb. to call out, to invoke; to summon, to assemble, to invite etc.; comp. *kǔk*, lines 7, 8 and 9. Cf. also Tib. Jäs. 14a *bkuq*, *bkúq-pa*, see Jäs. 93b *'gúqs-pa* . . . 2. to gather, to call, to summon. – *ka o* let us, cf. Dict. 2a *ka*, 1st pers. plur. we, abb. from *ka-yu*, cf. Gram. p. 40: *ka-yu* which becomes converted by apocope to *ka* . . . *ka* is more definite (than *ka-yu*) and usually denotes the number to be limited or special; *o*° indicates an urgent request; let us, i. e. we who are assembled here for this particular purpose etc.

**Trsl.:** Let us invoke *sǎ kyǔ* and *sá nóm*!

2. – *a gek*° birth, Text No. 18,1 has the longer form *a gyek* – *a lat* was here translated as life, but Text No. 18,2 has it as newcomer from *lat* to come; the present translation is presumably a free translation or a paraphrase. – *rǔm*° god or deity. – This line is probably an apposition to the names of the *rǔm* mentioned in line 1, and *a gek* refers

presumably to *sǎ kyǔ* and *a lat* to *sá nóm*. Line 2 in its entirety refers probably to the fertility of the fields, the “newcomer” being the fresh sprouts, the fertility of the fields. – The interpreter was inclined to translate *rǔm* as plur. although it was not indicated, but the context favours this translation.

**Trsl.:** *rǔm* (i. e. gods) of birth and life (newcomer).

3. – *nǔng len* and *ka thóng fi*, according to Tamsang the gods of the Tree of Life; when anybody feels sick they call in the *mǔn* or the *bong thǎng* who investigates whether the gods connected with the Tree of Life are offended.

4. – *a zum* life, cf. Dict. 317a *zu 3* . . . *a-zum* s. life, natural state. – *a grap rǔm* the god who fulfils, satisfies men’s wishes; the root of *a grap* is uncertain, but it may be connected with Tib. Jäs. 121a *sgrúb-pa* 1. to complete . . . a wish. *rǔm*° – Tamsang said that *a zum* referred to *nǔng len* and *a grap* to *ka thóng fi*.

**Trsl.:** *rǔm* of life, fulfiller *rǔm* (i. e. who fulfils).

5. – *na zóng nyu* was, in the commentary to this text, explained as the wife of *fo gróng thǎng*, the creator of the world.

6. – The words are identical with line 2.

7. – *ka yu°* we, the assembled people – *kük* see line 1 – *vut* indicates that something is done before another thing happens, and consequently it may also be used in the meaning: before, in advance; cf. Dict. 388a *vut* vb. to anticipate – *ka o*, see line 1.

**Trsl.:** Let us invoke (implied: them, i. e. the above mentioned *rüm*) in advance!

8. – Comp. line 7; – *mün lóm°* blessing, cf. Dict. 293b *mün-lóm* s. a prayer, a supplication, intercession; blessing, cf. Tib. Jäs. 428a *smón-lam* prayer . . . wishing-prayer. – *a gyap* many, cf. Dict. 61b *a-gyap* adj. numerous, much, many.

**Trsl.:** Let us invoke (them) beforehand (to get) many blessings.

NB. Line 8 is not in accordance with the general word-order in which the object in the predicate clause precedes the verb, cf. Gram. p. 119.

9. – *mün lóm a gyap*, see line 8. – *thóp°* vb. to get, cf. Dict. 158a *thop* vb. to find, to get, to obtain, etc. . . . and *thop püng* used in the sense of one's right, (to get) right, claim etc. – *päng* is not quite clear, but it may be a variant or a misspelling of *püng*, i. e. *p-üng*, the indication of the present participle *üng* + the preceding *p*, a reduplication of the last consonant of *thop*, cf. Dict. 216a and 442b, and Gram, p. 48, see also examples Dict. 158a *thop*: “*thop-püng-să . . .*” – *sa°* postpositive particle, cf. Dict. 393a –*să . . .* 9. genet. absol. . . . regarding, respecting, with regard to, and Gram. p. 79. – The meaning of *thop püng sa* would then be: in getting, i. e. in order to get. – *kük ka o*, see lines 1, 7, and 8.

**Trsl.:** Let us invoke (them) to get (i. e. in order to get) many blessings.

10. – The construction is difficult and the explanation uncertain.

*ryu la°* well, in a good manner – *zum lóng* from *zum* Dict. 317b vb. to meet together, to assemble, to come together + *lóng*, probably a variant of Dict. 351b –*lüng*, postpositive particle which forms the conjunctive particle, cf. Gram. p. 49, example: *lik lüng*, calling, here: assembling. – *mün lóm*, according to Tamsang two meanings: 1. blessing, just as *tsín lóp*, but also 2. prayer which as its result may have *tsín lóp* blessing;

Tamsang preferred the latter meaning in this context. – To *tsín lóp* cf. Tib. Jäs. 376b *byin* 2. etc. blessing, to bless. – *thóp la* is a difficult construction; it was translated: by making prayer, by praying, and it therefore seems to be a kind of absolute construction, see for comparison Dict. 343a –*lă* 5. and 433a –*shen* – *thop päng sa* (probably: *thop p-ung să*, see line 9) *zuk*: to obtain, procure, comp. the construction in line 9. –

**Trsl.:** By assembling in a good manner (and) by making prayer, let us obtain blessing.  
Tamsang's free translation: In order to get blessing, let us make good assembly by praying.

11. – *tshu* life as it is given to human beings, something like the “life-power” in every human being; cf. Dict. 311b *tshü* s. life, lifetime, comp. Tib. Jäs. 450a *tshé* II, 1. time . . . 2. time of life, life. – *mü rüm* (see *mă rüm°*) life, (viewed as all the years a human being will live), life-time. – *a hren* long, extent, cf. Dict. 378b *hyrán* s. length . . . *a-hryän* adj. tall, long. – *thóp päng sa*, see line 9. – *shóng pu* religious salutation, folding the hands before praying; however, it was pronounced almost like *shokpu*, which may refer to *shók pu*, see Dict. 435a *shók* 1 . . . 2. to confess, to confess to priest . . . *shók-pu mat* vb. to make confession and to receive remission of sin, comp. Tib. Jäs. 566a-b *bshóg-pa* . . . 2. to confess. The context presumably refers to the manner in which the person holds his hands during the prayer, cf. to this explanation Dict. 434a *shok* vb. to join ends together, – *fyók tsa* to bow the head in salutation, cf. Dict. 235b *phyok* s. hon. the hand . . . *phyok tsa* vb. to make a very low reverence, comp. Tib. Jäs. 347b *phyag tshál-ba* to make a very low reverence, the head almost touching the ground. – *ngan°* to sit, here: sitting – *mă o°* is, are.

**Trsl.:** In order to get life (life-power) and long life we are sitting saluting and bowing down. (Tamsang).

#### Contents:

I. The old people's appeal to obtain many blessings by invoking *să kyü* and *să nóm*, *näng len* and *ka thóng fi*, *na zóng nyu* and *fo gróng thing*. (1–8).

II. They state that they assemble, pray, salute, and bow down in order to get blessings, life-power, and long life. (9–11).

**Text No. 9. A Song at the Sowing of Rice.**

(Obsolete)

From Kalimpong

Informant: *la la bo*  
Interpreter: Tamsang

- |     |   |                          |                             |  |  |                             |                             |                       |
|-----|---|--------------------------|-----------------------------|--|--|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1.  | <i>cók (tsók)</i><br><i>cók (tsók)</i>  | <i>dun</i><br><i>dun</i> | <i>dun</i><br><i>dun</i>    | <i>cók (tsók)</i><br><i>tūk bo</i><br>(cuckoo) | <i>dun</i><br><i>fo</i><br>bird                        | <i>dun</i>                  |                             |                       |
| 2.  | <i>tūk bo</i><br>(cuckoo)               | <i>fo</i><br>bird        | <i>tūk bo</i><br>(cuckoo)   | <i>fo</i><br>bird                              | <i>tūk bo</i><br>(cuckoo)                              | <i>fo</i><br>bird           | <i>tūk fyel</i><br>(cuckoo) | <i>fo</i><br>bird     |
| 3.  | <i>tūk fyel</i><br>(cuckoo)             | <i>fo</i><br>bird        | <i>tūk fyel</i><br>(cuckoo) | <i>fo</i><br>bird                              | <i>tūk fyel</i><br>(cuckoo)                            | <i>fo</i><br>bird           | <i>nam</i><br>year          |                       |
|     | <i>du tsát</i><br>season                |                          |                             |  |  |                             |                             |                       |
| 4.  | <i>nam</i><br>year                      | <i>du tsát</i><br>season | <i>lat</i><br>come          | <i>nón</i><br>has                              | <i>de</i> (This line is repeated twice)<br>(certainly) |                             |                             |                       |
| 5.  | <i>cum po mar</i><br>(name of the rice) | <i>cum po mar</i>        | <i>cum po mar</i>           |  |  |                             |                             |                       |
|     | <i>mal</i><br>sow                       | <i>tũ tsát</i><br>season | <i>lat</i><br>come          | <i>nón</i><br>(has)                            | <i>de</i> (Line 5b. is repeated twice)<br>(certainly)  |                             |                             |                       |
| 6.  | <i>jíng</i><br><i>jíng</i>              | <i>la bo</i><br>month    | <i>mal</i><br>sow           | <i>tũ tsát</i><br>season                       | <i>mal</i><br>sow                                      | <i>ka</i><br>let us         | <i>o</i>                    |                       |
| 7.  | <i>nũm nũ</i><br>relations              | <i>zóng</i>              | <i>tyól nóng</i><br>friends | <i>zóng</i>                                    | <i>ka</i><br>we  | <i>zum nóng</i><br>assemble | <i>nóng</i><br>go           |                       |
|     | <i>ka</i><br>let us                     | <i>o</i>                 |                             |  |  |                             |                             |                       |
| 8.  | <i>'ayuk</i><br>work                    | <i>ka</i><br>to          | <i>nóng</i><br>go(ne)       | <i>lóng</i><br>having                          | <i>zum nũng</i><br>assemble                            | <i>zuk</i><br>do            | <i>ka</i><br>let us         | <i>o</i>              |
| 9.  | <i>'ayuk</i><br>work                    | <i>a re</i><br>this      | <i>tyól lũng</i><br>joining | <i>'ayuk</i><br>work                           | <i>a re</i><br>this                                    | <i>ka yu</i><br>we          |                             |                       |
|     | <i>tyól lũng</i><br>joining             | <i>zuk</i><br>do         | <i>ka</i><br>let us         | <i>o</i>                                       |  |                             |                             |                       |
| 10. | <i>zum</i><br>assembled                 | <i>lǎng</i><br>having    | <i>zuk</i><br>worked        | <i>nũng</i><br>having                          | <i>lel</i><br>finish<br>complete                       | <i>khũt la</i><br>able      | <i>mat</i><br>do            | <i>ka o</i><br>let us |
| 11. | <i>'ayuk</i><br>work                    | <i>a re</i><br>this      | <i>sa</i><br>(of)           | <i>a myu</i><br>?                              | <i>pan</i><br>finish<br>complete                       | <i>khũt la</i><br>able (to) | <i>mat</i><br>do            | <i>ka o</i><br>let us |
| 12. | <i>'ayuk</i><br>work                    | <i>a re</i><br>this      | <i>lel</i><br>finish        | <i>khũt</i><br>able                            | <i>gǎng</i><br>if                                      | <i>ryu</i><br>good          | <i>ma</i><br>is             | <i>o</i>              |

I obtained only a word-for-word translation of this text; the present translation is therefore only a tentative suggestion.

1-3. *cók (tsók) dun* name of the cuckoo, cf. Dict. 127b *tik dun-fo* or *tsäk dun-fo*, according to Jerdon, The Birds of India I-III, Calcutta 1862-69: *tok-dun*, the Himalayan cuckoo, *Cuculus himalayensis*. The ordinary name of the cuckoo was said to be *tük bo fo* (see line 2), cf. Dict. 130b *tük-po fo* s. the Indian cuckoo, *Cuculus microp-terus*, see Jerdon p. 326 and Gaz. p. 207, No. 203 *Tak-po*, migratory cuckoo (Waddell). Another name for the cuckoo is *tük fyel fo* (see line 2) which perhaps has some connection with Dict. 130b *tük-fyil* s. an ant; Dict. 130b mentions *tük-fyer fo* i. e. Dict. 257a *bim pä-yul* s. name of a bird called from its cry the "brain-fever bird" by the Europeans in India, cf. Gaz. p. 207, No. 205 *Hierococcyx varius*, cf. Jerdon p. 331.

*nam du tsát* was paraphrased as: rice sowing season; to *nam* cf. Dict. 192a *nam* 2 s. a year . . . season, time and *du tsát* cf. Dict. 135b *tu* 5 s. time, season and *tu-tsát* or frequently *to-tshát* s. period of time, season, time, cf. Tib. Jäs. 255a *dus-tsód* 1. space or measure of time; comp. Text No. 6,11: *to tsót* the proper time, the proper season; here: the proper season of the year (i. e. the proper season for sowing rice).

The first three lines are sung in a rhythm imitating the calls of the cuckoo.

4. - *nam du tsát*, see line 3. - *lat nón de* has certainly come, cf. *lat*<sup>o</sup> to come, *nón*<sup>o</sup> Dict. 200a-b *nóng* to go, to go away, *nón* preterite of *nóng*, gone, went, affixed to some verbs gives past tense, cf. Gram. p. 50. - *de*, cf. Dict. 177b *de* 4, vb. comp. Tib. Jäs. 275a, 'das 4, to pass by, to disappear (freq. relative to time) or Dict. 184a *dyät*, *dyel* and *det*, emphatic present participle, cf. Gram. p. 49, and 114, meaning: is just going to come, cf. Dict. 201a *nóng-del* "just about to go". *de* may also be a variant of Dict. 168b *da* 4. to be certain . . . adv. certainly, verily, cf. Gram. p. 52.

**Trl.:** The proper season (for sowing rice) has certainly come.

5. - *cum po mar* name of a variety of rice, perhaps a ritual name for paddy rice, i. e. unhusked rice; Text No. 6,13 has *cyóm pä mar* a name of paddy rice with references to Dict. - *mal* to sow, cf. Dict. 284a *mal* 1. vb. to dibble rice, *a-mal* s.

sowing, *a-mal tu-tshát* s. seed-time, *a-mal tu-tshát nón* it is seed-time. - *lat nón de*, see line 4.

**Trsl.:** *tsum po mar* (rice) etc. sowing season has certainly come!

6. - *jing* local name of a month, almost equal to April-May. - *la bo* month, Dict. 344a *la vo*, see Calendar, Part I. *mal tū tsát* sowing season, see line 5. - *ka o* let us, see Text No. 8,1.

**Trsl.:** (It is) *jing* month, sowing season, let us sow!

7. - *nüm nū zóng* relations, cf. Dict. 193b *a-nüm* s. elder brother, friend (applied to a person older than oneself) . . . *nüm zóng* friends, relatives . . . *nüm-nū* lit. elder and younger brother, relations, relatives; to *zóng* cf. Dict. 314a-b *záng* 2. *zóng* . . . used also in the sense of fellow, companion, one's own kind, sex. - *tyól nóng* friends, cf. Dict. 147a *tyól* vb. to be in company, to associate, to join, to coalesce, to fraternize, to aid, to cooperate . . . *tyól-zóng* s. fellow-companion . . . *tyól-nóng* vb. to company. - *ka* we, abbrev. for *ka yu*<sup>o</sup>, cf. Dict. 2a and Gram. p. 40. - *zum nóng* assemble, cf. Dict. 317b *zum* vb. to meet together, to assemble and Tib. Jäs. 467a 'dzom(s)-pa to come together, to meet; possibly *zum nóng* is used of assembly, meeting. - *nóng*<sup>o</sup> to go - *ka o* let us, see Text No. 8,1.

**Trsl.:** Relations (and) friends, we, let us go to assemble, i. e. We relations and friends, let us go and assemble!

8. - 'ayuk<sup>o</sup> s. work, cf. Dict. 453b 'ayok 2. 1. s. work, action and 'ayok ka vb. to assign work . . . 'ayok zuk vb. to work. - *nóng*<sup>o</sup> to go - *lóng* having; the root of the word is not quite clear, but being pronounced almost: "lung" it may be identical with Dict. 351b -lüng postpositive forms the conjunctive particle, cf. Gram. p. 49. - *zum nüng* assemble, variant to line 7: *zum nóng*. - *zuk*<sup>o</sup> to do, see 'ayok zuk above. - *ka o* let us, see Text No. 8,1.

**Trsl.:** Having gone to work, (or: just about going to work), let us do assemble (or: assembly), i. e. let us assemble!

9. - 'ayuk work, see line 8. - *a re*<sup>o</sup> this - *tyól lüng* having joined; *tyól* see line 7; *lüng*, see line 8, here serving as the present participle: joining. - *ka yu*<sup>o</sup> we *zuk*<sup>o</sup> to do - *ka o*, let us, see Text No. 8,1.

**Trsl.:** Joining in this work, we, joining in this work, let us do it!

10. – *zum* assemble, see line 7. – *lǎng*, presumably *lǎng*, see line 8. – *zuk nǎng* having done it, having worked; *zuk* see line 9; *nǎng?* probably *nóng* Gram. p. 94: Acquisitive, formed by combining the verb *nóng* with a verb; but it remains doubtful. – *lel°* finish, complete, cf. Dict. 357b *lel* and *lyel* vb. to finish, to complete. – *khūt la* able, capable, cf. Dict. 46b *khu* vb. 1. to be able to, *lǎ* Dict. 343a, and Gram. pp. 92 and 66 ff.; cf. Tib. Jäs. 60a '*khyúd-pa* to embrace . . . 3. to be able – *mat°* to do – *ka o* let us, see Text No. 8,1.

**Trsl.:** Having assembled and having worked, being able to complete it, let us do it, i. e. as we have assembled and have worked (i. e. begun to work), and as we are able to complete it (i. e. the work), then let us do it!

11. – '*ayuk°* work, see line 8. – *a re°* this – *sa°* of(?) – *a myu pan* cf. Dict. 300b *myo* 1. *a-myō* s. a layer of bricks, a course of work; *a-myō-pan* vb. to complete one layer or course; and Dict. 213a

*pan* 2 vb. to reach the end, to complete, to finish. – *khūt la* able to, see line 10. – *mat ka o*, see line 10. **Trsl.:** Being able to complete this work, let us do it! (?)

12. – To the first four words, see lines 10 and 11. – *gǎng* if, cf. Dict. 50b, affixed forms the conditional "if", cf. Gram. pp. 86 and 91, cf. Tib. Jäs. 64b ff. *gang*. – *ryu°* good – *ma o°* is.

**Trsl.:** If (we are) able to complete this work, it is good.

**Paraphrase:**

- I. The rice sowing season is announced (1–6) by:
- a. the arrival of the cuckoo (1–3)
  - b. the *jing* month, the proper season for rice sowing (4–6)
- II. The sowing of rice (7–12):
- a. relatives and friends are requested to join in the work (7–9)
  - b. invitation to do the work and affirmation that it will be good to complete it (10–12).

**Text No. 10. Prayer to Zamola rǔm for the Domestic Animals.**

From Tingbung

Informant: *rǔng jǐ*  
Interpreter: Tsering

1.	<i>gya fe</i> innumerable	<i>grǔng fe</i>	<i>mat</i> make	<i>kon</i> cause		
			let there be			
2.	<i>a bát</i> increase	<i>sa</i> of	<i>a būng</i> mouths	<i>thap</i> put	<i>bo</i> give	<i>o</i>
				give		
3.	<i>sǔ tǔm</i> wolf	<i>sǎ cyák</i> leopard	<i>bǔng</i> mouth	<i>ka</i> in	<i>mǎ</i> not	<i>klóng</i> send
4.	<i>dak hlǔm</i> herds of animals	<i>tak la</i> sufficient	<i>thap</i> put	<i>bo</i> give	<i>o</i>	
			give			

There is no address to Zamola *rǔm*, the spelling of whose name I did not ascertain exactly.

1. – *gya fe grung fe* innumerable, a paraphrase for a very great number; the interpreter was not quite sure but suggested *gya fe*: thousand, and *grung fe*: ten thousand; to *grung*, comp. also Tib. Jäs. 76a *grangs*, number; *gya*, cf. Dict. 61a *gyap* vb. to be numerous and *a-gyap* adj. num-

erous, much, many . . . *gyap-pǎ* i. e. *gyap* adv. and Tib. Jäs. 123b *brgya* a hundred; cf. also Jäs. 222b *stong*, *stong-phrag* 1. thousand and Dict. 142a *long*, cf. *tǎng* thousand. – *mat°* make, to do – *kon°* cause, *mat kon*: let there be!

**Trsl.:** Let there be innumerable (implied: of domestic animals); or: Let there be a thousand and ten thousand (implied: domestic animals).

2. – *a bát* increase, cf. Dict. 251a *bát* II., 1. vb. n. to be produced, magnified, multiplied; to increase, to swell and 2. *bát* s. increase etc. – *sa*<sup>o</sup> of – *a băng* mouth, cf. Dict. 261b *bong*, *a-bong* mouth; here used fig. of domestic animals. – *thap*<sup>o</sup> put – *bo*<sup>o</sup> give – *o*<sup>o</sup> hon. ending. – *thap bo o* set phrase for courteous request. –

**Trsl.:** Give increase of domestic animals!

3. – *sū tūm* wolf, cf. Dict. 397a *să-tum* 1. the wild dog; wolf; Gaz. p. 236 (Gammie) states that the natives are positive that there are two species of wild dogs (*Cyon dukhunensis*) in Sikkim. Brown 1944, p. 64 f. declares that reports of wild dogs come from some of the upper valleys, Lachen in particular. One early morning while Tsering and I were staying in Lachung the people called our attention to three wolves standing about 200 metres above us in the mountains. The people reported that the wolves had fought with a deer-like animal which they had finally killed. – *să cyák* leopard, cf. Dict. 396b *să-cák* s. *Felis jubata*, cf. Watt p. 432 “satchuk” the clouded leopard, *Felis nebulosa*, and “sejjiak” or “syiak” the leopard or panther, *Felis pardus*, see p. 434; cf. also Gaz. p. 235 (Gammie) “. . . the leopard (*Felis pardus*) and the clouded leopard (*Felis nebulosa*) are permanent residents and fairly common, the

latter ascending to about 7000 feet. The snow leopard (*Felis unica*), as its trivial name implies, inhabits high altitudes only.” Cf. also Tib. Jäs. 587b *gsa* the snow-leopard, nearly white with small clusters of black spots; living at high altitudes. – *ka*<sup>o</sup> in – *mă*<sup>o</sup> negation – *klóng*<sup>o</sup> to send.

**Trsl.:** Do not send (implied: the domestic animals) into the mouths of the wolf and the leopard!

4. – *dak hlüm* herd or group of animals – *tak la* sufficient, cf. Dict. 149b *thak-la* adv. sufficiently, competently, adequately – *thap bo o*, see line 2.

**Trsl.:** Give sufficient herd of animals! (Tsering) or perhaps: Give a herd of animals sufficiently large (i. e. in sufficient number).

**Paraphrase:** (No address)

Requests to Zamola *rūm* for:

- a. a great increase in the number of the domestic animals (1–2)
- b. protection of the domestic animals from wild beasts (3)
- c. a sufficient herd of domestic animals (4).

NB. Observe the decline in the requests for domestic animals: “innumerable” (1), “increase” (2), and “sufficient” (4).

### Text No. 11. Hunter's Prayer to *nūng lyen no*.

From Tingbung

Informant: *rūng jī*  
Interpreter: Tsering

1. <i>să gór</i> rock	<i>ka</i> in	<i>nóng</i> going	<i>ba</i>	<i>bróm</i> accident	<i>mă</i> not	<i>kón</i> cause
2. <i>mán</i> wild animal	<i>ryák</i> hunting	<i>ba</i>	<i>thup</i> find (obtain)	<i>kon</i> let		
3. <i>vót</i> bee	<i>dut</i> drawing out	<i>ba</i>	<i>bróm</i> accident	<i>mă</i> not	<i>kón</i> cause	
4. <i>a bar</i> middle (while hunting)	<i>ka</i> in	<i>mák</i> die	<i>mă</i> not	<i>kón</i> cause		

No address, but said to be directed to *nūng lyen no*, here the guardian deity of the hunters. Elsewhere the hunters invoke other deities.

1. – *să gór* rock, cf. Dict. 396a *să-gór* a cliff, a precipice. – *ka*<sup>o</sup> in, here better: among – *nóng*<sup>o</sup> vb. to go, cf. Dict. 200a *nóng* 1. vb. to go, to go

away, to go forth, to proceed – *ba*<sup>o</sup> verbal particle here indicating: while going – *bróm* accident in the rocks, cf. Dict. 271b *bróm* 2 vb. n. to fall down, applied chiefly to men or beasts, to trip, to fall, to tumble down, and *a-bróm* a falling fruit when large and ripe. The root of the word implies a reference to an accident, i. e. falling down from the rocks or falling down among the rocks. – *mă*<sup>o</sup> negation, *kón*<sup>o</sup> cause, i. e. do not cause.

**Trsl.:** Do not cause (me) accident while (I am) going in the rocks (i. e. among the rocks).

2. – *mán*<sup>o</sup> meat, here: wild animal, cf. Dict. 279b *mán* s. flesh, meat; Dict. has *mán tham cháng* used of game, while here *mán* alone is used of wild animal. – *ryák* vb. to follow, pursue, cf. Dict. 341a *ryak* 2, 1 vb. to follow . . . to hunt after, to search after. – *ba*<sup>o</sup> see line 1. – *thup*<sup>o</sup> vb. to find, cf. Dict. 158a *thop*, Tib. Jäs. 238b *thob-pa* I. vb. 1 to find, 2. to get, to obtain. – *kón*<sup>o</sup> to cause, *thup kón* according to the interpreter: let (me) find, get, obtain.

**Trsl.:** Let (me) obtain a wild animal while pursuing (it)!

3. – *vót* bee (perhaps more exactly: hornet?) cf. Dict. 389a *vót* 1 s. a bee. Here translated col-

lectively: bees. – *dut* vb. to draw out, cf. Dict. 180b *dot*, vb. to draw out, to pull out. – *ba*<sup>o</sup> see line 1. – *bróm*, see line 1. – *mă kón*<sup>o</sup> do not cause, see line 1.

**Trsl.:** Do not cause accident while I am drawing out the bees.

**Expl.:** The meaning is that while he is out hunting, he will also look for honey. The bees (or hornets) often have their combs in places dangerous to ascend, and therefore he prays that he will not fall down while attempting to get the honey.

4. – *a bar* midway, something that is in the middle between two end-points, cf. Dict. 255b *bar*, *a-bar* the middle of anything and Tib. Jäs. 366a *bar* s. 1. intermediate space; the interpreter translated: in the middle of hunting, i. e. while hunting. – *mák*<sup>o</sup> vb. to die – *mă kón*, see line 1. (See Addenda).

**Trsl.:** Do not cause me to die while I am out hunting.

**Paraphrase:** Request to *nùng lyen no* for:

- a. Protection against accidents while hunting (1)
- b. successful chase (2)
- c. no accident while searching honey (3)
- d. not to die while hunting (4).

## Text No. 12. Prayer Associated with Fishing.

From Tingbung

Informant: *rũng jí*

Interpreter: Tsering

1. *dá mík*  
*dá mík*

2. <i>ă lang</i>	<i>ngũ ying</i>	<i>ngũ mǔng</i>	<i>ryũm bũ</i>	<i>bo</i>	<i>o</i>
now	<i>ngũ ying</i>	<i>ngũ mǔng</i>	good	give	
	(fish)	(fish)			

3. <i>ă lang</i>	<i>go nũn</i>	<i>ngũ</i>	<i>fo</i>	<i>ci</i>	<i>tũ fa</i>	<i>fũ</i>	<i>mo</i>
now	by me	fish	bird	<i>ci</i>	fried rice	given	have
	I						

4. <i>ă lang</i>	<i>dá mík</i>	<i>hó</i>	<i>mă</i>	<i>kyán</i>	<i>o</i>
now	<i>dá mík</i>	you	not	angry	

5. <i>a re</i>	<i>tham</i>	<i>pǎng</i>	<i>je</i>	<i>o</i>
these	things	(plur.)	eat	

1. – *dá mík* was explained as the name of the god of the rivers, here addressed in particular as the god of fishing in the rivers. Tamsang explained the word as meaning: the eye of the lake, cf. Dict. 166a *dǎ* 1, s. a pond, lake, stagnant water, and Dict. 286a *mík* s. eye.

2. – *ǎ lang*<sup>o</sup> now; the context speaks in favour of interpreting *ǎ lang* as referring to line 3 and the meaning would then be: Now – because I have given this offering to you – please, give you some fish to me. – *ngǔ ying* and *ngǔ mǔng* are particular kinds of fish, cf. Dict. 71b–72a *ngo-yeng* name of fish and *ngo mung* s. name of fish. – *ryǔm*<sup>o</sup> *bǔ*<sup>o</sup> good. For adj. formed by affixing *-bo* see Gram. p. 99. – *bo*<sup>o</sup> give, imp. – *o*<sup>o</sup>.

**Trsl.:** Give you now good *ngǔ ying* and *ngǔ mung* fish!

3. – *ǎ lang*, see line 2, here: at this moment of giving the present to *dá mík* – *go*<sup>o</sup> *nǔn*, I, by me, cf. Gram. p. 33 1st pers. singl. of personal pronoun: I, by me, cf. Dict. 56a; to the construction *go nǔn* cf. Dict. 195a *-nǔn* postp. forms 1. the instrumental, indicating the personal subject (agens) of the action, and Gram. p. 125f. – *ngǔ* fish, see line 2. – *fo*<sup>o</sup> bird – *ci* i. e. *ci*<sup>o</sup> Lepcha beer; fish, bird and *ci* are common offering presents. – *tǎ fa* fried rice, cf. Dict. 239a *fa* 2 . . . *tǎ-fa* s. 1. rice or maize parched dry and broken, see Dict. 115a *tǎ-* prefix . . . 2. forms nomina (substantiva) from verbal roots . . . – *fǔ*<sup>o</sup> to give – *mo*<sup>o</sup> preterite indication.

**Trsl.:** Now I have given fish, bird, *ci* (and) fried rice.

4. – *ǎ lang*<sup>o</sup> now, here: since you, *dá mík*, have received this offering, then now . . . – *hó*<sup>o</sup> you,

2nd person singl. – *mǎ*<sup>o</sup> negation – *kyán* vb. to be angry, ceremonial word, presumably the same as Dict. 34a *kyon* (and *kyan* incorrect) 3. vb. to reprove, to rebuke, to reprimand, cf. Tib. Jäs. 14b *bkyón-pa* to beat, to scold. – *o*<sup>o</sup> indicates precative or polite.

**Trsl.:** Now *dá mík*, do not be angry!

5. – *a re*<sup>o</sup> *this*, here: these, because it is associated with a noun in plural. – *tham*<sup>o</sup> thing, here plural (*pǎng*<sup>o</sup>) referring to the offering gifts mentioned in line 3. – *je*<sup>o</sup> vb. to eat, in offering language also indicating the request to accept. – *o*<sup>o</sup> imp., see line 4.

**Trsl.:** Eat these things!

#### Paraphrase:

- I. Invocation of *dá mík* (1)
- II. Request to *dá mík* to give the fisherman a good catch (2)
- III. The fisherman affirms that he has given the proper offerings to *dá mík* (3)
- IV. Requests to *dá mík* not to be angry and to eat (accept) the offering gifts (4–5).

The sequence of the sentences is unusual and rather strange: Request – assertion of offering – request – and request. The main intention, the securing of a good catch, has in this text been placed at the beginning.

The request to *dá mík* “not to be angry” (4) was not explained further, but it refers presumably to the idea that if *dá mík* is angry with the fisherman, *dá mík* will give him no catch or a poor catch (contrary to the request in line 2).

### Text No. 13. Blacksmith’s Yearly Prayer to *sǎ hyor rǔm*.

From Tingbung

Informant: *rǔng jí*  
Interpreter: Tsering

- |    |                |                |                |            |            |            |
|----|----------------|----------------|----------------|------------|------------|------------|
| 1. | <i>sǎ hyor</i> |                | <i>rǔm</i>     |            |            |            |
|    | <i>sǎ hyor</i> |                | <i>rǔm</i>     |            |            |            |
| 2. | <i>kǎ su</i>   | <i>sǎ</i>      | <i>tǎ pung</i> | <i>dok</i> | <i>mǎ</i>  | <i>kon</i> |
|    | my             |                | shoulder       | pain       | not        | cause      |
| 3. | <i>ǎ ko</i>    | <i>a thóng</i> | <i>dok</i>     | <i>mǎ</i>  | <i>kon</i> |            |
|    | hand           | leg            | pain           | not        | cause      |            |



4. <i>păn jeng</i>	<i>gram</i>	<i>mă</i>	<i>kon</i>			
iron	break	not	cause			
5. <i>hó</i>	<i>ă bot</i>	<i>ă bung</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>bam</i>		
you	increase	mouth	in	stay		
6. <i>să cyak</i>	<i>sũ tũm</i>	<i>să</i>	<i>bũng</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>mă</i>	<i>klóng</i>
leopard	wolf	of	mouth	in	not	send

1. – Invocation of *să hyor rũm*, the tutelary deity of the blacksmith.

2. – *kă su* *să°* my. – *tă pung*, s. shoulder, cf. Dict. 130b *tăk-pung*, s. the shoulder. – *dok°* pain. – *mă°* negation. – *kon°* to cause.

**Trsl.:** Do not cause pain to my shoulder!

3. – *ă kô°* hand. – *ă thóng°* leg. – *mă kon*, see line 2.

**Trsl.:** Do not cause pain to (my) hand and to (my) leg!

4. – *păn jeng* s. iron, cf. Dict. 216b *păn-jeng*, s. iron. In the commentary to Text No. 14,3 the interpreter explained *păn jeng* as iron tools made by the blacksmith. By analogy I therefore suggest the same explanation here. – *gram* vb. to break, cf. Dict. 64b *gram* vb. to break, to crack. – *mă kon*, see line 2.

**Trsl.:** Do not cause the iron to break!

5. – *hó°* you, 2nd pers. singl. – *ă bot* s. increase, cf. Dict. 251 a, II. *bát* 2. s. increase . . . property . . . – *ă bung* s. mouth, cf. Dict. 261b *bong*, *a-bong*, s. mouth . . . speech . . . *ka°* in – *bam°* vb. to stay cf. Dict. 255a *bam* vb. to remain, to dwell, to be at home.

The understanding of this line caused great difficulty because the informant, not being a blacksmith himself, did not know the exact meaning. The informant and the interpreter agreed that a very concentrated figurative language was used, and the following translation was suggested as the most probable: You, increase

in my mouth stay, i. e. help me using sweet (convincing) words in order to procure me customers that I in this way may have increasing income. The sentence then applies to the customers just as the following line.

**Trsl.:** Stay you in my mouth so that I may have increase (of income)!

6. – *să cyak* leopard, see Text No. 10,3. – *sũ tũm* wolf, see Text No. 10,3. – *să°* of. – *bũng* mouth, see line 5. – *ka°* in – *mă°* negation – *klóng°* vb. to send, see Text 10,3. – The strange terms “leopard” and “wolf” were here used figuratively referring to the rival blacksmiths.

**Trsl.:** Do not send (the customers) into the mouths of the leopard and the wolf (i. e. to the other blacksmiths)!

#### Paraphrase:

- I. Address of the *să hyor rũm* (1)
- II. Requests to the *să hyor rũm* for the coming year (2–6):
  - a. not to cause him bodily harm (2–3)
  - b. not to cause the iron tools made by him to break (4)
  - c. for increasing income (5)
  - d. not to send the customers to other blacksmiths (6)

#### Contents:

The whole prayer deals with his functions as a blacksmith: protection against bodily accidents, ill-luck in his work and competition from other blacksmiths, and an increase in income.

### Text No. 14. Blacksmith's Prayer in Favour of his Son.

From Tingbung

Informant: *rũng jí*  
Interpreter: Tsering

1. *să hyor*      *rũm*  
    *să hyor*      *rũm!*

<sup>7</sup> The Lepchas.

2.	<i>rŭm</i> <i>rŭm</i>	<i>hó</i> you	<i>a lang</i> now	<i>a re</i> this	<i>a kup</i> son	<i>dep</i> with	<i>ju</i> remain	<i>o</i>
3.	<i>hŭ dŭm</i> him	<i>păn jeng</i> iron	<i>zŭk</i> make	<i>yo la</i> skilfully	<i>mat</i> (caus.)	<i>kón</i> cause		
4.	<i>che ríng</i> long-lived	<i>ngun</i> become	<i>kón</i> cause					
5.	<i>nyet</i> disease	<i>nyŭng</i> poison pain	<i>lat</i> come	<i>mă</i> not	<i>kon</i> cause			

1. – Invocation of *să hyor rŭm*, the tutelary deity of the blacksmith.

**Trsl.:** *să hyor rŭm!*

2. – *hó°* you, singl. – *ă lang°* now, here: now (implied: from this moment when the old blacksmith gives up his work and hands it over to his son) – *a re°* this, i. e. the son standing near by attending the ceremony. – *a kup°* was here translated as son. – *dep°* with i. e. yielding protection. – *ju* vb. to stay, here imp., cf. Dict. 99a *ju*, hon. vb. 1. to sit, 2. to remain, to exist, to live, cf. also Tib. Jäs. 483b *bzhugs-pa* 1. to sit . . . 3. to remain, exist, live. – *o°* polite imp. particle.

**Trsl.:** You *rŭm!* Now remain with this (my) son!

3. – *hŭ dŭm* him, pers. pronoun, cf. Dict. 370b *hŭ-dom* object. and Gram. p. 38, here referring to the above-mentioned son. – *păn jeng* iron, was here explained as the iron tools made by the blacksmith; see Text No. 13,4. – *zŭk* vb. to make, cf. Dict. 317a *zuk* 2, vb. to make, to work. – *yo la* was explained as clever, skilful; cf. Dict. 320a *yă* 2. *yá* vb. *yám* to know . . . *yă-la mat* vb. to do knowingly, to learn, to know; here presumably constructed with *-lă mat*, forming verba causativa cf. Dict. 282b and Gram. p. 93. – *mat°* vb. to do, to make; the construction *yo la mat* presumably means: in a skilful manner to work. *kon°* cause vb. imp.

**Trsl.:** Lit.: Him iron implements to make in a skilful manner to work, – cause, i. e. Cause him to be skilful in making iron tools!

4. – *che ríng* long life, cf. Tib. Jäs. 528b *ring-ba* 2. long with respect to time, *tshe ring-ba* s. a long life, adj. long-lived, see also List of Personal

Names. – *ngun* cf. Dict. 71b *ngun* vb. to become, to be and Gram. p. 94. – *kon°* to cause.

**Trsl.:** Cause (him) to be (of) long life, i. e. Cause him to live long!

5. – *nyet°* disease – *nyŭng* was translated as poison whereas Dict. 108a has *nyŭng*, see *dăk* 166b: pain, disease. To *nyŭng* cf. Tib. Jäs. 199b *snyung* respectful for *nad*, disease, illness, sickness. It may perhaps be related to Dict. 107a *a-nying* poison. I have no further explanation of the translation “poison”; it may be a local meaning of the word, or the interpreter may have introduced a local interpretation. In this case the last line may contain a prayer for protection against poisoning. For cases of poisoning, cf. Gorer p. 133 ff., passim. – *lat°* vb. to come – *mă°* negation – *kon°* vb. to cause.

**Trsl.:** Do not cause disease (and) poison to come!

**Expl.:** Do not let him suffer from attacks of diseases and poisoning.

#### Paraphrase:

- I. Invocation of the tutelary deity (1)
- II. Request to the tutelary deity to remain with the son (2) i. e.
  - a. to let him be a clever craftsman (3)
  - b. to give him a long life (4)
  - c. to protect him against diseases and poisoning (5).

**Contents:** Request to the tutelary deity in favour of the son. This deity is namely responsible for: the son’s occupational skill, the length of his life, and his physical condition.

**Text No. 15. Mealtime Prayer.**

From Singhik

Informant: Baknar

Interpreter: Tsering

- |    |                  |           |                |  |            |
|----|------------------|-----------|----------------|--|------------|
| 1. | <i>mǔng kǔng</i> |           | <i>mǎng la</i> |  | <i>rǔm</i> |
|    | <i>mǔng kǔng</i> |           | <i>mǎng la</i> |  | <i>rǔm</i> |
| 2. | <i>a re</i>      | <i>ze</i> | <i>o</i>       |  |            |
|    | this             | eat       |                |  |            |

1. – In his commentary to this text Tsering said that *mǔng kǔng* and *mǎng la* are two male gods for human beings of male sex, who are supposed to be seated on the shoulders of human males. They cannot be seen with the naked eye, but some Lepcha men have occasionally seen them in their dreams in the form of beautiful Lepcha, Tibetan or Nepalese girls. They were said to be the only gods who could change sex when they appeared to human beings. When these gods are with the Lepchas they feel happy, like to eat and drink, sing and dance, and they feel assured that there is only a small risk of diseases.

This prayer is only used at meals taken in the house. Before commencing their meals, the men throw a small piece of bread or meat, or some grains of rice, into the air as an offering to these *rǔm*, and before drinking they sprinkle some drops

of the liquid into the air. The prayer, like all other prayers, is only said by the men. I was told that the women would never utter a prayer.

**Additional Note:** When Tamsang later learnt of this prayer from Singhik he stated that the Lepchas of Kalimpong use the appellation *mǔng kǔng* of the “Tree of Life”. In case a man is ill, the *bong thng* will fall into a trance and see if the patient’s “Tree of Life” is healthy or if something is wrong with it.

2. – *a re*<sup>o</sup> this, i. e. the offering. – *ze* vb. to eat, imp., presumably a variant to *je*<sup>o</sup> vb. to eat. – *o*<sup>o</sup> polite imp. indication.

Trsl. 1–2: *mǔng kǔng* and *mǎng la* gods! Eat this (please)!

**Text No. 16. Mealtime Prayer.**

From Tingbung

Informant: *kǎ lók*

Interpreter: Tsering

- |    |                 |            |                    |            |  |
|----|-----------------|------------|--------------------|------------|--|
| 1. | <i>nyót myǔ</i> |            | <i>rǔm pǎng</i>    |            |  |
|    | field           |            | <i>rǔm</i> (plur.) |            |  |
| 2. | <i>khǔ</i>      | <i>fát</i> |                    |            |  |
|    | bread           | offering   |                    |            |  |
| 3. | <i>ze</i>       | <i>o</i>   | <i>cyo</i>         | <i>cyo</i> |  |
|    | eat             |            | here               | here       |  |

1. – *nyót* field, cf. Dict. 113b *nyót* s. cultivated field, a field, cultivation in opposition to jungle. – *myǔ* was difficult to explain being a word used in several meanings: 1. part of a work which has not been finished, 2. in connection with field work it was said to indicate that part of a field which has not yet been ploughed, 3. Dict. 300b has *myo* 2. vb. to be left unfinished, to be defective as work, see under *dǔm* Dict. 174b . . .

3. used for “the covering of the earth, bushwood”, hence . . . ground that has been allowed “to go fallow” etc. No exact explanation could be given. – *rǔm*<sup>o</sup> god, *pǎng*<sup>o</sup> plur. ending. Baknar of Singhik later stated that the gods referred to were the *sǎ kyǔ* of *mǎ yel*.

Trsl.: Field . . . *rǔm* (plur.)!

2. - *khū* bread, *chupatti*, cf. Dict. 47a *khū* bread, a loaf or cake of bread; cf. Tib. Jäs. 42a *khur-ba* s. bread, food. It is, however, not the common Tibetan word for bread, but only for certain sorts such as *bra-khūr*, bread of buckwheat, *rtsabs-khūr* (see Jäs. 438a) a sweetish sort of bread made up with *rtsabs*, i. e. ferment, barm, yeast. - *fat°* piece, in this context a piece of bread used as an offering gift. -

Trsl.: bread offering.

3. - *ze* vb. to eat, imp. presumably a variant of *je*, comp. Text No. 15,2. - *o°* polite imp. - *cyo* was explained as an exclamation used when throwing something to somebody, approximately: here! or: there!

Trsl.: Eat (it), (please)! Here, here!

Note: Tamsang later stated that the Lepchas of Kalimpong used this prayer only for meals taken in the fields during the work.

### Text No. 17. Prayer to *pā dīm* at a Triennial Ceremony.

From Tingbung

Informant: *rig zing*  
Interpreter: Tsering

- |                |              |             |             |             |             |           |           |
|----------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|
| 1. <i>o</i>    | <i>rūm</i>   |             |             |             |             |           |           |
| <i>O</i>       | <i>rūm</i>   |             |             |             |             |           |           |
| 2. <i>a bi</i> | <i>kǎ yu</i> | <i>nūn</i>  | <i>a re</i> | <i>tham</i> | <i>pāng</i> | <i>fū</i> | <i>mo</i> |
| here           | us           | (by)        | these       | things      | (plur.)     | given     | have      |
|                | <i>we</i>    |             |             |             |             |           |           |
| 3. <i>rūm</i>  | <i>ho</i>    | <i>a re</i> | <i>tham</i> | <i>re</i>   | <i>je</i>   | <i>o</i>  |           |
| <i>rūm</i>     | you          | this        | thing       | (here)      | eat         |           |           |

1. - *o* exclamation: *O!* - *rūm°* god, here is implied: *pā dīm*.

Trsl.: *O rūm* (i. e. *O pā dīm rūm!*).

2. - *a bi* here, cf. Dict. 439b *a-bi* adv. here (close), just here, cf. Gram. p. 71. In this context *a bi* refers to the offering things arranged on the spot. - *ka yu°* we + *nūn°* indicating the instrumental case, here the present subject, the agens, cf. Dict. 195a and Gram. p. 125. In this context it refers to the assembled people who perform an action as a unit. - *a re°* this, the plur. is indicated through *pāng°*. - *tham°* thing, here used of the offering gifts. - *pāng°* plur. indication. - *fū°* vb.

to give, here applied as a respectful and honorary term. - *mo°* indication of past tense.

Trsl.: Here we have given these things (implied: to you *rūm*).

3. - *rūm°* god, here *pā dīm*. - *ho°* you, singl. - *a re tham* this thing, i. e. the offering gifts are in this line taken collectively, therefore singl., contrary to line 2. - *re°* postpositive definite article; Tsering said that it was here used almost emphatically: this thing here. - *je°* vb. to eat, imp. - *o°* polite imp.

Trsl.: You *rūm!* Eat this thing here (please)!

### Text No. 18. Prayer at the Childbirth Ceremony.

From Tingbung

Informant: *rig zing*  
Interpreter: Tsering

- |                  |                  |
|------------------|------------------|
| 1. <i>a gyek</i> | <i>zuk bu</i>    |
| <i>a- ge:k</i>   | <i>,zuk- bu:</i> |
| birth            | maker            |

2. *ã lat*      *zuk bu*  
 a-<sup>l</sup>la:t    ˘    ,zuk-<sup>l</sup>bu:  
 newcomer    maker
3. *a gyek*      *lat bu*  
 a-<sup>l</sup>ge:k    ˘    ,la:t-<sup>l</sup>bu:  
 birth      who lets come
4. *a lat*      *lat bu*  
 a-<sup>l</sup>la:t    ˘    ,la:t-<sup>l</sup>bu: ˘  
 newcomer    who lets come
5. (. . . . .)      *sǎng ka*      *si cet*      *na cet*      *blet (glet)*      *mǎ*      *bo n o*  
                   sǎŋ-<sup>l</sup>ka:      si-<sup>l</sup>tʃe:t      na:-<sup>l</sup>tʃe:t      <sup>l</sup>glɛ:t-mǎ-<sup>l</sup>bo:n  
 (the child's      to      death      sickness      occur      not      cause  
 name implied)
6. *mǎ rǔm*      *ryǔ la*      *zuk*      *bo*      *o*  
 mǎ-<sup>l</sup>rǔm      <sup>l</sup>rju:-la:      <sup>l</sup>zuk ˘      <sup>l</sup>bo-<sup>l</sup>o:  
 life      well      make  
 (lifetime)      good
7. *a kyet*      *zuk*      *bo*      *o*  
 a-<sup>l</sup>kɛ:t      <sup>l</sup>zuk-<sup>l</sup>bo-<sup>l</sup>o:  
 peace      make
8. *sang ky(?)*      *mar gen*  
 saŋ-<sup>l</sup>kjo:      mar-<sup>l</sup>gen ˘  
                   butter pats
- (9). *ci*      *fát*  
<sup>l</sup>tʃi:      <sup>l</sup>fa:t  
*ci*      offering
- (10) *zo fát*      *bo*      *mo*  
<sup>l</sup>zo:-<sup>l</sup>fa:t ˘      <sup>l</sup>bo:-<sup>l</sup>mo:  
 rice offering      given      have
11. *a gyek*      *zuk bu*  
 a-<sup>l</sup>ge:k    ˘    ,zuk-<sup>l</sup>bu:  
 birth      maker
12. *ã lat*      *zuk bu*  
 a-<sup>l</sup>la:t    ˘    ,zuk-<sup>l</sup>bu:  
 newcomer    maker
13. *a myǔng*      *zuk bu*  
 a-<sup>l</sup>mju:    ˘    ,zuk-<sup>l</sup>bu:  
 germ of banana    maker
14. *a gǎm*      *a bǎk*      *zuk bu*  
 a-<sup>l</sup>gǎm      a-<sup>l</sup>bǎ:k ˘    ,zuk-<sup>l</sup>bu:  
 (young shoots of banana) maker



26. *tak pŭ* *sóm* *lat* *mă* *kon*  
 tək-<sup>l</sup>puː-sə:m <sup>l</sup>la:t ˘ mǎ-<sup>l</sup>kə:n  
*tak pŭ* breath come not cause  
 let
27. *jer* *thing* *na* *rong* *bo* *o*  
<sup>l</sup>ʒe:r ˘ <sup>l</sup>θiŋ-nə: *na* <sup>l</sup>rəŋ ˘ <sup>l</sup>bo-<sup>l</sup>o:  
*jer* *thing* (by) guide (give)
28. *ă gor* *ryŭ la* *mat*  
 \*a-<sup>l</sup>sər <sup>l</sup>rjuː-la: <sup>l</sup>ma:t-  
 protection well make  
 good
- (29) *bă dyŭng* *bo* *o*  
 -bəː-<sup>l</sup>diŋ ˘ <sup>l</sup>bo-<sup>l</sup>o:  
 keep close (give)
30. *a shŭng* *ryŭ la* *mat*  
 a-<sup>l</sup>ʃuŋ <sup>l</sup>rjuː-la: <sup>l</sup>ma:t-  
 help well make  
 good
- (31) *bă dyŭng* *bo* *o*  
 -bəː-<sup>l</sup>diŋ ˘ <sup>l</sup>bo-<sup>l</sup>o:  
 keep close (give)
32. *a zŭm* *bo* *mo*  
 a-<sup>l</sup>zə:m <sup>l</sup>bo-<sup>l</sup>mo:  
 gift given have  
 (offering)
33. *a mo* *bo* *mo*  
 a-<sup>l</sup>mo: ˘ <sup>l</sup>bo-<sup>l</sup>mo:  
 blood given have
34. *lă fet* *bo* *mo*  
 ,ləː-<sup>l</sup>fɛ:t ˘ <sup>l</sup>bo-<sup>l</sup>mo:  
 plate of leaves given have
35. *la byók* *bo* *mo*  
 a-<sup>l</sup>bjok ˘ <sup>l</sup>bo-<sup>l</sup>mo:  
 small plate of leaves given have
36. *ngŭ eng* *bo* *mo*  
<sup>l</sup>ŋuː-<sup>l</sup>jeŋ<sup>7</sup> <sup>l</sup>bo-<sup>l</sup>mo:  
*ngŭ eng* given have  
 (fish)
37. *ngŭ mŭng* *bo* *mo*  
<sup>l</sup>ŋuː-<sup>l</sup>muŋ ˘ <sup>l</sup>bo-<sup>l</sup>mo:  
*ngŭ mŭng* given have  
 (fish)

38. *sán dyam*      *sán tyól*      *bo*      *mo*  
 sɛ:n-<sup>l</sup>djam      sɛ:n-<sup>l</sup>tjɔ:l ~      <sup>l</sup>bo-<sup>l</sup>mo:  
*sán dyam*      *sán tyól*      given      have  
 (bird)
39. *a re*      *pǎng*      *je*      *o*  
 a-<sup>l</sup>re:-pəŋ           <sup>l</sup>ʒe:-,o:  
 these (things)      eat
40. *ci*      *fāt*      *zo*      *fāt*      *bo*      *mo*  
 ʃi-<sup>l</sup>fui:t<sup>8</sup>           zo-<sup>l</sup>fut ~           <sup>l</sup>bo-<sup>l</sup>mo:  
*ci*      offering      rice      offering      given      have
41. *jer mǔ*      *cong*      *kám mǔ*      *cong*      *kǎ sor*      *fū*      *mo*  
                   *tsong*                                    *tsong*  
 ʒɛr-<sup>l</sup>mu-səŋ           kə:m-<sup>l</sup>mu-səŋ-ka:           sər-<sup>l</sup>fui?t-mo:<sup>9</sup>  
*jer mǔ*      to      *kám mǔ*      to      incense      offered      have
42. *a re*      *pǎng*      *je*      *o*  
 a-<sup>l</sup>re:-pəŋ           <sup>l</sup>ʒe:-,o:  
 these (things)      eat
43. *hǎ yum*      *a kó*      *mǎ*      *lok*  
 hǎ-<sup>l</sup>jum      a-<sup>l</sup>kə: ~      mə-<sup>l</sup>lɔ:k  
 them      hand      not      hurt
44. *a thǔng*      *mǎ*      *lok*  
 a-<sup>l</sup>thoŋ ~      mə-<sup>l</sup>lɔ:k  
 leg      not      hurt
45. *a mik*      *mǎ*      *lok*  
 a-<sup>l</sup>mik ~      mə-<sup>l</sup>lɔ:k  
 eye      not      hurt
46. *ǎ nyūr*      *mǎ*      *nor*      *o*  
 a-<sup>l</sup>njur ~      mə-<sup>l</sup>nər ~      <sup>l</sup>o:  
 ear      not      cause      pain
47. *a zím*      *a re*      *pǎng*      *bo*      *mo*  
 a-<sup>l</sup>zim      a-<sup>l</sup>re:-pəŋ           <sup>l</sup>bo-<sup>l</sup>mo:  
 gift(s)      these      given      have  
 (offering)
48. *ka sór*      *sǎng sór*      *fū*      *mo*  
 ka-<sup>l</sup>sər-səŋ-<sup>l</sup>sər           <sup>l</sup>phu-mo:  
                   incense      offered      have
49. *thong*      *ta lyǔ*      *da bū*      *cong*      *ka*  
   *tsong*  
<sup>l</sup>thəŋ      ta-<sup>l</sup>ljə:      <sup>l</sup>da-<sup>l</sup>bu-<sup>l</sup>səŋ-<sup>l</sup>ka:  
 (plain)      (waters, ocean)      sleeping      to



50. *mǔng sā sang vo nan bū cong ka*  
*tsong*  
 ʼmuŋ-sə: ʼsəŋ-vo: ʼnan-ʼbu-ʼsəŋ-ʼka:<sup>10</sup>  
*mǔng of ocean staying to*
51. *ǎ yu gǔn lǎ a re je o*  
 a-ʼju: ʼgən-la: a-ʼre: ʼze:-ʼo:  
 you all this eat
52. *hlo nan bū cong ka*  
*tsong*  
 ʼhlo: ʼnan-ʼbu-ʼsəŋ-ʼka:  
 up in staying to  
 the mountains
53. *sap dok ǎ mǔ nan bū cong ka*  
*tsong*  
 sap-ʼdək a-ʼmu: ʼnan-ʼbu-ʼsəŋ-ʼka:  
*sap dok ǎ mǔ staying to*  
 (*mung*)
54. *kǎ sór fan bo mo*  
 kə-ʼsər ʼfan-bu:<sup>11</sup> ʼmo:  
 butter burnt given have
55. *kǎ sór a re je o*  
 kə-ʼsər a-ʼre: ʼze:-ʼo:  
 butter this eat
56. *mon a rum tha shǎng nan bū cong ka*  
*tsong*  
 ʼmə:n a-ʼhrum ʼtha:-ʼfəŋ ʼnan-ʼbu-ʼsəŋ-ʼka:  
 meat hot eat (future) staying to
57. *vi a rum thǎng shyǎng nan bū cong ka*  
*tsong*  
 ʼvi: a-ʼhrum-ʼthəŋ-ʼfəŋ ʼnan-ʼbu: ʼsəŋ-ʼka:<sup>12</sup>  
 blood hot drink (future) staying to
58. *sǎ rí lóm gǔm o*  
 sɛ-ʼri:-lɔ:m ʼgəm-ʼo:  
 meat is  
 (ceremonial word)
59. *shǔ mǔ lo gǔm o*  
 ʼʃu: ʼmu-ʼlɔ:m ʼgəm-ʼo:  
 blood is  
 (ceremonial word)



69. *cung*      *dūt*      *shyang*      *nan bū*      *cóng*      *o*  
*tsung*      (*dot*)      (*shǎng*)           *tsóng*  
|tʃuŋ      |dut      |ʃəŋ      |nan-|bu-səŋ-ka:  
*cung*      draw out      (future)      staying      to, for  
*tsung*  
(name)
70. *ǎ gom*      *dūt*      *shyang*      *nan bū*      *cóng*  
                         (*dot*)      (*shǎng*)           *tsóng*  
a-|gə:m      |dut-ʃəŋ      |nan-|bu-səŋ  
children      draw out (future)      staying      to, for
71. *nǎng yang*      *nang lít*      *dūt*      *shyang*      *nan bū*      *cóng*  
*nang*           (*dot*)      (*shang*)           *tsóng*  
naŋ-|jaŋ      ,naŋ-|li:      |dut-ʃəŋ      |nan-|bu-səŋ  
*nǎng yang*      *nang lít*      draw out (future)      staying      to, for  
*nang*
72. *nǎng yang*      *lom*  
*nang*  
naŋ-|jaŋ-lə:m  
*nǎng yang*      way  
*nang*      route
73. *nǎng lít*      *lom*  
*nang*  
naŋ-|li:-lə:m  
*nǎng lít*      way  
*nang*      route
74. *mǎng ti yang*      *lat*      *shyang*      *nan bū*      *cóng*  
                                   (*shǎng*)           *tsóng*  
məŋ-|si:-jaŋ      |lat-ʃəŋ      |nan-|bu-səŋ  
*mǎng ti yang*      come      (future)      staying      to, for  
                              ready
75. *mǎng yang*      *lat*      *shet*      *nan bū*      *cóng*  
                                             *tsóng*  
məŋ-|jaŋ-lat           |ʃet      |nan-|bu-səŋ  
*mǎng yang*      come      will      staying      to, for
76. *mǎng dyam*      *sóm*  
məŋ-|djaŋ-sə:m<sup>13</sup>  
*mǎng dyam*      (besom)  
                         (swept)

77. *mǎng yang* *sóm*  
*məŋ-ʼjaŋ-sə:m*  
*mǎng yang* (besom)  
 (swept)
78. *di na fong na sóm ma o*  
 ʼdi:-nə: ʼfəŋ-ʼnə: ʼsə:m-mə-ʼo:  
 pillar (by, floor (by, (besom) (have)  
 from) from) (swept)
79. *pǎ tong pǎ dap di fong na sóm o*  
 pə-ʼtuŋ pa-ʼda?p<sup>14</sup> ʼdi:-,fəŋ-nə: ʼsəm-ʼo:  
 hearth pillar floor (by (besom)  
 from) (swept)
80. *gryū kūng ka sóm lel mo*  
 ʼdju:-,kuŋ-ʼka:<sup>15</sup> ʼsə:m-,le:l-ʼmo:  
 house pillar (to) (besom) finished have  
 (swept)
81. *mǎng tyang sóm lel mo*  
*məŋ-ʼtjaŋ* ʼsə:m-,le:l-ʼmo:  
*mǎng tyang* (besom) finished have  
 (swept)
82. *fang fīng zūk*  
 ,faŋ-ʼfīŋ ʼzūk  
 good made
83. *sǎ jór la zūk mo*  
 sə-ʼzər-la: ʼzūk-mo:  
 better again made have
84. *ner bū nir bong fli lel*  
 ,nir-ʼbu: ,nir-ʼbəŋ ʼfli:-le:l  
*ner bū nir bong* separate finish  
 (water) (water)
85. *ták lók tāng bong ri yǎl bū na*  
 tək-ʼlək ʼtəŋ-ʼvəŋ ʼri:-jɛ:l ʼbu:-nə:  
*ták lók tang bong* sweep out  
 cleanse
86. *nyǔ vón nyǔ va dek ka blet ma o*  
 ʼrju:-və:n ʼrju:-va: ʼde:k-ka: ʼglet ma o  
 (waters) (waters) middle in draw have  
 (let fall)

87. *tǎng jír rǔng dek ka*  
 tǎŋ-<sup>1</sup>zi:r rǔŋ-<sup>1</sup>de:k-ka:  
 (opening of earth) middle in
88. *pa rí rǎng gón dek ka*  
<sup>1</sup>pa-<sup>1</sup>ri: rǎŋ-<sup>1</sup>gə:n ◡ <sup>1</sup>de:k-ka:  
*pa rí rang gón middle in*
89. *mǎ ryǔ na bū mǎ ryam na bū som pǔ dek ka*  
 mə-<sup>1</sup>rju:-nə-,bu: mə-<sup>1</sup>rja:m-nə-,bu: səm-<sup>1</sup>pu:-,de:k-ka:  
 had shapeless bridge middle in
90. *tǎ lyá dek ka*  
 ,tə-,ljɔ:-<sup>1</sup>de:k-ka:  
 ocean middle in
91. *sǎng vo dek ka*  
 ,sǎŋ-<sup>1</sup>vo:-<sup>1</sup>de:k-ka:  
 river middle in
92. *dar dek ka*  
 dar-<sup>1</sup>de:k-ka:  
*dar middle in*
93. *róng dek ka*  
 ,rəŋ-<sup>1</sup>de:k-ka:  
*róng middle in*
94. *blet ma o*  
 (glet)  
<sup>1</sup>glɛ:t-mə-<sup>1</sup>o:  
 drowned have
95. *glyo la nón o*  
<sup>1</sup>glju:-<sup>1</sup>la:<sup>16</sup> <sup>1</sup>nə:n ◡ <sup>1</sup>o:  
 completely disappear
96. *fo la nón o*  
<sup>1</sup>fo:-<sup>1</sup>la: <sup>1</sup>nə:n ◡ <sup>1</sup>o:  
 completely disappear

1. – *a gyek*<sup>o</sup> birth – *zuk*<sup>o</sup> to make – *bu* variant of *bo*<sup>o</sup> ending, signifying noun “agentis”, i. e. maker, who makes.

**Trsl.:** Maker of birth!

2. – *ǎ lat* newcomer, cf. Dict. 347a *lat* 1. to come, to arrive – *zuk bu*, see line 1.

**Trsl.:** maker of newcomer!

**Expl. to 1–2:** Tsering stated that lines 1 and 2 referred to *na zong mü nyü* as the “maker”, i. e.

the creatress of human life. Because the address does not change until line 18 the context favours the assumption that this *rǔm* is thought of until line 17.

3. – *a gyek*, see line 1 – *lat bu*, see lines 2 and 1.

**Trsl.:** who lets the birth come.

4. – See lines 2 and 3.

**Trsl.:** who lets the newcomer come.

5. – The child's name is implied as the first word of this line. We could not persuade *rig zing* to insert any name because this recital was for me and not part of an actual childbirth ceremony. Perhaps several children are referred to, cf. line 43 *hã yum* them and line 5 *sãng ka* which was translated as “for, to”, but which might perhaps be resolved into *sãng*, plur. ending used of human beings, see Dict. 404a *-sãng* and Gram. p. 27 f., and *ka°* for, to. However, the words remain a crucial point, comp. *cong* or *tsong* lines 41, 49, 50, 52, 53, 56, 57, 68, 69, 70, 71, 74, 75. – *si cet* death, ceremonial term, the ordinary word is *a mak*. – *na cet* sickness, cf. Dict. 189b *nãt* 1. vb. t. to afflict, to injure, to hurt and 198b *net* 2. s. disease, see Tib. Jäs. 302b *nad* disease, etc. – *blet* (Tsering's spelling), *glet* (my own not s and Tamsang) to occur, take place, cf. Dict. 68a *glet*, incorrect for *glyet*, see under *glo* vb. to fall, *glyet* vb. to let fall and *glyót* vb. to fall upon, cf. also Dict. 68b *glyát* vb. to let fall; these meanings agree well with Tsering's translation, cf. l. 86. – *mã* . . . *n°* negation – *bo°* give, cause – *o°* polite imp.

**Trsl.:** to (the child's name implied) do not cause death and sickness to occur!

6. – *mã rãm°* life, lifetime, for further explanation of this word, see Text No. 19,6 f. – *ryü la* good, well – *zuk°* make – *bo° o°* here used for constructing a polite imp. or a precative of *zuk*.

**Trsl.:** make the life good (implied: for the child)!

7. – *a kyel°* peace – *zuk bo o*, see line 6.

**Trsl.:** make peace (i. e. give the child a peaceful life)!

8. – *sang ky mar gen*, according to Tsering an uncommon, ritualistic word used of three butter pats smeared on the edge of a cup filled with *ci*; the spelling: *ky* is strange, comp. Text. No. 19,33 *sãng kyü* and 19,42 *sãng kyó*, and Dict. 411a *sũng-kyo* s. small parts of butter, used ornamentally at offerings. *mar gen*, cf. Text No. 19,43 butter, and Dict. 298b *mór* 1. s. butter, and Tib. Jäs. 411b *mar* butter; *gen* from Dict. 60a *gyãn* 1. an ornament, cf. Tib. Jäs. 107a *rygan*. – implied from line 10: *bo° mo°* have given.

**Trsl.:** (implied: we) (have given) butter pats.

9. – *ci°* local beer; *fat°* offering, i. e. an offering of *ci*. – implied from line 10: *bo° mo°* have given.

**Trsl.:** (implied: we) (have given) *ci* offering.

10. – *zo° fat°* rice offering – *bo° mo°* have given.

**Trsl.:** (implied: we) have given rice offering.

**Expl.:** It seems preferable to explain lines 8–10 as one verse.

11. – See line 1.

12. – See line 2.

13. – *a myũng*, uncommon, ceremonial word, germ of banana, but also the new banana plant growing up at the foot of the old one. – *zuk bu* see line 1.

**Trsl.:** maker of germ of banana.

14. – *a gãm* and *a bãk*, uncommon, ceremonial words, meaning: children of the banana plant, the young shoots of the banana; to *a bãk* comp. perhaps Dict. 263a *bok*, *a-bók* . . . 3. a young head of maize – *zuk bo*, see line 1.

**Trsl.:** maker of *a gãm a bãk* (i. e. the young shoots of the banana).

15. – See line 6; *thap°* to put – *bo° o°* indication of imp. (Tamsang speaks: *ngan*, stay, remain).

**Trsl.:** give good life!

16. – *pár cet* temptation, but probably is hurt, damage better, see Text No. 39,6 where the question is discussed. Gorer p. 467 (the Lamaist horoscope of an imaginary child) mentions among the forecasts that “. . . He (i. e. the child) will live to the age of seventy-one, if he manages to pass the eight hazards (*parchet*) which lie in front of him . . .” – *na ken* (Tamsang speaks another word) uncommon, ceremonial word, bad thing – *zók bo* to cause, probably a variant to *zuk° bo°*, see line 6. – *mã* . . . *n°* negation.

**Trsl.:** do not cause hurt and bad thing!

17. – *ã yu* you, plur., cf. Dict. 440b *a-yu* and Gram. p. 34 – *na°* postpositive, indicating “agens”. – *rong°* (Tamsang speaks another word) to guide – *bo° o°* indication of imp.

**Trsl.:** by you give guide, i. e. you, guide!

**Expl.:** The plur. “you” does not fit quite well into the context (1–17), as it according to the explanation refers only to *na zong mũ nyũ*. The plur. includes perhaps some unmentioned followers of *na zong mũ nyũ*, or perhaps her husband.

18. – *pã dím*, important *rãm*, son of *na zong mũ nyũ* and younger brother of *kong chen*; he is a fre-

quently invoked *rūm*, cf. Text No. 1. – *nā°* by, here indicating “agens”. – *rong bo o*, see line 17.

**Trsl.:** *pā dlm rūm* give guide, i. e. guide!

19. – *gūn grān* assistance, patronage, see explanation to Texts Nos. 1,3; 19,51 and 24,2. – *gyap kyo* help, cf. Tib. Jäs. 26a *skyabs* help, assistance; cf. perhaps also Dict. 64a *gyóp* vb. to support, to second, to back . . . to defend. To *gyap kyo* cf. also Tib. Jäs. 32a *skyób-pa*, to protect, defend, preserve, save. – *mā . . . n°* negation – *je* vb. uncommon word, to stop, see Text No. 24,2.

**Trsl.:** do not stop (your) patronage and help!

20. – *ā līm* the front (side) of a person in opposition to *ā kop* the back of a person; to *ā līm* cf. perhaps Dict. 357a *lem* vb. to place one above or before (as men) another, or Dict. 440a and Gram. p. 72 *a-lem*, adv. hither, in this direction. – *ka°* at – *ā kop* back of the body, comp. perhaps Dict. 61b *gyap* s. the back, cf. Tib. Jäs. 107b *rgyab* the back of the body. – *ding°* to remain – *bo o*, see line 6.

**Trsl.:** remain at the front, remain at the back (implied: of the child)!

21. – *mel la* right part or right side of the body – *cel la* left part or left side of the body. – For the rest of the line, see line 20.

**Trsl.:** remain at the right side and at the left side (implied: of the child's body)!

22. – *sór* name of a *mung*; Dict. 423a has *sór mung: tā-gro tūk-pu plyang* n. pr. the evil spirit of sensuality and lasciviousness; comp. the names in lines 25 and 26. – *lom°* route, way, road – *cel* to block, cf. Dict. 83a vb. to cut, to stop (as road). – For the rest of the line, see line 6.

**Trsl.:** block the way of *sór (mung)*!

23. – *plyong* or *pā lyong* (the spelling is questionable) name of a *mung*. – For the rest of the line, see line 22.

**Trsl.:** block the way of *plyong* (or: *pā lyong*) (*mung*)!

24. – *dul°* denomination of a superior or leading type of *mung*. – *cen* a special type of *mung*. – *ge bu* name of a *mung* causing coughs and colds. – *sā°* of, by the interpreter referred to all the preceding words – *sóm* breath, cf. Dict. 422a *sóm* 3, *a-sóm* breath, spirit. – *mā . . . nā°* ne-

gation – *kon°* cause, let, was here translated: let, cf. Dict. 29a *kón* vb. to let, to allow, to permit, cf. Gram. p. 47.

**Trsl.:** Do not let come the breath of *dul, cen*, (and) *ge bu*!

**Expl.:** It is the breathing of the *mung* on the child that causes the evil influence.

25. – *mak nyóm* name of a *mung* causing death, *ta krā* name of a *mung* causing venereal diseases; is *ta krā* the same word as *tā-gro* line 22 (?), cf. Dict. 117b *tā-gro* and *tūk-gro* s. name of an evil spirit, now the evil spirit of gonorrhoea, in the legends of Padmasambhava used indefinitely of evil spirits.

**Trsl.:** Do not let come the breath of *mak nyóm* and *ta krā*!

26. – *tak pū* name of a *mung* causing diseases in the genitals; comp. Dict. 130a *tūk-pū* explet. of *tā-gro, tūk-gro* s. evil spirit, comp. line 25; according to this information *ta kra* and *tak pū* would be various names of the same *mung* (?). To *tak pū*, cf. perhaps Tib. Jäs. 253b *dūd-pa* II, 2. *dūd-'gro*, quadruped, beast, animal, opposite to man that walks erect (Stan-gyur). – For the rest of the line, see line 24.

**Trsl.:** Do not let the breath of *tak pū* come!

27. – *jer thing* name of a god who created cardamom; to *jer* cf. perhaps Dict. 101a *jer* 4. gold, Tib. Jäs. 590a *gser* gold, and *thing°* lord, master, i. e. gold lord, gold master (?). – For the rest of the line, see line 17. –

**Trsl.:** *jer thing* guide (implied: the child)!

28. – *ā gor* protection, cf. Dict. 58a *gor* vb. to watch, to guard, to protect, to look after – *ryū la°* good, well – *mat°* to do, to make.

**Trsl.:** make protection well, i. e. do protect (implied: the child) well!

29. – *bā dyüng* keep close to, perhaps connected with Dict. 186a *dyung* vb. to dance a baby in arms *a-kūp dyung*; to caress child or animal – *bo o*, see line 15.

**Trsl.:** keep close to (implied: the child), i. e. be close to the child!

30. – *a shüng* help, uncommon word. Tsering stated that the ordinary word in this connec-

tion would be *gun grăn*, see line 19. – For the rest of the line, see line 28.

**Trsl.:** make help good, i. e. give good help (implied: to the child)!

**81.** – see line 29.

**Note to 28–81:** Tamsang speaks *mat ba ding*, cf. Dict. 283a *mat-ba* “by means of” or “through” and Dict. 172a *ding*, vb. . . . 2. to stand, to remain. In case he is right, the text should probably be given in two lines and not in four; the difficulty is that Tsering writes *mat* as an independent word and *bă* as the first syllable of the next word.

**82.** – *a zim*<sup>o</sup> present, gift, i. e. offering gift – *bo*<sup>o</sup> *mo*<sup>o</sup> given have, i. e. have given.

**Trsl.:** (implied: we) have given (an) offering gift.

**83.** – *a mo*<sup>o</sup> blood, ceremonial word, refers to the blood of the sacrificed hen – *bo mo*, see line 32.

**Trsl.:** (implied: we) have given blood.

**84.** – *lă fet*<sup>o</sup> plate of leaves, i. e. plate of leaves with offering gifts – *bo mo*, see line 32.

**Trsl.:** (implied: we) have given a plate of leaves (implied: with offering gifts).

**85.** – *la byók* small plate of leaves with offering gifts, cf. Dict. 343a *lă-* prefix forms 1. nouns (names of beasts and plants) and Dict. 267a *byók* s. 1. name of a plant – *bo mo*, see line 32.

**Trsl.:** (implied: we) have given a small plate of leaves (implied: with offering gifts).

**86.** – *ngü eng* name of a fish, see *ngo*<sup>o</sup> and comp. *ngo yeng* Text No. 12,2 – *bo mo*, see line 32.

**Trsl.:** (implied: we) have given *ngü eng* (fish).

**87.** – *ngü mǎng*, see line 36 and comp. Text No. 12,2.

**Trsl.:** (implied: we) have given *ngü mǎng* (fish).

**88.** – *sán dyam sán tyól* name of a bird; this name refers probably to the sacrificed hen or wild bird; it is a ceremonial term of a fowl. – *bo mo*, see line 32.

**Trsl.:** (implied: we) have given *sán dyam sán tyól* bird.

**39.** – *a re*<sup>o</sup> *pǎng*<sup>o</sup> these, i. e. these things, viz. offering gifts – *je*<sup>o</sup> *o*<sup>o</sup> please eat, eat with the implied meaning of accepting.

**Trsl.:** Eat these things (please)!

**40.** – *ci făt*, see line 9 – *zo făt*, see line 10 – *bo mo*, see line 32.

**Trsl.:** (implied: we) have given *ci* offering (and) rice offering.

**41.** – *jer mǎ* name of a god – *cong* or *tsong* to; or should it be the same word as Text 6,1 ff. *cong* (*tsong*) honourable? – Although not proposed by the interpreter I may refer to the Tibetan terms Jäs. 144b, *gcúng-po* respectfully a younger brother, or to Jäs. 471b. *zháng(-po)*, in common life ‘*a-zhang*, uncle by mother’s side . . . *dbon-zhang*, resp. nephew and uncle, by the mother’s side, also applied to spiritual brotherhood (Milaraspa) (cf. Addenda Text 40,5 ff.) – *kám mǎ* name of a goddess; *jer mǎ* and *kám mǎ* are husband and wife, stated to be creators of cardamom – *kă sór* incense, cf. line 48 *ka sór sǎng sór*, but lines 54 and 55 translate *kă sór* as butter; Text No. 22,4 uses *song* for incense. – *fǔ*<sup>o</sup> *mo*<sup>o</sup> offered have.

**Trsl.:** (implied: we) have offered incense to *jer mǎ* (and) to *kám mu*.

**42.** – See line 39.

**43.** – *hă yum*<sup>o</sup> them, plur. of personal pronoun, cf. Dict. 370a-b *hǔ* and Gram. p. 35. “Them” i. e. the newborn children. To this line cf. the complications with the singl. in the commentary to line 5. – *a kó* hand – *mǎ*<sup>o</sup> negation – *lok*<sup>o</sup> to hurt.

**Trsl.:** them, do not hurt the hand, i. e. do not hurt their hands!

**44.** – *a thǔng*<sup>o</sup> leg. – For the rest of the line, see line 43.

**Trsl.:** do not hurt their legs!

**45.** – *a mǐk*<sup>o</sup> eye. – For the rest of the line, see line 43.

**Trsl.:** do not hurt their eyes!

**46.** – *ǎ nyǔr* ear, cf. Dict. 112a *nyor*, *a-nyor* s. 1. ear – *mǎ*<sup>o</sup> negation – *nor* to give or cause pain – *o*<sup>o</sup> polite imp. – For the translation, see line 43.

**Trsl.:** do not cause pain to their ears!



47. – *a zlm*<sup>o</sup> offering gift, see line 32. – *a re pãng*<sup>o</sup> these – *bo*<sup>o</sup> *mo*<sup>o</sup> given have.

**Trsl.:** (implied: we) have given these offering gifts.

48. – *ka sór sǎng sór* incense, ceremonial word, to *ka sór* cf. line 41; to *sǎng sór* cf. Dict. 421b *sóng* 8. s. a tree used as incense *sóng shing* and Dict. 422b *sór* 1, *a-sór* s. 1. the grain of wood . . . 4. species, kind, variety – *fũ mo*<sup>o</sup> offered have.

**Trsl.:** (implied: we) have offered incense.

49. – *thong ta lyũ* was explained as a certain place high up in the mountains; to *thong* cf. Dict. 159a *thóng* 1. open, clean, a clear place or plain, cf. Tib. Jäs. 228a *thang* flat country, plain, steppe; *ta lyũ*<sup>o</sup> usually explained as the great mythical waters or ocean under the earth, *da*<sup>o</sup> to sleep, *bu*<sup>o</sup> agens, sleeping – *cong (tsong) ka* was translated as: to (praep.) (May *cong* or *tsong* be understood as the plur. ending *sǎng*?) (Cf. line 41). – The implied subject of *da bū* was said to be some *mung*.

**Trsl.:** to (the *mung*) sleeping at *thong ta lyũ* (high up in the mountains).

50. – *mũng sǎ sang vo* was translated literally: the ocean of<sup>f</sup> the *mung*, the ocean belonging to the *mung*; *sǎ*<sup>o</sup> of; *sang vo* cf. Dict. 120a *tǎ-lyǎ sũng-vo*, the vast deeps and Dict. 413b *sũng-vo* 2. vast, *tǎ-lyǎ sũng-vo* the vast, the immensity of *tǎ-lyǎ dǎ*, the ocean; comp. also Text No. 19, 11 f. – *nǎn bū* staying, living from *ngan*, Dict. 70a vb. 1, 1. to sit . . . 3. to live, to dwell . . . *ngan-bo* s. an inhabitant; here presumably a variant. – For the rest of the line, see line 49. – The implied subject of *nan bū* are supposed to be some *mung*.

**Trsl.:** to the *mung* living in the ocean of the *mung*.

51. – *ǎ yu*<sup>o</sup> you, i. e. the above mentioned *mung* – *gũn lǎ*<sup>o</sup> all – *a re*<sup>o</sup> this, i. e. the offering – *je o* see line 39.

**Trsl.:** you all, eat this (please)! i. e. accept this offering.

52. – *hlo*<sup>o</sup> up in the mountains; *nan bū* staying, living, see line 50. – *cong (tsong) ka* to, see line 49.

**Trsl.:** to the (*mung*) staying up in the mountains.

53. – *sap dok ǎ mũ* name of a *mung*, in the explanation to this line it was said that this *mung* causes itch; frequently stated to be very dang-  
9 The Lepchas.

crous causing skin diseases and death. For the rest of the line, see line 52.

**Trsl.:** to *sap dok ǎ mũ (mung)* staying (implied: up in the mountains).

**Expl.:** It was implied from line 52 that this *mung* was also staying *hlo*, i. e. up in the mountains.

54. – *kǎ sór* butter, comp. line 41 where *kǎ sor* was explained as incense. – *fan* burnt, cf. Dict. 238b *fǎn* vb. t. 1. to kindle, to burn in fire, to incinerate; presumably the fumes of burnt butter – *bo*<sup>o</sup> *mo*<sup>o</sup> given have, i. e. have offered.

**Trsl.:** (implied: we) have given burnt butter.

55. – See lines 54 and 51.

**Trsl.:** Eat (i. e. accept) this butter!

56. – *mon*<sup>o</sup> meat, i. e. the sacrificial meat – *a rum*<sup>o</sup> hot, i. e. still full of life – *tha*<sup>o</sup> to eat – *shang*<sup>o</sup> indication of future, here app.ox.: ready to. – For the rest of the line, see line 50.

**Trsl.:** to the (*mung*) staying ready to eat hot meat.

57. – *vi*<sup>o</sup> blood – *a rum*, see line 56 – *thǎng*<sup>o</sup> to drink – *shyǎng*<sup>o</sup> future, see line 56.

**Trsl.:** to the (*mung*) staying ready to drink hot blood.

58. – *sǎ rí lóm* meat, ceremonial term; the original meaning of the words could not be established. – *gũm*<sup>o</sup> is – *o*<sup>o</sup> postpositive particle.

**Trsl.:** (implied: it) is (ceremonial) meat.

59. – *shũ mũ lo* blood, ceremonial term (It seems that Tamsang speaks another word). – For the rest of the line, see line 58.

**Trsl.:** (implied: it) is (ceremonial) blood.

60. – *ce mon myor mon sǎ lóm*, ceremonial term, a piece of meat through which a hair has been drawn. The obscure ceremonial term *ce mon myor mon sǎ lóm*, a piece of meat with a hair drawn through it, may have some reference to the Tibetan *brgya bzhi*. The *glud*, a kind of substitute-offering, of the person for whom the ceremony is being performed should be prepared either from rice or from flour-pulp. The hair should be made of *gze mong*, etc. cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956a, p. 527. – *mo*<sup>o</sup> (is).

**Trsl.:** a (ceremonial) piece of meat with a hair drawn through it.

61. – *a kó lok*, see line 43 – *mǎ* . . . *n*<sup>o</sup> negation – *bo*<sup>o</sup> give, cause, imp. (Tamsang speaks *kon* (?) for *bo*).

**Trsl.:** do not cause hurt to the hand (implied: of the child, or: the children, comp. line 43).

62. – See lines 44 and 61 (Tamsang speaks *kon* (?) for *bo*).

**Trsl.:** do not cause hurt to the leg (implied: see line 61).

63. – *kóm sí lóm* name of a *mung*; the word *lóm* at the end of a *mung* name indicates that this *mung* causes diseases to children.

**Trsl.:** *kóm sí lóm (mung)*!

64. – *kám yǔ lóm* name of a *mung*, see line 63.

65. – *sak cǔm (tsǔm) sak par lóm* name of a *mung*, see line 63.

66. – *kǎ cu (tsu) lóm* name of a *mung*, see line 63.

67. – *thǔng cu (tsu) lóm* name of a *mung*, see line 63.

68. – *a myuk* eye, see *a mlk* line 45. – *nór*, uncommon, ceremonial word, to take out. – For the rest of the line, see line 57. – Here: *cóng* or *tsóng* to, not *cóng(tsóng) ka*, see line 49. –

**Trsl.:** to (implied: these, i. e. the above mentioned *mung*) staying ready to take out the eye (implied: of the child, or perhaps: of the children).

69. – *cung* or *tsung*, difficult to explain, approx.: god, deity, used as an honorific address to *mung* – *dǔt*<sup>o</sup> to draw out, implied is: the eye. – For the rest of the line, see line 68.

**Trsl.:** to the *cung(tsung)* (i. e. the honourable *mung*) staying ready to draw out (implied: the eye of the child, or: of the children).

70. – *ǎ gom* uncommon, ceremonial word, children. – For the rest of the line, see line 69. *dǔt*, see line 69, here take away, i. e. cause disease and death. –

**Trsl.:** to (implied: these) staying ready to take away children.

71. – *nǎng yang nang lít* was not explained, but paraphrased as death; a comparison with Dict. 194b informs us that *nǎng yǎng nǎng lít* is

Hades, the place of the departed spirits. For the rest of the line, see line 70. –

**Trsl.:** to (implied: these) staying to take away children to the place of the departed (i. e. to cause them death).

72. – *nǎng yang*, see line 71. – *lóm*<sup>o</sup> road, way. –

**Trsl.:** (to or along) the road to *nǎng yang*.

73. – See lines 71 and 72.

**Trsl.:** (to or along) the road to *nǎng lít*.

74. – *mǎng ti yang* name of a *mung*, see line 81 and Text No. 35,4: “Darkness of the Night”. Perhaps is *ti yang* a misspelling for *tyang*, cf. Dict. 145a *tyang* 3 vb. to be dark, to be black, adj. dark. – *lai*<sup>o</sup> to come. – For the rest of the line, see line 71. –

**Trsl.:** to *mǎng ti yang (mung)* who stays ready to come (implied: on the above-mentioned road).

75. – *mǎng yang* name of a *mung* – *shet*<sup>o</sup> according to Tsering indicating future, according to Dict. and Gram. “fit for”. – For the rest of the line, see line 74.

**Trsl.:** to *mǎng yang (mung)* who stays ready to come (implied: on the above-mentioned road).

76. – *mǎng dyam* name of a *mung* – *sóm*, ceremonial word, difficult to translate, but was said to indicate some sweeping movements performed by the gods in Heaven by means of a kind of besom for the purpose of preventing the *mung* from coming. Tsering stated that the translation was very difficult as the text was not clear; he suggested to imply *ma o* from line 78, substituting the subject: we.

**Trsl.:** (we have) swept *mǎng dyam (mung)*.

77. – *mǎng yang* name of a *mung*. – For the rest of the line, see line 76.

**Trsl.:** (we have) swept *mǎng yang (mung)*.

78. – *di* pillar of the house, ceremonial word – *fong* floor of the house, ceremonial word. – The two endings *na* by help of, by means of, are crucial to the translation; in discussing the matter with *rig zing* Tsering suggested *kǎ* instead of *na*, but *rig zing* stated stubbornly that the ancient ritual had *na – ma*<sup>o</sup> *o*<sup>o</sup> preterite, “we” is implied. (See Addenda).

**Trsl.:** suggested by Tsering: (we) have swept the pillar and the floor.

**Expl.:** The *mũn*, acting on the part of the people (we), has swept out, i. e. driven away the *mung*.

79. – *pǎ tong° pǎ dap* hearth, fire-place, ceremonial term, cf. Text No. 19,20 *pǎ tong*; cf. Dict. 181a *dop* vb. n. to burn . . . in compounds *dap*: *pǎr-dap* s. a fireplace, and Dict. 204a *pǎ* 1. prefix forms nomina. To *dap* cf. also Tib. Jäs. 229a *thab*, fire-place, hearth . . . – For the rest of the line, see line 78.

**Trsl.:** (we) have swept the hearth, the pillar, and the floor, i. e. we have swept (implied: away the *mung* from) the hearth, the pillar, and the floor.

80. – *gryũ kũng* house pillar (Comp. perhaps Dict. 18a *kũng* s. the ridge of house, mountain, nose, etc.?) – *lel°* to finish, to complete – *mo°* preterite.

**Trsl.:** (implied: we) have finished sweeping the house pillar i. e. we have finished sweeping away the *mung* from the house pillar.

81. – *mǎng tyang* name of a *mung*, comp. line 74. – For the rest of the line, see line 80. –

**Trsl.:** (implied: we) have finished sweeping (away) *mǎng tyang mung*.

**Expl. 76–81:** To the sweeping precautions, cf. Morris p. 201 describing the preparations before the ceremony on the third day after birth: “. . . Very early in the morning, before any of the guests arrive, the floor is swept with worm-wood and a little incense is burned.”

82. – *fang fing* good, ceremonial word – *zúk°* made. (See Addenda).

**Trsl.:** (implied: we) made it good. Probably: We have made it clear, clean (See Addenda).

83. – *sǎ jór* better, also used of a bright and happy face, comp. perhaps Dict. 315a *zár* 1. vb. n. to be bright . . . *a-zár* bright; to *zár* cf. also Tib. Jäs. 588a *gsár-ba*, new, fresh – *la* again, cf. Tib. Jäs. 586a *slar* 1. again, over again, once more – *zúk° mo°* made have.

**Trsl.:** (implied: we) have made it better again i. e. we have made it better the second time, we have done it better the second time.

84. – *ner bū* water, ceremonial word for ceremonial or mythical water – *nir bong*, ceremonial word for ceremonial or mythical water. Comp. possibly Dict. 110b. *nyo* II . . . *nyo bū nyo bóng* or *mũr-nyo bū mũr-nyo bóng*, standing waters, lakes, cf.

Gram. p. 139; comp. Dict. 293b *mũr-nyo* . . . *mũr-nyo bū* the snake that led the waters along, hence “running streams” and cf. Dict. 264a *bóng* expansive: *nyo bóng* a vast expanse of still-standing water, in opposition to *nyo bū* a vast expanse of flowing waters. – *flí* to separate, cf. Dict. 249a *flí* 2, *flí-m*, vb. to divide, to separate as persons or things, also affections of the heart – *lel°* to finish, to complete, see line 80. – The words *ma o* are implied from the end of line 86.

**Trsl.:** (implied: we) have finished separating the *ner bū* (water) and the *nir bong* (water).

**Expl.:** The fuller comprehension of this obscure line is questionable; *rig zing* stated that he himself did not quite understand it, but he declared the meaning to be: they had succeeded in separating the gods from the *mung*, these two powers being symbolized by the two types of water.

85. – *ták lók*, ancient ceremonial word, meaning unknown. – *tǎng bong*, ancient ceremonial word, meaning unknown. – *ri yǎl bū* (the spelling is not quite certain) to sweep out, to cleanse – *na* presumably the emphatic *na*, cf. Dict. 188a.

**Trsl.:** 1. (implied: we) have swept out *ták lók* and *tǎng bong* 2. we have cleansed *ták lók* and *tǎng bong*.

86. – *nyũ vón nyũ va* ancient ceremonial words, difficult to translate; said to mean approx.: small waters, rivulets. Comp. line 84. – *dek°* middle, *ka°* in – *blet* drawn, the pronunciation has *glet*, presumably correct, cp. l. 5. Dict. 68a *glet* incorrect for *glyet* vb. to let fall i. e. in order that they should be drowned. – *ma o°* preterite.

**Trsl.:** (implied: we) have drawn them out in the middle of the rivulets i. e. we have let them fall down into the middle of the rivulets (in order that they should be drowned).

87. – *tǎng jír rǔng* earth opening, opening of the earth, uncommon, ceremonial word; connected with Dict. 159a *thóng* open, clean, a clear space or plain, cf. Tib. Jäs. 228a *thang* or Dict. 140a *tong* 5. 1. a pit, an abyss, a profundity(?) *jír* Dict. 96a *jí* VI. s. ground, cause, origin, basis, cf. Tib. Jäs. 480a *gzhí(-ma)* 1. that from which and on which a thing arises . . . ground, foundation . . . or Dict. 97b *jír* the same as Dict. 96a *jí-vór* long, protracted(?) To *rǔng* cf. Dict. 330b *rang* vb. to spread out, to open out(?) – *dek° ka°* in the middle of.

**Trsl.:** in the middle of the opening of the earth.

88. – *pa rí rǎng gón* a *mung* place by a slope in the rocks; cf. Dict. 335a *rǎng-gan* s. a steep ascent, perpendicular upwards direction – *dek ka* see line 87.

**Trsl.:** in the middle of *pa rí rǎng gón*.

89. – *ma ryũ na bũ* bad, cf. Dict. 342a *mǎ-ryu-nũm-bo* bad and Gram. p. 106 f. – *mǎ ryam na bũ* shapeless, fashionless, cf. Dict. 341b *ryam* vb. to be handsome, to be beautiful, *ryam-bo* handsome; for the construction of the negation *mǎ . . . na<sup>o</sup>* cf. Gram. p. 106. – *dek ka* see line 88. – *ka* here perhaps: at. (*som pũ*, bridge, see Addenda).

**Trsl.:** in the bad and shapeless bridge. (Tsering's translation.)

90. – *tǎ lyá<sup>o</sup>* the ocean, i. e. the great mythical waters under the earth, comp. line 49. – *dek ka* see line 88.

**Trsl.:** in the middle of the (underground) ocean.

91. – *sǎng vo* here translated as river, generally indicating the vast deeps, an expletive to *tǎ lyǎ*, comp. line 50. – *dek ka*, see line 88.

**Trsl.:** in the middle of the river (or: *sǎng vo*).

92. – *dar* name of a *mung* or a *mung* abode; comp. Text No. 35,7 where it was explained as a place at the foot of *kong chen* where some *rũm* were said to live – *dek ka* see line 88.

**Trsl.:** in the middle of the *dar* (*mung* place).

93. – *róng* god, gods – *dek ka*, see line 88.

**Trsl.:** Translation difficult, probably: in the middle (of the abode or the abodes) of the gods.

94. – *blet*, presumably *glet*, cf. line 86. – *ma o<sup>o</sup>* preterite.

**Trsl.:** (implied: we) have drowned (them).

**Expl. to lines 87 to 94:** As seen, the meaning of these lines was not clear to *rig zing*. He stated repeatedly that the entire prayer was an ancient ritual which he was accustomed to recite, but that he did not understand all the words. He explained, however, that the meaning of the lines 87 to 94 was something like this: In the openings of the earth, in the *mung* places by the steep rocks, in the bad and shapeless bridge, in the ocean, in the river between the *mung* and the gods, – we have drowned them.

95. – *glyo la* completely, cf. Dict. 68a *glo-lǎ* adv. fully openly. – *nón o* disappear, imp. cf. Dict.

200a *nóng* which has imp. 2. pl. *no*; *o* cf. imp. ending Gram. p. 46. It was translated as simple imp., but might better be translated: be gone! cf. Gram. p. 50 *nón* implies an absolute transition, and infers directly or indirectly the object to have gone, past.

**Trsl.:** Disappear completely!

96. – *fo la* completely, perhaps from Dict. 244b *fyǎl* vb. n. to be finished, ended, completed, *fyǎl-lǎ fyel-lǎ fyǎl* to be completely finished.

**Trsl.:** Disappear completely! (In the current translation I use “entirely” attempting to indicate that different Lepcha words have been used in lines 95 and 96).

**Paraphrase:** Tentative paraphrase; some divisions are questionable owing to the obscure phrases (See Commentary).

#### A. Addressed to the *rũm* (1–48).

I. Prayer to *na zong mũ nyũ*, the creatress of human life (1–17)

1. Invocation of this goddess (1–4)
2. Request for the health, life, and peace of the child (children) (5–7)
3. Affirmation that they have given a proper offering (8–10)
4. New invocation of *na zong mũ nyũ* as the creatress of children and of the banana (11–14)
5. Request to give life to the child (children) not to cause hurt, but to give guidance (15–17)

II. Prayer to *pǎ dím rũm* (18–26).

1. Request for guidance, help and bodily protection (18–21)
2. Request to block the way of *sór mung* and *plyong mung* (22–23)
3. and not to let come the breath of *dũl, cen, ge bu, mak nyóm, ta kra,* and *tak pũ mung* (24–26)

III. Prayer to *jer thing* (27–31)

Request to guide, protect, be close to, and help the child (children)

IV. Affirmation of the proper offerings (32–39) of:

Blood, plates of leaves, fish, bird, with request (39) to eat (i. e. accept) these gifts.

V. Prayer to *jer mǔ* and *kam mǔ rǔm* (40-48)

Affirmation that they have offered *ci*, rice, and incense (40, 41, 47, and 48). They request them to accept these things (42) and not to hurt the hands, legs, eyes, and ears of the child (children) (43-46).

hurt the hand(s) and the leg(s) of the child (children) (61-62).

4. They entreat several *mung* (63-67), requesting them not to harm the eye(s) of the child (children) (68) and not to cause death (69-75).

B. Addressed to the *mung* (49-75).

Sacrifices and Requests

1. The *mung* of *thong ta lyǔ* and the *mung* of the ocean are requested to eat (i. e. accept) the sacrifice (49-51)
2. They affirm that they have offered burnt butter to the *mung* staying up in the mountains and to *sap dok á mǔ*, and request them to eat (accept) it (52-55)
3. They inform the *mung*, who are eager to get living meat and blood, that this is a proper sacrifice, ceremonially prepared (56-60) and request them not to

## C. Ceremonial Precautions (76-94).

1. Affirmation that they have performed various ceremonial "sweeping" precautions (76-81)
2. Affirmation that they have done it well (82-83)
3. They have separated the gods and the *mung*, symbolized by two kinds of water (84) and they have performed a cleansing ceremony (85)
4. Affirmation that they have killed the evil powers in different (mythical?) ways and (mythical?) places (86-94)

D. Final request to the *mung* to disappear (95-96).

## Text No. 19. Prayer at the Wedding Ceremony.

From Tingbung

Informant: *rig zing*  
Interpreter: Tsering

1. *ki lo*            *rǔm*  
ki-|lo:-,rəm  
*ki lo*            *rǔm* (god)
2. *sǎng lo*            *rǔm*  
səŋ-|lo:-,rəm  
*sǎng lo*            *rǔm* (god)
3. *a kǔng*            *rǔm*  
a-|kuŋ-,rəm  
*a kǔng*            *rǔm* (god)
4. *mǎ la*            *rǔm*  
mə-|la:-,rəm  
*mǎ la*            *rǔm* (god)
5. *a gyek*            *ryǔ la*            *zǔk*            *bo*            *o*  
a-|ge:k            |rju:la:            |zuk            |bo-|o:  
birth            well            make  
(good)

6. *mǎ rǔm* *ryǔ la* *zǔk* *bo* *o*  
 mə-<sup>l</sup>rəm <sup>l</sup>rju:-la: ◡ <sup>l</sup>zuk ◡ <sup>l</sup>bo-<sup>l</sup>o:  
 lifetime well make  
 (good)
7. *mǎ thok* *ryǔ la* *zǔk* *bo* *o*  
 mə-<sup>l</sup>thə:k <sup>l</sup>rju:-la: ◡ <sup>l</sup>zuk ◡ <sup>l</sup>bo-<sup>l</sup>o:  
 life well make  
 (good)
8. *kóng chen* *cyǔ* *ngan la* *zong*  
 (cu)  
 kəŋ-<sup>l</sup>ʃhen <sup>l</sup>ʃu: ◡ <sup>l</sup>ŋan ,la:-<sup>l</sup>zəŋ<sup>l</sup>  
*kóng chen* peak sitting like
9. *mǎ rǔm* *bo* *o*  
 mə-<sup>l</sup>rəm ◡ <sup>l</sup>bo-<sup>l</sup>o:  
 lifetime give
10. *mǎ thok* *bo* *o*  
 mə-<sup>l</sup>thə:k ◡ <sup>l</sup>bo-<sup>l</sup>o:  
 life give
11. *lǎ lya* *ta lá* *zong*  
 ta-<sup>l</sup>ljə: ta-<sup>l</sup>lə: ◡ <sup>l</sup>zəŋ  
 ocean sleeping like
12. *sǎng vo* *ngan la* *zong*  
<sup>l</sup>səŋ-va: <sup>l</sup>ŋan-la: ◡ <sup>l</sup>zəŋ  
 waters sitting like
13. *mǎ rǔm* *bo* *o*  
 mə-<sup>l</sup>rəm ◡ <sup>l</sup>bo-<sup>l</sup>o:  
 lifetime give
14. *mǎ thok* *bo* *o*  
 mə-<sup>l</sup>thə:k ◡ <sup>l</sup>bo-<sup>l</sup>o:  
 life give
15. *cyǔ* *ngan la* *zong*  
 (cu)  
<sup>l</sup>ʃu: <sup>l</sup>ŋan-la: ◡ <sup>l</sup>zəŋ  
 peak sitting like
16. *bi* *ngan la* *zong*  
<sup>l</sup>bi: <sup>l</sup>ŋan-la: ◡ <sup>l</sup>zəŋ  
*bi* sitting like  
 (peak)
17. *mǎ rǔm* *bo* *o*  
 mə-<sup>l</sup>rəm ◡ <sup>l</sup>bo-<sup>l</sup>o:  
 lifetime give

18. *mǎ thok*      *bo*      *o*  
 mə-<sup>l</sup>thə:k      ◡      <sup>l</sup>bo-<sup>l</sup>o:  
 life      give
19. *a gye*      *ryǔ la*      *zūk*      *bo*      *o*  
 a-<sup>l</sup>ge:k      <sup>l</sup>rju:-la:      <sup>l</sup>zūk      ◡      <sup>l</sup>bo-<sup>l</sup>o:  
 birth      well      make  
 (good)
20. *pǎ tong*      *ngan la*      *zong*  
 pə-<sup>l</sup>təŋ      <sup>l</sup>ŋan-la:      ◡      <sup>l</sup>zəŋ  
 hearth      sitting      like
21. *a kyet*      *bo*      *o*  
 a-<sup>l</sup>kət      ◡      <sup>l</sup>bo-<sup>l</sup>o:  
 peace      give
22. *ta sen*      *ngan la*      *zong*  
 ta-<sup>l</sup>sen      <sup>l</sup>ŋan-,la:      ◡      <sup>l</sup>zəŋ  
 lake      sitting      like
23. *a kyet*      *bo*      *o*  
 a-<sup>l</sup>kət      ◡      <sup>l</sup>bo-<sup>l</sup>o:  
 peace      give
24. *mǎ rūm*      *a re*      *ka*      *shǔ*      *mo*  
 mə-<sup>l</sup>rəm      a-<sup>l</sup>re:-,ka:           <sup>l</sup>ʃu-mo:  
 lifetime      this      for      requested have
25. *a kyet*      *zūk*      *bo*      *o*  
 a-<sup>l</sup>kət      <sup>l</sup>zūk      ◡      <sup>l</sup>bo-<sup>l</sup>o:  
 peace      make
26. *ǎ dyang*      *zūk*      *bo*      *o*  
 a-<sup>l</sup>djaŋ      <sup>l</sup>zūk      ◡      <sup>l</sup>bo-<sup>l</sup>o:  
 peace      make
27. *nam*      *lyót*      *bo*      *o*  
<sup>l</sup>na:m      <sup>l</sup>ljət      ◡      <sup>l</sup>bo-<sup>l</sup>o:  
 times (good)      let have
28. *tūm*      *lyót*      *bo*      *o*  
<sup>l</sup>tum      <sup>l</sup>ljət      ◡      <sup>l</sup>bo-<sup>l</sup>o:  
 (good) seasons      let have
29. *a fik*      *bo*      *o*  
 a-<sup>l</sup>fə:k      ◡      <sup>l</sup>bo-<sup>l</sup>o:  
 (good) harvest      give
30. *a brom*      *bo*      *o*  
 a-<sup>l</sup>brə:m      ◡      <sup>l</sup>bo-<sup>l</sup>o:  
 good harvest      give  
 (ripe fruits)

31. *a shūp* *zūk* *bo*  
 a-<sup>l</sup>ʃup <sup>l</sup>zʊk-<sup>l</sup>bo:  
 big (rice) basket give
32. *a myŭng* *zūk* *bo*  
 a-<sup>l</sup>mjuŋ <sup>l</sup>zʊk-<sup>l</sup>bo:  
 big basket give
33. *sāng kyū* *thak* *tho* *mo*  
 səŋ-<sup>l</sup>kju:  
 butter-pat <sup>l</sup>tha:k <sub>put</sub> <sup>l</sup>tho:-<sup>l</sup>mo:  
 have
34. *mǎ rŭm* *a re* *ka* *shū* *mo*  
 mǎ-<sup>l</sup>rəm a-<sup>l</sup>re:-ka:  
 lifetime this for requested have
35. *mǎ thok* *a re* *ka* *shū* *mo*  
 mǎ-<sup>l</sup>thə:k a-<sup>l</sup>re:-ka:  
 life this for requested have
36. *tar bong* *ngan la* *zong*  
 tar-<sup>l</sup>bəŋ <sup>l</sup>ŋan-la: <sub>put</sub> <sup>l</sup>zəŋ  
 tar bong sitting like
37. *na rip* *ngan la* *zong*  
 na-<sup>l</sup>ri:p <sup>l</sup>ŋan-la: <sub>put</sub> <sup>l</sup>zəŋ  
 na rip sitting like
38. *mǎ thok* *a re* *ka* *shū* *mo*  
 mǎ-<sup>l</sup>thə:k a-<sup>l</sup>re:-ka:  
 life this for requested have
39. *rel bū kŭp* *ngan la* *zong*  
 rɛ:<sup>l</sup>bʊ:<sup>l</sup>kəp <sup>l</sup>ŋan-la: <sub>put</sub> <sup>l</sup>zəŋ  
 rel bū kŭp sitting like
40. *sen bū kŭp* *ngan la* *zong*  
 \*sɛ:<sup>l</sup>bʊ:-kəp <sup>l</sup>ŋan-la: <sub>put</sub> <sup>l</sup>zəŋ  
 sen bū kŭp sitting like
41. *mǎ rŭm* *a re* *tho* *mo*  
 mǎ-<sup>l</sup>rəm a-<sup>l</sup>re:  
 life(time) this <sub>put</sub> have
42. *sāng kyó* *a re* *tho* *mo*  
<sup>l</sup>səŋ-<sup>l</sup>kjo: a-<sup>l</sup>re:  
 butter-pat this <sub>put</sub> have



43. *mar gen*      *a re*      *ka*      *tho*      *mo*  
 mar-<sup>l</sup>gen      a-<sup>l</sup>re:      —      <sup>l</sup>tho-<sup>l</sup>mo:  
 butler      this      in      put      have  
    to, for
44. *nang fen*      *a re*      *ka*      *tho*      *mo*  
 naŋ-<sup>l</sup>fen      a-re:      —      <sup>l</sup>tho-<sup>l</sup>mo:  
*ci*      this      in      put      have  
    to, for
45. *nang dyang*      *a re*      *ka*      *tho*      *mo*  
 naŋ-<sup>l</sup>djaŋ      a-re:      —      <sup>l</sup>tho:-mo-<sup>l</sup>o:<sup>2</sup>  
*ci*      this      in      put      have  
    for, to
46. *bóp*      *mǎ*      *long*      *o*  
<sup>l</sup>bɔ:p      mə-<sup>l</sup>lɔŋ           <sup>l</sup>o:<sup>3</sup>  
 intoxicated not be
47. *par kryāk*      *mǎ*      *long*      *o*  
 par-<sup>l</sup>ke?<sup>k</sup>      mə-<sup>l</sup>lɔŋ           ,o:  
 angry      not be
48. *tang síng*      *mǎ*      *long*      *o*  
 \*tak-<sup>l</sup>sim      \*mə-<sup>l</sup>lɔm           ,o:  
 angry      not be
49. *tak she*      *rūm*      *ngan*      *bo*  
 tak-<sup>l</sup>se:      <sup>l</sup>rəm-ŋan-,bu:<sup>5</sup>  
*tak she*      god      stay
50. *tak bo*      *rūm*      *ngan*      *bo*  
 tak-<sup>l</sup>bo:      <sup>l</sup>rəm-ŋan-,bu:  
*tak bo*      god      stay
51. *ǎ yu*      *gán grǎn*      *mǎ*      *je*      *n*      *o*  
 a-<sup>l</sup>ju:      <sup>l</sup>gən-<sup>l</sup>dən<sup>6</sup>      mə-<sup>l</sup>ʒɛn-,o:  
 you      help      not      stop  
 (plur.)
52. *tak she*      *rūm*      *ding*      *bo*      *o*  
 tə-<sup>l</sup>se:-rəm           <sup>l</sup>dɪŋ           <sup>l</sup>bo-<sup>l</sup>o:  
*tak she*      god      stand
53. *tak bo*      *rūm*      *ding*      *bo*      *o*  
 tək-<sup>l</sup>bo:-rəm           <sup>l</sup>dɪŋ           <sup>l</sup>bo-<sup>l</sup>o:  
*tak bo*      god      stand

54. *cho rŭm ding bo o*  
 |ʃho:-rəm |diŋ ◡ |bo-|o:  
*cho god stand*
55. *yŭk rŭm ding bo o*  
 |juk-rim |diŋ ◡ |bo-|o:  
*yuk god stand*
56. *ki lo*  
*ki-|lo*  
*ki lo*
57. *săng lo lón bo*  
 səŋ-|lo: ,ləm-|bu:  
*sang lo lón bo!*  
 (chieftain, leader)
58. *mă rŭm a re ka shŭ tho mo*  
 mə-|rəm a-|re:-ka: |ʃu-,tho:-,mo:  
 life(time) this for request put have
59. *mă thok a re ka shŭ tho mo*  
 mə-|thə:k a-|re:-ka: |ʃu-,tho:-,mo:  
 life this for request put have  
 soul

1-4: Invocations of four *rŭm*<sup>o</sup> stated to be creators of female beings; the two first are probably the most prominent, being invoked once more (lines 56-57) at the end of the ritual. By this opening it is immediately stressed that the woman is the central figure of the wedding ceremony.

1. - *ki lo* name of a *rŭm*, no explanation, cf. above lines 1-4. Cf. perhaps Dict. 16b *ki* vb. to be born and Tib. Jäs. 28a *skyé-ba* to be born, see also Jäs. 29b *skyed-pa* 1. to generate, to procreate.

2. - *săng lo* name of a *rŭm*, no explanation, see above lines 1-4. Cf. line 57.

3. - *a kŭng* name of a *rŭm*, no explanation, see above lines 1-4. Comp. the root *kung* mentioned in line 4.

4. - *mă la* name of a *rŭm*, no explanation; see above lines 1-4. The *mă la* may be the same referred to in Dict. 291a *mŭng-kung* (*mŭng-la*) or *mă-kung* (*mă-la*) s. the guardian spirit of life, of each person's life; cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956a p. 305 '*khrung tha* or "birth-gods"; the Tibetans

believe that each person has one or more '*khrung lha*. These are the deities in whose area of influence one has been born. The worship of the personal '*khrung lha* is an important religious duty; its neglect might incur the displeasure of the birth-gods with the usual disastrous consequences as illness, calamities, etc. . . . Cf. also Dict. 47a *khung* 1. mine, 2. rise, origin, root, stock, and Tib. Jäs. 62b '*khrung-ba* to be born.

5. - *a gyek*<sup>o</sup> birth, here explained as the future childbirths of the woman - *ryu la*<sup>o</sup> well, good - *zuk*<sup>o</sup> *bo*<sup>o</sup> *o*<sup>o</sup> make, please make (imp.).

Trsl.: make the births good!

Expl.: The gods concerned are requested to give the bride an easy delivery in her coming confinements. As this request is the first of the whole ritual it points out that the bearing of children is the foremost duty of the wife.

6. - *mă rŭm*<sup>o</sup> life and lifetime; Mainwaring's explanation Dict. 278a: the allotted period of life, fits well in with this context, in particular

when compared with *mă thok* in line 7. – For the rest of the line, see line 5.

**Trsl.:** make the lifetime good!

**Expl.:** Tsering stated that this line referred to the married couple, i. e. not only to the woman, but also to the husband. The gods invoked in lines 1–4, or at least some of them, may therefore also have some influence on the life of the man.

7. – *mă thok*<sup>o</sup> life. The interpreter stated that the meaning of this word was almost identical with the meaning of *mă rŭm*, line 6. However, Baknar of Singhik later informed me that *mă thok* was used equal to a *pil*<sup>o</sup> soul, spirit, and Das 1896 p. 4 f. recounts: “In the sacred books of the Lepchas it is mentioned that there are 8 Apels (souls) in man and 6 in woman. After death, in every case, one Apel goes to the sky in search of Ramliyan or Paradise – the so-called Blessed Regions of other nations, to see if it is any thing like Sikkim – his haven of rest. The remaining Apels go to the bosom of the mother earth . . .” According to Dict. 278a the translations of Padmasambhava use the combination *mă rŭm mă thok* for eternal life, immortality.

This being so we may distinguish between three translations of lines 6–7:

- (1) Make the lifetime good! Make the life good! (Tsering)
- (2) Make the lifetime (i. e. their physical life) good! Make the soul (i. e. their spiritual life) good! (Baknar)
- (3) Make the lifetime (i. e. their physical life) good! Make the soul's life (i. e. the life of the soul both in this world and in the after-world) good! (Mainwaring and Das).

As the entire prayer deals with the life of the married couple in this world, the third explanation can probably be ruled out in this context. If we keep to the information given at the time the first explanation must be preferred; I may only add that Baknar was a very good informant who, despite his youth, possessed a wide knowledge of Lepcha religion and traditions. I therefore think that the second explanation cannot be completely ruled out.

8. – *kóng chen*<sup>o</sup> *cyŭ* (*cu*)<sup>o</sup> Mount Kanchenjunga, and especially the peak. – *ngan*<sup>o</sup> to sit, to be situated; *nagn la* was translated: sitting, sat as; to *la* cf. possibly Dict. 350b *-lă*, postpositive affixed expresses the manner or mode of the preceding word . . . *ngan-lă* mode of sitting, that

is in this context: because they imitate or have imitated the mode of sitting of *kong chen* and his wife . . . or cf. *-lă*, Dict. 343a and Tib. Jäs. 540a, *la* 5, gerundial particle – *zong*<sup>o</sup> like, indicates a comparison.

**Trsl.:** *kong chen*, sitting-mode, like, i. e. like the sitting *kong chen*.

**Expl.:** Tsering added the explanation that during the ceremony the young couple sit on the floor imitating the two mountains, *kong chen* and his wife, *cyă dŭng ra zo*, as they sit opposite each other. The meaning will then be: just as this mountain-couple have a long and permanent life, so give this young couple, now imitating the mountain-couple, a long life, also.

9–10. – cf. lines 6 and 7; but the present request only concerns lifetime and life, *ryŭ la* is not mentioned.

**Expl.:** It was not explained to whom this request is addressed, but according to the context it seems most reasonable to suggest that it is addressed to the *rŭm* mentioned in lines 1–4 to whom a similar request was addressed in lines 6 and 7.

11. – *tă lya*<sup>o</sup> the mythical ocean under the earth. *ta* to sleep, cf. Dict. 168b *da*<sup>o</sup> to recline, to rest, to lie down – *lă* is a variant of *la*, line 8. – *zong*, see line 8.

**Trsl.:** Like the sleeping (underground) ocean.

12. – *săng vo*<sup>o</sup>, was here translated as water (ocean?), especially calm water; cf. Dict. 413b *săng-vo*, 2. *tă-lyă săng-vo*, the vast, the immensity of *tă-lyă dă*, the ocean.

**Trsl.:** like the sitting (calm) water.

13–14. – cf. lines 9–10.

**Expl.:** Just as the underground waters are calm and tranquil so the people hope that their marriage will be peaceful with nothing to harm and spoil their happiness.

15. – Cf. line 8 where the name of the mountain, viz. *kong chen*, is mentioned. In line 15 is no name; it refers presumably to the peaks in general.

**Trsl.:** like the sitting peak(s).

16. – *bi*, according to the interpreter the name of a peak; Dict. 256a has *bi* 5. s. edge, border . . . expletive to *cu*, *cu bi* the snowy mountains.

**Trsl.:** like the sitting *bi* (peak, peaks).

17–18. Cf. lines 9–10.

**Expl.:** Just as the high peaks are calm and tranquil, so the prayer expresses the hope that the life of the young couple may be equally tranquil and happy.

19. – The request of line 5 is resumed.

20. – *pǎ tong*<sup>o</sup> hearth, fireplace; to the remaining words cf. lines 11 and 12.

**Trsl.:** like the sitting hearth.

**Expl.:** Tamsang explained that the hearth, being the centre of the peace of the family, is a most blessed place, comp. Text. No. 25,5.

21. – *a kyel*<sup>o</sup> peace, tranquility; happiness – *bo*<sup>o</sup> *o*<sup>o</sup> give.

**Trsl.:** give peace!

22. – *ta sen* lake, ceremonial word; to the remaining words cf. lines 11 and 12. Tamsang explained that the sitting lake was a lake without movement, calm and tranquil.

**Trsl. 22–23:** like the sitting (calm) lake, give peace!

24. – *mǎ rǔm* life, lifetime, cf. lines 6 and 7. – *a re*<sup>o</sup> this, the present married couple – *ka*<sup>o</sup> for, in favour of – *shǔ*<sup>o</sup> to request – *mo*<sup>o</sup> preterite.

**Trsl.:** For this life (lifetime) (we) have requested.

**Expl.:** In this context *mǎ rǔm* comprises the lifetime of both the young man and the young woman including their general welfare as well as such events as childbirths, etc.

25. – Almost identical with line 23 and line 21, but *zük*<sup>o</sup> to make, to do, gives it a stronger emphasis. – *bo*<sup>o</sup> *o*<sup>o</sup> (give).

26. – *ǎ dyang* peace, almost equal to *a kyel*<sup>o</sup>, see lines 21, 23, and 25, cf. Dict. 185a *dyang* 3, *a-dyang*, expletive to *kyát*, *a-kyát* Dict. 31a 1. ease, quiet, tranquillity, 2. safety . . . cf. Gram. p. 137 and Padmasambhava, e. g. Grünwedel 1913, p. 19 (Lepcha translation of Padmasambhava's *rnam-thar*) 84A: *a-kyel a-dyang*, "Glück und Frieden" in the description of the conditions of the gods in Heaven. – For the remaining words, see line 25.

**Trsl.:** make peace!

27. – *nam* year, time, good time, cf. Dict. 192a s. a year; season, time; an age, period of life,

– *lyót* let have, cf. Dict. 367a and 360b *lyót* causative to *lót* cause to return. – *bo*<sup>o</sup> *o*<sup>o</sup> (give).

**Trsl.:** let them have (good) times!

28. – *tǔm* time, season, cf. Dict. 136a *tum* (obsolete when un-compounded) s. time, season, cf. Gram. p. 137 expletive to *nam*, and Dict. 192b, *nam tum*, s. time, season – *lyót bo o* see line 27.

**Trsl.:** let them have (good) seasons!

29. – *a fík* good harvest; word unknown to Tsering. Dict. 241a has *fík* s. time, season, and 244b has *fyak* 1 . . . 2. ripe; maybe the meaning is: ripe harvest of the season. – *bo*<sup>o</sup> *o*<sup>o</sup> give.

**Trsl.:** give good harvest!

30. – *a brom* good harvest; word unknown to Tsering. Dict. 271b has *bróm* 2. vb. n. to fall down, *a-bróm* a falling fruit when large and ripe; cf. Dict. 270b *bro* II. to swell, to increase, 2. to be great . . . *a-bróm* adj. full-grown, full-size, s. large size. The present meaning is presumably: good harvest of ripe fruits. – *bo*<sup>o</sup> *o*<sup>o</sup> give.

**Trsl.:** give good harvest (of ripe fruits).

31. – *a shǔp* 1. big basket used for keeping paddy rice, 2. those remains of foods or drinks which cannot be consumed, e. g. tea-leaves which have been used for preparing tea, the fibres of a sugarcane, the last remainder of a piece of chewing gum, etc. Ad 1. cf. perhaps Dict. 435b *shóp* 4. s. a sort of stack made of straw (frame-work etc.) and filled in the interior with rice, *a-shóp*. – *zuk bo*, see line 26.

**Trsl.:** give them a big basket (for paddy rice).

32. – *a myǔng* big basket. – For the rest of the line, see line 31.

**Trsl.:** give them a big basket.

**Expl. to 29–32:** Tamsang stated that the meaning is: Give them a good harvest that their big baskets can be filled.

33. – *sǎng kyü* butter-pat, small butter-pat smeared on the edge of an offering cup, see Text No. 18,8 commentary. – *thak* to put, *tho*<sup>o</sup> to put, to place, cf. Dict. 156a *tho* forms transitiva from other verbs e. g. *tek tho*, see Dict. 137a *tek* 3. to pack up, to put up etc.; the present form *thak* may be a variant of *tek* (?) – *mo*<sup>o</sup> preterite.

**Trsl.:** (implied: we) have put a butter-pat.

34. – See line 24.

35. – The same wording as in line 34 except for the first word: *mă thok*, see line 7.

36. – *tar bong*, male *răm*, comp. Text. No. 34,3 – *ngan la zong*, see line 8. –

Trsl.: like the sitting *tar bong*.

37. – *na rip*, female *răm*, married to *tar bong*, line 36, and comp. Text No. 34,4. – *ngan la zong*, see line 8.

Trsl.: like the sitting *na rip*.

Expl. to 36–37: The comparison of the present married couple to *tar bong* and *na rip*, who in the Lepcha mythology are the first married couple and the originators of human marriage, conveys a profound religious background to the wedding ceremony.

38. – See line 35.

39. – *rel bū kǔp*, son of the goddess *nă zóng nyo* – For the rest of the line, see line 8.

Trsl.: like the sitting *rel bū kǔp*.

40. – *sen bū kǔp*, son of the goddess *nă zóng nyo* (Tamsang speaks: *sel bū kǔp*) – For the rest of the line, see line 8.

Trsl.: like the sitting *sen bū kǔp*.

Expl. to 39–40: The married couple is compared to the famous mythical sons of the great goddess of procreation. The point is presumably that their lives in this way are entrusted to her divine protection in the hope that she will bestow her creative fertility on them. (Comp. Text No. 18,2).

41. – *mă răm*, see line 6. – *a re°* this, i. e. the present and the future life of the married couple – *tho°* to put, here: to give – *mo°* preterite.

Trsl.: (implied: we) have given this life.

Expl.: The interpreter explained that this line referred to all the above mentioned *răm*, i. e. if the life of the married couple is not dedicated to these *răm*, they will have a short life.

42. – See line 33. – *a re°* this.

43. – *mar gen* butter, cf. Text No. 18,8. – *a re°* this, i. e. the butter offered here. – For the rest of the line, see line 33. – *ka* causes difficulty because it is seemingly superfluous (and it was

not spoken by Tamsang) but as the construction is repeated in lines 44 and 45 it may be a current ritual expression. Tsering did not comment on it at all, only translating: we have put (i. e. given) this butter.

Trsl.: (implied: we) have given this butter.

44. – *nang fen* another name of *ci*, may indicate a special brew of *ci*; comp. *fyeng*, Text No. 27,4. – For the rest of the line, see line 43.

Trsl.: (implied: we) have given this *ci*.

45. – *nang dyang* another name of *ci*. – For the rest of the line, see line 43. (Tamsang speaks *mo o* for *mo*, see List).

Trsl.: (implied: we) have given this *ci*.

46. – *bóp* explained as: to be intoxicated; cf. Dict. 260a *bup* 2. vb. n. 1. to be delusive . . . 2. to be intoxicated, and Dict. 77b *ci bup* vb. to be drunk. – The word *bóp* was unknown to Tsering and Baknar, but Tamsang stated it to be a common word. He said that it was used of water and any other liquid which has been made foaming, fermenting, or dirty owing to some influence or movement. If one jumps into a pond and splashes water and mud here and there, the Lepchas say that the water becomes “*bóp*”; and while rice wine is being prepared the liquid will be “*bóp*”; cf. Dict. 262b *bop* vb. to be dirty, muddy (water), to be turbid, dull, as mind, impure. – *mă°* negation – *long*, Tsering simply explained the sentence: do not be intoxicated; but cf. Dict. 359b *lóng* 4. vb. to lead . . . vb. n. to be induced, i. e. do not be induced to be intoxicated (?). – *o°* (not translated).

Trsl.: do not be intoxicated!

47. – *par kryak* angry; cf. perhaps Tib. Jäs. 62a *'khrúg-pa* vb. to be in disorder, agitation, commotion, to be disturbed . . . to quarrel, to fight etc. – For the rest of the line, see line 46.

Trsl.: do not be angry!

48. – *tang sing* angry; cf. perhaps Dict. 429a *shing* 5. vb. to be drunk, to be intoxicated from spirits, tobacco, etc., the same as *bup*, see line 46. – Tamsang speaks: “*tak sim*”; cf. perhaps Dict. 414a *süm* vb. to be damp . . . metonymically angry *a-mlem süm süm-la* . . . *a-süm* 2. the spirit, the strength of liquors. – *tang*, cf. *thang°* to drink(?). – For the rest of the line, see line 46.

Trsl.: do not be angry!

**Expl. to 46–48:** These lines were said to be addressed to the guests as an admonition not to drink so much as to become drunk and excited and thus start quarrelling. The Sacred Story of the Origin of Marriage (Gorer p. 483f. and Morris p. 246) recounts how the insect Takder (Gorer suggests: wasp, or firefly – like a grasshopper, but flies) steals the yeast for fermenting millet from an old woman. On discovering his theft she shouts: “. . . I thought you were my grandson, but I see you are nothing but a thief; you have stolen my yeast and will give it to everybody all over the world. So I set my curse on it; may it make everybody who drinks it drunk and quarrelsome.” And so it has been; when people get drunk they quarrel.” (Gorer).

**49.** – *tak she*, a great *rūm*, here invoked to stay with the married couple, i. e. to protect them. – *ngan*<sup>o</sup> to sit, here: to stay, to remain, i. e. to protect – *bo*<sup>o</sup> imp. indication.

**Trsl.:** *tak she rūm* stay (with them)!

**50.** – *tak bo*, a great *rūm*. For the rest of the line, see line 49.

**Trsl.:** *tak bo rūm* stay (with them)!

**51.** – *ã yu*<sup>o</sup> you, plur., i. e. the above mentioned two *rūm*. – *gân grân*<sup>o</sup> help, patronage, see Text No. 18,19. – *mã* . . . *n*<sup>o</sup> negation. – *je* to stop, cf. Text No. 24,2. – *o*<sup>o</sup> imp.

**Trsl.:** do not stop your help!

**52.** – *tak she*, see line 49. – *ding*<sup>o</sup> to stand, to remain, see Text No. 18,21. – *bo o*<sup>o</sup> imp. construction.

**Trsl.:** *tak she rūm* stand (with them)!

**53.** – *tak bo*, see line 50. – For the rest of the line, see line 52.

**Trsl.:** *tak bo rūm* stand (with them)!

**54.** – *cho rūm*, name of a god, no explanation; cf. perhaps Dict. 91b *cho* IV., side, quarter, party, sect, faction, cf. Tib. Jäs. 352a *phyogs* 1. side, direction . . . 2. quarter of the heavens, the cardinal points of the compass, and Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956a, p. 265 *Phyogs skyung bcu*, “the ten lokapālas”, who guard the four cardinal points, the four intermediary spaces, and the zenith and the nadir; comp. Nebesky-Wojkowitz, AS, VI, 1–4, p. 32 recounting that at the

wedding ceremony of the Lepchas “man einige Tropfen (*chl*) nach den vier Weltgegenden wie auch dem Nadir und Zenith verspritzt.” – For the rest of the line, see line 52. –

**Trsl.:** *cho rūm* stand (with them)!

**55.** – *yūk*<sup>o</sup> *rūm*<sup>o</sup>, name of a god, no explanation; cf. Text No. 7,3 *yuk* said to be used particularly of male gods, and 7,9 *yuk* used of *shã só rāk rok* indicating this *rūm* as creator and protector of minor domestic animals etc.; cf. perhaps Dict. 325a *yuk* vb. to be high in birth or grade, to be noble . . . *yuk-sam* “lama”, see also Dict. 293a *yūk-mün* and Stocks p. 367 *yuk-mun* a priest. – For the rest of the line, see line 52.

**Trsl.:** *yūk rūm* stand (with them)!

**56.** – *ki lo* a new invocation of the *rūm* invoked in line 1.

**57.** – *säng lo* a new invocation of the *rūm* invoked in line 2.; in this context called *lón bo* which was taken as a part of his name, but cf. Dict. 359b *lóng* 4. *lon* vb. t. to lead etc. . . . (a-) *lón-bo* s. a chieftain, a leader.

**58.** – Cf. lines 34 and 24. – *shü*<sup>o</sup> to request and *tho*<sup>o</sup> to put, cf. Dict. 432a *shu* 2. to entreat, to petition . . . *a-shu* s. a begging, soliciting, petitioning etc.

**Trsl.:** For this life(time) we have put forward a request, i. e. for the life(time) of this married couple we have requested.

**59.** – See line 58 and line 7 *mã thok* and *mã rūm*.

**Trsl.:** For this life (soul) we have put forward a request.

**Expl.:** They have made a request (referring to all the prayers of the ritual) in favour of the lives (souls) (i. e. the whole existence) of the married couple.

**Note:** Compare the entire ceremony with Nebesky-Wojkowitz, AS, VI, 1–4, pp. 30–40: Hochzeitslieder der Lepchas.

#### Paraphrase:

I. Initial invocations of four *rūm*, creators of female beings, with requests for happy childbirths and a happy life for the young couple (1–7)

## II. Situations from the wedding ceremony (8–45)

1. They compare the bridegroom and the bride, sitting opposite each other, to *kong chen* and his wife, to the (mythical) ocean, to the calm waters, to the peak(s), to the hearth, and to the lake, and request a good life and peace for the wedded couple (8–26)
2. Prayers for a life of good years, rich harvest, and full baskets, with affirmations that they have offered butter-pats, and with requests for their lives (27–35)
3. New references to the wedding situation (36–45)
  - a. The bridegroom and the bride are compared to the primordial married couple *lar bong* and *na rip*, and requests are made for their lives (36–38)
  - b. The bridegroom and the bride sit like the sons of *nǎ zóng nyo*, the great goddess of procreation, and their lives are entrusted to her protection and to all the above mentioned *rūm* with affirmations that butter and *ci* have been offered (39–45)

## III. Appeal to the guests not to be intoxicated and not to quarrel (46–48)

IV. Requests to the *rūm*: *tak she*, *tak bo*, *cho* and *yūk*, to abide with them and to help them (49–55)V. Final invocations (cf. lines 1–2) of the *rūm* called *ki lo* and *sǎng lo* with requests for the life of the married couple (56–59)**Additional Note:**

The repeated construction “. . . *ngan la zong*” was translated by Tsering “like (as) the sitting...”

In the commentary to line 8 Tsering explained that these words mean that the young couple occupy a sitting posture similar to that of *kong chen* and his wife, i. e. “sitting like . . .”. Perhaps this meaning is also implied in the following instances referring to some ceremonial position having its origin in the mythical background. However, the current translation is that given by Tsering.

The gift of butter-pats (lines 33 and 42) and the gift of *ci* (line 44 f.) may obtain a fuller meaning by comparison with Gorer p. 335: “. . . After that he (i. e. the *mūn*) hands to the bride the buttered bowl filled with strained *chi*; she sips it three times and after each sip the bowl is refilled as each sip is a symbolic emptying of the bowl. After the bride the groom drinks, and then the members of the bride’s party and the groom’s party in turn take three ceremonial sips from a smaller buttered bowl. This drinking of the buttered *chi* is really the sacramental consecration of the marriage and represents a pact of friendship between the bride and her new family and village.”

The admonition not to be intoxicated and angry (lines 46–48), according to Tsering referring to the guests, may also refer to the married couple, cf. Gorer p. 335: “. . . He (i. e. the *mūn*) then turns to the bride and groom and preaches a sermon to them, telling them to love one another and not to quarrel . . .”. Comp. also the ancient curse on *ci*, Gorer p. 484 (The Sacred Story of the Origin of Marriage) “. . . “So I set my curse on it; may it make everybody who drinks it drunk and quarrelsome”. And so it has been; when people get drunk they quarrel.”

Compare the entire prayer with “das Lied . . . von einem Sänger nach vollzogener Segnung des neuen Ehebandes vorgetragen”, Nebesky-Wojkowitz, “Hochzeitslieder der Lepchas”, p. 31 f.

**Text No. 20. A *bong thing*’s Prayer for a Sick Man.**

From Git

Informant: Ongdi Buru

Local interpreter: Father Brahier

Later interpreter: Tamsang

1. <i>nó</i>	<i>nát bu</i>	<i>mung</i>						
<i>nó</i>	trouble-giver	<i>mung</i>						
2. <i>hó</i>	<i>zón nyín</i>	<i>a re</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>mán</i>	<i>ví</i>	<i>re</i>	<i>mǎ</i>	<i>zón</i>
you	human being	this	of	flesh	blood	the	not	eat
<i>nǎ</i>	<i>o</i>							

3. <i>a re</i>	<i>bík</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>mán</i>	<i>ví</i>	<i>re</i>	<i>hó</i>	<i>hũ do</i>	<i>sa</i>
this	ox	of	meat	blood	the	you	his	
<i>tshóp</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>zo</i>	<i>bũ</i>	<i>nu</i>				
instead	of	eat	take	(go)				
(substitute	for)							

1. – *nó* name of the *mung*, may be compared with Dict. 199b s. Tib. *gnod*, malice, spite, animosity, illwill. – *nát bu* one who gives trouble, from *nát* to give trouble, cf. Gram. p. 99 and Dict. 190a *nát-bo* hurtful, noxious from *nát* vb. to afflict, to injure, to hurt, and *nát mung*, a baneful evil spirit, a noxious demon. Here an entreaty to the *mung*. (See Addenda).

**Trsl.:** *nó*, trouble giving *mung*!

2. – *hó*° you, singl. – *zón nyín*° human being. – *a re*° this + *sa*°, genitive indication, cf. Gram. p. 43. – *mán*° flesh or meat, here: the sick person's body. – *ví*° blood, here: the sick person's blood. – *re*° the definite article, placed after the noun, cf. Gram. pp. 23 and 119 and Dict. 337b. – *mā*° . . . *nā* negation, cf. Dict. 275b and Gram. p. 106: *mā* is followed by *-nā* when followed by any verbal affix, in this case: *o*. – *zón* from *zo* vb. to eat, cf. Dict. 318a *zo*° I. vb. to eat, cf. Tib. Jäs. 485a *za-ba*, *bza-ba* I. vb. to eat, here used of the *mung* intending to eat the sick person's body; the final *n* in *zón* is the *n* added to verbs ending in a vowel when they are followed by *nā*, the second part of the negation, cf. Dict. 188a *-n* III., and Gram. p. 106. –

**Trsl.:** You (*mung*), do not eat the flesh (and drink) the blood of this human being!

**Expl.:** The disease is an obvious symptom of the fact that the *mung* devours the man's flesh and drinks his blood.

3. – *a re*° this – *bík*° cow, cf. Dict. 256b *bík* s. a cow. – *sa*° of, genitive construction. – *mán*°, *ví*°, *re*°, *hó*°, see line 2. – *hũ do*° *sa*° his, from *hũ do* cf. Gram p. 38 *hũ do* reciprocal pronoun 3rd. person singl. he himself, his self, cf. Dict. 370a-b. – *sa*° of, genitive construction. – *tshóp*° *ka*° instead of, cf. Dict. 313b *tshóp* s. an equivalent, a representative, a deputy, cf. Tib. Jäs. 446b *tshab* (cf. *'tshab-pa*) representative, proxy; in reference to a thing: equivalent, substitute. – *zo* vb. to eat, see line 2. – *bũ nu* take (it) and go away, cf. Dict. 257b *bũ* and 258a *bũ nóng* vb. 2. to take away, to remove, to transpose . . . *bũ nó*, imp. 1. take away. (To *tshóp* cf. Text No. 30,1).

**Trsl.:** The meat (and) blood of this cow, eat (it) as a substitute for him (himself), take it away (or: take it and go!) that is: As a substitute for him you shall eat the meat (and drink) the blood of this cow. Take it and go away!

#### Paraphrase:

I. Entreaty to *nó nāt bu mung* (1)

II. Request to the *mung* (2–3):

1. not to devour the flesh and the blood of the sick man (2)
2. but instead to consume the meat and the blood of the sacrificed ox (3)
3. and to disappear (3).

### Text No. 21. Entreaty to Pantor in Case of Epidemics.

From Tingbung

Informant: Rapgyor  
Interpreter: Tsering

1. <i>kā yu</i>	<i>sā</i>	<i>ā píl</i>	<i>a re</i>	<i>zo</i>	<i>mā</i>	<i>bo</i>	<i>n</i>
our		soul	this	eat	not	give	
				take		cause	
2. <i>a zím</i>	<i>a re</i>	<i>bo</i>	<i>mo</i>				
gift	this	given	have				



- |                    |             |           |           |
|--------------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|
| 3. <i>a mo</i>     | <i>a re</i> | <i>bo</i> | <i>mo</i> |
| blood              | this        | given     | have      |
| 4. <i>suk chíp</i> | <i>a re</i> | <i>bo</i> | <i>mo</i> |
| creature           | this        | given     | have      |

No address; but the whole entreaty was said to be directed to Pantor, a *mung* looking like a ferocious bull and abiding in a strange, weird rock, protruding from a hillock. Perhaps it is the same *mung* which is called *pān k̄ror hla shen* in Text No. 31,65. —

1. — *kā yu° sã°* our, here the people of the village suffering from an attack of an epidemic disease. — *ā pil°* soul, the interpreter stated that it here might almost be translated as: life. *ā pil* seems in this context to be taken collectively: soul, i. e. souls or lives. — *zo vb.* according to the interpreter translated as: to take; Dict. 318a has *zo, zóm I.*, vb. to eat (applied simply to eating rice or vegetables); as *zo* is elsewhere translated by to eat, I suggest that the interpreter's translation is a paraphrase, i. e. to take their lives and to eat their lives are identical. — *mā . . . n°* negation, *n* is an abbreviation for *ne*, cf. Dict. 188a. — *bo°* cf. Dict. 265b *byí . . .* when governing the first and the second person *bo* is used, cf. Gram. p. 128. The interpreter translated: Do not give (cause), or simply: Do not . . .

**Trsl.:** Do not eat (i. e. take) our soul (life or lives)!

2. — *a zim°* gift, any kind of things, e. g. flowers, crops, animals, etc., presented to the gods or the *mung*. Tsering stressed that it was an important point that the creature presented was living and not dead; it had to be killed on the spot. *bo° mo°*

have given, the past indicates that the sacrifice has taken place.

**Trsl.:** (We) have given (you, i. e. Pantor) this gift (i. e. this living creature)!

3. — *a mo°* blood, this word was said to be used only in religious (presumably: sacrificial) language. *a re°* this, in this context the blood which they have just now given to Panthor. — *bo° mo°* have given, see line 2.

**Trsl.:** (We) have given this blood!

**Expl.:** This line shows clearly that the essential part of the gift is the blood, i. e. that part of the animal which contains its life.

4. — *suk chíp* creature, used only of animals. (*suk* perhaps the same as *sok*, Dict. 419b the vital principle, cf. Tib. Jäs. 584b *srog*, life). — *a re°* this, here: the sacrificial animal. — *bo° mo°* have given, see lines 2 and 3. Once again it is stated that the sacrifice has taken place.

**Trsl.:** (We) have given this creature!

**Paraphrase:**

- I. Request to Pantor not to take their lives (1)
- II. Affirmation that they have given (2–4):
  - a. a sacrificial gift (2),
  - b. consisting in blood (3),
  - c. and a whole creature (4).

**Text No. 22. Entreaty to a *mung* in Case of Disease.**

From Tingbung

Informant: Man from Tingbung  
Interpreter: Tsering

- |                   |             |            |           |          |
|-------------------|-------------|------------|-----------|----------|
| 1. <i>o</i>       | <i>müŋg</i> |            |           |          |
| <i>o</i>          | <i>mung</i> |            |           |          |
| 2. <i>kā yum</i>  | <i>mā</i>   | <i>not</i> | <i>nā</i> | <i>o</i> |
| us                | not         | give       | pain      |          |
| 3. <i>sār bo</i>  | <i>bo</i>   | <i>mo</i>  |           |          |
| “ <i>tor ma</i> ” | given       | have       |           |          |

4. <i>song</i> incense	<i>bo</i> given	<i>mo</i> have					
5. <i>kǎ su</i> my	<i>mon</i> flesh	<i>mǎ</i> not	<i>tha</i> cat	<i>n</i>	<i>o</i>		
6. <i>kǎ su</i> my	<i>sǎ</i>	<i>ví</i> blood	<i>mǎ</i> not	<i>thong</i> drink	<i>o</i>		
7. <i>sǎ rong</i> today	<i>nǎn</i> from	<i>ho</i> you	<i>tǎ do</i> your	<i>bam</i> abode	<i>ka</i> to	<i>lot</i> return	<i>o</i>
8. <i>dut</i> <i>dut</i>	<i>bam bū</i> live(?)	<i>dut</i> <i>dut</i>	<i>ka</i> to	<i>lot</i> return	<i>o</i>		
9. <i>go</i> I	<i>a dǔm</i> you	<i>zo</i> food	<i>bo</i> given	<i>mo</i> have			

1. – *o* introductory exclamation, almost like: *O!* – *mǔng*, no name is given, but according to the interpreter's explanation it may be *dǔl*, *cen*, *mak nyóm*, *hlo*, *sap dók* or some other *mung*.

**Trsl.:** *O mung!*

**Expl.:** This addressing exclamation is thought to be an entreaty.

2. – *kǎ yum*<sup>o</sup> us, primarily the collected people, but presumably also all the members of the village. – *mǎ* . . . *nǎ*<sup>o</sup> negation. – *not*<sup>o</sup> vb. to press, to trouble, to give pain. – *o*<sup>o</sup> postpos. affix indicating the polite or the precative.

**Trsl.:** Do not cause us pain!

3. – *sǎr bo*, the Lamaist *tor ma* structure, according to Tamsang called *cho kóng*; cf. Dict. 91 a-b *cho-khóng* and Tib. Jäs. 167 a. *bo*<sup>o</sup> *mo*<sup>o</sup> have given.

**Trsl.:** (We) have given *tor ma*.

4. – *song* incense, cf. Dict. 421b *sóng* 8, a tree, used as incense *sóng shing*. – *bo*<sup>o</sup> *mo*<sup>o</sup> have given. – Incense is frequently used in Lamaist ceremonies cf. e. g. Waddell 1939, p. 222. –

**Trsl.:** (We) have given incense.

**Expl.:** The meaning is that now that they have given a *tor ma* and incense, the *mung* should not cause them pain.

5. – *kǎ su*<sup>o</sup> my. The whole aspect now changes from the plur. we (us) to the singl. me (my), and continues so through the rest of the ritual. It is

the patient himself who speaks, or better, the officiating *bong thing* or *mǔn* who speaks on behalf of the patient as his intercessor. *mon*<sup>o</sup> flesh, the flesh of the body, here: the body of the patient. *mǎ*<sup>o</sup> . . . negation – *tha*<sup>o</sup> vb. to eat, the *n* after *tha* may be the second part of the negation *nǎ* or *ne* here abbreviated to *n*, or *n* may be an euphonic *n* before *o*, cf. Dict. 188a -*n* III.; in either case the meaning will be the same. – *o*<sup>o</sup> precative or polite indication.

**Trsl.:** Do not eat my flesh!

6. – *kǎ su sǎ*<sup>o</sup> my. – *ví*<sup>o</sup> blood. – *mǎ*<sup>o</sup> negation. – *thong*<sup>o</sup> vb. to drink – *o*<sup>o</sup> polite or precative indication.

**Trsl.:** Do not drink my blood!

7. – *sǎ rong*<sup>o</sup> today – *nǎn*<sup>o</sup> from, cf. Dict. 195a -*nǎn*, postpos. forms 2. the ablat., cf. Gram. p. 80; from today, i. e. from this moment when they have performed an offering, the *mung* ought to be satisfied and to leave the village so that the influence causing diseases will disappear, too. – *ho*<sup>o</sup> you, singl. – *tǎ do*<sup>o</sup> your. – *bam*<sup>o</sup> s. abode. – *ka*<sup>o</sup> postpos. to. – *lot*<sup>o</sup> vb. to return. – *o*<sup>o</sup> see line 2.

**Trsl.:** From today, return you to your own abode!

8. – *dut* according to Tsering here the name of the place where the *mung* lives; normally it indicates a class of *mung*. *bam*<sup>o</sup> vb. to live; *bam bū* was translated as imp. My phonetic rendering, taken down on the spot, has “bam bo” which agrees well with Dict. 255a *bam-bo* s. an inhabitant, a dweller and *lyang-sǎ bam-bo*, an

inhabitant of the place. It disagrees, however, with the present construction which has no *sā*. The grammatical construction remains a problem. – *ka°* to, see line 7. – *o°* see line 2.

**Trsl.:** Live at *dut*, return to *dut*! (i. e. return to your own abode. This translation was given by Tsering; it is, however, uncertain).

9. – *go°* I. – *a dām* you, singl. cf. Dict. 440 a, 2. pers., pron. singl. *a-do-m* with object (dat.) of *a-do*, *go a-dom bo* I give to you. – *zo°* food, here the meat of the sacrificial animal and the *tor ma*. – *bo° mo°* have given, see lines 2 and 3.

**Trsl.:** I have given food to you!

**Paraphrase:**

- I. Entreaty to the *mung* (1)
- II. In favour of the people (2-4):
  1. Request to the *mung* not to cause them pain (2)
  2. Affirmation that they have given *tor ma* and incense (3-4)
- III. In favour of the patient (5-9):
  1. Requesting the *mung* (5-8)
    - a. not to eat his body (5)
    - b. not to drink his blood (6)
    - c. to return to his own abode (7-8)
  2. Affirmation that he has given food to the *mung* (9).

**Text No. 23. Warrior's Prayer before Warfare.**

From Tingbung

Informant: *rūng jī*  
Interpreter: Tsering

- |    |                     |                  |                |             |            |           |            |  |
|----|---------------------|------------------|----------------|-------------|------------|-----------|------------|--|
| 1. | <i>fā lo</i>        | <i>gra fā lo</i> | <i>rūm</i>     |             |            |           |            |  |
|    |                     | (name)           | <i>rūm</i>     |             |            |           |            |  |
| 2. | <i>a cuk</i>        | <i>a sek</i>     | <i>ka</i>      | <i>ding</i> | <i>o</i>   |           |            |  |
|    | <i>a tsuk</i>       |                  |                |             |            |           |            |  |
|    | (close to the body) |                  | at             | remain      |            |           |            |  |
| 3. | <i>go</i>           | <i>dyep</i>      | <i>fen</i>     | <i>ka</i>   | <i>na</i>  | <i>o</i>  |            |  |
|    | me (I)              | with             | war            | in(to)      | go         |           |            |  |
| 4. | <i>kā sūm</i>       | <i>ā mak</i>     | <i>a dok</i>   | <i>thap</i> | <i>mā</i>  | <i>bo</i> | <i>n</i>   |  |
|    | me                  | death            | sickness       | put         | not        | give      |            |  |
| 5. | <i>ā lang</i>       | <i>lyang</i>     | <i>ka</i>      | <i>mā</i>   | <i>thi</i> | <i>nā</i> | <i>tet</i> |  |
|    | now                 | place (home)     | in             | not         | coming     |           | until      |  |
| 6. | <i>ā ko</i>         | <i>tyet</i>      | <i>a thóng</i> | <i>tyet</i> | <i>mat</i> | <i>mā</i> | <i>kon</i> |  |
|    | hand                | accident         | leg            | accident    | do         | not       | cause      |  |

1. – Address to the god of the warriors.

2. – *a cuk* (or: *a tsuk*) *a sek*, Tsering could give no exact explanation of the single words, but paraphrased: close to the body. As a tentative suggestion one might look for a connection with Dict. 81a *cūk*, *a-cūk*, I. the middle, the interior, the heart, the core . . . (*a*)-*cūk-ka* advly. 1. in the middle, in the midst 2. among, amongst, cf. also Dict. 306b *tsūk* 3. for *cūk*, *a-cūk* among, amongst; concerning *a sek* cf. perhaps Dict. 83a (*cek*) *tūk-cek* s. the bottom of anything, the posteriors, 11\*

backside, because it was pronounced almost: a shek. It might then mean something like: at the middle (i. e. the front side) and at the back, i. e. that the *rūm* should remain as a protective shield of the warrior; but these are merely suggestions. – *ka°* at – *ding°* to remain – *o°* hon. imp. indication.

**Trsl.:** Remain close to (my) body (i. e. close to me for protection)!

3. – *go°* me, usually I, cf. Dict. 56a and Gram. p. 33 – *dyep* with cf. Dict. 186b *dyep* along with, in company of, *kā-sū dyep(ka) di-o* come along

with me (NB. In this example *dyep* is constructed with *kā-sū* and not with *go*). – *jen* war, cf. Dict. 246a *fyen* or *fyǎn* s. an enemy, . . . a warrior . . . war, hostility, enmity, and *fyen-ka* (*ding*) *nóng* vb. to go against the enemy. – *na* go, hon. imp. or hortat., cf. Dict. 200a *nóng* vb. to go and hortat. 2nd p. s. *na*. – *o*° hon. ending.

**Trsl.:** Go with me to (the) war! (Tsering) or: Go with me against the enemy!

4. – *kǎ sǔm*° me – *ǎ mak*° death – *a dok*° sickness – *thap*° vb. to put, to put into, here constructed with *bo*° approx.: to cause. – *mǎ* . . . *n*° negation.

**Trsl.:** Do not cause me death and sickness!

5. – *ǎ lang*° now, just now, in this context approx.: from now on, i. e. from this moment when he performs his ceremony of departure. – *lyang*° place, here more definitely: his home. – *ka*° to or in – *mǎ thi nǎ tet* from *thi*° to come and *tet* until, cf. Dict. 137b, and *mǎ* . . . *nǎ*° negation. The whole construction is a set phrase and Tsering explained that *tet* was usually constructed with

*mǎ* . . . *nǎ*° with the verb in inf. inserted; here: until coming, i. e. until I shall come.

**Trsl.:** (From) now (on) until I shall come home,

6. – *ǎ ko*° hand – *tyet* accident, Dict. 143b has *tyǎt* 1., see under *tet* Dict. 137b *tet*, II s. a mark, a sign, a token, a scar – *a thóng* °leg – *mat*° vb. to do, here presumably better to happen, to befall, cf. Dict. 282b *mat* . . . to befall, *tham mat* misfortune to befall . . . something unfortunate to occur. – *mǎ*° negation – *kon*° to cause.

**Trsl.:** do not cause accident to (my) hand (and) accident (to my) leg!

#### Paraphrase:

- I. Invocation of and address to the god of the warriors (1)
- II. Request to the god (2–6):
  - a. to remain close to the warrior (2)
  - b. to go with him against the enemy (3)
  - c. not to cause him sickness and death (4)
  - d. not to cause any accident to his hand and leg until his return (5–6).

### Text No. 24. Family's Prayer for Man on Warfare.

From Tingbung

Informant: *rǔng jí*  
Interpreter: Tsering

1.	<i>fǎ lo</i>	<i>gra fǎ lo</i>	<i>rǔm</i>			
	(name)		<i>rǔm</i>			
2.	<i>not</i>	<i>non bū</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>gǎn grón</i>	<i>mǎ</i>	<i>je n</i>
	journey	gone has	for	help	not	stop
3.	<i>hǔ yǔm</i>	<i>lǎng</i>	<i>jyor</i>	<i>o</i>		
	them		protect			
4.	<i>hǔ yum</i>	<i>a ket</i>	<i>dep</i>	<i>lot</i>	<i>kón</i>	<i>o</i>
	them	peace	with	return	let	

1. – Invocation of and address to the god of the warriors, cf. Text No. 23,1.

2. – *not* journey, cf. Dict. 202a *nót* 3. s. stage in a journey, also a journey. – *non bū* has gone, cf. Dict. 200a *nóng* vb. to go away + *bū*, see *bo*°, *non* pret. to *nóng*; for the construction *non bū* see also Dict. 201a *nón-bo* s. 1. a goer – *ka*° to, for – *gǎn grón*° s. 1. help, 2. mercy, cf. Texts Nos. 1,3 and 18,19. – *mǎ* . . . *n*° negation – *je* vb. to

stop, cf. perhaps Dict. 55b *ge* vb. to hinder, to stop and Tib. Jäs. 94a 'gegs-pa to hinder, prohibit, stop. Tsering: Here an hon. construction.

**Trsl.:** Do not stop your help towards him who has gone on journey (i. e. warfare)! (Tsering's translation).

3. – *hǔ yǔm*° them, i. e. the warriors; the prayer here extends its aspects from the quite personal view (the individual family member) to a wider

view (them, i. e. all the warriors of the village) or perhaps to an all-embracing view (them, i. e. the warriors of the entire Lepcha society). – *läng jyor*, composite expression made up of two words functioning as a verb: to guide, to protect, here as an imp.; to *läng* cf. perhaps Dict. 359b *lóng* 4, *lón* vb. to lead, to induce, to conduct and Dict. 360a *lóng* 5. vb. to take . . . to preserve also to take care of (as servant a horse, an animal or thing) cf. also Tib. Jäs. 587a *slóng-ba*, *slang-ba* . . . imp. *slong(s)* 1. to cause to rise, to help . . . 3. to seize, to catch . . . to *gyor* cf. perhaps Dict. 103b *jór* 1. vb. to join, *jór dīng* to stand close to or behind anything cf. Tib. Jäs. 32b *skyór-ba* to hold up, to prop. . . To *gyor* cf. also Tib. Jäs. 406a *shyór-ba*, I.1. to affix, . . . 3. to join, to connect, to combine . . . o° hon. imp.

**Trsl.:** (O), protect (guide) them!

4. – *hũ yum* them, see line 3. – *a ket*° peace – *dep*° with *lot*° return – *kón*° to cause, here translated: let! o° hon. imp.

**Trsl.:** (O), let them return with peace!

**Expl.:** It is not quite clear if a victorious peace is meant or only a peaceful, happy return from the warfare, but a comparison with the ordinary use of the word *a ket* may indicate that the latter suggestion is thought of.

**Paraphrase:**

- I. Address to *fũ lo gra fũ lo rũm* (1)
- II. Requests to this *rũm* in favour of the warrior(s) (2–4):
  - a. Not to stop his help (2)
  - b. To protect the warriors (3)
  - c. To let their return be characterised by peace (4).

**Text No. 25. Warrior's Prayer after Warfare.**

From Tingbung

Informant: *rũng ji*  
Interpreter: Tsering

1.	<i>fũ lo</i>	<i>gra fũ lo</i>	<i>rũm</i>				
		(name)	<i>rũm</i>				
2.	<i>ã lang</i>	<i>hó</i>	<i>gũng křo</i>	<i>mã</i>	<i>mat</i>		
	now	you	angry	not	do		
3.	<i>a re</i>	<i>lãm bũ</i>	<i>lãm song</i>	<i>sã</i>	<i>kũ zũk</i>	<i>thyam</i>	<i>mo</i>
	this	hen		of	body	put	have
						<i>gyam</i>	
4.	<i>ã lang</i>	<i>chãn dong</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>zet</i>	<i>mo</i>		
	now	house	to	come	have		
5.	<i>pã kóm</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>zet</i>	<i>mo</i>			
	hearth	to	come	have			

1. – Invocation of and address to the *rũm* of the warriors, see Texts Nos. 24,1 and 23,1.

2. – *ã lang*° now, at this moment of returning and performing the sacrifice. – *hó*° you, i. e. the above mentioned *rũm*, – *gũng křo* 1. angry (here), 2. sorry, cf. Dict. 57b *gong* . . . *gong hre* s. hon. anger, wrath, vengeance of God or great man, cf. Tib. Jäs. 44a *khóng-khro-(ba)* wrath, anger. – *mã*° negation – *mat*° to do.

**Trsl.:** Now you (*rũm*) do not be angry!

12 The Lepchas.

3. – *a re*° this, i. e. the fowl which is sacrificed. *lãm bũ lãm song* hen or fowl, figurative term, ritualistic, secret language. *lãm bũ lãm song*, hen or fowl, perhaps cock, cf. Dict. 354b *lãm-bũ* the same as *lãm-sóng*, a cock, and Dict. 421a *sóng* 3 . . . *lãm-sóng* a cock, both *tũng bór*; ordinary word for cock is *hik-bũ*, see Dict. 369b; cf. also Dict. 346a *lám* 1. to fly. Tsering did not know the term *lãm bũ lãm song*, but Tamsang stated that he had heard it, and that it was mostly used of wild fowls. It may still be used by old people, but it is generally unknown to the

younger generation. Tamsang suggests a connection with the word *lo*, to fly, cf. Dict. 357b *lo* 3. vb. to fly at (as hen when it has chickens). To *bū*, (cf. List of Words), that flies i. e. he/she that flies. See Text No. 31,18. – *sā*<sup>o</sup> gen. – *kū zūk* body, hon. in opposition to ordinary word *mā zū*, Dict. 277a; to *kū zūk* cf. Tib. Jäs. 21b *sku* . . . also *sku-gzugs*, body . . . imparts the character of respectful term. – *thyam(jyam)* vb. to put, this form was unknown to Tsering but he suggested that it was connected with *tho* to put, cf. Dict. 155b *tho* 4, *thó-m* vb. to place, to lay, to put, an ordinary word; cf. Dict. 163a *thyam* vb. t. 1. to arrange, to make ready, to place things in preparation, etc. *mo*<sup>o</sup> have.

**Trsl.:** I have put the body of this hen (i. e. I have sacrificed this hen).

4. – *ǎ lang*<sup>o</sup> now, just after his return from the warfare – *chǎn dong* house, unusual word, ordinary word *lí*; suggestive references: Dict. 182b *dóng* 5, *a-dóng* s. a house or roostingplace for birds, and Dict. 303b *tsán* . . . *tsán-dong* s. a prison, a jail, cf. also Tib. Jäs. 436a *btsón* . . .

*btsón-dong* 1. dungeon, keep; to *dong* see also Tib. Jäs. 79a *grong*, an inhabited place, a human habitation, house, village, town, comp. Dict. 39a *krong* a house, village, town. – *zet* to come, unusual word, ordinary word *dí*, see Dict. 171b; cf. perhaps Tib. Jäs. 565b *gshegs-pa* to go . . . to come. – *mo*<sup>o</sup> have.

**Trsl.:** I have come (returned) to the house.

5. – *pǎ kóm*<sup>o</sup> (rare word) hearth, the hearth is the place of peace, see Text No. 19,20 – *ka*<sup>o</sup> to – *zet mo* have come, see line 4.

**Trsl.:** I have come to the hearth.

**Paraphrase:**

- I. Invocation of and address to the god of the warriors (1)
- II. The god is requested not to be angry (2):
  - a. the warrior has sacrificed a hen (3),
  - b. the warrior has returned to his house (4),
  - c. the warrior has come back to the hearth. (5).

**Text No. 26. Invocation at the *sǎ gí* Ceremony.**

From Git

Informant: Ongdi Buru

With the assistance of Father Brahier the text was taken down by the author and later corrected and supplied with annotations by Mr Tamsang.

	<i>sǎ gí</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>vám</i>			
	<i>sǎ gí</i>	of	song			
1. <i>a gít</i>	<i>rǔm</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>ku míng</i>	<i>ka</i>		
descent	<i>rǔm</i>	of	name	in		
2. <i>ríp</i>	<i>fǔ</i>					
flower	offer (offering)					
3. <i>nǔng ga</i>	<i>ung</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>ngu</i>			
deep	water	of	fish			
4. <i>pǎ zók</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>fo</i>				
forest	of	bird				
5. <i>sǎ gór</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>rǔm</i>	<i>gǔn</i>	<i>pǎng</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>cí</i>
rock	of	<i>rǔm</i>	all	(plur.)	to	<i>cí</i>
6. <i>ríp</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>a zóm</i>	<i>a re</i>	<i>fǔ</i>	<i>bu</i>	<i>re</i>
flower	and	food	this	offered	(being)	this

7. *je*      *bo*      *o*  
eat      (please)
8. *gũn*      *rũm*      *pǎng*      *a go*      *mat*      *lũng*  
all      *rũm*      (plur.)      happy      made      (being)
9. *zón*      *ka yu*      *sa*      *lap dũn*      *nyen*      *bo*      *o*  
human      our      prayer      hear      (please)  
beings
10. *a dok*      *a nót*      *dyǎn*      *bo*      *o*  
sickness      illness      cast out      (please)
11. *a kyet*      *a kyum*      *nóng*      *bo*      *o*  
happiness      pleasure      give      (please)  
peace

Tamsang called this invocation *sǎ gi sa vám*: the song of *sǎ gi*. Dict. 395b has *sǎ-gi* a name of God, the representation of power, *sǎ-gi fat*, the offering, the annual festival of *sǎ-gi*. *vám* song, cf. Dict. 384a *vám* song, tune, and Dict. 161a *mũn thýǎn*, the same as *mũn vǎ*, to sing psalms or elegies as at the festival of *sǎ-gi*. According to Hermanns 1954, p. 53, the flowers hung up in the house before such offerings are called "Sa-gi", but the term may also mean "the god of power".

1. – *a git* descent, cf. Dict. 62a *a-gyil* s. succession, race, generation, pedigree, stock, breed – *rũm*<sup>o</sup> god, deity – *sa*<sup>o</sup> of – *ku ming* name, hon. cf. Dict. 23b *ku-ming*, Tib. *sku-ming* s. hon. title of king, majesty, cf. also Tib. *Jās*. 415a *ming*, name, and Lepcha Dict. 289b *ming*, *a-ming* name, appellation. – *ka*<sup>o</sup> in.

Trsl.: In the name of the *rũm* of descent.

2. – *rip*<sup>o</sup> flower – *fũ*<sup>o</sup> vb. to offer, here presumably used as a substantive: offering.

Trsl.: flower offering.

3. – *nũng ga* deep, ordinary word, cf. Dict. 108a *nyũng* vb. to be deep. – *ung*<sup>o</sup> water, here presumably river or lake. – *sa*<sup>o</sup> of – *ngu*<sup>o</sup> fish.

Trsl.: fish of the deep water.

4. – *pǎ zók* forest, cf. Dict. 206b *pǎ-zók* the jungle, forest. – *fo*<sup>o</sup> bird.

Trsl.: bird of the forest.

12\*

5. – *sǎ gó*<sup>o</sup> rock, cf. Dict. 396a *sǎ-gór* a cliff, a precipice – *sa*<sup>o</sup> of – *rũm*<sup>o</sup> god, deity – *gũn*<sup>o</sup> all – *pǎng*<sup>o</sup> plur. indication – *ka*<sup>o</sup> to – *ci*<sup>o</sup> Lepcha beer.

Trsl.: to all the rock *rũm ci*, i. e. *ci* to all the *rũm* of the rock.

6. – *rip* flower, see line 2. – *sa* and, cf. Dict. 393a *sǎ* II, and, combines single words – *a zóm* was said to mean all kinds of foodstuff, i. e. meat, vegetables and fish; Dict. 318a *zom*, *a-zóm* s. food of every kind (not including flesh). – *a re*<sup>o</sup> this – *fũ*<sup>o</sup> to offer – *bu* verbal affix, cf. Dict. 259a *-bu* for *bo* and Dict. 260b *-bo*, Tib. *-pa*, *-po*, *-ba*, *-bo* an affix which when attached to the roots of verbs gives the signification of nouns "agentis" and adjectives . . . is also passive as well as active; here pass. as the interpreter translated *fũ bu*: being offered. – *re*<sup>o</sup> this, here connected with *fũ bu*: this being offered, i. e. this offer.

Trsl.: this flower and food, this being offered (i. e. this offer, offering).

7. – *je*<sup>o</sup> eat, i. e. accept. – *bo*<sup>o</sup> *o*<sup>o</sup> hon. imp.

Trsl.: eat (it), please i. e. please, accept it!

Expl.: The translation of lines 1–7 was difficult, but Tamsang suggested the following fluent translation:

"In the (honourable) name of the *rũm* of descent, this offer of flower, and of fish from the deep water, (and of) bird(s) from the forest, and (of) *ci* to all the *rũm* of the rocks, – please, do eat (accept) this offer of flower and food!"

8. – *gũn rũm pãng*, all gods, see line 5. – *a go* happy, ordinary word, cf. perhaps Dict. 58b *gô* Tib. *dgá(-ba)* vb. 1. to rejoice, to be pleased, to be glad and Tib. Jäs. 83a *dgá-ba* III. adj. glad, pleased, enjoying – *mat*<sup>o</sup> vb. to do, to make, to act – *lũng* cf. Dict. 351b *-lũng* postpositive forms the conjunctive participle, cf. Gram. p. 64. The interpreter translated: being happy, which may be abbreviated from: being made (*mat*) happy, or from *mat lũng*, Dict. 283a, on account of, therefore.

**Trsl.:** All *rũm* be happy! (Tamsang).

9. – *zón*<sup>o</sup> human beings – *ka yu sa*<sup>o</sup> our – *lap dũn* was translated as prayer, a ceremonial word, cf. perhaps Dict. 347a *lap* 5. Tib. *lab*, *lap den shu* vb. to address king; to *lap*, cf. Tib. Jäs. 544a *láb-pa* to speak, to talk, to tell, and to *shu*, cf. Jäs. 476a *zhú-ba* 1. every kind of speaking to a person of higher rank, therefore to request, etc. cf. Dict. 178b *den* 4. true, faith, *den-tshūk* testimony, Dict. 312a *tshūk*, word, cf. Tib. Jäs. 217b *bden-tshig* true word, usually a solemn asseveration, often combined with a prayer. – *nyen* vb. to hear, cf. Dict. 104b *nyãn* 3,2 vb. to hear, cf. Tib. Jäs. 185a *nyãn-pa* to hear, to listen. – *bo o*<sup>o</sup> hon. imp. see line 7.

**Trsl.:** Do hear the prayer of us human beings, please!

10. – *a dok*<sup>o</sup> sickness – *a nól*<sup>o</sup> illness – *dyãn* vb. to throw out, to cast away, cf. Dict. 167b *dyãn* caus. to throw, to cast, to throw away – *bo o*<sup>o</sup> hon. imp. see line 7.

**Trsl.:** Do cast out sickness and illness, please!

11. – *a kyet*<sup>o</sup> happiness, peace – *a kyum* pleasure, cf. Dict. 32b *kyum*, *a-kyum*, explet, to *kyát*, i. e. *a kyet*. – *nóng* vb. to give, to bestow, ceremonial word, cf. Dict. 201a *nóng* 2. hon. vb. to give, to grant and cf. Tib. Jäs. 308b *gnáng-ba* vb. to give, to bestow, etc. *bo o*<sup>o</sup> hon. imp. see line 7.

**Trsl.:** Give happiness and pleasure!

**Expl.:** *a kyet* was said to be used of spiritual happiness, *a kyum* of enjoyment in connection with the body and the senses.

The words *rip* (flower), *ngu* (fish), and *fo* (bird) have been translated as singular, but the local information indicates several pieces of every kind; I therefore suggest that the words had perhaps better been translated as plurals in the collective sense.

#### Paraphrase:

- I. Invocation of the *rũm* of descent (1)
- II. The offering people affirm that they (2-7):
  1. have given to the *rũm* of descent (2-4)
    - a. flower(s) (2)
    - b. fish (3)
    - c. bird(s) (4)
  2. and have given to all the *rũm* of the rocks: *ci* (5)
  3. and they request them to eat (accept) these offerings (6-7).
- III. They wish that it will make the *rũm* happy (8).
- IV. They request the *rũm* to hear their prayer (9):
  - a. that the *rũm* will cast out sickness and diseases (10),
  - b. and give them happiness and pleasure (11).

### Text No. 27. Invocation at the *sã gí* Ceremony.

From Git

Informant: Ongdi Buru

With the assistance of Father Brahier the text was taken down by the author. It was later corrected and annotated by Mr Tamsang.

1. *sã gí*            *tek*            *ba*  
    *sã gí*            performing (while)
2. *a nyu*            *thíng*            *rũm*  
    *a nyu*            *thíng*            *rũm*



3. *a gít*            *thíng*            *rùm*  
 descent            *thíng*            *rũm*
4. *fyeng*            *tsók*  
*cí*                    take
5. *gryu*             *tsók*  
 influence          prevent  
 (of mung)

1. – *să gí*, cf. Text No. 26,1, here used of the ceremony itself. – *tek*, the interpreter gave several meanings: 1. to knock something (e. g. the head) against something (e. g. a door), 2. to place, to put, 3. to prevent from doing something, 4. to perform a religious ceremony (here), cf. Dict. 137a *tek* 1–6. – *ba°* verbal ending indicating the indefinite, can often be translated as: while, when.

**Trsl.:** While performing the *să gí* ceremony.

2. – *a nyu* ordinary word for aunt, used both of paternal and maternal aunt; cf. Dict. 108b an aunt, also applied to elder sister, wife; cf. Stocks p. 472 ff. *A-nyu*: 1. father's brother's wife, 2. father's sister, 3. mother's brother's wife, 4. mother's sister, 5. wife's mother's descendants. – *thíng°* 1. lord, 2. lady, cf. Dict. 152a *thíng* 1. lord, master, noble, chief, 2. pedigree; the interpreter said that because *a nyu* stands at the head *thíng* here means lady. – *rũm°* god, deity. – The interpreter translated this line as an invocation of the *rũm* called: Goddess of ancestral aunts.

**Trsl.:** *rũm* (goddess) of ancestral aunts!

3. – *a gít* 1. descent, 2. caste, cf. Text No. 26,1, was here explained as family, persons with the same descent, cf. *thíng* Dict. 152a 2. pedigree. – *rũm°* see line 2.

**Trsl.:** *rũm* of the family descent.

4. – *fyeng*, figurative word for *cí*; the interpreter stated that *cí* in general means liquor, and that the word *cí* can be added to all sorts of strong drinks, e. g. rice *cí*, millet *cí*, maize *cí*, etc.; to *fyeng* cf. Dict. 245b *a-fyeng* the smell of fermented liquor, *cí*; Gram. p. 131 *nũm-fyeng-mo*, *tũng bór* for *cí*. – *tsók* vb. to take, i. e. to drink, to consume, Dict. 309a-b has *tsók* 1–5 with several meanings, none of them quite covering the meaning given by the interpreter; I am therefore inclined to suppose that *tsók* here is a *tũng bór* just as *fyeng*.

**Trsl.:** take *cí* (i. e. drink the offered *cí*).

5. – *gryu* was explained as the influence of *mung*. To this word the interpreter explained that all persons are supposed to be followed by *mung* who sit on their shoulders and walk behind them, always hoping to harm them. If therefore a man visits a sick person's house, there is a risk that the *mung* may kill the sick person. The word *gryu* is used of the evil influence of a *mung*. – *tsók* vb. here: to prevent, cf. Dict. 309a *tsók* 2, vb. to stop, to guard against, to ward off, to defend against, to oppose.

**Trsl.:** prevent *mung* influence!

**Contents:** Prayer to the *rũm* (goddess) of family descent to accept the *cí* and to prevent *mung* influence while they perform the *să gí* ceremony.

## Text No. 28. Ritual for an Ill Male *mũn*.

From Tingbung

Informant: Rapgyor

Interpreter: Tsering

- |                  |              |           |           |           |           |           |           |
|------------------|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| 1. <i>ă lang</i> | <i>kă yu</i> | <i>mă</i> | <i>yo</i> | <i>ne</i> | <i>mă</i> | <i>sí</i> | <i>ne</i> |
| now              | we           | not       | know      |           | not       | see       |           |
| 2. <i>kung</i>   | <i>zok</i>   |           |           |           |           |           |           |
| stick            | beaten       |           |           |           |           |           |           |

3.	<i>lóng</i> stone	<i>zok</i> beaten						
4.	<i>păn dong</i> <i>păn dong</i>	<i>rũm</i> <i>rũm</i>						
5.	<i>păn song</i> <i>păn song</i>	<i>rũm</i> <i>rũm</i>						
6.	<i>dó sí</i> hurt	<i>da nít</i> sleeping	<i>bũ</i>	<i>păng</i> (plur.)				
7.	<i>ă lang</i> now	<i>kă yu</i> we	<i>lo da</i> again	<i>păn dong</i> <i>păn dong</i>	<i>lũ</i> raised	<i>mo</i> have		
8.	<i>păn song</i> <i>păn song</i>	<i>lũ</i> raised	<i>mo</i> have					
9.	<i>kă yu</i> we	<i>nă</i>	<i>sar dũ</i> sickle	<i>sar vi</i> sickle	<i>a mel</i> weapon	<i>să</i> with	<i>lũ</i> raised	<i>mo</i> have
10.	<i>pă shor</i> broom	<i>păr mo</i> <i>păr mo</i> tree	<i>a mel</i> weapon	<i>să</i> with	<i>lũ</i> raised	<i>mo</i> have		
11.	<i>să rong</i> today	<i>ren</i> from	<i>a lũm</i> ill	<i>mă</i> not	<i>bet</i> put cause			
12.	<i>ă klom</i> pain	<i>mă</i> not	<i>bet</i> put cause					
13.	<i>món tyam</i> medicine	<i>a yũ do</i> you yourselves		<i>mat</i> apply	<i>o</i>			

1. – *ă lang*<sup>o</sup> now *kă yu*<sup>o</sup> we – *mă* . . . *ne*<sup>o</sup> negation – *yo* vb. to know, cf. Dict. 320a *yă* 2. *yá* to know, to comprehend, to understand, to be acquainted with, cf. Dict. 276a *mă-yă-ne* I know not – *si* vb. to see, cf. Dict. 427a *shí* 1, *shí-m* 1. to look, to see cf. Tib. Jäs. 493b *gzigs-pa* 1. to see.

**Trsl.:** Now we did not know (realise), we did not see.

**Expl.:** The interpreter said that this ritual, the entire Text No. 28, had been used when a male *măn* helped another male *măn* in order to make him recover from an illness caused by beating. The interpreter could give no further explanation, but the first line is obviously an apology to the two *rũm* called *păn dong* (line 4) and *păn song* (line 5) because they (see “we” line 1) were ignorant of the poor fate of the *măn*.

This “we” may refer either to the members of the village or perhaps better to the other male *măn* of the village.

2. – *kung*<sup>o</sup> tree or stick, cf. Dict. 24b *kung* s. 1. a tree . . . 3. a stock, here: stick made of wood. – *zok* vb. beaten, cf. Dict. 314a *zăk* vb. to discover . . . to hit, to strike . . . to suffer as punishment. –

**Trsl.:** stick beaten, i. e. beaten by a stick.

3. – *lóng* stone, cf. Dict. 345a *lăng* 3. a stone, a rock; explet. to *kung*. – *zok* beaten, see line 2.

**Trss.:** beaten by stone.

4. – *păn dong*, name of *rũm*; husband of *păn song* *rũm*, line 5.

5. – *păn song*, name of *rûm*, wife of *păn song rûm*, line 4.

6. – *dó si hurt*, cf. Dict. 173a *dũ-shi* (from *dũ* and *shí* to see?) s. a wound – *da nít bũ* cf. Dict. 107b *nyít* 4. vb. to sleep, cf. Tib. Jäs. 192a *gnyid* to sleep, affixed to *da* cf. Dict. 168b *da* 1. *da-nyi* vb. to recline, to rest, to lie down; *bũ*<sup>o</sup> affix when attached to the root of verbs gives the signification of nouns “agentis” cf. Gram. p. 97 f. – *păng*<sup>o</sup> plur.

**Trsl.:** (who) are sleeping from (i. e. because of) hurt (i. e. wound).

**Expl.:** Anything done to the male *mũn* is considered as done to *păn dong rûm* and to *păn song rûm*; when therefore the male *mũn* is sleeping because of severe sufferings, it is the same as if these *rûm* were sleeping because of sufferings.

7. – *ă lang*<sup>o</sup> now, cf. line 1. – *kă yu*<sup>o</sup> we, cf. line 1. – *lo da* again. – *lũ* vb. to rise or to raise (from a bed after recovery) cf. Dict. 355a *lu* 2, *lu-n* vb. n. and t. to rise, to cause to rise – *mo*<sup>o</sup> past tense.

**Trsl.:** We have now again raised *păn dong*.

8. – see line 7.

**Trsl.:** (we) have raised *păn song*.

9. – *kă yu*<sup>o</sup> we, see line 1, *nă*<sup>o</sup> indicating the instrumental – *sar dũ* knife with a beak, cf. Dict. 415b *sũr-du hur* a sickle, 371b *hur* a spec. of knife; *sar vi* knife, cf. Dict. 415b *sũr-vi hur ban* a sickle – *a mel* weapon, cf. Dict. 300a *a-myel* and *a-myel* s. the covering of the body, the hair on the body; wool, feathers, armour. – *să* with, cf. Dict. 393a *să* 6. forms an instrumental case. – *lũ mo*, see line 7.

**Trsl.:** we have raised (implied: you, i. e. the above mentioned *rûm*, or him, i. e. the hurt and sleeping male *mũn*) with *sar dũ* and *sar vi* weapon.

10. – *pă shor* broom, besom, cf. Dict. 208b *pă-shor* s. name of grass (elephant-grass) which is used by the *bong thing* in exorcising evil spirits *a-nók*: three species used as brooms – *păr mo* a kind of tree, probably identical with Dict. 218a *pũr-mo kung* s. name of a tree, *Maesa Indica*, also a shrub. – *a mel* etc., see line 9. –

**Trsl.:** (we) have raised with *pă shor* and *păr mo* weapons.

**Expl.:** Comp. translation to line 9.

11. – *să rong*<sup>o</sup> today. – *ren*<sup>o</sup> from i. e. from today. – *a tũm* ill; Dict. 128b has *a-tũm* s. an evil effect arising from any cause; perhaps this word is used here and regarded as an adjective despite the fact that the context seems to demand a noun; perhaps the translation as an adjective hints at the effect of *a-tũm* as a substantive i. e. the effects of the influence of *a-tũm*. *mă*<sup>o</sup> negation – *bet* vb. to put, cause, cf. Dict. 252a *băt* vb. . . . *byăt* caus. to lay upon, to load; to place into, to cast into etc. –

**Trsl.:** from today do not cause ill (i. e. disease)

12. – *ă klom* pain – *mă bet*, see line 11.

**Trsl.:** do not cause pain!

**Expl.:** The interpreter said that they requested *păn dong* and *păn song* not to cause illness and pain to the beaten *mũn*.

13. – *món tyam* medicine, cf. Dict. 298a *món* 2. medicine, drugs, spices, *món tyam* vb. to take medicine, cf. Dict. 145a *tyam* vb. t. to take or to apply medicine: *món tyam* internally or externally; to *món* cf. Tib. Jäs. 426b *sman* medicine, etc. – *a yũ* do you yourselves, cf. Gram. p. 38 and Dict. 440b. – *mal*<sup>o</sup> vb. to do, here: to apply (medicine), to treat (somebody with medicine). – *o*<sup>o</sup> imp.

**Trsl.:** You yourselves (i. e. the above-mentioned *rûm*) do treat (him) with medicine.

**Expl.:** The above-mentioned *rûm* are requested to treat the ill *mũn* with their medicine which, of course, is supposed to be much better than the ordinary medicine.

It is worth noting that two *rûm*, *păn dong* and *păn song*, husband and wife, have been injured at the same time and suffer on the same occasion. Apparently both are intimately associated with the sick male *mũn*.

#### Paraphrase:

- I. They regret that they did not realise that the male *mũn* had been beaten (1–3)
- II. They point out that they have now ceremonially raised the *păn dong rûm* and the *păn song rûm* again from their sleep caused by the injury to the male *mũn* (4–10)
- III. They request these *rûm* (11–13):
  - a. not to cause disease and pain (11–12)
  - b. and to apply their own medicine to the ill *mũn* (13).

**Text No. 29. Offering to *lung ji mung*.**

From Git

Informant: Ongdi Buru

With the assistance of Father Brahier the text was taken down by the author. It was later corrected and annotated by Mr Tamsang.

<i>zo phūt</i>	<i>bí phūt</i>	<i>ka yu</i>	<i>zón nyín</i>	<i>nyót</i>	<i>nyót</i>	
rice	vegetables	we	human beings	field	field	
first fruits	first fruits					
<i>mat</i>	<i>bam</i>	<i>bu</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>phũ</i>	<i>mã</i>	<i>o</i>
	working		of	offering	is	
	workers					

*zo*<sup>o</sup> rice, *phūt* that part of a meal which is served for the gods, e. g. that part of the meal which every morning is served for the gods; cf. Dict. 233a *phūt* first fruits of the season or the first [part] of anything, as when slaughtering an animal, the part first laid aside as an offering to a deity; cf. Tib. Jäs. 343b *phud* a thing set apart, used particularly of the first-fruits of the field, as a meat- or drink-offering, in various applications. – *bí* vegetables, cf. Dict. 256a *bí* 3, *a-bí* a vegetable, an edible herb; *bí phūt* first fruits of vegetables. – *zón nyín*<sup>o</sup> human beings, both males and females, can be used of all the members of a household, cf. Dict. 320a *zón* creatures, men, and *zón nyin* offsprings, descendants. –

*nyót* field, *nyót nyót* indicates plur., cf. Dict. 113b *nyót* a cultivated field, cultivation in opposition to *pā-zók* jungle. – *mat bam bu* from *mat*<sup>o</sup> to do, to make and *bam* to stay cf. Dict. 255a *bam* vb. 5. aux. forms a present durativum, and *bam-bo* s. an inhabitant, a dweller, a (present) doer; according to the interpreter: *mat bam bu* those who are staying in the field and working there. – *sã*<sup>o</sup> of – *phũ*<sup>o</sup> offering, only in religious context, cf. Dict. 232b *phũ* vb. to offer. – *ma o*<sup>o</sup> is or are, here: present tense.

**Trsl.:** Rice and vegetables are first-fruits offerings of (from) we (us) human beings (who) are working in the fields.

**Text No. 30. Sacrifice to *lung ji mung*.**

From Git

Informant: Ongdi Buru

With assistance of Father Brahier the text was taken down by the author. It was later corrected and annotated by Mr Tamsang.

1. <i>zón nyín</i>	<i>a tet</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>tshóp</i>	<i>ka</i>		
Human beings	so many	of	place	in		
			instead of			
2. <i>suk</i>	<i>a re</i>	<i>ka yu</i>	<i>phũ</i>	<i>mat</i>	<i>mã</i>	<i>o</i>
life	this	we	sacrifice	doing	are	

Before the recitation of this ritual they mention all the gods invoked.

1. – *zón nyín*<sup>o</sup> human beings, both males and females, can be used of all the members of a household, see Text No. 29. – *a tet* so many, i. e.

we all that are collected here, cf. Dict. 439b *a-tet*, *a-tyät* adv. thus much, thus many, thus far and Gram. p. 44 *a-tet* this much. – *sa*<sup>o</sup> of – *tshóp*<sup>o</sup> *ka*<sup>o</sup> in place of, instead of. See Text No. 20,3.

**Trsl.:** Instead of so many human beings.

2. – *suk*<sup>o</sup> life, i. e. the life of the sacrificed pig. – *a re*<sup>o</sup> this *ka yu*<sup>o</sup> we – *phǔ*<sup>o</sup> offering, sacrifice, only used in a religious context; for ordinary slaughtering they use *a sôt*, cf. Dict. 421 b *sôt* 1., vb. to kill, to slay, and *a-sôt* s. killing, slaying, cf. Tib. Jäs. 591 a *gsód-pa* 1. to kill, slay, murder, slaughter. – *mat*<sup>o</sup> *má*<sup>o</sup> *o*<sup>o</sup> are doing, are making.

**Trsl.:** we are performing (making) a sacrifice of this life (i. e. the life of the pig).

**Expl.:** If they do not perform this sacrifice, *lǎng ji mung* will cause them troubles, diseases, deaths, etc., and in that way take their lives; they therefore request *lǎng ji mung* to accept the life of this animal instead of their own lives.

### Text No. 31. The First Cherim Ritual.

From Tingbung

Informant: *hlam bo*  
Interpreter: Tsering

- |   |   |  |   |   |
|---|---|--|---|---|
| 1. <i>kóng chen</i><br>kəŋ- <sup>l</sup> tʃhen-ka:  | <i>ka</i>   | <i>sǎ wo</i><br>sa- <sup>l</sup> ho                  | <i>top</i><br>◡<br><sup>l</sup> təp- <sup>l</sup> mo: | <i>mo</i>   |
| <i>kóng chen</i>                                    | to  | present<br>(offering)                                | given   | have  |
| 2. <i>tǎ lom</i><br>ta- <sup>l</sup> lem            | <i>pán grim</i><br>pən- <sup>l</sup> dim-ka: <sup>1</sup> | <i>ka</i>  | <i>sǎ wo</i><br>sa- <sup>l</sup> ho                   | <i>top</i><br>◡<br><sup>l</sup> təp- <sup>l</sup> mo: |
| <i>tǎ lom</i>                                       | <i>pán grim</i>   | to   | present<br>(offering)                                 | given have  |
| 3. <i>ǰyǔng</i><br>,zuy- <sup>l</sup> sər           | <i>sor</i>  | <i>kǎ ku</i><br>kə- <sup>l</sup> ku:                 |   |   |
| <i>ǰyǔng</i>  | <i>sor</i>  | <i>kǎ ku</i><br>(eight)                              |   |   |
| 4. <i>pyák</i><br>,pje:k- <sup>l</sup> sər          | <i>sor</i>  | <i>kǎ kyót</i><br>kə- <sup>l</sup> kjət-ka:          | <i>ka</i>   | <i>sǎ wo</i><br>sa- <sup>l</sup> ho                   |
| <i>pyák</i>   | <i>sor</i>  | <i>ka kyót</i><br>(nine)                             | to  | present<br>(offering)                                 |
| 5. <i>tak se</i><br>tək- <sup>l</sup> se:-,thiŋ     | <i>thíng</i><br>thiŋ                                      |  |   |   |
| <i>tak se</i>                                       | <i>thíng</i>  |  |   |   |
| 6. <i>tak bo</i><br>tək- <sup>l</sup> bo:-,thiŋ-ka: | <i>thíng</i>  | <i>ka</i>  | <i>sǎ wo</i><br>sa- <sup>l</sup> ho                   | <i>top</i><br>◡<br><sup>l</sup> təp- <sup>l</sup> mo: |
| <i>tak bo</i>                                       | <i>thíng</i>  | to   | present<br>(offering)                                 | given have  |
| 7. <i>cya dǔng</i><br>tʃa- <sup>l</sup> duŋ         | <i>ra zo</i><br>ra- <sup>l</sup> zo:                      | <i>mǔ nyǔ</i><br><sup>l</sup> mu:- <sup>l</sup> nju: |   |   |
| <i>cya dǔng</i>                                     | <i>ra zo</i>  | <i>mǔ nyǔ</i>  |   |   |



20. *hó*      *a re*      *pǎng*      *je*      *o*  
*hə:*      *a-ˈre:-pəŋ*      *ˈʒe:-lo:*  
you      these (things)      eat
21. *lyang*      *a re*      *ka*      *nyet*      *yóm*      *nǎt*      *sǎ*      *mǎ*      *thap*  
*ˈljaj*      *a-ˈre:-ka*      *ˈnjɛt-ɣo:m⁵*      *ˈnə:t*      —      *mə-ˈthap*  
place      this      to      disease      (and sickness?)      not      give
22. *kǎ yum*      *dok*      *mǎ*      *kon*  
*ka-ˈjum*      *ˈdək-mə-ˈkə:n*  
us      sick      not      cause
23. *mak*      *mǎ*      *kon*  
*ˈmak-mə-ˈkə:n*  
death      not      cause
24. *tak bo*      *tsom*  
*tak bo*      *tsom (mung)*
25. *lyang*      *a re*      *ka*      *a dok*      *mǎ*      *thap*  
place      this      to      sickness      not      give
26. *ǎ not*      *mǎ*      *thap*  
illness      not      give
27. *kǎ yum*      *dok*      *mǎ*      *kon*  
us      sick      not      cause
28. *mak*      *mǎ*      *kon*  
death      not      cause
29. *nyet*      *plǎm*      *mǎ*      *kon*  
disease      spread      not      cause
30. *ǎ lang*      *a re*      *lǎm bū*      *lǎm song*      *sǎ*      *sǔk*      *bo*      *mo*  
now      this      hen           of      life      given      have
31. *vī*      *mán*      *fũ*      *mo*  
blood      meat      given      have  
(offered)
32. *hó*      *a re*      *pǎng*      *je*      *o*  
you      these (things)      eat
33. *lyang*      *a re*      *ka*      *nyet*      *yóm*      *nǎt*      *sǎ*      *mǎ*      *thap*  
place      this      to      disease      (and sickness?)      not      give
34. *kǎ yum*      *dok*      *mǎ*      *kon*  
us      sick      not      cause
35. *mak*      *mǎ*      *kon*  
death      not      cause

36. *pǎn jǐng*      *cyǔ* (+ repetition of lines 25–35)  
                             (*cu*)  
           *pǎn jǐng*      mountain (*mung*)
37. *la mì yong*      *cyǔ* (+ repetition of lines 25–35)  
                             (*cu*)  
           *la mì yong*      mountain (*mung*)
38. *pǎn song*        *cyǔ* (+ repetition of lines 25–35)  
                             (*cu*)  
           *pǎn song*        mountain (*mung*)
39. *pǎ lǐ yang*      *cyǔ* (+ repetition of lines 25–35)  
                             (*cu*)  
           *pǎ lǐ yang*      mountain (*mung*)
40. *mǎ ro lì*         *pǎng* (+ repetition of lines 25–35)  
           *mǎ ro lì*         *pǎng* (*mung*)
41. *sǎ no lǎng*      *kyol* (+ repetition of lines 25–35)  
           *sǎ no lǎng*      *kyol* (*mung*)
42. *lǎng song*      *cyǔ* (+ repetition of lines 25–35)  
                             (*cu*)  
           *lǎng song*      mountain (*mung*)
43. *kǎ cer*          *vi* (+ repetition of lines 25–35)  
           *kǎ cer*          *vi* (*mung*)
44. *sǎ hyór*         *cyǔ* (+ repetition of lines 25–35)  
                             (*cu*)  
           *sǎ hyór*         mountain (*mung*)
45. *pǎn dong*        *cyǔ* (+ repetition of lines 25–35)  
                             (*cu*)  
           *pǎn dong*        mountain (*mung*)
46. *pǎ kǐ*            *cyǔ* (+ repetition of lines 25–35)  
                             (*cu*)  
           *pǎ kǐ*            mountain (*mung*)
47. *sǎ rong*         *cyǔ* (+ repetition of lines 25–35)  
                             (*cu*)  
           *sǎ rong*         mountain (*mung*)
48. *lǎng yì*         *cyǔ* (+ repetition of lines 25–35)  
                             (*cu*)  
           *lǎng yì*         mountain (*mung*)



49. *dang dǔ*      *cyǔ* (+ repetition of lines 25–35)  
                               (*cu*)  
           *dang dǔ*      mountain (*mung*)
50. *pǎ zor*      *cyǔ* (+ repetition of lines 25–35)  
                               (*cu*)  
           *pǎ zor*      mountain (*mung*)
51. *pa tet*      *cyǔ* (+ repetition of lines 25–35)  
                               (*cu*)  
           *pa tet*      mountain (*mung*)
52. *rang dyang*      *cyǔ* (+ repetition of lines 25–35)  
                               (*cu*)  
           *rang dyang*      mountain (*mung*)
53. *rang gang*      *cyǔ* (+ repetition of lines 25–35)  
                               (*cu*)  
           *rang gang*      mountain (*mung*)
54. *kǎr nít*      *kǎr song*      *cyǔ* (+ repetition of lines 25–35)  
   (*cu*)  
           *kǎr nít*      *kǎr song*      mountain (*mung*)
55. *tang dong*      *cyǔ* (+ repetition of lines 25–35)  
                               (*cu*)  
           *tang dong*      mountain (*mung*)
56. *sǎng cer mīt*      *cyǔ* (+ repetition of lines 25–35)  
                               (*cu*)  
           *sǎng cer mīt*      mountain (*mung*)
57. *tak cyom*      *cyǔ* (+ repetition of lines 25–35)  
                               (*cu*)  
           *tak cyom*      mountain (*mung*)
58. *lǎng góm*      *cyǔ* (+ repetition of lines 25–35)  
                               (*cu*)  
           *lǎng góm*      mountain (*mung*)
59. *tat kṛi*      *cyǔ* (+ repetition of lines 25–35)  
                               (*cu*)  
           *tat kṛi*      mountain (*mung*)
60. *sǎ ling*      *sǎ tho gen*      *cyǔ* (+ repetition of lines 25–35)  
   (*cu*)  
           *sǎ ling*      *sǎ tho gen*      mountain (*mung*)

61. *sǎ mok*      *sǎ bok*      *cyǔ* (+ repetition of lines 25–35)  
(*cu*)  
*sǎ mok*      *sǎ bok*      mountain (*mung*)
62. *ǎ nyo*      *kǎn do mǔ* (+ repetition of lines 25–35)  
*ǎ nyo*      *kǎn do mǔ* (*mung*)
63. *sǎng kyon*      *dǎng zot*      *cyǔ* (+ repetition of lines 25–35)  
(*cu*)  
*sǎng kyon*      *dǎng zot*      mountain (*mung*)
64. *pǎ cyor*      *pǎ tang*      *cyǔ* (+ repetition of lines 25–35)  
(*cu*)  
*pǎ cyor*      *pǎ tang*      mountain (*mung*)
65. *pǎn k̄ror*      *hla shen* (+ repetition of lines 25–35)  
*pǎn k̄ror*      *hla shen* (*mung*)
66. *tǎ mar*      *cyo men* (+ repetition of lines 25–35)  
*tǎ mar*      *cyo men* (*mung*)

The word “Cherim” was said to indicate a ceremonial act of gratitude to *kong chen*; the root of the word could not be established.

1. – *kóng chen* the god of Mount Kanchenjunga. *ka*<sup>o</sup> to – *sǎ wo*<sup>o</sup> present, gift, here: offering. – *top*<sup>o</sup> to give – *mo*<sup>o</sup> past tense. To this line, cf. explanation to Text No. 32,17. – The pronoun “we”, i. e. the assembled people, is implied.

**Trsl.:** To *kong chen* (we) have given a present, i. e. have given an offering.

2. – *tǎ lom* was explained as a part of the name *tǎ lom pán grim*; to *tǎ lom* cf. perhaps Dict. 124 a *ta* 1. adv. above there, up there . . . *ta-lom* as it is there above; *pán grim*, name of a mountain god and of a mountain peak southeast of Kanchenjunga. For the rest of the line, see line 1.

**Trsl.:** To *tǎ lom pán grim* (we) have given a present.

3. – *jiyüng sor kǎ ku* name of a *mung*; Dict. 328b has *yóng* 5. s. the spirit or ghost of a tiger or of perhaps any hurtful animal, here perhaps a mis-spelling (?); to *sor* cf. Tib. Jäs. 580a *sór-mo* 1. finger, toe; *kǎ ku* eight, cf. Dict. 5a and Gram. p. 115. No explanation could be ascertained regarding the strange name of this *mung* or its activity; however, it is tempting to draw attention to the fact that the Childbirth

Ritual, Text No. 18,22, has a request to *pǎ dim* (*pán grim*?) to block the way of *sór mung*, and that the figure “eight” occurs several times in the Lingthem arrangement of the Cherim offering, Morris p. 154f.: eight devils’ walking sticks, . . . twice eight bamboo sticks, . . . eight eggs, . . . eight stones, . . . eight slender branches of wormwood, . . . and eight small cups from the folded leaves of banana.

4. – *pyák sor kǎ kyót* name of a *mung*; to *pyák* cf. Tib. Jäs. 347a *phyag* 1 . . . hand, and 348b *phyag-sór* respectfully for *sór-mo*, see 580a *sór-mo*, respectfully *phyag-sór* (Milaraspa) 1. finger, toe. to *sor*, cf. line 3; *kǎ kyót* nine, cf. Dict. 5a and Gram. p. 115. – For the rest of the line, see line 1.

**Trsl. 3–4:** (To) *jiyüng sor kǎ ku* (*mung*), (and) to *pyák sor kǎ kyót* (*mung*) (we) have given a present.

**Expl.:** There is no conjunctive “and” between the names of the two *mung*, and “*ka*” is implied after the first name.

5. – *tak se thing*, common Lepcha appellation of the Tibetan saint Padmasambhava; *thing*<sup>o</sup> lord, master, also almost venerable, honourable.

6. – *tak bo thing*, a primeval mythical figure, he and *nǎ zóng nyo* created the first human beings,

etc.; sometimes *tak se thing* and *tak bo thing* are telescoped into one person, cf. Gorer p. 187, and it may be the case here; but the interpreter did not advance any explanation supporting this suggestion, and the construction of the preceding and subsequent lines does not favour this suggestion. For the rest of the line, see lines 2 and 4.

**Trsl. 5-6:** (To) *tak se thing*  
(and) to *tak bo thing* (we) have given a present.

7. – *cya dŭng ra zo*, name of the wife of *kong chen*, cf. Texts Nos. 36,9 and 37,49; *mũ nyũ* was here taken as part of her name; it might be connected with Dict. 290a *mũ*, body, living body, and Dict. 111a *a-nyo*, a lady, a gentle woman; cf. the application of the same appellative to *hik tí* in line 8.

8. – *hik tí mũ nyũ*, name of a *mung*, cf. line 7. Text No. 37,48 has the same name, but mentioned before *cya dŭng ra zo*; regarding the probable location of this *mung*, see commentary to Text No. 37,48. According to Dict. 369b *hik s.* a fowl . . . *hik-tí* means a hen's egg.

9. – *zo mon pǎ tam* no explanation, presumably the name of a *mung* or the location of a *mung*; *pǎ tam* means usually plain, cf. Dict. 204a *pǎ-tam*, *pŭr-tam s.* plain from *tam* plain with prefixed *pǎ* forming nomen, cf. Dict. 125b *tam 2.* plain, deriv. *pǎ-tam*, *pŭr-tam s.* a level surface; comp. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1953a, p. 890 f. *pŭr-tam* "Ebene".

10. – *pǎ wo hŭng ri* name of a *mung*, name of the mountain peak Pauhunri of north-eastern Sikkim (see Sketch-Map) and see Brown p. 88, Map A, Pauhunri (23180 feet); according to the Lepcha mythology a younger brother of *kong chen*.

11. – *kǎ por kóng chen* no explanation, presumably the name of a *mung*. Cf. Dict. 191b *nan 3*, *na-tam cu*, Tib. *ka-bur*, n. pr. of a mountain, cf. Waddell 1892, p. 58: . . . called Kabur by the Bhotiyas . . . p. 65: . . . The Lepcha name for Kabru or Kabar; Waddell 1900, p. 419 "Kabru" (properly "Kaboor") . . . and p. 422: The patron Saint of Sikhim, Latsun Chembo, is said to have miraculously reached that peak over two centuries ago. And the wild bare rocky gorge beneath us bears the ironical name of "The Pleasant Garden" (*Nam-gah-tsal*), because, says the legend, that saint lived "happily" in a hermitage here, when he was composing the

ritual for the worship of Kanchen. He is said to have dwelt under the western side of the pass in a cave called *Kam-pa Kha-brag*, and near the "Monkey's-back Rock" (*Preu-gyab-tak*), so named with reference to its outline, as suggesting a sitting monkey. See Brown p. 73, Map A. Kabru, 24002 feet. – For the rest of the line see line 1.

**Trsl. 7-11:** To *cya dŭng ra zo mũ nyũ*,  
(and to) *hik tí mũ nyũ*,  
(and to) *zo mon pǎ tam*,  
(and to) *pǎ wo hŭng ri*,  
(and to) *kǎ por kóng chen* (we) have given a present!

12. – *lyang°* place, *a re°* this, i. e. the place where the ceremony is performed, the present locality, the village and its inhabitants. – *ka°* to, *a dok°* sickness, *mǎ°* negation, *thap°* to put, to give.

**Trsl.:** Do not give sickness to this place!

13. – *ǎ not°* illness. – For the rest of the line, see line 12.

**Trsl.:** Do not give illness!

14. – *kǎ yum°* us i. e. presumably the persons implied in *lyang a re*, see line 12. – *dok°* sick – *mǎ° kon°* not cause.

**Trsl.:** Do not cause us to be sick (ill).

15. – *mak* death, probably short form for *a mak°* death. For the rest of the line, see line 14.

**Trsl.:** Do not cause death!

16. – *nyet°* disease – *plǎm* to spread, cf. Dict. 228b *plǎ 1.*, *plǎ-m vb. n.* to issue, to come forth . . . to proceed, to come into existence, to happen, to befall, to ensue, to penetrate. For the rest of the line, see line 14.

**Trsl.:** Do not cause disease to spread!

17. – *tak se tsom* name of a *mung*, according to Text No. 37,4, name of a male *mung* and his abode, close to *kong chen*; in this context an address introducing the following lines.

18. – *ǎ lang* now, i. e. at the present sacrifice. – *a re°* this – *lǎm bǎ lǎm song* hen, mostly used of wild fowls, cf. Dict. 421a *sóng 3*, *lǎm-sóng s.* a cock (*tŭng bór*); see also Text No. 25,3. *sǎ°* genitive – *sũk°* life – *bo° mo°* have given.

**Trsl.:** Now (we) have given the life of this hen.

19. – *vi*<sup>o</sup> blood – *mán*<sup>o</sup> meat, flesh – *fǔ*<sup>o</sup> *mo*<sup>o</sup> given have.

**Trsl.:** (We) have given (its) blood (and) meat (flesh).

20. – *hó*<sup>o</sup> you, i. e. *tak se tsom*, see line 17. – *a re*<sup>o</sup> *pǎng*<sup>o</sup> these, i. e. these things, viz. the blood and the meat – *je*<sup>o</sup> *o*<sup>o</sup> please eat, eat!

**Trsl.:** Eat you these things!

21. – *lyang a re ka*, see line 12. – *nyel*<sup>o</sup> disease – *yóm nǎt sǎ* was translated as disease, sickness, without further explanation, and it seems that the interpreter considered this construction as a kind of expletive to *nyet*; the construction is difficult to analyse, and it seems to have given Tamsang great difficulty, as he did not speak *sǎ*. To *yóm*, cf. perhaps Dict. 328a *yo-mo*, s. cancer or eating-sore in the nose. *nǎt* may be a variant to Dict. 198b *net 2*, s. disease cf. Tib. Jäs. 302b *nad*. . . . – *mǎ thap*, see line 12. –

**Trsl.:** To this place do not give disease and sickness!

22–23, see lines 14–15.

24. – *tak bo tsom* name of a *mung*, no further explanation, but comp. *tak se tsom* line 17 and reference. Here an invocation introducing the following lines.

25–29: see lines 12–16.

30–35: see lines 18–23.

36 ff. – The remaining words of the ritual are names of *mung* to whom petitions are addressed. To most of these names the word *cyǔ*, mountain, is attached indicating the abode of the *mung*. Dict. 81b spells it *cu*<sup>o</sup> s. the snowy range, a high mountain on which snow always lies. The interpreter's habit of spelling "yǔ" for "ü" finds a parallel in Text No. 32,18 "*chyǔl*" for "*chǔl*", see also Text No. 38, lines 5 and 25. Unfortunately, we could not persuade the informant *hlam bo* to provide us with any information concerning the individual *mung*; presumably he was unable, or did not like, to go into details about these problems. The following notes are therefore based on comparisons or later suggestions.

37. – *la mi yong*, in Text No. 37,10 occurs the name *lóng mi yong*, name of a *mung* and/or a *mung* abode close to *kong chen*.

38. – *pǎn song*, Text No. 28,5 and 8 has *pǎn song rǔm* as wife of *pǎn dong rǔm*; *pǎn song rǔm* and *pǎn dong rǔm* are invoked at the *nyen jo mo* dancing ceremony, see Part I. The present text line 45 has an address to *pǎn dong*.

39. – *pǎ li yang*, comp. perhaps Text No. 37,19 *pǎ lyang cyǔ* name of a *mung* and/or a *mung* abode close to *kong chen*; cf. Gorer p. 481 (The Sacred Story of the Origin of Marriage) where it is told that when Tarbong-bo left his mother Itpomu to travel and see the world he first "travelled by the road called Parhi Pageun and came to the top of Paki Chu; from there he went down to Palyang Chu, which is a mountain above Sakhong and can be seen on a clear day." See also line 45: Sakyong.

40. – *mǎ ro li pǎng*, Part I, Tales of Creation and Origin, No. 4, mentions a place called *mǎ ro li Blu*, close to the *tak bo thing* and *nǎ zóng nyo* peaks, where there was a big tree in which there used to live a big eagle-like bird called Laso Fomo; comp. Gorer p. 55.

41. – *sǎ no lǎng kyol*, ? (No information).

42. – *lǎng song cyǔ*, cf. Dict. 345a *lǎng 3*. a stone, a rock . . . *lǎng song* "a stone", "resounding", nomen proprium of a locality in Sikkim, cf. Waddell 1892, p. 72 Long-Song, a rocky site in the resounding gorge of the Tista opposite its junction with the Great Rangit.

43. – *kǎ cer vi*, cf. perhaps Dict. 5b *ka-cer* s. wheat, genus *Triticum*, and Dict. 386b *vi 1*. *a-vi* s. one handful.

44. – *sǎ hyór cyǔ*, presumably identical with Text No. 37,7 *sa hyūr cyǔ* name of a *mung* and his abode close to *kong chen*; Texts Nos. 13,1 and 14,1 have *sǎ hyor rǔm* as the name of the tutelary deity of the blacksmith.

45. – *pǎn dong cyǔ*, cf. references to line 38; perhaps identical with *pan krong* (pronounced approx.: pan<sup>1</sup>tong) Text No. 38,8, name of a rock in Panting, near Sakyong, west of Tingbung.

46. – *pā ki cyū*, cf. Text No. 37,9 *pā ki cyū* name of a *mung* and/or a *mung* abode close to *kong chen*; cf. also Gorer p. 481, see this Text line 39.

48. – *lāng yi cyū*, cf. perhaps Dict. 345a *lāng* 3. s. a stone, a rock.

50. – *pā zor cyū*, cf. perhaps Dict. 320b *zór* 1. s. jungle, thicket, see Dict. 319a *zók* 2 . . . *pā-zók*, *pān-zók* s. the forest, the jungle, uncultivated land.

52. – *rang dyang cyū*, comp. possibly the resembling name Text No. 38,9 *rāng yang dang vik*; to *rāng* cf. Waddell 1892, p. 59 f. “The majority of the Lepcha names for rivers contain the prefix *Rang* which conveys the sense of extension or length and is to be met with in other words, e. g. *Rang-gan* = a steep ascent, etc.”; comp. also Dict. 329b *rāng* 2. vb. to watch, to guard, and Dict. 339b *róng* 1. s. a horn and *róng* 2. also *rāng* s. a Lepcha; to *dyang* cf. Dict. 184b *dyang* 2. s. the leg, the foot.

56. – *sāng cer mit*, cf. perhaps Dict. 289b *mit* s. a female, a woman of superior beings . . . is affixed to express the gender.

57. – *tak cyom cyū*, cf. perhaps Text No. 37,27 *tak cyóm kǎ óm* name of a *mung* peak, location unknown.

58. – *lāng góm cyū*, cf. Text No. 37,30 *lāng gom* name of a *mung* living below the Talung Monastery; cf. Dict. 345a *lāng* 3. a stone, a rock and *lāng gūm* s. a raised rock with a hollow underneath, not as large as *kūm*, see Dict. 21a adj. arched, concave, vaulted, s. a small cave or arch as under a rock.

On June the 6th I attended the regular monthly ceremony at the small, local Lamaist temple of Payel; the ceremony was supplemented by a performance to Langgam *pū nū*, presumably the same as *lāng góm*. Twice a year they perform a temple ceremony to Langgam *pū nū*: in *kūr nyít* month (January–February) on which occasion they request him not to cause too heavy attacks of rain, snow, and hailstorms, and in *nām tsam* month (May–June) when they thank him because they have been spared from too heavy attacks. On these occasions they prepare two *tor ma*, a bigger one representing Langgam *pū nū*, and a smaller one representing his servant(s); thereafter they offer large baskets of barley and bottles of *ci* to Langgam *pū nū*.

14 The Lepchas.

During the ceremony on June 6th they carried the *tor ma* representing Langgam *pū nū* outside the temple and placed it on a bamboo platform at the bottom of which they burnt incense. They also placed a hen, a piece of chupatti, maize, barley, rice, a bamboo bottle of *ci*, and a small lamp on the platform. Reading aloud from a book a lama addressed a thanksgiving to Langgam *pū nū* for protection of the people followed by a request to protect them also in the future; meanwhile some men now and then stepped forward and threw rice and drops of *ci* into the air.

This year, when the regular ceremony had been finished, a strange, comical occurrence took place. A man from Lik, who had attended the performance as a guest, stepped forward and addressed a long prayer to Langgam *pū nū* requesting him to protect the people against diseases and all kinds of misfortunes; but in addition he also asked Langgam *pū nū* to prevent the girls and the daughters-in-law from eloping from their homes. No sooner had he said so than a girl jumped forward and flung a handful of flour into his face and hair. It provoked a roar of laughter, and the rest of his private performance was drowned in uncontrolled outbursts of mirth.

59. – *tal kri*, perhaps the same as Text No. 37,31 *ta kri* name of a *mung* and/or a *mung* abode below the Talung Monastery.

60–64: names of *mung* or *mung* localities; no explanation.

65. – *pan krór* (pronounced: pan <sup>1</sup>tor) *hla shen*, perhaps the *mung* Pantor to whom the entreaty, Text No. 21, is addressed.

66. – *tā mar cyo men*, comp. the similar name of a *mung* of Tingbung area, Part I: The Village of Kesong.

#### Paraphrase:

- I. Invocation of *kong chen* and other supernatural beings (1–16)
  1. The people affirm that they have given offerings to *kong chen* and to other supernatural beings (1–11),
  2. and they request these beings not to cause them diseases and death, and pray that diseases (epidemics) may not spread (12–16).



8. *gren jyong ka thi ba*  
 den-<sup>1</sup>ʒoŋ-ka:                      ˘                      <sup>1</sup>thi:-<sup>1</sup>ba:  
 Sikkim                      to                      came  
    in
9. *ci pa thyūt gyo kat thūp mo*  
<sup>1</sup>tʃi:                      pə-<sup>1</sup>thjut                      <sup>1</sup>gjo:-kat                      ˘                      <sup>1</sup>thop-<sup>1</sup>mo:  
*ci bamboo bottle hundred got have*
10. *lo fet gyo kat thūp mo*  
 lə:-<sup>1</sup>fɛ:t                      <sup>1</sup>gjo:-kat                      ˘                      <sup>1</sup>thop-<sup>1</sup>mo:  
 leaf plates                      hundred                      got                      have
11. *ǎ lang fo ci tā fa kóm tor kǎ yu nǎ fū mo*  
 a-<sup>1</sup>lɔŋ                      <sup>1</sup>fo:                      <sup>1</sup>tʃi:                      ,ta-<sup>1</sup>fa:                      <sup>1</sup>kə:m                      <sup>1</sup>tə:r                      ka-<sup>1</sup>ju:-nə:                      ˘                      <sup>1</sup>phu-mo:  
 now                      bird                      *ci*                      rice                      rupee                      scarf                      we                      offered have
12. *a re tham pǎng rŭm ka fū mo*  
 a-re:                      ˘                      <sup>1</sup>tham-pəŋ                                           <sup>1</sup>rəm-ka:                      ˘                      <sup>1</sup>phu-mo:  
 these                      things                      (plur.)                      rŭm                      to                      offered have
13. *kǎ yum a thóng dok mǎ kon*  
 ka-<sup>1</sup>jum                      a-<sup>1</sup>thoŋ                      ˘                      <sup>1</sup>dək-mə-<sup>1</sup>kə:n  
 us                      leg                      sick                      not                      cause
14. *ǎ ko dok mǎ kon*  
 a-<sup>1</sup>kə:                      ˘                      <sup>1</sup>dək-mə-<sup>1</sup>kə:n  
 hand                      sick                      not                      cause
15. *a mik dok mǎ kon*  
 a-<sup>1</sup>mik                      ˘                      <sup>1</sup>dək-mə-<sup>1</sup>kə:n  
 eye                      sick                      not                      cause
16. *ǎ nyūr dok mǎ kon*  
 a-<sup>1</sup>njur                      ˘                      <sup>1</sup>dək-mə-<sup>1</sup>kə:n  
 ear                      sick                      not                      cause
17. *sǎ kyu thíng ka sǎ wo top mo*  
 sə-<sup>1</sup>kju:                      <sup>1</sup>thiŋ-ka:                                           sa-<sup>1</sup>ho                      ˘                      <sup>1</sup>təp-<sup>1</sup>mo:  
*sǎ kyu thíng to present given have*  
    (lord)                      (thanks)
18. *rŭm hó chyūl lyang ti ung ti sǎ lyang ka*  
<sup>1</sup>rəm                      <sup>1</sup>hə:                      <sup>1</sup>tʃhul                      ˘                      <sup>1</sup>ljaj                      ˘                      \*<sup>1</sup>ti:m                      \*<sup>1</sup>uŋ-<sup>1</sup>ti:m                      sə:-<sup>1</sup>ljaj-ka:<sup>1</sup>  
*rŭm you down place large water large of place to*  
*cyon bo o*  
<sup>1</sup>tʃə:n                      ˘                      .<sup>1</sup>bo-<sup>1</sup>o:  
    go

1. – *kār ko* name of a place at the end of the world from where, according to this ritual, the *sā kyu thing* appeared; I was also told that cardamom had come from *kār ko*. – *na°* from – *pām* is probably an error in writing by the interpreter as my phonetic notes taken down on the spot definitely have “*plam*”; to *plām* to appear, cf. Dict. 228b *plā* 1. *plā-m* vb. n. to issue, to come forth . . . *plām-bó* participle going forth, comp. in this context *plām bū*, indication of past tense. Tsering added that this word is applied to things appearing by creation or by growth. – *sā kyu* name of the *ma yel rüm*. – *thing°* honourable appellation, used in address to divine beings, very superior persons, etc. It may be translated approx: honourable; cf. Dict. 152a *thing*, *a-thing* s. 1. lord, master, a noble; in line 17 *thing* is used again of *sā kyu*, in lines 12 and 18 the word *rüm*. –  
**Trsl.:** Honourable *sā kyu* (who) appeared from *kār ko*!

2. – *pát°* Tibet, cf. Dict. 210a *pát* 2, s. n. pr. Tibet, cf. Tib. Jäs. 372a *bod*, Tibet. – *ka°* in, to – *nóng° ba°* went, cf. Dict. 200a *nóng* to go and 253a *ba* 4. verbal particle expressing a past indefinite.

**Trsl.:** (When you, i. e. *sā kyu*) went into Tibet,

3. – *luk* sheep, cf. Dict. 350b *lūk* 1. sheep, cf. Tib. Jäs. 547b *lug* sheep. – *gyo kat* hundred, one hundred, from *gyo* hundred, cf. Dict. 61a *gya* or *gyó* numeral, one hundred, cf. Tib. Jäs. 123b *brgya* a hundred; *kat* one, cf. Dict. 13b *kat*, numeral one; see also Gram. p. 116. – *thüp°* to get, to obtain – *mo°* past tense.

**Trsl.:** you got one hundred sheep.

4. – *pro°* Bhutan, cf. Dict. 226b *pru* s. Bhutan people, cf. Tib. Jäs. 401b *’brúg-pa* . . . 2. Bhotan. – *ka nóng ba*, see line 2.

**Trsl.:** (When you) went into Bhutan,

5. – *chā ro kó mo* was translated as: dress of the Bhutanese; to *chā ro* cf. perhaps Dict. 311b *tsha-ró* s. a present (from superior to inferior) . . . *tsha-ró düm* s. a kind of cloth; *kó mo* cf. Dict. 26a *ko* s. coat in opposition to *düm*, 174b, cloth, clothes, and *ko-mo* a great cloth, cf. also Tib. Jäs. 73a *gos* 1. garment, dress, 2. in some compounds: silk; comp. Morris p. 243 *Kamo*, a special kind of cloth which Tarbong was ordered to

bring back from Bhutan, and Gorer p. 482 *kamo*, cloth obtained from Bhutan. – *gyo kat thüp mo*, see line 3.

**Trsl.:** you got one hundred Bhutanese dresses.

6. – *lüm Nepal*, cf. Dict. 356a *lum* s. 1. the south . . . *gor-kho lum* s. the Nepal hill-tribe, the Gorkha . . . *tsong lum* s. the Limbus; *ka nóng ba*, see line 2.

**Trsl.:** (When you) went into Nepal,

7. – *kóng ka jí* name of a Nepalese dress – *kóng* root? perhaps from Tib. Jäs. 24a *skón-pa* II. vb. to dress, to clothe another person; I. refers to Jäs. 17a *rkón-pa*, also *skón-pa* 1. basket; the word is said to be used in Kunawur, a province [then] under British protection; perhaps also the Ladakian word “*kun-dúm*”, a large cylindrical or bottle-shaped basket, may be traced to the same form. I [Jäschke] never found it in books. 2. net, fowler’s net (Lexicons). *ka jí* cf. perhaps Dict. 6a *kā-je* for *ki-je* Dict. 16a, a kind of cloth, twisted cotton; Gorer p. 482 has the interesting information that when Na Rip Nom, in the sacred story of the origin of marriage, appeared to Tarbong she was dressed in *kaji lasong* (nettle cloth); compared with the above mentioned meaning of *kóng*, as derived from Tibetan, cylindrical or bottle-shaped basket, net, we may in the term *kóng ka jí* find a reference to the nettle clothes of ancient times. – *ka sā bok* name of a Nepalese dress, garment. *ka sā* root? *bok*, cf. Dict. 261a *bok düm* 2. s. quilted (perhaps: quilted?) garments. (Tamsang speaks?) – *gyo kat thüp mo*, see line 3.

**Trsl.:** you got one hundred *kóng ka jí* (dresses) and *ka sā bok* (dresses).

8. – *gren jyong* Sikkim, explained as: Land of the Rice; to *gren jyong* cf. Dict. 338b *ren-jong* Sikkim and Gram p. 142; for the current, but uncertain, explanation of the word as meaning Land of the Rice, see Waddell 1892, p. 77, comp. Tib. Jäs. 400a *’bras-ljóng* (*de-jóng*) – *ka*, see line 2. – *thi°* to come – *ba°*, see line 2.

**Trsl.:** (When you) came into Sikkim,

9. – *ci°* local beer – *pa thyüt* bottle of bamboo, used for liquids, cf. Dict. 206a *pa-thyut* s. a bamboo vessel for holding *ci*. – For the rest of the line see line 3.

**Trsl.:** you got one hundred bottles of *ci*.



10. – *lo fet* plate made of large leaves, and hence also the things put on these leaves as an offering to the *rām*. For the rest of the line, see line 3.

**Trsl.:** you got one hundred leaf plates (with offerings).

11. – *ā lang*<sup>o</sup> now, i. e. at this offering; after the brief ritual enumeration of the reception of *sā kyu* in Tibet, Bhutan, Nepal, and Sikkim, the attention focuses on the present moment. This “now” marks a turning point from the mythico-historical aspect (lines 1–10) to the topical situation (lines 11–17). – *fo*<sup>o</sup> bird, sacrificial fowl(s), either chicken(s) or wild bird(s). – *ci*<sup>o</sup> local beer – *tā fa* beaten rice, cf. Dict. 239a *fa* 2 . . . *tā-fa* s. 1. rice or maize parched dry and broken – *kóm* rupee, cf. Dict. 29b *kóm* s. 1. silver, 2. silver coin, money, a rupee – *tor* scarf of silk presented as an honorific gift on ceremonial occasions, cf. Dict. 143a *tór* s. silk; cf. Tib. Jäs. 250b *dar* I,1 silk. – *kā yu*<sup>o</sup> we, i. e. the officiating person and the people assembled; *nā*<sup>o</sup> the instrumental indicating agens. – *fū*<sup>o</sup> *mo*<sup>o</sup> have given, have offered. –

**Trsl.:** Now we have offered bird(s), *ci*, rice, a rupee and a scarf.

12. – *a re*<sup>o</sup> this, here combined with *pāng*<sup>o</sup> plur.: these – *tham*<sup>o</sup> thing, referring to the offering gifts mentioned in line 11. *rām*<sup>o</sup> here used of *sā kyu*, in line 1 and line 17 titled *thing*. – *fu mo*, see line 11.

**Trsl.:** these things (we) have given to *rām* (i. e. *sā kyu*).

13. – *kā yum*<sup>o</sup> us, i. e. the collected people, or perhaps more inclusive: the whole village or area. – *a thóng*<sup>o</sup> s. leg. – *dok*<sup>o</sup> sick – *mā*<sup>o</sup> *kon*<sup>o</sup> do not cause.

**Trsl.:** To us, do not cause sick leg(s)!

14. – *ā ko*<sup>o</sup> hand. – For the rest of the line, see line 13.

**Trsl.:** (To us) do not cause sick hand(s)!

**Expl.:** From line 13 is implied *kā yum*: for us. The same applies to lines 15 and 16.

15. – *a mik*<sup>o</sup> eye. For the rest of the line, see lines 13 and 14.

**Trsl.:** (To us) do not cause sick eye(s)!

16. – *ā nyūr* ear, cf. Dict. 112a *nyor*, *a-nyor* s. 1. ear. For the rest of the line, see lines 13 and 14.

**Trsl.:** (To us) do not cause sick ear(s)!

17. – *sā kyu thing*, see line 1; *sā kyu* is here again titled *thing* as in line 1, whereas line 12 and line 18 use *rām*. – *ka*<sup>o</sup> to – *sā wo*<sup>o</sup> 1. present, gifts, (Tsering,) 2. thanks (Tamsang), 3. gratitude (Tamsang). – *top*<sup>o</sup> to give, cf. Dict. 142a *tóp* 1. vb. t. I. to support, to sustain, etc. . . . II. to assist, to supply, to nourish. – *mo*<sup>o</sup> past tense.

This sentence may be subject to several translations according to the various textual meanings of the words: *sā wo top mo*. Tsering has provided the meaning No. 1 of *sā wo* at the time; on a later reading of the text Tamsang has provided meanings No. 2. and Nr. 3. Dict. 405b has *sa-wó* as folding hands in prayer, paying reverence, and *sa-wó tóp* vb. t. to pray, to pay reverence. (Cf. also Waddell 1899, p. 45, Note 1.) In this way three translations are possible:

**Trsl.:**

1. To the honourable *sā kyu* (we) have given presents (Tsering)
2. To the honourable *sā kyu* (we) have presented thanks (or: shown gratitude) (Tamsang)
3. To the honourable *sā kyu* (we) have paid reverence (Dict. i. e. Mainwaring/Grünwedel).

Translation No. 1 was given at the time and seems most appropriate to the context (the preceding lines mention gifts), and I should therefore prefer this translation. The second and the third translations may also be considered as figurative explanations of what is going on as it naturally follows that an offering to *sā kyu rām* or the honourable *sā kyu* is characterised by a grateful and reverential attitude.

18. – *rām*<sup>o</sup> god – *hó*<sup>o</sup> you, singl. – *chyül* down, cf. Dict. 81b *cül* adv. below, down below. – *lyang*<sup>o</sup> place – *tí* big, large, cf. Dict. 126b *tí* 1. *tí-m* vb. 1. to be great, to be large, to be big and *a-tím*, adj., great, large, important (Comp. Tamsang's pronunciation) . . . *lyang tí* the upper (hill-portion) of ground; cf. Tib. Jäs. 160a *che-ba* adj. great. – *ung*<sup>o</sup> water, cf. Dict. 444b *ung* 2. water i. e. running water, river . . . *ung tí* vb. to rise, to swell, to increase, as river. – *sā lyang ka* the interpreter could give no definite explanation of this phrase; I suggest that it may be understood on a par with Dict. 364b *lyang ka* in room of, in place of, and Dict. 393a *sā lyang ka* upon, upon occasion, thereupon, viz. in this

context: instead of . . . – *cyon bo o* honorific imp. please go! cf. Dict. 75a *cán* vb. n. used by the Lepchas hon. for: to go, to walk. – *bo° o°*.

**Trsl.:** You *rām*! Down to a (the) large place (and) a (the) large water (instead) go, please!  
That is: You *rām*! Please, go (instead) down to the large place and the large water!

**Expl.:** No further explanation could be obtained of these obscure phrases.

**Paraphrase:**

- I. The history of the *să kyu rām* as the background for the cultic situation: appearance, wanderings, and honourable receptions in various countries (1–10):
1. came from *kār ko* (1)
  2. went to Tibet and obtained 100 sheep (2–3)
  3. went to Bhutan and obtained 100 dresses (4–5)

4. went to Nepal and obtained 100 dresses and garments (6–7)
5. went to Sikkim and obtained 100 bamboo bottles of *ci* and 100 leaf plate offerings (8–10).

II. The present cultic situation (11–17):

1. Now the people offer bird, *ci*, rice, rupee and scarf to *să kyu* (11–12)
2. and request that *să kyu* may not cause them diseases (13–16) of:
  - a. the leg (13)
  - b. the hand (14)
  - c. the eye (15)
  - d. the ear (16)
 affirming that they have given presents to *să kyu* (17).

- III. The people's final request to *să kyu* for the future (18):  
that *să kyu* will proceed to another place, i. e. down to the large place and the large water.

**Text No. 33. The *kong chen* Ceremony. Prayer in Gangtok Palace Grounds.**

From Tingbung

Informant: Junggi, the priest of *kong chen*  
Interpreter: Tsering

- |    |  |                                 |                             |                       |                                  |                        |                    |                     |  |
|----|--|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|---------------------|--|
| 1. | <i>rām</i><br> rəm                       | <i>kā yum</i><br>ka- jum        | <i>dok</i><br> dək-mə- kə:n | <i>mă</i><br> mə      | <i>kon</i><br> kən               |                        |                    |                     |  |
|    | <i>rām</i>                               | us                              | sickness                    | not                   | cause                            |                        |                    |                     |  |
| 2. | <i>nyet</i><br> njɛ:t                    | <i>dok</i><br> dək-mə- kə:n     | <i>mă</i><br> mə            | <i>kon</i><br> kən    |                                  |                        |                    |                     |  |
|    | disease                                  | sickness                        | not                         | cause                 |                                  |                        |                    |                     |  |
| 3. | <i>mī dyūp</i><br>mi- djup               | <i>dok</i><br> dək-mə- kə:n     | <i>mă</i><br> mə            | <i>kon</i><br> kən    |                                  |                        |                    |                     |  |
|    | cough and cold                           | sickness                        | not                         | cause                 |                                  |                        |                    |                     |  |
| 4. | <i>tā lyang</i><br>tə- ljaŋ <sup>1</sup> | <i>să tsūk</i><br>sə- tsuuk-nə: | <i>nū</i><br>(by)           | <i>a re</i><br>a- re: | <i>yok</i><br> jə:k              | <i>bo</i><br> bo:- mo: | <i>mo</i><br> mo:  |                     |  |
|    | sky                                      | sun                             | (by)                        | this                  | yak                              | given                  | have               |                     |  |
| 5. | <i>ā lang</i><br>a- lɔŋ                  | <i>kā yu</i><br>ka- ju:         | <i>a bi</i><br>a- bi:       | <i>a re</i><br>a- re: | <i>tham cyong</i><br> tham- tʃɔŋ | <i>să</i><br> sə:      | <i>sūk</i><br> suk | <i>mán</i><br> mə:n |  |
|    | now                                      | we                              | here                        | this                  | animal                           | of                     | life               | flesh               |  |
|    | <i>a mo</i><br>a- mo:                    | <i>rām</i><br> rəm              | <i>a dūm</i><br>a- dum      | <i>bi</i><br>bi- jam  | <i>yam</i><br> jam               |                        |                    |                     |  |
|    | blood                                    | <i>rām</i>                      | to you                      | giving                | are                              |                        |                    |                     |  |

6. <i>a re</i>	<i>re</i>	<i>hó</i>	<i>je</i>	<i>o</i>
a- re:-,re:		hə: ̣	ʒe: ̣	ho- o:²
this	here	you	eat	accept

1. – *rām*<sup>o</sup>, the name of the *rām* addressed is not mentioned, but the connection with the whole *kong chen* ceremony points evidently in the direction of *kong chen*. – *kā yum*<sup>o</sup> us, was not defined; in a narrower sense the men partaking in the ceremony, in a wider sense the entire community, cf. Text No. 36, 11 f. – *dok*<sup>o</sup> sickness – *mā*<sup>o</sup> negation – *kon*<sup>o</sup> to cause.

**Trsl.:** *rām*! Do not cause us sickness!

2. – *nyet*<sup>o</sup> disease, *dok*<sup>o</sup> illness, *nyet* and *dok* often appear to be synonymous, but if a distinction should be attempted it seems that *nyet* is more the actual disease while *dok* is the hurt or pain caused by a disease. – *mā*<sup>o</sup> negation – *kon*<sup>o</sup> to cause.

**Trsl.:** Do not cause (us) disease (and) sickness!

3. – *mi dyüp* cough and cold; Dict. 106b *nyi* 6 has *nyi dyop* s. a cold, a catarrh, cf. Dict. 284a *mí* 2. vb. to be affected, imbued, and the construction: *nyi-dyop-sā a-mi* the demon of a cold. For the remaining words, see line 1.

**Trsl.:** Do not cause (us) cough and cold and sickness!

4. – *tā lyang* the sky, cf. Dict. 120a *tā-lyang* “the high place”, the sky, the firmament, the heavens; *sā tsük* the sun, cf. Dict. 400b and 306a *tsük* s. the sun, and the construction *tā-lyang-mo sā-tsük lā-vo (tūng bór)* 1. the king and the queen, 2. the state, the government; the interpreter stated that the construction *tā lyang sā tsük* “the sky and the sun” is an honorific epithet of the Maharajah. – *nū*<sup>o</sup> abbrev. postp. instrumental, from *nūn* indicating the personal subject (agens) of the action. – *a re*<sup>o</sup> this, gives emphasis to the selected yak. – *yok yak*, cf. Dict. 328a *yók* 2 s. a yak, Bos grunniens. – *bo*<sup>o</sup> *mo*<sup>o</sup> have given; the Maharajah has given the yak to them, and now they give it to *kong chen*.

**Trsl.:** The sky and the sun (i. e. the Maharajah) have given this yak.

5. – *ā lang*<sup>o</sup> now, i. e. in this moment of prayer – *kā yu*<sup>o</sup> we, i. e. the Lepchas collected on the spot – *a bi* here, i. e. in this place where the ceremony is celebrated, cf. Dict. 439b *a-bi* here (close), just here, cf. Gram. p. 71. – *a re*<sup>o</sup> this, it

is stressed once more that it is this particular animal. – *thām cyong*<sup>o</sup> animal – *sā*<sup>o</sup> of, *sāk*<sup>o</sup> life; it is not merely the animal itself that they give, but the life of the animal. – *mān*<sup>o</sup> flesh – *a mo*<sup>o</sup> blood – For the significance of flesh and blood in the sacrifice, see Text No. 39, 1 – *rām*, cf. line 1, again *kong chen* is only mentioned as *rām*. – *a dūm* to you, cf. Gram. p. 37, 2nd person singl., Acc. “thysel” cf. Dict. 275a -*m* II. and 440a postp. forms the object or dative of pronominal roots, *a-do-m* from *a-do*. – *bi*<sup>o</sup>, see *byi* under *bo*<sup>o</sup>, to give – *yam*<sup>o</sup> verbal particle generally representing present or past tense, cf. Gram. p. 51 and Dict. 324a -*yam-o*. The entire sentence states that they are giving the life of the animal (line 5) as it is concentrated in the flesh and the blood; as they do not sacrifice the animal in this moment, this last sentence may be understood in a symbolical way, i. e. we now consecrate this animal to you in order later to sacrifice it to you.

**Trsl.:** Now we here the life of this animal, the flesh and the blood, are giving to you, *rām*.

6. – *a re*<sup>o</sup> this – *re*<sup>o</sup> emphatically: this one, or this here, i. e. this particular animal standing on this spot. – *hó*<sup>o</sup> you – *je*<sup>o</sup> to eat and also to accept; in this context the latter meaning because the animal is not sacrificed now to *kong chen*. – *o*<sup>o</sup> polite imp. indication. (Tamsang speaks: *bo o*).

**Trsl.:** This one (or this animal here) do you accept it! that is: Do accept this animal here!

#### Paraphrase:

- I. On behalf of the people the priest requests the *rām* (i. e. *kong chen*) not to cause them (1–3):
  - a. sickness (1)
  - b. disease (2)
  - c. cough and cold (3).
- II. On behalf of the people the priest presents the *rām* with the yak (4–6):
  - a. affirming that it has been given by the Maharajah (4)
  - b. emphasising that the life of the yak is now given (i. e. consecrated) to *kong chen* (5)
  - c. and requesting *kong chen* to accept it (6).

**Text No. 34. The *kong chen* Ceremony. Procession Song.**

From Tingbung

Informant: Junggi, the priest of *kong chen*  
Interpreter: Tsering

- |   |           |           |           |
|---|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| 1. <i>mā yel tong</i>                       | <i>nā</i> | <i>ít</i> |           |
| ,ma-jɛl- <sup>1</sup> lɔŋ-nə                | ◡         | lɪ:t      |           |
| <i>mā yel tong</i>                          |           | created   |           |
| 2. <i>mǔ lǔng tong</i>                      | <i>nā</i> | <i>ít</i> |           |
| ,mu-lɔŋ- <sup>1</sup> lɔŋ-nə <sup>1</sup>   | ◡         | lɪ:t      |           |
| <i>mǔ lǔng tong</i>                         |           | created   |           |
| 3. <i>tar bom bū</i>                        | <i>nā</i> | <i>ít</i> |           |
| tar- <sup>1</sup> bəm-bu-nə                 | ◡         | lɪ:t      |           |
| <i>tar bom bū</i>                           |           | created   |           |
| 4. <i>na ríp bū</i>                         | <i>nā</i> | <i>ít</i> |           |
| na- <sup>1</sup> rɪp-bu-nə                  | ◡         | lɪ:t      |           |
| <i>na ríp bū</i>                            |           | created   |           |
| 5. <i>kām si thing</i>                      | <i>nā</i> | <i>ít</i> |           |
| kəm- <sup>1</sup> si:- <sup>1</sup> thiŋ-nə | ◡         | lɪ:t      |           |
| <i>kām si thing</i>                         |           | created   |           |
| 6. <i>kam yǔ thing</i>                      | <i>nā</i> | <i>ít</i> |           |
| kəm- <sup>1</sup> ju:- <sup>1</sup> thiŋ-nə | ◡         | lɪ:t      |           |
| <i>kam yǔ thing</i>                         |           | created   |           |
| 7. <i>sak tsūm thing</i>                    | <i>nā</i> | <i>ít</i> | <i>mo</i> |
| sak- <sup>1</sup> tsum-thiŋ-nə              | ◡         | lɪt-mo:   |           |
| <i>sak tsūm thing</i>                       |           | created   | has       |

1. – *mā yel tong* was explained as 1. name of a deity who created the world, 2. name of a peak close to *kong chen*. For the *mā yel* beings cf. the *mā yel* legend, Part I. Concerning *tong*, it may be a defective spelling of the word *thóng*, plain, referring to the open space inhabited by the *mā yel* beings, (cf. the *mā yel* legend, Part I), and it would then mean that the creative powers were associated with the place itself; however, this is contradicted by Tsering's explanation: name of a creative deity. Another possibility is that the word *tong* may be connected with Tib. *steng*, cf. Jäs. 222a that which is above, the upper part, surface, cf. also 213a *rtén* that which contains, keeps or supports a thing, 1. a hold, support . . . seat, abode, residence; cf. also the Tibetan word *stang*, still used in the popular belief of Ladakh in the

form *stang-lha*, indicating the upper sphere comprising the heaven and the air-filled space. This term dates back to the ancient Bon, cf. Hoffmann 1950, p. 139. This explanation seems to be on a par with a later statement by Tamsang that *mā yel tong* is something high up in the mountain, whereas *mǔ lǔng tong* (see line 2) is something low, close to the river bed. Be it as it may, the understanding of *tong* remains a crux. – *nā*<sup>o</sup> instr. indicating "agens". – *ít* created, has created, *mo* indication of past tense is implied from line 7; to *ít* cf. Dict. 451 a 'ayil, vb. t. to create, to found, to establish, to commence, cf. Tib. Jäs. 89a *bggyid-pa* 1. to make, to manufacture . . . to do, to act, etc.

**Trsl.:** *mā yel tong* (has) created.

2. – *mũ lũng tong*, name of a deity who created paddy rice, millet and maize – *nã tt*, see line 1.

**Trsl.:** *mũ lũng tong* (has) created.

3. – *tar bom bũ*, name of a deity who created all religious songs, as well as the name of a peak close to *kong chen*; cf. Text No. 19,36.

**Trsl.:** *tar bom bũ* (has) created.

4. – *nã ríp bũ* name of a deity who created different kinds of soil i. e. both the cultivatable soil, and the stony soil. – For the rest of the line, see line 1. Cf. Text No. 19,37.

**Trsl.:** *na ríp bũ* (has) created.

5. – *kãm si thing* name of a deity who instituted the marriage of human beings. *thing*<sup>o</sup> lord, master. For the rest of the line, see line 1.

**Trsl.:** *kãm si thing* (has) created.

6. – *kam yũ thing*, name of a deity who created all edible things; *thing*<sup>o</sup> lord, master. For the rest of the line, see line 1.

**Trsl.:** *kam yũ thing* (has) created.

7. – *sak tsũm thing* name of a deity who created the thought of man and his ability to think; cf. perhaps Dict. 407a *sak zo* vb. to think, to consider, and Dict. 305b *tsũ* 5. 1. calculation; . . . arithmetic, mathematics; account; science, information; cf. Tib. Jäs. 439b *rtsis* 1. counting . . . 2. account, in certain constructions: to calculate, to compute. – *it* see line 1. – *mo*<sup>o</sup> indication of past tense.

**Contents:** An enumeration of various deities who by their different creative activities have contributed to making life good for mankind. Therefore this brief song is a kind of hymn or praise.

### Text No. 35. The *kong chen* Ceremony. The Night Prayer in the Priest's House.

From Tingbung

Informant: Marji

Interpreter: Tsering

- |   |                                |              |           |
|---|--------------------------------|--------------|-----------|
| 1. <i>kũng chen</i>   | <i>pã nu</i>                   |              |           |
| <i>kəŋ-<sup>1</sup>tʃhen<sup>1</sup></i>                    | <i>,pə-<sup>1</sup>nu:</i>     |              |           |
| <i>kung chen</i>  | king                           |              |           |
| 2. <i>kóng lo</i>   | <i>pã nu</i>                   |              |           |
| <i>kəŋ-<sup>1</sup>lɔ:</i>                                  | <i>,pə-<sup>1</sup>nu:</i>     |              |           |
| <i>kóng lo</i>  | king                           |              |           |
| 3. <i>tã lyang</i>  | <i>sã tsũk</i>                 | <i>pã nu</i> | <i>sã</i> |
| <i>tə-<sup>1</sup>ljəŋ-sə-<sup>1</sup>tsuək<sup>2</sup></i> | <i>,pə-,nu-<sup>1</sup>sə:</i> |              |           |
| sky   | sun                            | king         | for (?)   |
|   | Maharajah                      |              |           |
| 4. <i>mãng ti yang</i>                                      | <i>sóm</i>                     |              |           |
| <i>*mi-<sup>1</sup>təŋ-jaŋ<sup>3</sup></i>                  | <i>lɔ:<sup>3</sup>m</i>        |              |           |
| <i>mãng ti yang</i>   | (breath)                       |              |           |
| (name of a <i>mung</i> )                                    |                                |              |           |
| 5. <i>mã yũm</i>  | <i>sóm</i>                     |              |           |
| <i>mə-<sup>1</sup>ljəm<sup>4</sup></i>                      | <i>lɔ:<sup>3</sup>m</i>        |              |           |
| <i>mã yũm</i>   | (breath)                       |              |           |
| (name of a <i>mung</i> )                                    |                                |              |           |

6. *dar tǔk lat shím bu*  
 ɖar-<sup>l</sup>tək ◡ ˈlat-ɕim-<sup>l</sup>bu:  
 bad thing come will
7. *dar dek ka*  
 ɖar-<sup>l</sup>de:k-ka ◡  
*dar end in*  
 middle
8. *sóm róng dek ka*  
 ˈsə:m rəŋ-<sup>l</sup>de:k-ka ◡  
*sóm róng end in*  
 middle
9. *sóm sǎ tsūk ka*  
 ˈsə:m sə-<sup>l</sup>tsuk ˌka:  
 rainbow in
10. *kǔm byong lat shím bu*  
 ˌkəm-<sup>l</sup>bjuŋ ◡ ˈlat-ɕim-<sup>l</sup>bu:  
 cloud come will
11. *sǎ thóng lat shím bu*  
 sa-<sup>l</sup>thəŋ ◡ ˈlat-ɕim-<sup>l</sup>bu:  
 tiger come will
12. *pro na pǎ nu lat shím bu*  
 ˈpro:-nə ˌpə-<sup>l</sup>nu: ˈlat-ɕim-<sup>l</sup>bu:  
 Bhutan from king come will
13. *pǎn dí lat shím bu*  
 ˌpən-<sup>l</sup>dí: ◡ ˈlat-ɕim-<sup>l</sup>bu:  
 queen come will
14. *lum lat shím bu*  
 ˈlum-lat ˈɕim-bu:<sup>5</sup>  
 Nepalese come will
15. *tsóng (cóng) lat sho*  
 ˌtʂoŋ<sup>6</sup> ◡ ˈlat-fo:  
 Limbus come will
16. *pǎ nu kím lat sho*  
 ˌpə-<sup>l</sup>nu: ◡ ˌki:m-<sup>l</sup>lat-fo:  
 king kím come will
17. *o re mā lat na bu re*  
 a-<sup>l</sup>re: mə-<sup>l</sup>lat-nəm-,bu-,re:<sup>7</sup>  
 those not come will  
 (may)

18. *kǔng chen*      *pǎ nu*  
 kəŋ-<sup>l</sup>fhen      <sup>l</sup>pə-<sup>l</sup>nu:  
*kǔng chen*      king
19. *hǎ do na sóm bo o*  
 hə-<sup>l</sup>do-nə:      <sup>l</sup>sə:m      <sup>l</sup>bo-<sup>l</sup>o:  
 you yourself      help      give

1. – *kǔng chen*, i. e. *kong chen*, the god of Kan-chenjunga. – *pǎ nu*<sup>o</sup>, king, here used honourably addressing a supernatural being, therefore almost like: divine majesty. This line is an invocation; the priest invokes *kong chen* for help, see the following lines.

Trsl.: King *kong chen*!

2. – *kóng lo*, name of god, follower of *kong chen*, also name of peak close to *kong chen*. Dict. 27 a cf. Waddell 1892, p. 65 have *kong-lo-cu* as a Lepcha name of Tib. *Kang-chen dsö-nga*; Waddell 1900, p. 452, Map, has the peak Kang La, 16740 feet (south of Kabru) – *pǎ nu*, see line 1. Invocation and address.

Trsl.: King *kóng lo*!

3. – *tǎ lyang* sky from *tǎ* high and *lyang* place, cf. Dict. 120 a *tǎ-lyang* “the high place”, the sky, the firmament, the heavens, cf. Dict. 115 b *tǎ*-prefix (cf. Dict. 126 b *tǎ* vb. to be great, to be big) and Dict. 363 b f. *lyang*<sup>o</sup> 2. s. the earth . . . place; Gorer p. 223 mentions Ta-lyang, Ta-kook and Ta-kok, who are the blue sky without ornament, among the children of Itpomu, the creative mother, and her husband. – *sǎ tsük*<sup>o</sup> sun, cf. Dict. 306 a *tsük*, 1. *sǎ-tsük* the sun; or *sǎ* may mean “and” or “with”, cf. Dict. 393 a, *sǎ*. II. The interpreter stated that *tǎ lyang sǎ tsük* was an honorific epithet of the Maharajah of Sikkim, cf. also Dict. 306 a *tǎ-lyang-mo sǎ-tsük lǎ-vo* (*tǎng bór*) 1. the king and queen, 2. the state, government. – *pǎ nu*, see line 1. *sǎ*, the interpreter, although being in doubt of the translation, suggested “for the Maharajah” as the best explanation, cf. Dict. 393 a -*sǎ* 8. -*sǎ(-o)* forms a polite mode of speaking (precative) or 9. genet. absol. belonging to, regarding, respecting, relating to, with regard to, relative. –

Trsl.: for the Maharajah, the king, or: for (His) Majesty, the king.

4. – *mǎng ti yang* name of a *mung*, translated as: Darkness of the Night, cf. Text No. 18,74 and

81. *sóm* breath, spirit but also mind, will, cf. Dict. 422 a *sóm* 3. *a-sóm* breath, spirit; here: *sóm* combined with the name of a *mung* means the evil breath, i. e. the evil influence of this *mung*.

Trsl.: the (evil) breath of *mǎng ti yang* (*mung*).

5. – *mǎ yǔm* name of a *mung* – *sóm*, see line 4.

Trsl.: the (evil) breath of *mǎ yǔm* (*mung*).

6. – *dar tūk* bad thing (translation uncertain) – *lat*<sup>o</sup> to come – *shím bu*<sup>o</sup> future indication.

Trsl.: bad thing will come.

7. – *dar* name of a place at the foot of *kong chen*; some *rúm* are said to live there; in Text No. 18,92 name of a *mung* or a *mung* abode – *dek*<sup>o</sup>, end, middle *dek ka*<sup>o</sup> in or at the end or middle, cf. Dict. 178 b *a-dék* s. 1. extremity . . . 3. the bottom of . . . 5. the end, *a-dek-ka* at the end.

Trsl.: in the middle of *dar* (place).

8. – *sóm róng* name of a place at the foot of *kong chen*; some *düt mung* are said to live there. – *dek ka*, see line 7.

Trsl.: in the middle of *sóm róng* (place).

9. – *sóm sǎ tsük* difficult to translate; in religious language this compound may sometimes be used of the rainbow, supposed to stand at the end of the world; but *sóm* is also used alone of a place at the foot of *kong chen*; some *düt mung* are said to live there. The interpreter stated that *sóm* in daily parlance is also used of: 1. bridge, 2. breath (air), cf. Dict. 422 a-b. – *sǎ tsük*<sup>o</sup> the sun.

Trsl.: in the rainbow.

10. – *küm byong* cloud, cf. Dict. 267 a *küm-byong* s. cloud. – *lat shím bu* will come, see line 6. – According to the interpreter the meaning is that some *mung* are coming with this cloud.

Trsl.: the cloud will come.

11. – *să thóng* tiger, cf. Dict. 397a *să-thăng*, *să-thóng* the tiger, *Felis tigris*. – *lat shím bu*, see line 6. – Behind *să thóng* may be hidden various ideas, cf. Dict. 171a *dar să-thăng* s. *dar* 1. “the tiger that devours the splendour” or from Tib. *sgra*? an eclipse of sun (or moon): *să-tsūk* (*lă-vo*) *dar să-thăng-nün tsūk*, cf. Dict. 171a *dar-chen* from Tib. *sgra-gcan* see *dar să-thăng* s. *dar* 1. in astronomy the ascending node; cf. also Tib. Jäs. 119b *sgra-gchan* Skt. Rahu, 1. a demon or monster of Indian mythology, esp. known for his enmity with the Sun and the Moon, on whom he is continually wreaking his vengeance, occasionally swallowing them for a time and thereby causing their eclipse. The Buddhist representation of the Rahu-legend is given by Schlagintweit 1863, p. 114 ff. More closely related to the particular locality is the appellation “Head Tiger”, a title of Kanchenjunga, see Gaz. p. 355, and the term “Tiger Peak” (Tib. *stag rtse*) of the highest peak of Kanchenjunga, Schulemann 1958, p. 261, and Rock 1953, p. 926. And just below the bare rocky “Pass of the Devil” (*Dui-La*) is a tarn called “The Lake of the Tigress” (*Tag-mo Tso*); a legend recounts that the tigress, being no earthly animal but a fiend in tigress form, used to live on the bank of the lake and to kill all yaks and people who came there, until a saintly lama banished it by his spells, Waddell 1900, p. 395 f. Comp. also the Bon deity called “The Tiger-God of the Burning Fire”, Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1947, p. 39, and the Tibetan mystery-play called “Dance of the Red-Tiger Devil”, referring to the pre-Buddhist Bon religion of Tibet, Waddell 1939, pp. 396, 516 and 520 (Picture), and Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956a, pp. 316 and 459.

Trsl.: the tiger will come.

12. – *pro*° Bhutan – *bă*° from – *pă nu*° king – *lat shím bu* will come, see line 6. – The term: the king from Bhutan does not refer to the present Maharajah of Bhutan, but to the kings of Bhutan in general as a reminiscence of historical incidents, see Part I, The History of the Lepchas. The following line may indicate that a certain legendary Bhutanese king is thought of.

Trsl.: the Bhutanese king will come.

13. – *păn dī*° queen. – *lat shím bu*° will come, see line 6. – According to a legend the queen referred to is a Bhutanese queen who was a *mung*, who still lives as such at a big stone above the temple of Payal. It is reported that the then king of Bhutan, who was also a follower of *kong chen* and had

to pay homage to *kong chen*, one day requested *kong chen* to give him a queen, and that *kong chen* then gave him this *mung*. Some people say that her name is Panden Hlamo, obviously identical with the Tibetan *dpal ldan lha mo*, cf. Hoffmann 1950, p. 320 and Pander/Grünwedel 1890, p. 95 f., Nr. 248, and Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956a, p. 23 ff., passim.

Trsl.: the Bhutanese queen will come.

14. – *lum* Nepalese, i. e. *mung* from Nepal; to *lum* cf. perhaps Dict. 356a *lum* s. 1. the south. – *lat shím bu* will come, see line 6.

Trsl.: the Nepalese will come.

15. – *tsóng*° (*cóng*), the Limbus, living in Nepal, here: the *mung* (implied) of the Limbus – *lat shím bu* will come, see line 6. – To *tsóng* cf. Dict. 312b–313a *tshong* also *tsong* Tib. *tshong* s. 1. a merchandise . . . 2. the Limbu-tribe, acc. to Hooker 1855, I, p. 128 called “Chung” by the Lepchas; Waddell 1892, p. 71 *Tsong*, the Limbu-tribe, and Risley 1892 II, p. 15: The Lepchas and Bhotias or Tibetans settled in Bhotan, Sikkim, and Nepal speak of the Limbus or *Tsong* because the five *thums* or sub-tribes included in the class known as *Lhásagotra* emigrated to eastern Nepal from the district *Tsang* in Tibet. Lepcha call them *Chang* which may be a corruption of *Tsong*; cf. Rock 1953, p. 946 “. . . when the pioneer lamas of Tibet visited Sikkim for the first time, a tribe who revered the Katog Lama as their Guru, followed from *Tsang* . . . Hence the derivation of the word *Tsong* . . . of their caste and tribe”; cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz EA, vol. 5, No. 1, p. 37, Note 3: *Tshong*, collective name of the Limbus, who call themselves *Yakthumba*, together with the *Mangar* tribe, and Das 1904, p. 4 f., Note 4.

Trsl.: the Limbus will come.

16. – *pă nu*° king – *kim* peak at the back of *kong chen*, one of the followers of *kong chen*. – *lat*° to come – *sho*° future.

Trsl.: king *kim* will come.

17. – *o re*° those, i. e. the above mentioned evil influences; Tamsang speaks *a re*, these. *mă* . . . *na*° negation – *lat*° to come, to happen – *bu*° was here translated as indicating the future; Dict. 218b *-pu* 2. and Gram. p. 46 have *pu* as article indicating the Subjunctive Mood, Present Tense; the meaning seems yet to be the same: a request that something will (may) not come



(happen) in the future. – *re*<sup>o</sup> article rendering the form more definite.

**Trsl.:** (that) these (things, events) will (may) not come (happen).

18. – cf. line 1.

**Trsl.:** King *kong chen*!

19. – *ha do*<sup>o</sup> 2nd person, emphatically, you yourself, cf. Dict. 372b and Gram. p. 41 thou, thyself – *na*<sup>o</sup> instrument, indicating “agens”. – *sóm* according to the interpreter: help, assistance, equal to *gün grän*<sup>o</sup> see Text No. 1,3 and 18,19; considering the context *sóm* might here be taken in contrast to *sóm* in line 4 and 5. *kong chen* is requested to help them, i. e. to distribute the offering gifts (*ci*, rice, etc.) to the *mung* in order to counteract their evil influence. – *bo*<sup>o</sup> *o*<sup>o</sup> do give, precativ or polite imp.

**Trsl.:** You yourself give help!

**Translation:** Due to the fact that this prayer is very concentrated and abundant in implied references to historical occurrences and mythical events, it caused Tsering great difficulty to ascertain a current translation, and he would go no further than suggesting a tentative translation:

“King *kong chen*!  
King *kóng lo*!

For the Maharajah, the king:

the (evil) breath of *mäng ti yang* (*mung*),  
the (evil) breath of *mă yüm* (*mung*),  
bad thing will come.

In the middle of *dar* (place),  
in the middle of *sóm róng* (place)  
in the rainbow:

the cloud will come,  
the tiger will come,  
the Bhutanese king will come,  
the Bhutanese queen will come,  
the Nepalese will come,  
the Limbus will come,  
king *kím* will come!

That these will not come,  
king *kong chen*,  
you yourself give help!”

**Paraphrase:**

- I. Invocation of *kong chen* and *kóng lo* (1–2)
- II. Protective prayer for the Maharajah (3) who is threatened by the following evil powers (4–15):
  1. two *mung* and evil things (4–6)
  2. and three evil places (7–9) from where will come:
    - a. the evil cloud (10)
    - b. the evil tiger (11)
    - c. neighbouring peoples governed by *mung* (12–15)
    - d. the evil king *kím* (16)
- III. Prayer to *kong chen* requesting him to give his help in order to prevent attacks from these evil powers (17–19).

**Text No. 36. The *kong chen* Ceremony. Ceremony at the *hla thu*.**

The Priest's Initial Prayer.

From Tingbung

Informant: *rüng jí*  
Interpreter: Tsering

1. *kǔng chen*  
kəŋ-<sup>l</sup>tʃhen  
*kǔng chen*

2. <i>pǎ nu</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>kǔ tǔk</i>	<i>mă</i>	<i>nyín</i>
<sup>l</sup> pə- <sup>l</sup> nu:- <sup>l</sup> ka:		ku- <sup>l</sup> de:k <sup>l</sup>	~	mə- <sup>l</sup> njin
Maharajah	to	evil thing		nothing

3. <i>pǎ nu</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>ǔm jí</i>	<i>mă</i>	<i>nyín</i>
<sup>l</sup> pə- <sup>l</sup> nu:- <sup>l</sup> ka:		əm- <sup>l</sup> zi:	~	mə- <sup>l</sup> njin
Maharajah	to	trouble and pain		nothing

4. *pǎ nu*      *kǔ zu*      *ten*      *kon*  
 pə-<sup>1</sup>nu:      ku-<sup>1</sup>zu:      ◡ <sup>1</sup>ten      ◡ <sup>1</sup>kə:n  
 Maharajah life      long cause, let  
 (established)
5. *lyang*      *ka*      *tham*      *bǔ*      *tham*      *cying*      *pǎng*      *ka*  
<sup>1</sup>ljəŋ-ka:           <sup>1</sup>tham-<sup>1</sup>bu:           <sup>1</sup>tham-<sup>1</sup>tʃəŋ           <sup>1</sup>pəŋ-<sup>1</sup>ka:  
 place in      animals animals (plur.) in  
 (smaller) (bigger) among
6. *a dok*      *a not*      *mǎ*      *nyin*      *sǎ*      *ka*  
 a-<sup>1</sup>dək      a-<sup>1</sup>nə:t      mə-<sup>1</sup>njin-nə      ◡      <sup>1</sup>sə:-<sup>1</sup>ka:  
 sickness illness nothing happen (in order that)
7. *khe*      *gyóm*      *nǔn*      *tham*      *cát*  
<sup>1</sup>khe:      <sup>1</sup>gjom-,nən           tham-<sup>1</sup>tʃhet  
 tax collected (having) all  
 (tribute) whole
8. *kǔng chen*      *pǎ nu*      *ka*      *so*      *tho*      *mo*  
 kəŋ-<sup>1</sup>tʃhen      pə-nu:-<sup>1</sup>ka:           <sup>1</sup>so-<sup>1</sup>tho-<sup>1</sup>mo:  
*kǔng chen*      king           put      have  
 (divine majesty) given
9. *cya dǔng*      *ra zo*      *pǎ nu*  
 tʃa-<sup>1</sup>duŋ      ra-<sup>1</sup>zə:<sup>2</sup>      pə-<sup>1</sup>nu:  
*cya dǔng*      ra zo      king  
 (majesty)
10. *fi pát*      *ma pát*      *gyóm*      *na*      *fat*      *mo*  
 phi-<sup>1</sup>pə:t      ma-<sup>1</sup>pə:t      <sup>1</sup>gjom-nə:  
 offerings of first collected having offered have  
 fruit crops
11. *kǎ yum*      *a dok*      *a not*      *mǎ*      *thap*  
 ka-<sup>1</sup>jum      a-<sup>1</sup>dək      a-<sup>1</sup>nə:t      mə-<sup>1</sup>thap  
 us sickness illness not put into
12. *kǎ yum*      *a ket*      *bam*      *kón*  
 ka-<sup>1</sup>jum      a-<sup>1</sup>kət      ◡ <sup>1</sup>bam      ◡ <sup>1</sup>kə:n  
 us peace      sit cause  
 live let
13. *rǔm*      *ka*      *sa wo*      *top*      *mo*  
<sup>1</sup>rəm-ka:           sa-<sup>1</sup>hə<sup>4</sup>      ◡ <sup>1</sup>təp-mo:  
*rǔm*      to      offering given have  
 presents

1. – *kǎng chen*, see Text No. 35,1, invocation and address.

**Trsl.:** *kǎng chen!*

2. – *pǎ nu°* king, here: the Maharajah of Sikkim. – *ka°* to – *kǎ tǎk* evil thing, evil deed, cf. Dict. 7a *kǎ-tǎk* s. difficulty, trouble . . . *kǎ-tǎk nyi* there is great difficulty, comp. Tib. Jäs. 9b *dka-sdüg* trouble. – *mǎ°* negation, *nyln°* vb. to be, *mǎ nyln* nothing, cf. Dict. 105b *nyi* . . . 6. neg. to be of no account, *mǎ-nyln-ne* it is nothing, it is of no account.

**Trsl.:** To the Maharajah evil thing not to be i. e. Let there be nothing evil to the Maharajah!

3. – *pǎ nu ka*, see line 2. – *ǎm ji* trouble and pain, a probable parallel to this expression may be found in Dict. 95b *pǎ-ji* or *pǎr-ji* s. trouble, annoyance, cf. 443 b. u 3. in comp. also *u-m*, head – *mǎ nyln*, see line 2.

**Trsl.:** To the Maharajah trouble nothing i. e. Let there be nothing of trouble to the Maharajah or: Let there be no trouble to the Maharajah!

4. – *pǎ nu°* the Maharajah, see lines 2 and 3. – *kǎ zǎ* life, cf. Dict. 24a *ku-zu* hon. 1. the person or body of a king, cf. Tib. Jäs. 21b *sku-gzugs* body, honourably. – *ten* long, according to the interpreter; Dict. 138a has *ten* 2. *a-ten* adj. permanent, fixed; I suggest that the interpreter has here given a paraphrase because the context speaks in favour of: established, fixed, in opposition to “trouble” (line 3) and “evil thing” (line 2). – *kon°* vb. to cause, to let.

**Trsl.:** Cause the Maharajah’s life to be long (or: established)! i. e. Let the Maharajah’s life be long (or: established)!

5. – *lyang°* place; the localisation of *lyang* is not quite sure; the closer context speaks in favour of the locality of Tingbung, but the reference to the Maharajah (lines 2–4) might speak in favour of the entire Lepcha society as belonging to the rule of the Maharajah. – *ka°* in – *tham bǔ°* was translated: the smaller domestic animals. – *tham cyng°* was translated: the bigger domestic animals. – *pǎng°* plur. – *ka°* in, among.

**Trsl.:** In (this) place among the smaller and the bigger domestic animals,

6. – *a dok°* sickness – *a not°* illness – *mǎ°* negation – *nyln°* vb. to be – *sǎ ka* to happen, to take place; cf. Dict. 395a *sǎ* 2. vb. n. to befall, to happen, to occur; the interpreter gave no special trans-

lation of *ka*, but it may presumably be referred to Dict. 11a f. *-ka* 8. a. *-ka* added to the inf., partic., and the root of a verb. in sense of inf. in order that, cf. Gram. p. 79 f.

**Trsl.:** in order that nothing of sickness and illness may happen,

7. – *khe* tax, cf. Dict. 47b *khe* s. a tax, cf. Tib. Jäs. 50a *khral* 1. punishment, 2. tax, tribute, duty, service to be performed to a higher master. The translation “tribute” apparently gives a better meaning in this context. – *gyóm nǎn* having collected; cf. Dict. 58a *gyom* caus. to *gom*, *gyom* vb. to gather together, to collect, to assemble; *nǎn°* was not explained by the interpreter, but is presumably the instrumental indicating the personal subject (agens), see line 10. – *tham cá* all, cf. Dict. 150b *tham-cet*, all, every, perfect and Tib. Jäs. 230a *tams-cád* whole, all.

**Trsl.:** having collected the whole tribute,

8. – *kǎng chen*, see line 1. – *pǎ nu°* king, divine majesty, used of *kong chen*, see Text No. 35,1. – *ka°* to – *so tho mo* have put, have given; cf. Dict. 419a *so* 5. vb. 1. to serve up (food), 2. to convey, cf. Tib. Jäs. 590b *gsó-ba* 1. to feed, to nourish; *tho°* Dict. 156a *tho* forms transitiva from other verbs – *mo°* indication of past tense.

**Trsl.:** (we) have given (it, i. e. the whole tribute) to the divine majesty *kong chen*.

9. – *cya düng ra zo* name of the wife of *kong chen*, comp. Text No. 31,7. *pǎ nu°* king, is here used of *cya düng ra zo* although a goddess. This line is best considered both as an invocation and as an address.

**Trsl.:** *cya düng ra zo*, king (?) (or: majesty)

10. – *fi pá* offerings of first fruit crops; it was emphasised that this expression could only be used of crops, not of animals; *fi* cf. Dict. 240a *fi* 3,2 time, season, here: first fruits of the season; *pát* cf. Dict. 233a *phüt* first fruits of the season or the first of anything . . . part first laid aside as offering to the deity, cf. Tib. Jäs. 343b *phud* s. a thing set apart, used particularly of the first fruits of the field, as a meat- or drink-offering, – *gyóm na* having collected, see line 7, *na°* presumably an abbrev. of *nǎn°*. – *fat°* to offer, to sprinkle *ci* in a sacrificial way cf. Dict. 239a *fat* 1. vb. to offer, to sacrifice, *a-phüt rǔm-ka fat* make your first fruits – *mo°* indication of past tense. (See Addenda).

**Trsl.:** having collected offerings of first fruit crops, (we) have offered (sprinkled *ci*).

11. – *kǎ yum*<sup>o</sup> us, the local people performing the ceremony or the entire community including also the Maharajah. – *a dok*<sup>o</sup> sickness, see line 6. – *a not*<sup>o</sup> illness, see line 6. – *mǎ*<sup>o</sup> negation – *thap*<sup>o</sup> vb. to put into, to place in.

Trsl.: Do not put us into sickness and illness!

12. – *kǎ yum*<sup>o</sup> us, see line 11. – *a kel*<sup>o</sup> peace, safety, cf. Dict. 31a *a-kyǎt* (*a-kyet*) 1. ease, quiet, tranquillity, 2. safety. – *bam*<sup>o</sup> to sit, to live – *kón*<sup>o</sup> cause, let.

Trsl.: Let us live in peace!

13. – *rǔm*<sup>o</sup> god or deity, here presumably not only *kong chen* but also his wife, see line 9, considered as a unity. – *ka*<sup>o</sup> to – *sa wo*<sup>o</sup> presents, the offering presents mentioned in lines 7 and 10 – *top*<sup>o</sup> to give – *mo*<sup>o</sup> indication of past tense.

Trsl.: to *rǔm* (we) have given presents!

**Paraphrase:**

- I. Prayers to *kong chen* (1–6):
  1. for the Maharajah (2–4) that:
    - a. no evil may befall him (2)
    - b. no trouble and pain may befall him (3)
    - c. his life may be long (established) (4)
  2. for the health of the smaller and the bigger domestic animals (5–6)
- II. Affirmations that they have given the proper tribut (presents) to *kong chen* (7–8) and to his wife (9–10).
- III. Requests for the people's own health and peace (11–12)
- IV. Final affirmation that they have given their presents (13).

**Text No. 37. The *kong chen* Ceremony. Ceremony at the *hla thu*.**

The Priest's Prayer after the Sacrifice of the Yak.

The Longer Version.

From Tingbung

Informant: Junggi, the priest of *kong chen*

Interpreter: Tsering

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. <i>kóng chen</i><br><i>kóng chen!</i>   | 2. <i>fat</i> <i>pe va</i><br>offering    there! |
| 3. <i>chǔng rí</i> <i>yam pǎng</i>   | 4. <i>tak se</i> <i>tsám</i>                     |
| 5. <i>sa nyór</i> <i>lóng</i> <i>tsám</i>  | 6. <i>lǎng kór</i>                               |
| 7. <i>sa hyǔr</i> <i>cyǔ</i> <i>fat</i><br>( <i>cu</i> )   | 8. <i>tǎ lóm</i> <i>fat</i>                      |
| <i>sa hyǔr</i> mountain offering   | <i>tǎ lóm</i> offering                           |
| 9. <i>pǎ kí</i> <i>cyǔ</i> <i>fat</i><br>( <i>cu</i> )   | 10. <i>lóng</i> <i>mi yong</i>                   |
| <i>pǎ kí</i> mountain offering   |  |
| 11. <i>tǎk sóm</i>   | 12. <i>tǔm long</i>                              |
| 13. <i>lang do</i> <i>pǔ nǔ</i> <i>fat</i><br><i>lang do</i> <i>king</i> offering                                      |  |
| 14. <i>tak bar</i> <i>sǎ tsúk</i> <i>pǔ nǔ</i> <i>ka</i> <i>fat</i><br><i>tak bar</i> sun <i>king</i> to      offering |  |
|  | (majesty)  |

15. *a thing*      *yap ce*      *yũm ce*      *ka*      *fat*  
 lord            *yap ce*      *yum ce*      to          offering
16. *kũ dũng*      *a thing*  
*kũ dũng*      lord
17. *ríp*      *vik*      *ka*      *fat*      [mo]  
*ríp*      soldier      to      offering
18. *lǎng kó*      *cyũ*  
                   *(cu)*  
*lǎng kó*      mountain
19. *pǎ lyang*      *cyũ*  
                                   *(cu)*  
                   *pǎ lyang*      mountain
20. *kǎ bóng*      *cyũ*  
                                   *(cu)*  
*kǎ bóng*      mountain
21. *lǎng dí yang*      *rǎng gón*      *cyũ*  
   *(cu)*  
                   *lǎng dí yang*      *rǎng gón*      mountain
22. *ra byik*
23. *mǎ dyang dó*
24. *kam fon*
25. *par vot*      *pan dot*
26. *ram bong tũm*
27. *tak cyóm*      *kǎ óm*
28. *mam brũm*
29. *tak lo*      *na nit*
30. *lǎng gom*      *cyũ*  
                                   *(cu)*  
*lǎng gom*      mountain
31. *ta kři*      *cyũ*  
                                   *(cu)*  
                   *ta kři*      mountain
32. *kap lí*      *kam cen*
33. *rak sot*      *lang dóng*      *cyũ*      *fat*  
   *(cu)*  
*rak sot*      *lang dóng*      mountain      offering
34. *luk ni*      *láng bong*      *cyũ*      *fat*      *mo*  
   *(cu)*  
*luk ni*      *láng bong*      mountain      offered      have
35. *sang jóm*      *sǎng pi yok*      *fat*      *mo*  
*sang jóm*      *sǎng pi yok*      offered      have
36. *sa kyet*      *pǎ tok*      *fat*      *mo*  
*sa kyet*      *pǎ tok*      offered      have
37. *na rím*      *cyũ*      *fat*      *mo*  
                                   *(cu)*  
*na rím*      mountain      offered      have
38. *nam bũ*      *cyũ*      *fat*      *mo*  
                                   *(cu)*  
*nam bũ*      mountain      offered      have
39. *na ryeng*      *tǎng seng*      *fat*      *mo*  
*na ryeng*      *tǎng seng*      offered      have
40. *pí yũng gong*      *hlo*  
*pí yũng gong*      up in the mountains
41. *dam su*      *bík só*

42. <i>yũm bū</i>	<i>yat bū</i>		43. <i>lǎng sók</i>	<i>lang dok</i>	<i>fat</i>
			<i>lǎng sók</i>	<i>lang dok</i>	offering
44. <i>ra yor</i>	<i>ram</i>		45. <i>vík</i>	<i>ram</i>	
			(soldier)	<i>ram</i>	
46. <i>gan tok</i>	<i>an ce</i>		47. <i>ta dǔng</i>	<i>sǎng vok</i>	
48. <i>hík tí</i>	<i>mũ nyũ</i>		49. <i>cya dǔng</i>	<i>ra zó</i>	
50. (Dangcho do?)			51. <i>a re</i>	<i>pǎng</i>	<i>ka fat mo</i>
			these	(plur.)	to offered have
52. <i>mil (?)</i>	(Thangtso do?)	<i>ka</i>	<i>fat</i>	<i>mo</i>	
down	???	to	offered	have	

1. – Invocation of and address to *kong chen* –

2. – *fat pe va* cultic exclamation used by the officiant priest when he presents the offerings or throws the pieces of meat to the supernatural powers. – *fat*<sup>o</sup> can both be subst. and verb. – *pe va* there (exclamatively), that there, cf. Dict. 219a *pe* 1. there, that there (not far), *pe-ǎ pe-e* there, that there . . . *pe ba* there (at some distance) . . .

Trsl.: offering there!

3–49. – Invocations of various supernatural powers (*rǎm* and/or *mung*) and addresses to them.

3. – *chũng rí yam pǎng* name of a *mung* as well as name of the abode of the *mung*; this abode is on the back of *kong chen*, i. e. on the western side of *kong chen*.

4. – *tak se tsám* name of a male *mung* and his abode, close to *kong chen*. To the name cf. Text No. 31,17: *tak se tsom*.

5. – *sa nyór lóng tsám* name of a male *mung* and of his abode; it is not quite clear if one or two *mung* (*sa nyór* and *lóng tsam*) are mentioned.

6. – *lǎng kór* name of a *mung* and of his abode close to *kong chen*.

7. – *sa hyür cyũ (cu)* name of a *mung* and of his abode close to *kong chen*; *cyũ (cu)*<sup>o</sup> was here explained as peak, peaked mountain. To *sa hyür* comp. Text No. 31,44 and the tutelary deity of the blacksmith, Texts Nos. 13,1 and 14,1.

8. – *tǎ lóm* name of a *mung* and of its abode close to *kong chen*; Text No. 31,2 has *tǎ lom* before

*pán grim*, mountain god. According to Tamsang *tǎ lóm* is in the Lepcha tradition also the name of the plain in western Sikkim where the mythical tower was built in the forgotten past, cf. Nebesky-Wojtkowitz 1953 a, p. 890 ff.

9. – *pǎ ki cyũ (cu)* name of a *mung* and/or a *mung* abode close to *kong chen*, cf. Text No. 31,46. – *cyu*, see line 7. – *fat*, see line 2. –

10. – *lóng mi yong* name of a *mung* and/or a *mung* abode close to *kong chen*. (Text No. 31,37 has the form *la mi yong*; I am not quite sure if it is the same name).

11. – *tǎk sóm* name of a *mung* and/or a *mung* abode close to *kong chen*.

12. – *tũm long* name of a *mung* and/or a *mung* abode close to *kong chen*. Tumlong is also the name of an old fort in Sikkim, north of Gangtok, north-east of Dikchu; according to Tamsang some ancient royal clothes and some ancient clothes of high lamas are kept as relics in this fort. In the last century this place was a royal residence, cf. Hooker II, 1855, p. 194 ff., Brown 1944, p. 118.

13. – *lang do pũ nũ* name of a *mung* and/or a *mung* abode close to Panshong (?); to the name cf. Dict. 345a *lǎng* 3. stone, rock and 179b *do* 5. *rdo* Tib., see Jäs. 286b stone, Lepcha *lǎng. pũ nũ*<sup>o</sup> king, Tsering said it could also be understood as: 1. Highness, 2. Majesty, 3. Divine or supernatural Majesty, in courteous address. *fat* offering, see line 2.

14. – *tak bar* name of a *mung* and/or a *mung* abode at the back (west) of *kong chen*; *sǎ tsũk*<sup>o</sup> sun, cf.

Dict. 306 a *tsūk* 1., perhaps here used in the sense of majesty in connection with *pā nū*, comp. line 13. – *ka°* to – *fat* offering, see line 2.

15. – *a thing°* honourable word used in address to exalted persons, e. g. the Maharajah, cf. Dict. 152a *thing* 1. *a-thing* lord, master; *yap ce yūm ce* name of a *mung* of natural light; it has perhaps connection with Tib. *yab* father, see Jäs. 507a, and *yum* mother, see Jäs. 512a, cf. Dict. 323b *yap* honorific father and Dict. 325b *yum* see Dict. 323b *yam* 4., honorific mother; comp. also Tib. Jäs. 507a *yab-sras* father and son, in spiritual sense: master and disciple. The guardian deity of Southern Sikkim *yab bdud*, a companion of Kanchenjunga, is venerated in the Sikkim Lamaist ceremonial dances, cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956 a p. 402 ff. T. Hoffman 1892, p. 613 ff. mentions a pass west of Mount Lama-Anden which is called Yeumtso La and states in a note (p. 613) that according to information given to Sir J. Hooker in 1849, this route to Tibet had for many years been abandoned in consequence of being so much more snowy and otherwise difficult than the routes by the Kongra Lama and Donkia Passes to the eastward. – *ka°* to – *fat°* offering, see line 2. –

16. – *kū dūng a thing* name of a *mung* and/or a *mung* abode in the neighbourhood of the Talung Monastery north of Tingbung; to *kū dūng* cf. perhaps Dict. 23b *ku-dung* Tib. *sku-gdung* s. hon. lit. “the bone of body”, hon. the son of great man, a prince, the son of lama; a skeleton; relics; see also Jäs. 21b *sku* 1. body etc. – *a thing* see line 15.

17. – *rip vik°* name of a *mung* abiding below *kong chen*; to *rip* cf. perhaps Dict. 333b *rip* s. flower and Dict. 334a *rip* in the Legends of Padma-sambhava the same as padma, udumbara (lotus). – *ka°* to, *fat°* offering, see line 2. – [mo] the text is not clear.

18. – *lǎng kó* name of a *mung* and/or a *mung* abode close to *kong chen* – *cyū°* (*cu*)° mountain, mountain peak –

19. – *pā lyang* name of a *mung* and/or a *mung* abode close to *kong chen*; comp. perhaps Text No. 31,39 *pā li yang cyū*. – *cyū°* mountain, mountain peak.

20. – *kā bóng* name of a *mung* and/or a *mung* abode close to *kong chen* – *cyū°* (*cu*)° mountain, mountain peak.

21. – *lǎng dt yang rǎng gón* name of a *mung* and/or a *mung* abode close to *kong chen*. – *cyū*, see line 20.

22. – *ra byik* name of a *mung* and/or a *mung* abode close to *kong chen* –

23. – *mǎ dyang dó* name of a *mung* and/or a *mung* abode close to *kong chen*.

24. – *kam fon* name of a *mung* rock above Sa-kyang, in the neighbourhood of Talung, west of Tingbung, cf. Text No. 38,1 commentary where the name of the *mung* was said to be *dūt°* Basu-nam *gye*.

25. – *par vot pan dot* name of a *mung* and/or a *mung* abode close to *kong chen*.

26. – *ram bong tūm* name of a *mung* and/or a *mung* abode close to *kong chen*.

27. – *tak cyóm kǎ óm* name of a *mung* peak, location unknown; cf. perhaps Text No. 31,57: *tak cyom cyū*.

28. – *mam brūm* name of a *mung* and/or a *mung* abode below *kong chen*.

29. – *tak lo na nit* name of a *mung* and/or a *mung* abode to the north of *kong chen*.

30. – *lǎng gom* name of a *mung* living below the Talung Monastery, cf. Text No. 31,58 commentary where the Lamaist ceremony to Langgam *pū nū* is mentioned. – *cyū*, see line 20.

31. – *ta kri* (pronounced: ta di) name of a *mung* and/or a *mung* abode below the Talung Monastery. – *cyū*, see line 20.

32. – *kap lí kam cen* name of a *mung* and/or a *mung* abode below a locality called Nanggam (?)

33. – *rak sot lang dóng* name of a *mung* and/or a *mung* abode below the Talung Monastery. – *cyū*, see line 20. – *fat°* offering, see line 2.

34. – *luk ni lǎng bong* name of a *mung* and/or a *mung* abode below the Talung Monastery. – *cyū*, see line 20. – *fat°* here vb. to offer – *mo°* indication of past tense.

Trsl.: (I or we) have offered to (the *mung* called) *luk ni lǎng bong cyū*.

or: (I or we) have offered (to the *mung* living at) *luk ni lǎng bong cyū*.

35. – *sang jóm sǎng pi yok* name of a *mung* and/or a *mung* abode below *lǎng dí yang rǎng gón cyǎ*, see line 21. – *fat mo* have offered, see line 34.

36. – *sa kyet pǎ tok* name of a *mung* and/or a *mung* locality below *lǎng dí yang rǎng gón cyǎ*, see lines 21 and 35. – *fat mo* have offered, see line 34.

37. – *na rím* name of a *mung* and/or a *mung* abode below *sa kyet pǎ tok*, see line 36. – *cyǎ*, see line 20. – *fat mo* have offered, see line 34. – *To na rím* cf. possibly Morris p. 23: . . . Pau-hunri, here called Nahrem Hlo, and thought to be the loom of Nazong Nyu . . . and Stocks p. 345: “In the beginning the Himalayas were created, and two of these mountains, the *Tang-sheng* and the *Narem* were husband and wife. The *Anden-chu* is their son . . .”

38. – *nam bū* name of a *mung* and/or a *mung* abode below *na rím cyǎ*, see line 37. – *fat mo* have offered, see line 34.

39. – *na ryeng lǎng seng* name of a *mung* and/or a *mung* abode below *nam bū cyǎ*, see line 38. – *fat mo* have offered, see line 34.

40. – *pi yǎng gong* name of a *mung* abode, location uncertain. – *hlo°* up in the mountains. –

41. – *dam su bík só* name of a *mung* abode, location uncertain, but it is somewhere below the *mung* abode mentioned in line 40.

42. – *yǎm bū yat bū* name of a *mung* abode, location uncertain, but it is somewhere below the *mung* abode mentioned in line 41.

43. – *lǎng sók lang dok* name of a *mung* abode, location uncertain, but it is somewhere below the *mung* abode mentioned in line 42. – *fat°* offering s. or vb. offered, with *mo* implied from line 51. –

44. – *ra yor ram* name of a *mung* abode, location uncertain, but it is somewhere below the *mung* abode mentioned in line 43.

45. – *vik ram* name of a *mung* and/or a *mung* abode, location uncertain, but it is somewhere below the *mung* abode mentioned in line 44. – *vik°* soldier or follower, cf. introductory remarks to Text No. 38, Commentary.

46. – *gan tok an ce* name or names of one or two *mung* and/or *mung* abode(s) at the Gangtok Monastery and at the Enche Monastery. A *mung* is still associated with a place in the vicinity of the Gangtok Monastery. At this place, which was once pointed out to me, a depression can now be seen, and some years ago there was here a pond or lake. In spite of the fact that the waters have now disappeared, the *mung* associated with the pond or lake is still supposed to have its abode at this spot. – *an ce* the Enche Monastery a little above Gangtok; close to this monastery is a rock, the abode of a *mung* called Langvo.

On hearing about the above mentioned Gangtok *mung* Tamsang gave the following diverging information: The Lepchas of Kalimpong believe that if a *mung* tree or a *mung* lake vanishes, the *mung* will leave this abode and look for shelter in another place. Such a *mung*, moving from one place to another, may sometimes be observed, usually about 9–10 a. m., or 2–5 p. m., or during the night. One sees something like a large white bamboo mat moving very fast through the air, and making a noise just like an aeroplane. The Lepchas do not like to look at it because it is supposed to cause epilepsy. Tamsang states that he himself had once observed this phenomenon.

47. – *ta dǎng sǎng vok* name of a *mung* and/or a *mung* abode, location uncertain, but it is somewhere below the *mung* abode(s) mentioned in line 46.

48. – *hik tí mũ nyǎ* name of a *mung* and/or a *mung* abode, location uncertain, but it is somewhere below the *mung* abode mentioned in line 47. Text No. 31,8 has the same name.

49. – *cya dǎng ra zó* name of the wife of *kong chen*, cf. Texts Nos. 31,7 and 36,9. It is worth noting that the ritual commences with an invocation of *kong chen* and finishes with an invocation of his wife.

50. – One or two incomprehensible words.

51. – *a re° pǎng* (plur.): these, i. e. the above mentioned supernatural beings. – *ka°* to – *fat mo* have offered, see line 34. –

52. – *mil* down, cf. Dict. 300a *myil*, adv. down, below. The following word is incomprehensible; it may have been the name of a locality, the



abode of a *mung* or something of that kind; the structure of the sentence points in the direction of something similar to the lines above. *ka°* to. - *fat mo* have offered, see line 34.

The defects of the last lines (50 and 52) and the absence of the usual request to eat (accept)

the offering gifts (comp. e. g. Text No. 38,22 f.) are due to the fact that the priest suddenly left us in a great hurry, probably from fear of the *mung*. It proved impossible later to persuade him to provide supplementary information. (For para-phrase, see Addenda).

### Text No. 38. The *kong chen* Ceremony. Ceremony at the *hla thu*.

The Priest's Prayer after the Sacrifice of the Yak.

The Shorter Version.

From Tingbung

Informant: Marji  
Interpreter: Tsering

- |                           |                       |                        |                                     |
|---------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. <i>kam fón</i>         | <i>vík</i>            | 2. <i>kam mín</i>      | <i>vík</i>                          |
| <i>kam fón</i>            | soldier               | <i>kam mín</i>         | soldier                             |
| 3. <i>sak po</i>          | <i>vík</i>            | 4. <i>sak lu</i>       | <i>vík</i>                          |
| 5. <i>tã lóm</i>          | <i>cyũ</i> <i>vík</i> | 6. <i>pãn grũm</i>     | <i>vík</i>                          |
|                           | ( <i>cu</i> )         | <i>pãn grũm</i>        | soldier                             |
| <i>tã lóm</i>             | mountain soldier      |                        |                                     |
| 7. <i>sa cyong</i>        | <i>vík</i>            | 8. <i>pãn krong</i>    | <i>vík</i>                          |
| 9. <i>rãng yang dang</i>  | <i>vík</i>            | 10. <i>tãng tyól</i>   | <i>vík</i>                          |
| 11. <i>rãng nóp</i>       | <i>vík</i>            | 12. <i>sa hem</i>      | <i>cóm (tsóm)</i> <i>vík</i>        |
| 13. <i>sang fyók</i>      | <i>vík</i>            | 14. <i>gan tok</i>     | <i>vík</i>                          |
| 15. <i>an ce</i>          | <i>vík</i>            | 16. <i>kyo fo</i>      | <i>vík</i>                          |
| 17. <i>vi rũm</i>         | <i>vík</i>            | 18. <i>ra vo</i>       | <i>pũ nũ</i> <i>vík</i>             |
|                           |                       | <i>ra vo</i>           | king soldier                        |
| 19. <i>ka len pong</i>    | <i>vík</i>            | 20. <i>křa si dıng</i> | <i>vík</i>                          |
| Kalimpong                 | soldier               | Tashiding              | soldier                             |
| 21. <i>pe ma yang cí</i>  | <i>vík</i>            |                        |                                     |
| Pemayangtse               | soldier               |                        |                                     |
| 22. <i>ã yum</i>          | <i>pãng</i>           | <i>ã bi</i>            | <i>kã yu nũn</i>                    |
| you                       | (plur.)               | here                   | we                                  |
| <i>fu</i>                 | <i>tho</i>            | <i>mo</i>              | <i>a re</i>                         |
| given                     |                       | have                   | these                               |
|                           |                       |                        | <i>tham</i>                         |
|                           |                       |                        | things                              |
|                           |                       |                        | <i>pãng</i>                         |
|                           |                       |                        | (plur.)                             |
| 23. <i>a re</i>           | <i>tham</i>           | <i>pãng</i>            | <i>ze</i> <i>nũn</i>                |
| these                     | things                | (plur.)                | eat                                 |
| 24. <i>tã do</i>          | <i>lyang</i>          | <i>ka</i>              | <i>lót</i> <i>o</i>                 |
| you                       | place                 | to                     | return                              |
| 25. <i>tũl</i>            | <i>sa</i>             | <i>tũl</i>             | <i>chyũl</i> <i>sa</i> <i>chyũl</i> |
| those from higher regions |                       |                        | <i>lót</i> <i>o</i>                 |
|                           |                       |                        | return                              |

Lines 1–21: Entreaties of various *mung*. The actual prayer does not commence until line 22.

The word *vik*<sup>o</sup> after each name (lines 1–21) means soldier, i. e. soldier or follower of *kong chen*. Comp. the Tibetan *dmag*, used of a rare kind of body-guard or followers, attending a major god; see Tib. Jäs. 421b *dmag*, and Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956a pp. 21,333, and 214, a *dmag* associated with the Amme Machen mountain group. As the first name of every line is the name of a locality, the meaning will be: the *kong chen* soldier of so-and-so locality. It is remarkable that the proper names of the *mung* are not used in the entreaty; it may be due to the general fear of using the names of the *mung*. And it was only on later questioning that I learnt their names. Several of these names were unknown to Tsering and have consequently been taken down according to pronunciation.

1. – *kam jón* name of a rock above Sakyang, near Talung, west of Tingbung; is also mentioned in Text No. 37,24. The name of the *mung* was said to be *düt* Basunam *gye*; the Lepchas use the word *düt*<sup>o</sup> of a superior *mung* who is the leader among a group of local *mung*, cf. Dict. 174a *düt* 2. *gye* was translated as king, cf. Dict. 61b *gyal* and *gye* 2. Tib. *rgyal-po* s. a king, a monarch, Lepcha *pā-no* also *gyal-po* and *gye-pu*; cf. Tib. Jäs. 109a *rgyál-po* 1. king. Basunam, name of an Indian king. To Basunam, cf. perhaps Tib. Jäs. 594a *bsód-pa*, vb. to be pleased with . . . *bsód-nams* 1. good fortune, happiness, felicity and to *gye*, cf. Jäs. 108a *rgyál-ba* I. vb. to be victorious, or Jäs. 109b *rgyás-pa* . . . 2. adj. extensive, large, ample, wide, etc.

2. – *kam mtn* name of a lake or tarn below *kam jón* (line 1). The name of the *mung* is Lang Targe Marpa; Lang is possibly derived from *läng* Dict. 345a stone, rock and Targe from *tar ge* cf. Dict. 126a *tar* 3. to be level . . . *tar-ge* the great, the honourable; Marpa? associated with Tib. Jäs. 422b *dmár-ba* adj. 1. red (?).

3. – *sak po* name of rock below *kam mtn* (line 2). The name of the *mung* is *jó mo* Mindara, cf. Dict. 101b *jo* 2. *jo-mo* lady and Tib. Jäs. 173a *jó-mo* 2. lady, 3. goddess; Tamsang refers Mindara to Skt. Mandara; (Dict. 280a has *mān-da-ra-wa* name of a princess of India, one of the five wives of Padmasambhava, see also Grünwedel 1898, p. 452 ff.: Padmasambhava und Mandāra (Translation)); he explains it as “lake” (?), i. e.: the lady of the lake, the goddess of the lake.

4. – *sak lu* name of a rock between Sakyang and Patong. The name of the *mung* is *düt Kale mik mar*; *düt*, see line 1; *mik mar* possibly Mars, Tuesday, cf. Dict. 315a: *za*.

5. – *tā lóm cyū* (*cu*) a locality in western Sikkim in the neighbourhood of which there is a lake or tarn. *cyū* (*cu*)<sup>o</sup> mountain. The name of the *mung* is *jó mo* Mindara, just as in line 3.

6. – *pān grüm* name of a lake or tarn below the Talung Monastery. The name of the *mung* is *jó mo* Mindara, the same as in lines 3 and 5.

7. – *sa cyong* name of a locality at Sakyang (cf. line 1) where there is a lake at the foot of a rock. The *mung*, who lives in the rock, is called *düt* Langtar. According to Baknar from Singhik this *mung* had been killed by the king *jer ban kúp* (the small golden knife or sword), one of the principal characters in the legend of the Golden Knife and the Silver Knife, cf. Stocks Legend XXIV, p. 388 ff.

8. – *pan krong* (pronounced approx.: pan'tong) name of a rock at Pantong, near Sakyang, west of Tingbung. The name of the *mung* is *tük fyil* Nangzim, cf. Dict. 130b *tük-fyil* s. an ant, and 404a *näng-sáng kǎ-yát* s. a species of small red ant.

9. – *räng yang dang* name of a lake or tarn in the neighbourhood of Tingbung. The name of the *mung* is *tā rek*, meaning: earth-worm, cf. Dict. 119b *tā-rek-bū* 1. a species of earthworm (small).

10. – *läng tyól* name of a pond of the Tingbung area. The name of the *mung* is Sahim.

11. – *räng nóp* name of a rock of the Tingbung area. The *mung* is called Taksol, cf. Dict. 131b *tük-sól bū* s. the intestinal worm, *Ascaris lumbricoides*.

12. – *sa hem cóm*(*tsóm*), name of a rock, close to the *hla thu* place. The *mung* is called *cen* Kale *mik mar*; *cen* is the designation of a superior type of *mung*. The name Kale *mik mar* is the same as that occurring in line 4.

13. – *sang fyók* name of a pond between Nung and Namprük in the Tingbung area. The name of the *mung* is Dafto.

14. – *gang tok*, see the explanation to Text No. 37,46.

15. – *an ce*, see the explanation to Text No. 37,46.

16. – *kyo fo* name of a rock near Chumbi, Chumbi Valley. The *mung* is called Kyum. In this connection it is tempting to embark on a small alluring combination. Waddell 1900, p. 285 tells from his travel in Chumbi an old legend relating how the “wizard-saint Lo-pon Rimboo-che, the founder of Lamaism in Tibet, passed over this way [i. e. to Gnathong] to introduce his religion into Sikhim, and the devils of these mountains conspired against thim. He entered by the Cho-la, hence called “*Jo-la*”, or the “Pass of the Lord”, to which he thus gave his name; on the east side of that pass, a rock is pointed out as “the throne” (*zoofi*) on which he sat; and close to the pass is a spot where he surprised some she-devils cooking human beings, and two masses of columnar rocks there, are alleged to be two of the stones that supported their colossal cooking-pot.” Furthermore, in Dict. 49b we find *khyo fyū* s. a vessel also applied to one in which the dead body of a king is preserved in salt; urn for the dead. It seems that *kyo fo* of the present context combined with the meaning of *khyo fyū* and Waddell’s report of the *mung* place speaks in favour of the suggestion that the same locality is referred to both here and in Waddell.

17. – *vi rŭm* name of pond or lake near Chumbi, Chumbi Valley. The *mung* is called *dūt* Basunam *gye*, see line 1 where the same *mung* name occurs.

18. – *ra vo* name of a lake or pond in the neighbourhood of a bridge crossing the Tista. There lives a *mung* called *dūt* Langshol who has the title of king (*pū nŭ°*).

19. – *ka len pong*, the town Kalimpong. There was in former days in Kalimpong a big *mung* tree in which a *mung* called Daftor *dūt* had his abode.

20. – *kra si dŭng* the Tashiding Monastery. A *mung* called *dūt mik mar* lives at a lake or pond somewhere between the monasteries Tashiding and Pemayangtse; *mik mar* see line 4.

21. – *pe ma yang ci* the Pemayangtse Monastery. A *mung* called Lusingi Garbo lives at a lake or pond in the neighbourhood of the Pemayangtse, Monastery. (*zla ba seng ge* is a protective deity, *btsan*, of Pemayangtse, cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956a, p. 242, and cf. Gaz. p. 356 (Waddell)).

22. – The actual prayer commences. – *ā yum° pāng°* (plur.) you, to you – *ā bi* here, on this

spot i. e. at the *hla thu* place where the sacrifice is offered, cf. Dict. 439b *a-bl* here (close) just here, and Gram. p. 71, adverb of place. – *kā yu° nŭn°* we i. e. we who are collected here; *nŭn* indicates “agens” – *a re° tham° pāng* (plur.) these things, i. e. the offering things being presented during the sacrifice viz. the pieces of red meat with the red blood from the body of the yak. – *ju° tho° mo°* have given, said to be a long form for *ju mo*. –

Trsl.: (To) you, here we have given these things!

23. – *a re tham pāng*, see line 22. – *ze nŭn* eat, honorific imp.; *ze* presumably a parallel form to *je°* cf. Tib. Jäs. 485a *za-ba* . . . imp. *zo*, *zos* (Central Tibet, especially the provinces Ü and Tsang: *ze*); *nŭn°* indicates “agens”.

Trsl.: Eat these things, please!

24. – *tā do°* you, Dict. 118b: one’s own – *lyang°* place, dwellingplace, abode, here the abodes of the followers of *kong chen*. – *ka° to* – *lót° o°* return, imp.

Trsl.: return to your own dwellingplace!

25. – *tül sa tül* indication used of persons or other beings living in the higher regions, i. e. up in the mountains, here used of the followers of *kong chen*; cf. Dict. 135b *tül*, adv. upper, *tül-mo* s. inhabitants of the upper country, *tül-mo chül-mo* the upper and the lower people; *sa°* – *chyül sa chyül* indication of those persons or beings who live in the lower regions, i. e. in the lower parts of the mountains or in the foot-hills, cf. Dict. 89a *chu*, adv. below, and perhaps also Dict. 80b *cil*, *cil-lā* down there, (below) there, because it was pronounced approx.: *tjil*. – *lót o*, see line 24. –

Trsl.: Those who are from the upper regions, please return up there, – those who are from the lower regions, please return down there!

#### Paraphrase:

- I. The priest invokes the followers of *kong chen* (1–21)
- II. The priest affirms on behalf of the people that they have given offerings (pieces of yak meat) to the above mentioned followers of *kong chen*, and requests them to eat (22–23).
- III. The priest requests the followers of *kong chen* to return to their proper abodes (24–25).

**Text No. 39. The *kong chen* Ceremony. Ceremony at the *hla thu*.**

## The Priest's Final Prayer.

From Tingbung

Informant: Marji  
Interpreter: Tsering

- |  |   |   |   |   |   |   |  |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|--|
| 1. <i>sā rong</i><br>sə- <sup>l</sup> rəŋ<br>today                     | <i>kā yu</i><br>ka- <sup>l</sup> ju:-,nə:<br>we                                 | <i>na</i>   | <i>ā yum</i><br>a- <sup>l</sup> jum<br>to you | <i>vi</i><br><sup>l</sup> vi: ~<br>blood    | <i>a hyūr</i><br>a- <sup>l</sup> hjir<br>red            |   |  |
| <i>mán</i><br><sup>l</sup> mə:n ~<br>meat                              | <i>a hyūr</i><br>a- <sup>l</sup> hjir<br>red                                    | <i>bo</i><br><sup>l</sup> bo:- <sup>l</sup> tho:- <sup>l</sup> mo:<br>given | <i>tho</i>                                    | <i>mo</i><br>have                           |   |   |  |
| 2. <i>a re</i><br>a- <sup>l</sup> re:-pəŋ<br>these                     | <i>pāng</i><br>(plur.)  | <i>je</i><br><sup>l</sup> ze:-nə:<br>having taken                           | <i>na</i><br>(after)                          |   |   |   |  |
| 3. <i>sā gor</i><br>sə- <sup>l</sup> gər- <sup>l</sup> li:-ka:<br>rock | <i>li</i><br>house  | <i>ka</i><br>~<br>to  | <i>lot</i><br><sup>l</sup> lə:t<br>return     |   |   |   |  |
| 4. <i>kung</i><br><sup>l</sup> kuŋ-bəŋ- <sup>l</sup> li:-ka:<br>tree   | <i>bāng</i><br>bottom   | <i>li</i><br>~<br>house   | <i>ka</i><br>to                               | <i>lot</i><br><sup>l</sup> lə:t<br>return   |   |   |  |
| 5. <i>mán</i><br><sup>l</sup> mə:n-pəŋ<br>meat                         | <i>pāng</i><br>(plur.)  | <i>bā lat</i><br>bə- <sup>l</sup> lət-zo:<br>take                           | <i>zo</i><br>eat                              |   |   |   |  |
| 6. <i>sim bet</i><br>sim- <sup>l</sup> bɛ:t<br>next year               | <i>sū</i><br><sup>l</sup> so:-mə- <sup>l</sup> san-a- <sup>l</sup> tɛ:t<br>rain | <i>mā san</i><br>(clears)   | <i>tet</i><br>~<br>until                      | <i>kā yum</i><br>ka- <sup>l</sup> jum<br>us | <i>pār cet</i><br>par- <sup>l</sup> tʃɛ:t<br>temptation | <i>ā dok</i><br>a- <sup>l</sup> dək<br>sickness |  |
| <i>ā not</i><br>a- <sup>l</sup> nə:t<br>illness                        | <i>mā</i><br>mə- <sup>l</sup> thap<br>not                                       | <i>thap</i><br>give<br>cause  |   |   |   |   |  |

1. – *sā rong*<sup>o</sup> today, i. e. this day of sacrifice; this initial word is rare in Lepcha texts which, when using any indication of time at all, prefer *a lāng* now: the sacrificial moment; *sā rong* finds its counterpart in “next year” (line 6). – *kā yu*<sup>o</sup> we, the priest speaks on behalf of the collected people – *na*<sup>o</sup> the postponed instrument, indicating “agens”. – *ā yum*<sup>o</sup> you, the followers of *kong chen* who have appeared at *hla thu* in order to receive their proper sacrificial meat – *vi*<sup>o</sup> blood – *a hyūr*<sup>o</sup> red, fresh blood, not old and coagulated blood – *mán*<sup>o</sup> meat, the single pieces of meat cut out of the body of the yak – *a hyūr*<sup>o</sup> red, meat full of red blood and therefore still

containing life – *bo*<sup>o</sup> *tho*<sup>o</sup> give, the pieces of meat have been thrown up into the air as gifts to the followers of *kong chen* – *mo*<sup>o</sup> indication of past tense.

**Trsl.:** Today we have given you red blood (and) red meat.

2. – *a re*<sup>o</sup> this, with *pāng*<sup>o</sup> plur. these, the pieces of meat – *je na* after having taken, having taken, from *je*<sup>o</sup> to take, honorary, cf. Dict. 100a *je* 4. vb. to eat or drink, (food, *cí*); to receive, to accept, to accept offerings, said of *rām*, cf. Tib. Jäs. 484b *bzhés-pa* I. vb. to take, to receive, to accept; esp.

at meals, to take, to eat. The translation of *na* creates some difficulty, but it is presumably the same as the Tibetan *nas*, cf. Tib. Jäs. 304b *nas* II,2, added to verbs, as gerundial particle, rarely to the inf., generally (colloquially always) to the verbal root: after, since; cf. Dict. 198 a -*ne*, Gram. p. 52.

**Trsl.:** after having taken these (pieces of meat) i. e. after having (or: having) eaten (i. e. taken, accepted) these (pieces of meat),

3. – *sã gor*<sup>o</sup> rock, cf. Text No. 11,1. – *li*<sup>o</sup> house, cf. Dict. 348a *li* 3, s. a house – *ka*<sup>o</sup> to – *lot*<sup>o</sup> to return, here imp.

**Trsl.:** return to the rock house.

**Expl.:** the “rock house” is a designation applied to the abodes of those *mung* who live in rocks, cliffs, etc.

4. – *kung*<sup>o</sup> tree – *bãng* bottom, cf. Dict. 251b *bãng*, *a-bãng* s. the bottom of anything, the base, the foundation, cf. Dict. 25a *kung bãng*, *kung a-bãng* 1. s. the trunks of tree, the base of the tree – *li* house, see line 3. – *ka*<sup>o</sup> to – *lot* return, see line 3.

**Trsl.:** return to (your) house at the base of the tree.

**Expl.:** Tsering explained that “tree bottom house” indicates the abodes of those *mung* who live at the bottom, the base, the foundation of big trees.

5. – *mán*<sup>o</sup> meat – *pãng*<sup>o</sup> plur., *mán pãng*, pieces of meat. – *bã lat* take, to take; the root is questionable; maybe it is connected with Dict. 366b *lyo* (and *lyã*) vb. to take, to receive, to obtain. – *zo* to eat, cf. Dict. 318a *zo*, *zóm* 1. vb. to eat, (applied simply to eating rice or vegetables); here applied to the consumption of meat.

**Trsl.:** take and eat (these) pieces of meat!

6. – *sim bet* next year, cf. Text No. 6,15. – *sũ mã san tet* is the crux of the interpretation; Tsering explained *sũ* from *sũ* water, rain, cf. Dict. 417b *so* 2,1 rain, and *tet* as until, cf. Dict.

137b *tet* (also *tydt* and *tyet*) particle: till, until. I could, however, obtain no exact explanation of *mã san*. Later Tamsang translated: 1. literally: until the rain clears, i. e. until the rainy season is over and winter comes, 2. figuratively: until next time. Both interpreters stated the general meaning to be: until the rain clears away and the *kong chen* ceremony is performed next time. – *kã yum*<sup>o</sup> us, in a narrower sense: the local people of Tingbung, in a wider sense: the entire Lepcha community. – *pãr cet* temptation, cf. Dict. 213b *par-cat*, *par-chet* hurt, damage, molestation, annoyance, evil influence, applied to that of evil spirits, cf. Tib. Jäs. 366b *bar-chód*, *bar-chad* hindrance, impediment; danger; damage, failure, fatal accident . . . also in a moral sense: temptation, sin, trespass. Tsering favoured the translation: temptation; this moral sense would, however, be quite exceptional in these Lepcha rituals. I suggest that he may have been influenced by Lamaist (or Christian?) theological and moralistic notions. It seems that the contents not only of this ritual, but also of other Lepcha rituals (e.g. 18,16), speak in favour of a non-moral explanation. I shall therefore prefer the translation: hurt, damage, evil influence, i. e. evil influence from the *mung*. But the fact that Tsering favours the translation “temptation” testifies to the increasing influence of Lamaism. – *ã dok*<sup>o</sup> sickness – *ã nol*<sup>o</sup> illness – *mã*<sup>o</sup> negation – *thap*<sup>o</sup> to put into, to give, to cause, here imp.

**Trsl.:** Until the rain clears (away) next year, do not cause us temptation (or: hurt), sickness (and) illness!

#### Paraphrase:

- I. Affirmations to the followers of *kong chen* that today they have given them blood and meat (1)
- II. Requests to the followers of *kong chen* (2–6):
  1. after having consumed the sacrifice to return to their proper abodes (2–5)
  2. not to exercise any evil influence causing sickness etc. until the *kong chen* ceremony will be performed next year (6).

**Text No. 40. Prose Text. Mr. Tamsang's Brief Autobiographical Notes.**

From Kalimpong

Informant and interpreter: Tamsang

- |     |  |  |  |   |  |  |                          |  |
|-----|--|--|--|---|--|--|--------------------------|--|
| 1.  | <i>kā sa</i><br>kə-'sa:<br>my                      | <i>a bryang</i><br>a-'brjaŋ<br>name                            | <i>khar pu</i><br>,khar-'pu-<br><i>khar pu</i>           | <i>tam sang</i><br>,tam-'saŋ<br><i>tam sang</i> | <i>mă o</i><br>mə-'o:<br>is                              |  |                          |  |
| 2.  | <i>go</i><br>'go:<br>I                             | <i>kūm thyóng</i><br>kəm-'thjəŋ-,na:m-<br>eagle                | <i>nam</i><br>,ka:<br>year                               | <i>ka</i><br>in                                 | <i>gek</i><br>'ge:k<br>born                              | <i>mă o</i><br>mə-'o:<br>am                      |                          |  |
| 3.  | <i>kā sū</i><br>kə-'su:-,sa:<br>my                 | <i>sa</i><br>a-'bo:-,brjaŋ<br>father                           | <i>a bo</i><br>a-'bo:-,brjaŋ<br>name                     | <i>bryang</i><br><i>bryang</i>                  | <i>sang do</i><br>,saŋ-'do:<br><i>sang do</i>            | <i>che ríng</i><br>'tʃhe-'riŋ<br><i>che ríng</i> | <i>gūm</i><br>'gəm<br>is |  |
| 4.  | <i>ūn</i><br>'ən<br>and                            | <i>a mo</i><br>a-'mo:-,sə:<br>mother's                         | <i>sa</i><br>a-'brjaŋ<br>name                            | <i>a bryang</i><br>a-'brjaŋ<br>name             | <i>za mu</i><br>'za:-mu:<br><i>za mu</i>                 | <i>mă o</i><br>mə-'o:<br>is                      |                          |  |
| 5.  | <i>kā yu</i><br>ka-'ju:<br>we                      | <i>nǎp nă zóng</i><br>nəp-'nə:-zəŋ<br>siblings                 | <i>fă ngo</i><br>'fə-'ŋo:<br>five                        | <i>gūm</i><br>'gəm<br>are                       |  |  |                          |  |
| 6.  | <i>nūm hren</i><br>nəm-'hren-go:<br>eldest brother | <i>go</i><br>I   | <i>khar pu</i><br>,khar-'pu-<br><i>khar pu</i>           | <i>tam sang</i><br>,tam-'saŋ<br><i>tam sang</i> |  |  |                          |  |
| 7.  | <i>nóm hren</i><br>,nəm-'hren<br>eldest sister     | <i>nóng zín</i><br>,nəŋ-'zín<br><i>nóng zín</i>                |  |   |  |  |                          |  |
| 8.  | <i>a bek</i><br>a-'be:k-,sa:<br>middle             | <i>sa</i><br>tū 'yũ íng<br>tə-'?ju:-,iŋ <sup>1</sup><br>sister | <i>tū 'yũ íng</i><br>tə-'?ju:-,iŋ <sup>1</sup><br>sister | <i>pe kí</i><br>'pe: 'ki:<br><i>pe kí</i>       |  |  |                          |  |
| 9.  | <i>ūn</i><br>'ən<br>and                            | <i>tă grí íng</i><br>tə-'gri:-,iŋ<br>brother                   | <i>dór zi</i><br>'do-'zi:<br><i>dór zi</i>               | <i>ten pa</i><br>'ten-'pa:<br><i>ten pa</i>     |  |  |                          |  |
| 10. | <i>ūn</i><br>'ən<br>and                            | <i>a juk</i><br>a-'juk-,sa:<br>last                            | <i>sa</i><br>tū 'yũ íng<br>tə-'?ju:-,iŋ<br>sister        | <i>tū 'yũ íng</i><br>tə-'?ju:-,iŋ<br>sister     | <i>zi mi</i><br>'zi:-mi:<br><i>zi mi</i>                 | <i>mă o</i><br>mə-'o:<br>is                      |                          |  |
| 11. | <i>kā yu</i><br>ka-'ju:-,sə:<br>our                | <i>sa</i><br>a-'bo:<br>father's                                | <i>a bo</i><br>[sǎ]<br>sə-a-'gi:t <sup>2</sup>           | <i>a gít</i><br>descent (lineage)               | <i>tam sang mu</i><br>tam-'saŋ-mu:<br><i>tam sang mu</i> | <i>mă o</i><br>mə-'o:<br>is                      |                          |  |
| 12. | <i>ūn</i><br>'ən<br>and                            | <i>a mo</i><br>a-'mo:-sə-a-'gi:t<br>mother's                   | <i>sa</i><br>a-'gi:t<br>descent (lineage)                | <i>a gít</i><br>descent (lineage)               | <i>pă jing mu</i><br>pə-'ziŋ-mu:<br><i>pă jing mu</i>    | <i>mă o</i><br>mə-'o:<br>is                      |                          |  |
| 13. | <i>go</i><br>'go:<br>I                             | <i>kūm thyóng</i><br>kəm-'thjəŋ-,na:m<br>eagle                 | <i>nam</i><br>year                                       | <i>ka</i><br>'ka: <sup>3</sup><br>in            | <i>brí</i><br>'bri:-ma:t<br>married                      | <i>mat</i><br>married                            |                          |  |



24. <i>ũn</i>	<i>hũ</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>bóng thính</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>sã mók</i>	<i>ka</i>	
<i>lən</i>	<i>lhu:-la:</i>		—————	—	<i>lshã</i>	—	
and	she	also	<i>bóng thính</i>	of	in place of		
<i>thi</i>	<i>nũn</i>	<i>rũm</i>	<i>mung</i>	<i>sá</i>	<i>fat</i>	<i>khũt</i>	<i>mã o</i>
<i>lthi:-nən</i>	<i>lze:n</i>	<i>lmuŋ</i>	<i>lɾəm-,sə:</i>		<i>lfat-khətʔ</i>		<i>mə-lɔ:</i>
come		<i>rũm</i>	<i>mung</i>	offering	offer	able	is

1. – *kã sa°* my, here short form, other forms *kã sũ* or *kã sã sã*. – *a bryang* name, cf. Dict. 272a *bryang*, *a-bryang*, s. a name – *khar pu* personal name, given at the naming ceremony cf. Part I, Names. Tamsang derives the word from *khar* a small fort, a fortress, cf. Tib. Jäs. 54a *mkhar* castle, nobleman's seat or mansion; manorhouse, frequently citadel, fort; and he adds that it is an ancient traditional name in his family. He further states that in former days the *tam sang pũ tsho* possessed two forts, both within the Kalimpong area; one of Tamsang's ancestors was Lepcha king of that area; his name was *a chók* the best, prominent; cf. Dict. 91a and b *chok* and *cho* advly. very, most, cf. Gram. p. 32 f. *cho* corresponding to the Tib. *mchog* the chief, the best, cf. Tib. Jäs. 166a *mchog* the best, the most excellent in its kind. *tam sang* name of his *pũ tsho*. – *mã o°* is.

**Trsl.:** My name is *khar pu tam sang*.

2. – *go° I* – *kũm thyóng nam* the Eagle Year, cf. Dict. 21a *kũm-thyóng*, see Dict. 216b *pũn-thyóng*, s. a kite . . . *pũn-thyóng nam*, the Eagle Year, cf. Gram, p. 141, cf. Calendar Part I, i. c. Tamsang was born about A.D. 1915. – *ka°* in – *gek* born, cf. Dict. 63a *gyek* vb. to bring forth, to give birth; vb. n. to be born. – *mã o°* am, is.

**Trsl.:** I am born in the Eagle Year.

3. – *kã sũ° sa°* my, comp. line 1: *kã sa*. *a bo* father, cf. Dict. 260b *bo* 1. *a-bo* s. father – *bryang* name, here the short form is used, comp. line 1. – *sang do* name, was explained as meaning long, possibly from Dict. 407b *sang* vb. to make straight, *tũk-po sang* lengthen out the string . . . *sang-ngã sang-ngã* adv. lengthen out (as string), long and straight – *che ríng* long life, comp. List of Personal Names – *gũm°* is; Tamsang explained that *gũm* may be used when followed by a sentence; *mã o°* is final, *gũm* is not final (but comp. line 11)

**Trsl.:** My father's name is *sang do che ríng*,

4. – *ũn°* and – *a mo* mother, cf. Dict. 295b *mo*, *a-mo* s. mother – *sa°* genet. – *a bryang°* name, cf.

line 1. – *za mu* the personal name of the mother – *mã o°* is, comp. line 3. –

**Trsl.:** and (implied: my) mother's name is *za mu*.

5. – *kã yu° we* – *nũp nã zóng* brothers and sisters; can be used only of children having both parents in common; cf. Dict. 193b *nũ* 1. s. younger brother and 319b *zóng* 3. s. *a-zóng* s. 1. a younger brother-in-law, 2. husband of father's sister; cf. also Dict. 314a–b *zãng* 2. *zóng* . . . used also in sense of fellow, companion, one's own kind. *fã ngo* five, numeral, cf. Dict. 236b and Gram. p. 115. – *gũm°* are. – (See Addenda)

**Trsl.:** We are five siblings (brothers and sisters).

6. – *nũm hren* eldest brother, cf. Dict. 193b *nũ* 1. s. younger brother . . . *a-nũm* s. elder brother, and Dict. 379b *hryen* see Dict. 378b *a-hryãn* adj. tall, long. Comp. Stocks p. 471: num-fren, cf. Dict. 247b: *nũm-fran-bo* and Gorer p. 465: A-NUM – *go° I*. –

**Trsl.:** I *khar pu tam sang* (am) the eldest brother.

7. – *nóm hren* eldest sister, cf. Dict. 203a *nóm* 4, *a-nóm* s. elder sister, . . . *nóm rãn-bo* eldest sister. To *hren* cp. also line 6.

**Trsl.:** The eldest sister (is) *nóng zin*,

8. – *a bek sa* used both of a middle brother and a middle sister and of anything else in the middle between two other persons or things cf. Dict. 260b *bek*, see 266a *byek*, *a* – *byek*, s. interval of time or space. – *tũ 'yũ ing* sister, cf. Dict. 324a *yũ* . . . *tã-'ayũ* s. a wife, a female, a woman, and *ing* cf. Dict. 442a see 452b *'ayeng* 1. *eng* (sometimes also *ing*) s. 1. younger brother, younger sister or cousin, *'ayeng tã-'ayũ* a younger sister. –

**Trsl.:** the middle sister (is) *pe kí*,

9. – *ũn°* and – *tã gri ing* brother, cf. Dict. 452b *'ayeng* 1. *eng* . . . *'ayeng tã-gri* s. a younger brother cf. 117b *tã-gri* s. a male, a man in opposition to *tã-'ayũ* (*yũ*) a woman. – *dor zĩ*, (name), cf. Dict.



182a *dor-je* Tib. *rdo-rje* Skt. *vajra*, s. thunderbolt, cf. Jäs. 287b. – *ten pa* (name), cf. possibly Dict. 138a *ten* 2,2 . . . *rtan-(pa)* Tib. Jäs. 213b. vb. fig. to depend, to rely on, s. that which holds, keeps up –

**Trsl.:** and *dór zi ten pa* (is) the brother,

10. – *ün°* and – *a juk sa*, the last one, also used of conditions not referring to relationship; cf. Dict. 99a *juk* s. the end . . . the tail, the posteriors, cf. Tib. Jäs. 173b *mjúg* what is behind . . . the lower end . . . the end – *tü 'yü lng* sister, see line 8. – *zi mi* (name) – *mā o* is, final, see line 3. –

**Trsl.:** and the last sister is *zi mi*.

11. – *kā yu° sa°* our – *a bo* father, see line 3 – [*sā*] of – *a gít°* almost the same as descent; lineage; Tamsang says that in daily parlance one never asks for a man's *pū tsho*, but always for his *a gít*; he will then reply by giving the name of his *pū tsho*. – *tam sang mu*, the name of the *pū tsho* is *tam sang*, *mu* is an ending indicating membership, cf. Dict. 294a *-mu*, see 295b *-mo* 2 . . . denoting a person of any place, nation, tribe or caste etc. – *mā o* is, see line 3. – (See Addenda)

**Trsl.:** Our father's descent (lineage, i. e. *pū tsho*) is *tam sang mu*,

12. – *ün°* and – *a mo* mother, see line 4. – *sa°* of – *a gít°* descent, lineage, see line 11. – *pā jing*, name of *pū tsho*; *mu*, see line 11. – *mā o°* is.

**Trsl.:** and (our) mother's lineage is *pā jing mu*.

13. – *go°* I – *kūm thyóng nam*, the Eagle Year, see line 2 – *ka°* in – *brí* vb. to marry, Tamsang said that *brí* is used of both sexes, whereas Dict. 269a has *brí* 5. vb. to unite in marriage, chiefly applied to the marriage of women. – *maí°* to do, to make, Tamsang said that it is used fig. as an "assistant verb" almost in the same meaning as *zuk°*, which, however, is only used of something one does with the hands. –

**Trsl.:** I married in the Eagle Year,

**Expl.:** It may be worth noting that he was born in an Eagle Year and that he married in an Eagle Year; however, Tamsang gave no particular information concerning this coincidence of Eagle Years.

14. – *ün°* and – *ka sü°* my – *za tshóng* or *za sóng* wife, partner in life; Tamsang said that the best translation would be "spouse" because this word can be used of both sexes. The ordinary word for

wife was said to be *a yü*, cf. Dict. 324a. – *sa°* of – *a bryang°* name, see line 1. – *mi ni mlt* female name, to the ending *mlt*, indicating the female gender, see Dict. 289b *mlt*, *a-mlt* s. a female etc. – *mā o°* is, see line 3. – (See Addenda)

**Trsl.:** and my spouse's name is *mi ni mlt*.

15. – *a lāng°* now, at present – *go°* I – *küp thyak* from *küp°* child and *thyak* head, cf. Dict. 162a, meaning: child-heads i. e. children. *fā ngo* five, see line 5. – *sa°* of – *a bo* father, see line 3 – *gum° am*.

**Trsl.:** I am now father of five children.

16. – *ka yu° sa°* our – *li°* house, here used of the members of the house, i. e. the family – *bóng thing°* priest. – *lng küp*, name of the *bóng thing*, from *lng* brother, cf. Dict. 452b 'ayeng 1 . . . eng (sometimes also *ing*) s. 1. younger brother, younger sister or cousin . . . 'ayeng küp s. a child of brother, sister or cousin; *küp°* child; Tamsang said that this name indicated that the man was very short being only about 4 feet 10 inches high. – *mā o°* is. (See Addenda)

**Trsl.:** Our house (family) *bóng thing* is *lng küp*.

17. – *hū°* he – *la* also, cf. Dict. 343a–b *lā* 1, particle . . . 2. "also". – *tam sang mu*, see line 11. – *mā o°* is.

**Trsl.:** he is also of *tam sang mu* (lineage).

18. – *hū°* he – *nam°* year – *ka°* in – *pho nyet* twice, cf. Dict. 233b *pho*, *a-phó* 1. s. a time . . . (*a-pho nyät* two, twice, and Dict. 104a *nyät* 1. num. two. – *ka yu° sa°* our – *li°* house, see line 16 – *ka°* to – *thi°* vb. to come – *nūn°* ending indicating "agens". –

**Trsl.:** Twice a year he comes to our house,

19. – *lyang rüm* explained as the name of the god of the world. – *lí rüm* the god of the house. *sū tsük rüm* the sun-god. *sá* offer, offering, cf. Dict. 405a *sa* 2; Tamsang said that *sá* is only used of offerings to *rüm*; in offerings to *mung* they use *zuk*, comp. line 21.

**Trsl.:** (he performs) offering(s) to *lyang rüm*, *lí rüm* and *sū tsük rüm*,

20. – *un°* and – *li°* house, see line 16 – *ka°* in – *a dok°* sickness; Tamsang said it is used of sickness in general not accompanied by any sensation of pain, whereas *a nól°* illness is used of a painful sickness e. g. toothache, colic, etc. – *plā* to occur,

cf. Dict. 228b *plǎ* 1. *plá-m* vb. n. to issue, to come forth and Dict. 211a. *-pa* verbal postpos. expresses emphasis when affixed, cf. Gram. p. 52, comp. Tib. Jäs. 321a *pa* and 362a *ba* II. or Dict. 218b *-pu* 2. affixed forms conditional "if, whether" Gram. p. 46; Tamsang translated it here as "when".

**Trsl.:** and when (there will) be (occur) sickness (and) illness in (to) the house,

21. – *thi nun* (he) comes, see line 18 – *mung<sup>o</sup>* *zuk* offer (Dict. 317a *zuk* 2.) offering to the *mung*, see line 19. – *mǎ o<sup>o</sup>* is, i. e. he makes, performs

**Trsl.:** (he) comes and performs offering to the *mung*.

22. – *shen la* but, cf. Dict. 433b *shen-la* . . . "still, however, yet, furthermore, after that", cf. Gram. p. 87 a significant conjunction implying: then, but, yet, still, however, moreover, etc. – *a mak<sup>o</sup>* death *ka<sup>o</sup>* in case of, cf. Dict. 11b *-ka*, 8 b where *ka*, however, only seems to be used in the meaning of "in case of" when added to the inf., partic. and root of a vb. – *hǔ<sup>o</sup>* he – *mak bu* the deceased, cf. Dict. 281b *mak bo* adj., s. dead, the deceased. – *sa<sup>o</sup>* of – *a pil<sup>o</sup>* soul – *thal* up, cf. Dict. 124a *ta* 1 . . . *tal* (fr. *ta-lǎ*) adv. up, above. – *rǔm<sup>o</sup>* *lyang<sup>o</sup>* Heaven, *ka<sup>o</sup>* to – *so* to escort, to take someone to a certain place, cf. Dict. 419a *so* 5. vb. 1. to serve up (food), 2. to convey – *mǎ* . . . *nǎ<sup>o</sup>* negation – *khūt* able, cf. Dict. 46b *khǔ* vb. 1. to be able, to be capable, cf. Dict. 44a *khát* vb. to be able, capable, talented, efficient. – *mo<sup>o</sup>* is.

**Trsl.:** But in case of death he is not able to escort the soul of the deceased up to Heaven.

23. – *o re<sup>o</sup>* that, *ka<sup>o</sup>* for, i. e. for that, for that purpose – *ka yu<sup>o</sup>* *sǎ<sup>o</sup>* our *li<sup>o</sup>*, house, here translated: family, cf. line 16. – *sa*, genitive. – *mǎn<sup>o</sup>* priestess, *a kít*, personal name – *a gít*, descent, lineage, see line 11. – *mǎ lóm mu* designation of a member of *mǎ lom pǔ tsho* (comp. line 11). – *thi<sup>o</sup>* *nǔn<sup>o</sup>* comes, see line 18 – *mak bu* the deceased, see line 22. – *sa<sup>o</sup>* of – *ǎ pil<sup>o</sup>* soul, see line 22. – *thal* up, see line

22. – *rǔm lyang* Heaven, see line 22. – *ka<sup>o</sup>* in, at – *la* was not explained quite definitely, but is presumably the same as *lo*, cf. Dict. 343a *lǎ* 1. particle 1. in sense of emphasis, intensity . . . 2. i. q. *lo*, *lǎ gǎng* accordingly, therefore, cf. Dict. 357b *lo* 2 I. advly. "thus" and II. certainly – *so* to escort, see line 22 – *mǎ o<sup>o</sup>* indicates present tense in the sense of what generally happens. –

**Trsl.:** For that purpose our family *mǎn* (called) *a kít* (of) the *mǎ lóm mu* lineage comes (i. e. will come) and (therefore, accordingly, thus?) escorts (is escorting) the soul of the deceased up to Heaven.

24. – *ǔn<sup>o</sup>* and – *hǔ<sup>o</sup>* she – *la* also, cf. line 17. – *bóng thǎng<sup>o</sup>* see line 16. – *sa<sup>o</sup>* of – *sǎ mók* or *tshǎ mók* in place of someone or in place of something; ordinary phrase; no root was given. *ka* (?) cf. Dict. 11b *-ka* postp. 7 . . . instead of – *thi<sup>o</sup>* come, *nǔn<sup>o</sup>* ending indicating agens, see line 18 – *rǔm<sup>o</sup>*, *mung<sup>o</sup>* – *sá* offering, cf. Dict. 405a *sa* 2. vb. to offer offerings to favour the consummation of *hyit*: *hyit-sa* . . . s. present to relations of the deceased – *fat<sup>o</sup>* to offer, cf. Dict. 239a *fat* 1, vb. t. to offer, to sacrifice. *sá* is here used of offering also in connection with *mung*; it disagrees with line 19, commentary. – *khūt* able, see line 22. – *mǎ o<sup>o</sup>* is. – NB. While speaking, Tamsang slightly corrects his written text. I have no translation of this correction.

**Trsl.:** and she also will come and is able to make offering to *rǔm* (and to) *mung* in place of (the) *bóng thǎng*.

**Expl.:** To the ceremony mentioned in the last lines, cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz, EA Vol. V, No. 1, p. 27 ff.; Mainwaring has a valuable (but in details not agreeing) reference to the same ceremony in Dict. 417a *se* 1. s. a present sent to relations of the deceased, (cf. *sa* Dict. 405a *sa* 2), and in Dict. 374a *hyit* s. the change after death of the shade of man into an immortal spirit; *hyit zuk de zuk* the operations and offerings performed by *mǎn* or by *bóng-thǎng* for the effectual transformation of *a-pil* into *hyit*.

## LIST OF WORDS (EXCEPT NAMES) OCCURRING IN THE TEXTS

- a* Prefix to substantives. Many substantives have double forms, with or without the prefix *a*. The prefix *a* may indicate a diminutive or a specification, but in many cases it apparently has no significance. The *a* may be prefixed to many verbal roots forming substantives or adjectives. Dict. 439a, Gram. 30f.
- a bar* middle 11, 4.
- a bát* increase s. 10, 2.
- a bek sa* middle brother, middle sister, anything else in the middle between two persons or things 40, 8.
- a bi* here adv. 17, 2; 33, 5; 38, 22.
- a bo* father 40, 3, 11, 15.
- ă bot* an increase 13, 5.
- a brom* good harvest 19, 30.
- a bryang* name s. 40, 1, 4, 14.
- a būng* mouth 10, 2; 13, 5. Comp. *būng* 13, 6.
- a cuk a sek* (or: *a tsuk a sek*) close to the body(?) 23, 2.
- a do / a do do* you yourself (singl.) 5, 1; 7, 2; duplicated form, used emphatically 1, 4. Dict. 440a, 179b *do* 2, Gram. 37 and 40.
- a dok / dok* sickness, illness, disease, pain; sick; 2, 1; 3, 1; 13, 2; 23, 4; 26, 10; 31, 12, 14; 32, 13; 39, 6; 40, 20. Text 1, 2 has the translation: trouble. Dict. 167a *dăk*, *a-dăk* pain, disease, sickness, and Dict. 173a *a-dūk* difficulty, distress, trouble, . . . pain.
- a dŭm* you, to you (singl.) 22, 9; 33, 5.
- a dyang* peace 19, 26.
- a fik* (good) harvest 19, 29.
- a gām a bāk* young shoots of the banana 18, 14.
- a gek / a gyek* birth 8, 2, 6; 18, 1; 19, 5, 19; pas-sim. Dict. 63a *a-gyek* s. a birth and Tib. Jäs. 28a *skyé-ba* to be born, 29b *skyed-pa* to generate, to procreate.
- a gít* descent, lineage 26, 1; 27, 3; 40, 11f., 23.
- a go* happy 26, 8.
- ă gom* children (ceremonial word) 18, 70.
- ă gor* protection 18, 28.
- a gyap* many 8, 8f.
- a hren* long adj. 8, 11.
- a hyŭr* red, occurs in the texts only in connection with sacrificial blood and meat 4, 8f.; 39, 1. Dict. 374a *a-hyir*, red.
- a jen* bad risk 2, 4.
- a jet* near 5, 1.
- a juk* the last one 40, 10.
- a kel* peace, another form for *a kyet*.
- ă klom* pain s. 28, 12.
- a ko* hand s. 13, 3; 18, 43, 61; 23, 6; 32, 14. Dict. 2a *ká*, *a-ká* hand.
- ă kop* back s. 18, 20.
- a kŭp / a kup* child, son, offspring 6, 15; 14, 2; 40, 15f. Dict. 20a *kŭp*, *a-kŭp* s. a child . . . 2. offspring, descendants.
- a kyet / a ket* peace 18, 7; 24, 4; 36, 12. Dict. 31a *a-kyät* (*a-kyet*) 1. ease, quiet, tranquillity, 2. safety. Text 26, 11: happiness, i. e. the happiness one enjoys when at peace.
- a kyum* pleasure 26, 11.
- a lāng* now, just now 4, 7; 6, 4ff.; 12, 3f.; 14, 2; 23, 5; 25, 2; 28, 1, 7; 31, 18; 32, 11; 33, 5; 40, 15. Dict. 439b *a-lāng* adv. now, immediately, the present, Gram. 69.
- a lal* newcomer 18, 2, 4ff.; (life) 8, 2, 6.
- ă lím* front 18, 20.
- a lo* work s. 7, 2.
- a mak / mak* death, the act of dying, the state of being dead 23, 4; 40, 22; 31, 15 (*mak*). Dict. 281b *a-mak* s. death of animals and of trees etc. In the present texts used of human beings.
- a mel* weapon 28, 9f.
- a mik* eye 18, 45; 32, 15. Dict. 286a *mik*, *a-mik*, the eye, cf. Tib. Jäs. 413b *miḡ* 1. eye. Comp. *a myuk*.
- a mo* mother 40, 4, 12. Comp. *a mŭ*.
- a mo* blood; ceremonial word, indicating the sacrificial blood given to supernatural beings, 18, 33; 21, 3; 33, 5.
- a mŭ* mother 6, 15. Comp. *a mo*.
- a myu pan* to finish, to complete a course of work (field work) 9, 11.
- a myuk* eye 18, 68. Comp. *a mlk*.
- a myŭng* the germ (seed) of banana 18, 13.

- a myŭng* big basket 19, 32.
- a nót / ă not* pain s. occurs usually in constructions with *a dok*. 1, 2; 5, 2; 26, 10; 31, 13; 36, 6; 39, 6; 40, 20. Constructed with *a dok*, but in separate sentences 31, 13, 26. Dict. 202a *nót* 4. *a-nót*, explet. of *dăk*, see *dăk-nót* Dict. 167a sickness, illness, pain. Cf. Tib. Jäs. 302b *nad* disease etc. and 311b *gnód-pa* 2. s. damage, harm, injury.
- ă nyŭr* ear 18, 46; 32, 16.
- ă pil* soul or that in a human being which makes it a living creature; when a person dies one can literally say that the *ă pil* leaves him. The meaning of *ă pil* is almost: the soul that gives life to a human being. It may therefore sometimes be translated as life. 21, 1; 40, 22f. Dict. 215b *a-pil*, also *a-pyel* s. 1. the shade [probably: the shadow] of man or beast.
- a re / a re re* this, demonstr. pronoun 2, 5; 3, 2; 4, 7; 5, 3; 9, 11; 15, 2; 17, 2; 40, 22f.; passim. *a re re* 33, 6 is emphatic. Dict. 439b, Gram. 43. (see: *re*).
- a re păng* these, plur. (see *a re*) 2, 6; 18, 39, 42, 47; 31, 20, 32; 32, 12; 37, 51; 38, 22f.; 39, 2.
- a rum* hot 18, 56f. Dict. 377a *hru* 1. vb. to be hot ... *a-hrum* adj. hot.
- a shŭng* help s. 18, 30.
- a shŭp* big (rice) basket 19, 31.
- a tet* so many 30, 1.
- a thing* see *thing*.
- a thong / a thŭng* leg 13, 3; 18, 44, 62; 23, 6; 32, 13. Dict. 157a *thong*, *a-thong* s. the foot ... the leg.
- a tsuk a sek* (or: *a cuk a sek*) close to the body(?) 23, 2.
- a yu* you, plur. 18, 51; 19, 51. Dict. 440b, Gram. 34: personal pronoun, 2nd person plur. Nom. and Voc.
- a yŭ do* you yourselves 28, 13.
- a yum* you, plur. 38, 22 (*a yŭm păng*); 39, 1; passim. Dict. 440b, Gram. 34: personal pronoun, 2nd person plur. (Oblique).
- a zŭm* present, gift, used particularly in connection with animal sacrifices, 4, 7; 5, 3; 18, 32, 47; 21, 2. Tsering explained that *a zŭm* could be used of any kind of gift presented to a *rŭm* or *mung*, such as animals, flowers, crops, etc. Comp. Tib. Jäs. 405a-b *sbyin-pa* vb. to give, to bestow, and see Dict. 97a *jin* ... *jin-bo* charity, gifts, blessings, favour etc.
- a zóm* food 26, 6.
- a zum* life 8, 4.
- ba* verbal particle, indicating a present or past indefinite 2, 4; 11, 1, 3; 27, 1; 32, 2, 4, 6, 8. Dict. 253a *ba* 4., Gram. 45 and 61.
- bă dyŭng* keep close to 18, 29, 31.
- bă lat* to take 39, 5.
- bam* to sit, stay, remain, live 5, 1; 13, 5; 22, 8; 36, 12. Dict. 255a *bam* vb. to remain, to dwell etc. s. *bam* Text 22, 7 abode, cf. Dict. 255a II. s. residence, home; *bam lyang* Text 4, 12, dwelling place, abode, cf. Dict. 255a II. *bam-lyang* s. dwelling place, an abode, a place of residence of man or beast.
- băng* bottom 39, 4.
- bet* to put, to cause 28, 11f.
- bi* to give 33, 5. (See *byi* under *bo*).
- bl phŭt* vegetables first fruits, i. e. first fruits offerings of vegetables Text No. 29.
- bik* cow 20, 3. Dict. 256b *bik* 3. s. a cow.
- blet* (or *glet*) to draw (or: to let fall, i. e. to be drowned) 18, 86, 94.
- bo* to give, to cause 1, 4; 2, 5; 4, 7; 5, 3; 12, 2; 18, 5; 22, 3, 4, 9; passim. Dict. 261a *bo* 3. vb. to give, to grant, comp. Tib. Jäs. 395b *'bogs-pa* to give, to impart. *bo o* imp. frequently best translated as a courteous or a precative imp. According to the interpreter it is often not translated at all, being a standard construction whose meaning is not felt. Sometimes constructed with other verbs as a kind of auxiliary verb, e. g. *zuk bo o* 18, 6 (make! imp.); *thap bo o* 10, 2, 4; 18, 15 (give! imp.); *rong bo o* 18, 17 (guide! imp.); etc. *bo mo* have given, past tense cf. *mo*. Comp. Dict. 261a *bo* 3. vb. to give, to grant, with Dict. 265b *byi* and Gram. 127f. Cf. Tib. Jäs. 371b *bog-pa*, see 395b *'bogs-pa* to give, to impart.
- bo* or *bu* when attached to the root of verbs, *bo* indicates a noun "agentis" 24, 2; 26, 6; 28, 6; passim. Dict. 260b, Gram. 97f.
- bóng thŭng* Lepcha priest 40, 16, 24.
- bóp* to be intoxicated 19, 46.
- brí* to marry 40, 13.
- bróm* accident 11, 1, 3.
- bryang* name s. 40, 3.
- bu* see: *bo*.
- bŭ* suffix to substantives, indicates the male sex of animals. Dict. 257a -*bŭ* 1. and Gram. p. 24. Text No. 25, 3 *lam bŭ*, according to Tamsang: he/she that lies, comp. 20, 1 *nát bu* trouble-giver, here used of a *mung*.
- bŭ nu* take away (imp.) 20, 3.
- bŭng* mouth 10, 3; comp. *a bŭng*.
- ce mon myor mon să lóm* a piece of meat through which a hair has been drawn (ceremonial term) 18, 60.
- cel la* left side 18, 21.
- cel* to block 18, 22f.
- chăn dong* house (unusual word) 25, 4.

- chã ro kó mo* dress of a Bhutanese 32, 5.  
*che rling* long life 14, 4.  
*chyül* down 32, 18.  
*chyül sa chyül* those from the lower regions 38, 25.  
*ci / ci* local beer 2, 5; 12, 3; 18, 9, 40; 26, 5; 32, 9, 11; passim. Called *fyeng* 27, 4. Dict 77a, and for the making of *ci* Gorer p. 96.  
*cók dun / tsók dun* a name of the cuckoo 9, 1.  
*cong* or *tsong* (to?) (honourable?) 6, 1 ff.; 18, 41, 49, 50, 52f., 56f., 68ff., 74f.  
*cum po mar*, a variety of rice, 9, 5, cp. *cyóm pã mar*.  
*cung* or *tsung* honorific address to *mung*, meaning approx. god, deity! 18, 69.  
*cyo* here! (exclamation) 16, 3.  
*cyóm pã mar* paddy rice, a species of rice 6, 13.  
 Comp. *cum po mar*,  
*cyon* to go (honorific language) 32, 18.  
*cyü / cu* mountain peak 19, 8, 15; 31, 36ff.; 37, 19ff.; 38, 5. Dict. 81b *cu* s. the snowy range, a high mountain on which snow always lies, cf. Waddell 1892, p. 65.
- da / ta* to sleep 18, 49; 19, 11; 28, 6. Dict. 168b  
*da* 1. vb. to recline, to rest, to lie down.  
*da nít bũ* sleeping 28, 6.  
*da sim* the space under the eaves 4, 5.  
*dak hlũm* herd of animals 10, 4.  
*dar tũk* bad thing (uncertain translation) 35, 6.  
*de* emphatic article 9, 4.  
*dek* middle 18, 86–93; end or middle 35, 7f.; 18, 89. Dict. 178b *a-dek* s. 3. the bottom of, 4. the outer part, 5. the end; *a-dek-ka* at the end.  
*dep / dyep* with 14, 2; 23, 3; 24, 4. Dict. 186b  
*dyep* 2. along with, in company of, in the presence of . . .  
*di* pillar of a house (ceremonial word) 18, 78f.  
*ding / dting* to remain 18, 20f.; 19, 52ff.; 23, 2; passim. Dict. 172a *ding* vb. 2. to stand, to remain.  
*dó sí* hurt s. 28, 6.  
*dok* see *a dok*.  
*du tsát* season 9, 3f. Comp. *tũ tsát*.  
*dũp* to set (fire to) 3, 3.  
*dũt / dot* to draw out, to take away 11, 3; 18, 69f. Dict. 180b *dot* vb. to draw out, to pluck out, to pull out.  
*dũt / dut* a superior type of *mung* 18, 24; 22, 8; 38 passim. Dict. 174a *dũt* 2. *dũt-mung* s. an evil spirit, Måra (legends of Padmasambhava), cf. Tib. Jäs. 269b *bdud* the personified evil principle, the Evil One, the Devil, the adversary of Buddha . . . an evil genius of the highest rank . . . In later times he has been split into four, and subsequently into numerous devils; also female devils, *bdũd-mo*, are mentioned. Mainwaring refers also in Dict. 172b to *dũ* 1. *a-dũ* s. a disease, fever, pain, suffering.  
*dul* name of the place where a *mung* lives 22, 8.  
*dyãn* to cast out 26, 10.  
*dyang tet* tiptoe 4, 2.
- fã ngo* five 40, 5, 15.  
*fan* burnt 18, 54.  
*fang fing* good (ceremonial word) 18, 82.  
*fat* soil 6, 4, 9, 10.  
*fat / fát* to offer, to sacrifice 36, 10; 37, 34ff.; 40, 24; an offering, a sacrifice, a piece of sacrificial meat 16, 2; 18, 9f.; 37, 2, 7ff. Dict. 239a *fat* 1. vb. to offer, to sacrifice, 2. s. the offering oblation, an offering unto [a] god, sacrifice, thanksgiving.  
*fen* war 23, 3.  
*fi pát ma pát* offerings of first fruit crops 36, 10.  
*fi* to separate 18, 84.  
*fo* bird 9, 2f.; 12, 3; 26, 4; 32, 11. Dict. 242a *fo* 1. bird, Gram. 137.  
*fo la* completely 18, 96.  
*fong* floor (ceremonial word) 18, 78f.  
*fũ / phũ* to give (an offering), to offer 12, 3; 17, 2; 18, 41, 48; 26, 6; 32, 11f. Used in ritualistic language as a subst. for a gift, an offering 26, 2. Text 29; 30, 2. *fũ tho* v. 38, 22, the same meaning as *fũ*. Dict. 232b *phũ* v. to offer, to give (a respectful term) cf. Tib. Jäs. 394a *bũl-ba* I. vb. pf. imp. *phul* . . . 1. to give, when the person receiving is considered to be of a higher rank . . . II. subst. offering, gift, etc.  
*fyeng* figurative word for *ci* 27, 4.  
*fyók tsa* to bow down 8, 11.
- gán* to trouble 5, 2.  
*gán grãn / gãn grón / gũn grãn / gũn grón* help, assistance, patronage 1, 3; 18, 19; 19, 51; 24, 2. See explanation 1, 3.  
*gãng* if 9, 12.  
*gek* born (to be born) 40, 2.  
*(glet)* to occur 18, 5.  
*(glet)* to let fall i. e. to be drowned 18, 86, 94.  
 See *blet*.  
*glyo la* completely 18, 95.  
*go* I 22, 9; 23, 3; 40, 2, 6, 12; with *dyep*: me 23, 3; *go nũn* (agens) by me, I 12, 3. Dict. 56a personal pronoun, first person singl. Gram. 33 and 125f.  
*gram* to break 13, 4.  
*gren jyong* "Land of the Rice", Sikkim 32, 8.  
*gryu* influence (of *mung*) 27, 5.  
*gryũ kũng* pillar of a house 18, 80.  
*gũm* vb. am, are, is 6, 13; 7, 2ff.; 18, 58f.; 40, 3,

- 5, 15; *gũm* is not final, *ma o* is final, see 40, 3 Tamsang. Dict. 55a, Gram. 52 ff.
- gũn / gun la* all 18, 51; 26, 5; passim. Dict. 54b *gũn* all, every, total, each, whole. Gram. 77 *gũn-na* adv. of degree: all, every, whole, entirely. Comp. Tib. Jäs. 4a *kun* all, every, each; whole.
- gũn pãng* all, plur. 26, 5; *gũn rùm pãng* all gods 26, 8.
- gũn grón* see *gán grán*.
- gũng kro* angry 25, 2.
- gyap kyo* help s. 18, 19.
- gye fe grũng fe* innumerable 10, 1.
- gyo kal* hundred 32, 3, 5, 7, 9f.
- gyóm* to collect (*gyóm nũn* or *na* having collected) 36, 7, 10.
- hã do* you yourself 35, 19. Dict. 372b *hó* 1. pron. 2nd pers. thou . . . *hó-do* thou, thyself, is used usually to give particular emphasis to the person; for the ordinary form *a do*, see Dict. 440a a 2.; Gram. 37 and 40.
- hlo* up in the mountains 18, 52; 37, 40. Dict. 381b *hlo* 2. subst. a high mountain upon which snow falls.
- ho / hó* you, 2nd pers. pronoun, singl. 12, 4; 13, 5; 14, 2; 20, 2; 22, 7; 25, 2; 31, 20; 32, 18; 33, 6. Dict. 372b, Gram. 34.
- hũ / hũ do sa / hũ dũm* he, she 40, 17, 22, 24 / his 20, 3 / him 14, 3. Dict. 370a–b *hũ* 1. pron. 3. pers. he, she or it . . . *hũ-do-sũ* gen. (adj.) his, its own . . . *hũ-dom* or *hũ-do-mũm* object . . . Gram. 35 ff. Comp. Tib. Jäs. 42b *kho* pers. pron. of the third person, he, she, it, but almost exclusively in colloquial language.
- hũ yum (yũm) / hũ yum* them 24, 3f.; 18, 43. Dict. 370b *hũ-yum* pers. pron. 3rd pers. plur. (object), Gram. 35.
- it* to create 34, 1–7.
- je* to eat 2, 6; 12, 5; 17, 3; 18, 39, 42, 51, 55; 26, 7; 31, 20; 33, 6; passim. Dict. 100a *je* 4. hon. to eat or to drink; to receive, to accept; to accept offerings, said of *rũm*. In the present texts also used in connection with the *mung*. Cf. Tib. Jäs. 484b *bzhés-pa* I. vb. resp. to take, receive, accept; esp. at meals, to take, to eat.
- je* to stop 18, 19; 24, 2; to restrain 1, 3.
- jíng* name of a month 9, 6.
- jók* accident (caused by axe) 2, 3.
- ju* to remain 14, 2.
- jyam / (thyam)* to put 25, 3.
- ka* suffix, used in various senses: in, into 2, 4; 6, 9f., 14; 10, 3; 11, 1; 26, 1; in (instead of, place of) 20, 3; 30, 1; for 19, 24, 34 ff.; 24, 2; on 4, 2; to 3, 2; 4, 12; 5, 1; 22, 7; 26, 5; 31, 1 ff. (Difficult translation 19, 43 ff.). Dict. 11a–b, Gram. 79 f.
- ka* let us (hortative of we) 8, 1, 7 ff.; 9, 6 ff. Dict. 11b *ka* hortat. of *kã*, Dict. 1b; Gram. 40f.
- ka cyũng ka thar* wheat(?) (ceremonial word) 7, 6.
- kã sa* my (short form) 40, 1. Dict. 1b *kã*.
- ka sã bok* name of a Nepalese dress 32, 7.
- kã shyar nang gyóng* seeds of rice (ceremonial word) 7, 3.
- kã sor* incense 18, 41, comp. 18, 54f.
- kã sór sãng sór* incense 18, 48.
- kã su* my 22, 5; 40, 14. Dict. 1b *kã* II. pron. 1st. pers. gen. Gram. 35. Poss. pron. 1st. pers. singl.
- kã su sã* my 13, 2; 22, 6; 40, 3. Dict. 1b *kã* pron. 1st. pers. gen. Gram. 36. Poss. pron. 1st. pers. singl. gen.
- kã sũm* me 4, 11; 23, 4. Dict. 1b *ka* II. pron. 1st. pers. inflect. object., Gram. 33 Pers. pron. 1st. pers. singl. acc.
- kã yu* we 2, 4; 6, 7, 13; 7, 1; 8, 7; 9, 9; 28, 1, 7; 30, 2; 40, 5; passim. Dict. 1b *kã* II. pron. 1st. pers. plur., Gram. 34, pers. pron. 1st. pers. plur. nom.
- kã yu na / kã yu nũn* by us, i. e. we (agens) 28, 9; 38, 22. Dict. 195a *-nũn* (*-nã-ũn*?) post. forms the instrumental, Gram. 34, pers. pron. 1st. pers. plur. inst.
- kã yu sã* our 21, 1; 26, 9; 40, 11, 18, 23. Dict. 1b *kã* II. pron. 1st. pers. inflect. *kã-yu-sã* plur. we inflect. gen. adjectively our, Gram. 34, pers. pron. 1st. pers. plur. gen.
- kã yum* us 1, 2, 5; 5, 2; 22, 2; 31, 14; 32, 13; 33, 1; 36, 11f.; passim. Dict. 1b *kã* II. pron. 1st. pers. inflect. plur. we; inflect. *kã-yum*; Gram. 34, pers. pron. 1st. pers. plur. acc.
- kák* to call 8, 1; see *kũk*.
- khe* tax, tribute 36, 7.
- khũ* bread, chupatti 16, 2.
- khũt* able 9, 12; 40, 22, 24.
- khũt la* able 9, 10 f.
- klóng* to send 6, 7f., 13; 10, 3; 13, 6. Dict. 42b *klóng* vb. to send. Gram. 43.
- kóm* a rupee 32, 11.
- kon / kón* to cause, to induce 2, 1 ff.; 3, 1 ff.; 10, 1; 11, 1 ff.; 13, 2 ff.; 14, 3 ff.; 18, 24 ff.; 23, 6; 24, 4; 31, 22f., 27 ff.; passim. Dict. 29a *kón* vb. to let, to allow . . . to induce; Gram. 47 and 93. Dict.: by affixing the vb. *kón* 1. the causal is formed . . . 2. the third person (object.) imperative is formed . . . comp. Texts 3, 1 ff.; 24, 4; 32, 13.
- kóng ka jí* name of a Nepalese dress 32, 7.

- ku ming* name, s. 26, 1.  
*kũ tũk* evil thing 36, 2.  
*kũ zu* life 36, 4.  
*kũ zũk* body (hon.) 25, 3.  
*kũk* to invoke 8, 7ff.; see *kák*.  
*kũm thyóng nam* the Eagle Year 40, 2, 13.  
*kũng / kung* tree, wood 2, 2; 39, 4; stick 28, 2.  
 Dict. 24b *kung* tree, etc. Gram. 137.  
*kũp* see *a kũp*.  
*kũp thyak* children 40, 15.  
*kyán* to be angry (ceremonial word) 12, 4.
- la* again 18, 83.  
*la* therefore, accordingly(?) 40, 23.  
*la* also 40, 17.  
*la* object particle 6, 15.  
*la* suffix, indicates the manner or mode of the preceding word 19, 8, 11f., 15f., 36f., 39f.  
*la* suffix, adverbial ending 8, 10; 14, 3; 18, 28, 30; 19, 5ff. Dict. 343a *-lã*, postp. 1. by affixing *-lã* to the root of verbs and nouns adverbs are formed; Gram. 66ff.  
*la bo* month 9, 6; see *la vo*.  
*la byók* small plate of leaves 18, 35.  
*la fet* plate of leaves 18, 34; see also *lo fet*. (Cf. Gorer p. 499: La-fét (lit.) winnowing tray).  
*la vo* moon, (month) 6, 5; see *la bo*.  
*lãm bũ* *lãm song* hen or fowl (ritualistic secret language) 25, 3; 31, 18, 30.  
*lãm sũr lãm dong* "Obstacle" (*tũng bór*) 4, 6, 10.  
*lãng jyor* to protect 24, 3.  
*lap dũn* prayer (ceremonial word) 26, 9.  
*lat* to come 9, 4f.; 14, 5; 18, 24ff., 74f.; 35, 6, 10 ff.; to become 6, 4. Dict. 347a *lat* 1. vb. to come, to arrive.  
*lat bu* who lets come 18, 3f.  
*le* to take 6, 15.  
*lel* to finish 9, 10, 12; 18, 80f., 84. Dict. 357b  
*lel* and *lyel* vb. to finish, to complete, to end.  
*lí / li* house 3, 2; 39, 3f.; 40, 16, 18, 20, 23. Dict. 348a *lí* 3. s. a house.  
*lo da* again 28, 7.  
*lo der* time (for sowing seeds) 6, 12.  
*lo fet* plate of leaves 32, 10; see *la fet*.  
*lok* to hurt 18, 43ff., 61f. Dict. 359a *lók* 4. to be wasted, to be spoilt, to be injured.  
*lom* road, way, route 18, 22f., 72f. Dict. 361b  
*lóm* way, road and 362a, 2 *lóm* or *a-lóm* s. path, track.  
*lón bo* (chieftain, leader) 19, 57.  
*long* to be (induced to) 19, 46ff.  
*lóng* stone 28, 3.  
*lóng* (having) 9, 8.  
*lot* to return 4, 9; 22, 7f.; 24, 4; 38, 24f.; 39, 3f. Dict. 360a *lót* 1. vb. to return, to come back.
- lũ* to raise 28, 7, 9f.  
*luk* sheep 32, 3.  
*lũm / lum* Nepal 32, 6; 35, 14 (Nepalese i. e. *mung* from Nepal).  
*lũng* verbal suffix, forms the conjunctive participle 26, 8.  
*lyang* place, spot 7, 1; 23, 5; 31, 12, 21, 25, 33; 32, 18; 36, 5; 38, 24; 40, 22; passim. Dict. 363b ff. *lyang* 2. s. the earth . . . land, country, place, spot, abode.  
*lyót* let have 19, 27f.
- mã / ma* negation 1, 2.; 2, 1ff.; 3, 1ff.; 4, 11; 5, 2; 10, 3; 11, 1, 3, 4; 22, 6; 23, 6; 28, 12; 31, 13ff.; passim. Short form for *mã . . . ne*, Dict. 276a, Gram. 109.  
*mã . . . n* negation 1, 3; 4, 10; 18, 5, 19 (etc.); 21, 1; 23, 4; 24, 2; passim. Dict. 276a *mã . . .* 188a *-n* III. abbrev. from *-ne*, *-nã*. Gram. 109.  
*mã . . . nã / na* negation 1, 5; 18, 24f., 89; 20, 2; 22, 2; 35, 17; 40, 22; passim. Dict. 275b-276a *mã . . .* 188b *-nã . . .* 2. affixed to verbs preceded by *mã-* (and followed by the verbal affix) forms negative. Gram. 106f.  
*mã . . . ne* negation 28, 1. Dict. 275b and 198a *-ne*. Gram. 106.  
*ma kyám* a particular kind of soil or ground with stones 6, 10.  
*ma lóng* a particular kind of soil or ground used for tillage 6, 9.  
*mã nyín* nothing 36, 2f., 6.  
*mã o* (am, are, is; have, has) 8, 11; 9, 12; 40, 1f., 10f., 14, 16f., 21, 23f. preterite: 18, 78, 86, 94. passim. Dict. 276b *-mã o* (see: *-mã*) suffix, forms pres. and preterite of verbs, Gram. 51.  
*mã rũm* life, lifetime 8, 11; 18, 6, 15; 19, 6, 17, 24, 34, 41. Dict. 278a *mã-rũm*, *mũ-rũm* s. the allotted period of life; vital power.  
*mã ryam na bũ* shapeless, fashionless 18, 89.  
*ma ryũ na bũ* bad 18, 89.  
*mã san* (clears?) 39, 6.  
*mã thok* life 19, 7 (see commentary), 10, 14, 35, 59. Dict. 278a *mã-rũm mã-thok* eternal life, immortality (legends of Padmasambhava), cf. Dict. 159a *thók* 8. s. life, vital principle (legends of Padmasambhava).  
*mak* death 31, 15, 23, 28, 35 (see: *a mak*).  
*mák* to die 11, 4. Dict. 281a *mak* 1. vb. to die, said of man, animal, tree, fire, etc.  
*mak bu* the deceased 40, 22f.  
*mal* to sow 9, 5f.  
*mán / (mon)* flesh, meat 2, 5; 4, 9; 11, 2 (wild animal); 20, 2; 31, 19, 31; 33, 5; passim (see *mon*). Dict. 279b *mán* s. flesh, meat.

- mãng jing măng pap* millet (ceremonial word) 7, 5.
- mar gen* butter 19, 43.
- mar ngữ kịa ngữ* ridge of the roof (*tùng bór*) 4, 4.
- mat* to do, to make 9, 10; 10, 1; 14, 3; 23, 6; 25, 2; 28, 13. Dict. 282b *mat* 2. to do, to make, Gram. 128ff.
- mel la* right side 18, 21.
- mi* fire s. 3, 3.
- mi dyup* coughs and colds 1, 5; 33, 3.
- mil* down, down below 37, 52.
- mo* suffix to verbs, indication of preterite 2, 5; 4, 7; 5, 1, 3; 6, 14; 12, 3; 17, 2; 18, 10, 32ff., 80ff.; 21, 2ff.; 22, 3f., 9; 25, 3ff.; 31, 18f.; passim. Possibly a contraction of *ma o*, see above, and 19, 45.
- mon* flesh, meat 18, 56; 22, 5; see above: *mán*.
- món tyam* medicine 28, 13.
- mũ rùm* lifetime 8, 11; see *mã rùm*.
- mũn* priestess 40, 23.
- mũn lóm* blessing, prayer 8, 8ff.
- mung / mung* evil spirit, demon, devil 4, 1; 18, 50; 20, 1; 22, 1; 40, 21, 24; passim. Dict. 294a *mung* s. 1. an evil spirit, a demon.
- myók* son-in-law 6, 8.
- na* go! (imp. singl. to *nóng* to go) 23, 3.
- nã / na* suffix 18, 17f., 27, 78; 28, 9; 32, 1; 34, 1ff.; 35, 12, 19; 39, 1; passim. Dict. 195a *-nũn* (*-nã -nũ?*), postp. forms 1. the instrumental, indicating the personal subject (agens) of the action, 2. the ablative: from, by, through, out of; Gram. 29 and 34, Inst. *nũn*.
- na cel* sickness 18, 5.
- na ken* bad thing 18, 16.
- nam* year 9, 3; 19, 27; 40, 2, 18; passim.
- nan bũ* staying 18, 50, 52f., 56f., 68ff., 74f.
- nang dyang* another name for *cí* 19, 45.
- nang jen* a name of *cí* 19, 44.
- nãng llt* (death) 18, 71, 73.
- nãng yang* (death) 18, 71, 72.
- nãng yang nãng llt* (death) (Hades) 18, 71.
- nát bu* trouble-giver 20, 1.
- ner bũ* ceremonial or mythical water 18, 84.
- ngan* to sit 4, 2ff.; 8, 11; 19, 8, 12, 15f., 20, 22, 36f., 39, 49f. Dict. 70a *ngan* I. 1. vb. to sit, to sit down; 2. to be situated, to lie; 3. to live, to dwell, to remain.
- ngãng gong* threshold 4, 3.
- ngũ / ngu* fish 12, 2f.; 18, 36f.; 26, 3. Dict. 71b *ngo* s. fish.
- ngun* to become 14, 4.
- nir bong* ceremonial or mythical water 18, 84.
- nóm hren* eldest sister 40, 7.
- nón / non* gone (18, 95f.); 24, 2. Dict. 200b *nón*, past time of *nóng*, gone, went; affixed to a few verbs, gives past tense . . . comp. Text 9, 4f. Gram. 50 *nón* implies an absolute transition and infers directly, or inversely, the object to have gone, past, or been.
- nóng* to give (ceremonial word) 26, 11.
- nóng* to go, to pass 6, 5f, 11f.; 9, 7f. Dict. 200a *nóng* 1. to go away, to go, Gram. 60f.
- nóng ba* (going) went 11, 1; 32, 2, 4, 6; see *nóng* to go.
- nor* to cause pain 18, 46.
- nór* to take out (ceremonial word) 18, 68.
- not* to inflict pain, to trouble 4, 11; 5, 2; 22, 2. Dict. 189b *nát* 1. *nát* and *nót* vb. to afflict, to injure, to hurt; cf. Tib. Jäs. 311a *gnód-pa* 1. vb. to hurt, harm, injure, damage.
- not* journey 24, 2.
- nũ* go! (imp. to *nóng*) 4, 12.
- nũm hren* eldest brother 40, 6.
- nũm nũ* (*zóng*) relations 9, 7.
- nũn* from 22, 7. See *nã / na*.
- nũn* by (agens) 17, 2; 38, 22; 40, 18, 21, 23f., cf. also 22, 7; 33, 4 (abbrev. *nũ*). Dict. 195a *-nũn* indicating the instrumental case (agens), Gram. 29 and 34. See *nã / na*.
- nũng ga* deep 26, 3.
- nũp nã zóng* siblings, brothers and sisters 40, 5.
- nyen* to hear 26, 9.
- nyet* disease 14, 5; 31, 16, 21; 33, 2; passim. Dict. 198b *net* 2. s. disease, cf. Tib. Jäs 302b *nad*, disease.
- nyer cya* wet field 6, 4.
- nyin* to be 36, 2f., 6; see also Text No. 29 and 30, 1. Dict. 105b *nyi* 1. *nyi-m* to be, etc. Gram. 54f. and 77. Cf. Tib. Jäs. 510 *yin-pa* I. to be.
- nyóm* daughter-in-law 6, 7.
- nyót* field 16, 1; 29.
- nyũ vón nyũ va* small waters, rivulets(?) (ancient ceremonial words) 18, 86.
- nyũng* poison s. 14, 5.
- o* exclamatory O or suffix indicating hon., polite or precative imp. 1, 3ff.; 2, 1, 4, 6; 4, 9, 11f.; 8, 1, 7, 9ff.; 10, 2, 4; passim. Dict. 446b and Gram. 46 and 92. According to Tsering's suggestion *o* is frequently not translated, particularly when a translation would make the English sentence too heavy.
- o re* those 35, 17; that (*o re ka*: for that purpose) 40, 23. Dict. 446b, Gram. 43.
- pa* verbal suffix, forms conditionel "if", "when" 40, 20.
- pã kóm* hearth (rare word) 25, 5. Dict. 27b *kom*,



- pă-kom* or *păr-kom* s. a frame work filled with earth made in raised houses for a fireplace; a hearth stone, fireplace.
- pă nu / pũ nũ* king, majesty, used of human kings 35, 12 (the Maharajah of Bhutan), 36, 2 ff. (the Maharajah of Sikkim), but also of supernatural beings 35, 1, 18; 36, 8 (*kong chen*); 35, 2 (*kóng lo*); 36, 9 (*chya dũng ra zo*); 35, 16 (*kím*); 37, 13; 38, 18. Dict. 206a *pă-no* s. a king.
- pă shor* broom 28, 10.
- pă táng / pũ tong* hearth, fireplace, 19, 20 (*pũ tong*); 18, 79 (*pũ tong pũ dap*); to *pũ dap* cf. Dict. 181b *pũ-dap* s. a fireplace; see also commentary to Text 19, 20.
- pa thuyt* bamboo bottle 32, 9.
- pă zók* forest 26, 4.
- pãm* (*plãm*) to appear 32, 1.
- pãn dl* queen 35, 13. Cf. Dict. 216b *pãn-dl* (Waddell 1899, p. 4, Note 1 states that Pan-di is never to be pronounced Pundi, as this would only obscure its etymological relationship to Pan-no "a king").
- pãn jeng* iron 13, 4; 14, 3.
- pãng / pang* plur. indication 2, 6; 12, 5; 16, 1; 17, 2; 18, 39, 42, 47; 26, 8; 32, 12; 36, 5; 37, 51; 38, 22 f.; 39, 2, 5; passim. Dict. 209b *-pãng* (also *póng*) suffixes forming plur. generally for things, in opposition to *-sãng* for people, Gram. 27.
- păr cet* temptation, hurt 18, 16; 39, 6.
- par kryak* angry 19, 47.
- păr mo* name of a kind of tree 28, 10.
- pát* Tibet 32, 2.
- pe va* there! 37, 1.
- pho nyet* twice 40, 18.
- phũ* see *fũ*.
- plã* to occur 40, 20 (cf. *pãm*).
- plãm* to spread 31, 16, 29 (cf. *plã*).
- pók* to fall 3, 2.
- prít* axe 2, 3.
- pro* Bhutan 32, 4; 35, 12 (see List of Personal Names: Men).
- pũ nũ* king 37, 13 f. (see *pũ nu*).
- re* this; suffix, definite article, also used as an abbrev. for *a re* this; after *a re* almost equal to: this here (emphatically) 7, 1; 17, 3; 20, 2; 26, 6; 33, 6; passim. Dict. 337b, Gram. 23.
- ren / ryen* from, from the time 4, 10; 28, 11; passim. Dict. 337b *-ren* since, from (the time) or since.
- ri yãl bũ* (spelling uncertain) to sweep out, to cleanse 18, 85.
- rip* flower 26, 2, 6; (37, 17). Dict. 333b.
- rong* to guide, to watch 1, 4; 18, 17 f., 27. Dict. 339b *róng*, see 329b *rãng* 2. vb. to watch, to guard, cf. Tib. Jäs. 582b *srũng-ba* vb. 1. to watch, to keep guard . . . 2. to beware of, to guard against.
- róng* god, gods (translation difficult) 18, 93.
- rũm* god, deity, divine spirit, generally speaking; sometimes used in courteous address to *mung*. 1, 1; 6, 1 ff.; 8, 2, 4, 6; 13, 1; 14, 1 f.; 15, 1; 16, 1; 17, 1, 3; 18, 18; 19, 1 ff., 49 ff.; 23, 1; 24, 1; 25, 1; 26, 1, 5, 8; 27, 2 f.; 28, 4 f.; 32, 12; 33, 1, 5; 36, 13; 40, 19, 22, 24; passim. Dict. 336b s. 1. a good spirit in contrast to *mung*.
- ryák* to hunt, to pursue 11, 2.
- ryen* see *ren*.
- ryu* good 9, 12. See *ryũ la*.
- ryũm bũ* good 12, 2. Dict. 342a *ryum-bo* s. a good person or thing, adj. good.
- ryu la / ryũ la* well (good) 8, 10; 18, 6, 15, 28, 30; 19, 5 ff., 19. Dict. 343a *-lã* postpositive 1. by affixing *-lã* to the root of verbs and nouns adverbs are formed, Gram. 66 ff. Dict. 341b *ryu* vb. to be good, handsome, healthy.
- sã / sa* of, indication of genitive (9, 11); 10, 2; 13, 6; 20, 2 f.; 26, 1, 3 ff.; 29; 30, 1; 31, 18, 30; 33, 5; 40, 8, 14 ff.; passim. Particular constructions: 8, 9 ff.; 18, 24; 32, 18; 35, 3; 38, 25. Dict. 392b *-sã* postpositive I. 1. forms the genitive etc. Gram. 29 and 100 f.
- sã* with 28, 9 f.
- sa* and 26, 6. Dict. 393a *sã* II.
- sá* offering s. 40, 19, 24.
- sã cyák* leopard 10, 3; 13, 6.
- sã gor* rock, cliff 11, 1; 26, 5; 39, 3. Dict. 396a *sa-gór* s. a cliff, a precipice.
- sã jór* better 18, 83.
- sã (ka)* to happen 36, 6.
- sã mók* (or *tshã mók*) (*ka*) in place of 40, 24.
- sã rí lóm* meat (ceremonial term) 18, 58.
- sã rong* today 4, 10 ff.; 22, 7; 28, 11; 39, 1; passim. Dict. 400b *sã-róng* adv. to-day, Gram. 71.
- sã tsuk / sũ tsuk* sun 33, 4; 35, 3, 9; 40, 19 (see also *tã lyang*). Dict. 306a *sã-tsũk* s. the sun.
- sã wo* present (offering; thanks) s. 31, 1 f., 4, 6, 11; 32, 17; 36, 13. Dict. 405b *sa-wó* or *sũr-wó* folding hands in prayer, paying reverence, *sa-wó tóp* to pray, to pay reverence, see explanation to 32, 17.
- sák póm sák lan* yam (ceremonial term) 7, 7.
- sán dyam sán tyól* name of a bird 18, 38.
- sãng ka* "for", "to" (?) 18, 5.
- sang ky* (?) *mar gen* (ceremonial) butter-pat 18, 8.
- sãng kyo* (ceremonial) butter-pat 19, 42.
- sãng kyũ* (ceremonial) butter-pat 19, 33.

- sang vo / sāng vo* water (ocean?), calm water 18, 50, 91; 19, 12; see Commentary.
- sār bo* the Lamaist *tor ma* 22, 3.
- sar dū* knife with a beak, (a sickle) 28, 9.
- sar vi* sickle 28, 9.
- shang / shyang* verbal suffix, a gerundial participle used in the sense of a future participle; sometimes used as simple future 18, 56f., 68ff. Dict. 423b *-shāng*, Gram. 48.
- shen la* but 40, 22.
- shet* "will", "fit for", "ready for" 6, 13; 18, 75 verbal affix to verbs; according to Tsering *shet* indicates the future, whereas Dict. 433a *shet* 2. explains it as postpositive in the sense of "deserving", "fit for". Gram. 97 and 105 says it indicates strength, power; on account of, for.
- shim bu* indication of future 35, 6, 10ff. Dict. 430a *-shim-bo* and *shūm-bo*, postpositive cf. Dict. 431b *-shūm*, *-shum-o* postpositive which gives a future sense, cf. Dict. 427b *shí* 3. *shim-bo* postposit. see *shūm-bo* Dict. 431b postposit. forming nomina actoris, a future participle "one that will", example: *nóng-shūm-bo* (I) will be going, about to go, or one that will go; it is sometimes used awkwardly in the sense "ought to be", cf. Gram. 98f.
- sho* suffix, forms future or optative of verbs 6, 6ff.; 35, 16. Dict. 434a *-sho*, Gram. 45f. and 98.
- shóng pu* (or: *shók pu*) saluting, salutation 8, 11.
- shū* to request, to entreat 19, 24, 34f, 38, 58f. Dict. 432a *shu* 2. vb. to entreat, to petition, to solicit; cf. Tib. Jäs. 476a *zhū-ba* I. vb. to request, etc.
- shū mǔ lo* blood (ceremonial term) 18, 59.
- si* to see 28, 1.
- si cet* death (ceremonial term) 18, 5.
- sím bet* next year 6, 15; 39, 6.
- so* (back again) vb. to put back again 6, 14.
- so* to escort 40, 22f.
- so tho mo* have put, have given 36, 8 (see *so* and *tho*).
- sóm* breath 18, 24ff.; 35, 4f.; 35, 19: help.
- sóm* besom or swept (ceremonial word) 18, 76ff.
- som pū* bridge s. 18, 89.
- song* incense 22, 4.
- sū* water, here: rain 39, 6.
- sū tsuk* see *sā tsuk*.
- sū lām* wolf 10, 3; 13, 6.
- sūk / suk* life 30, 2; 31, 18, 30; 33, 5. Probably identical with Dict. 419b *sok* 1. s. the vital principle, life, cf. Tib. Jäs. 584b *srog*, life.
- suk chíp* creature 21, 4.
- ta* to sleep 19, 11. See *da / ta*.
- ta do* your, your own (emphatically) 4, 12; 22, 7; 38, 24. Dict. 179b *do* 1. "self", also "own" and Dict. 118b *tā-do*, Gram. 44.
- tā ja* rice, beaten rice 32, 11; fried rice 12, 3.
- tā grí lng* brother 40, 9.
- tā ko na lí* seeds sown in the field 6, 14.
- tā lýá / ta lýũ* the (mythical) ocean under the earth 18, 90; 19, 11 (comp. also 6, 14 and 18, 49). Dict. 120a *tā-lyá* or *tā-lyá dǎ* s. the water under the earth, *tā-lyá sǎng-vo* s. the vast deeps.
- tā lýang* the sky; *tā lýang sǎ tsúk* the sky and the sun, i. e. used hon. for the Maharajah 33, 4; 35, 3.
- tā pung* shoulder 13, 2.
- tā rol tārol bū* seeds of maize (ceremonial word) 7, 4.
- ta sen* lake (ceremonial word) 19, 22.
- tak la* sufficient 10, 4.
- ták lók* (meaning unknown, ancient ceremonial word) 18, 85.
- tam sang mu* indication of a member of the *tam sang* (Tamsang) *pū tsho* 40, 11, 17.
- tāng bong* (meaning unknown, ancient ceremonial word) 18, 85.
- tāng jír rǎng* earth opening, opening of the earth (ceremonial word) 18, 87.
- tang síng* angry 19, 48.
- tang vi* the new moon 6, 6.
- tek* to perform a religious ceremony 27, 1.
- ten* long (established) adj. 36, 4.
- tet* until 23, 5; 39, 6.
- tha* to eat 4, 9; 18, 56; 22, 5. Dict. 149a *tha* 2. vb. to eat (said of almost everything except rice and vegetables).
- thak* to put 19, 33.
- thal* up (above) 40, 22f.
- tham* thing 2, 6; 12, 5; 17, 2f.; 32, 12; 38, 22f. Dict. 150a *tham* 3. s. 1. a thing, a matter.
- tham bū* smaller domestic animal 36, 5. Dict. 150a *tham* s. 1. a thing, a matter . . . 3. forms nomina from roots . . . see Dict. 257a *-bū* 1. *a-bū* 1. male sex of animals, *bū* 2. a reptile, a worm . . . Derivation *tham-bū* s. a reptile, any creeping creature . . . *tham-bū tham-cáng* . . . creatures (Legends of Padmasambhava). To *bū* cf. Tib. Jäs. 393a 'bu worm, insect.
- tham cát* all, whole 36, 7.
- tham cyíng* bigger domestic animals 36, 5. Dict. 150a *tham* 3. s. 1. a thing, a matter . . . 3. pref. forms nomina from roots . . . (with) *cáng*, *tham-cáng* s. an animal from Dict. 75a *cáng* vb. to foster, to cherish . . . *tham-cáng* s. the brute species, a beast, birds and fishes included.
- thám cyong* animal, 33, 5; see *tham cyíng*.

- thăng* to drink 18, 57. Dict. 147b *thăng* and *thóng*  
vb. 1. to drink, to drink out, to swallow etc.
- thap* to put into, to give, to cause 1, 2, 5; 2, 4;  
10, 2, 4; 18, 15; 23, 4; 31, 12, 21, 25f.; 36, 11;  
39, 6; pa sim. Dict. 150a *thap* 4. to put into,  
to place in.
- thi* to come 4, 2ff.; 23, 5; 32, 8.
- thing / thing / a thing* lord, master, in address  
almost: honourable 8, 5; 18, 27; 27, 2f.; 31,  
5f.; 32, 1, 17; 34, 5ff.; 37, 15f.; 40, 16. Dict.  
152a *thing*, *a-thing* s. 1. lord, master, a noble,  
a chief, see explanations to Texts Nos. 27, 2f.  
and 32, 17.
- tho* to put, to place 4, 10; 6, 14; 19, 33, 41ff.,  
58f.; 36, 8; 38, 22; 39, 1. Dict. 155b *thó* 4. vb.  
to place, to lay, to put down.
- thong* to drink 4, 8; 22, 6. See *thăng*.
- thong ta lyũ* name of a place high up in the  
mountains 18, 49.
- thóp / thup / thũp* to get 8, 9ff.; 11, 2; 32, 3, 5,  
7; passim. Dict. 158a *thop* vb. to find, to get,  
to obtain, to earn cf. Tib. Jäs. 238b *thob-pa* 1.  
to find, 2. to get, to obtain.
- thyam / (jyam)* to put 25, 3.
- thyól* accident 2, 2.
- ti* large 32, 18.
- to cót (tsót)* time 6, 11.
- top* to give 31, 1f., 4, 6, 11; 32, 17; 36, 13. Dict.  
142b *tóp* 2. vb. to give, to bestow, to grant,  
to offer; cf. Tib. Jäs. 224b *stób-pa* to put into  
another's mouth, esp. food, to feed; to make  
a donation (Dzanglun), to provide a person  
with (Taranatha).
- tor* scarf of silk presented as an honorific gift  
on ceremonial occasions 32, 11.
- tshã mók* (or *sã mók*) (*ka*) in place of 40, 24.
- tshóp* (equivalent, substitute) s. 20, 3; 30, 1.
- tshu* life, life-power 8, 11.
- tsín lóp* blessing 8, 10.
- tsók* to take, i. e. to drink 27, 4.
- tsók* to prevent 27, 5.
- tsók dun / cók dun* a name of the cuckoo 9, 1.
- tsong* or *cong* honourable 6, 1ff.
- tsong / (or cong)* (to?), (honourable?) 6, 1ff.; 18,  
41, 49f., 52f., 56f., 68ff., 74f.
- tsóng (cóng)* the Limbus 35, 15.
- tsung* or *cung* honorific address to some mung,  
meaning approx.: God! Deity! 18, 69.
- tũ tsát* season 9, 6; comp. *du tsát*.
- tũ 'yũ íng* sister 40, 8, 10.
- tũk bo fo* ordinary name of the cuckoo 9, 2.
- tũk fyel fo* a name of the cuckoo 9, 2f.
- tũl sa tũl* those from higher regions, i. e. those  
living up in the mountains; here used of the  
followers of kong chen 38, 25.
- tũm* time, season 19, 28.
- tũng bór* indication of a figurative expression.  
Dict. 265a *bór* 2. vb. to apply mechanical aid  
to raise or effect an object . . . *tham-bór* or  
*tũng-bór* s. apparatus, instrumentality . . . an  
indirect mode of speech, slang-language, also  
hint, innuendo, parable, simile, allegory. Gram.  
130 ff.
- tũng veng* door (*tũng bór* term) 4, 3.
- tyet* accident 23, 6.
- tyól* to join 9, 9.
- tyól nóng (zóng)* friends 9, 7.
- ũn* and 40, 4, 9f., 12, 14, 24. Dict. 442b *ũn*  
conj. and, then, etc. . . "and" combines sen-  
tences, *sã* single words, cf. Dict. 393a *sã* II.;  
Gram. 86.
- ung* water 26, 3; 32, 18; passim. Dict. 444a *ung*  
s. 1. water . . . 2. running water, river; Gram.  
136.
- vám* song s. Text No. 26 (title).
- vi / ví* blood 2, 5; 4, 8; 18, 57; 20, 2f.; 22, 6;  
31, 19, 31; 39, 1. Dict. 386b *vi* 2. *a-vi* s. blood,  
Gram. 134 and 136.
- vik* soldier 37, 17, 45; 38, 1ff. Dict. 387a *vik* s.  
1. soldier.
- vót* bee s. 11, 3.
- vut* in advance 8, 7f.
- yam* verbal suffix indicating present or past  
tense 33, 5. Dict. 324a *-yam-o* or *-yam-mã-o*,  
Gram. 51.
- yo* to know 28, 1.
- yo la* skilfully 14, 3.
- yok* yak s. 33, 4.
- yóm nãt* sickness(?) 31, 21, 33.
- yuk* man, creator 7, 3ff.; 19, 55; (possibly) litt.:  
to be the man for something, to be the creator  
of something, used particularly of gods. Cf.  
possibly Dict. 325a *yuk* vb. to be high in rank,  
to be noble; s. noble, a nobleman.
- yuk mi* creatress 7, 8.
- za tshong / za song* spouse 40, 14.
- ze* to eat, (hon. for *je*) 38, 23.
- zet* to come (unusual word) 25, 4f.
- zo* rice, food 6, 13; 18, 10, 40; 22, 9; 29. Dict.  
318a *zo* II. s. 1. grain of any kind, but chiefly  
used by itself to express "rice".
- zo* to eat 20, 2f.; 21, 1; 39, 5. Dict. 318a *zo*,  
*zóm* I. vb. to eat (see commentary).
- zo phũt* rice first fruits, i. e. first fruits offerings  
of rice 29.
- zok* beaten 28, 2.
- zók* to cause 18, 16.

- zón / zón nyln* human being(s) 20, 2; 26, 9; 29; 30, 1. Dict. 320a *zón* s. creatures, men . . . *zón nyln* s. offspring, descendants.
- zong* like, as, indicating a comparison 19, 8, 11f., 15f., 20, 22, 36f., 39f. Dict. 314a *zǎng* 2. *zóng* like, in the manner of, Gram. 105.
- zuk / zúk* to make, to do 2, 4; 3, 2; 8, 10; 9, 8f.; 18, 1f., 6f., 11ff., 82f.; 19, 5ff., 25f., 31f. Dict. 317a *zuk* 2. vb. to do, to make, to work.
- zuk* offering (to the *mung*) 40, 21.
- zuk bu* maker s. 18, 1f., 11ff.
- zum lǎng* assembled having 9, 10.
- zum lǒng* assembling 8, 10.
- zum nóng* assemble 9, 7; comp. *zũm nǎng* 9, 8.
- zum nǎng* assemble 9, 8; comp. *zum nóng* 9, 7.
- 'ayuk* work, action 2, 4; 9, 8f., 11f. Dict. 453b
- 'ayok* 2. s. 1. work, action.

## LIST OF THE NAMES OF THE SUPERNATURAL BEINGS, THEIR ABODES, ETC. OCCURRING IN THE TEXTS

- a grap rŭm* the *rŭm* who fulfils, satisfies men's wishes 8, 4.
- a kŭng rŭm* one of the four creators of female beings 19, 3.
- a nyit a jom* a female *mă yel* being 7, 8.
- ă nyo kăn do mŭ* a *mung* 31, 62.
- a nyu thŭng* the goddess of ancestral aunts 27, 2.
- a rôt a fŭng mung* a very dangerous *mung* 4, 1.
- an ce* 38, 15, see *gan tok an ce* 37, 46.
- cen* a special type of *mung* 18, 24.
- cen Kale mik mar* a *mung* who lives at *sa hem côm* (*tsôm*), a rock close to the *hla thu* place 38, 12.
- cho rŭm* a god 19, 54.
- chŭng rí yam păng* name of a *mung* and of its abode at the back (west) of *kong chen* 37, 3.
- cya dŭng ra zo mŭ nyŭ* the wife of *kong chen* 31, 7; cf. 36, 9 and 37, 49.
- dá mik* the god of the rivers and of fishing in the rivers 12, 1, 4.
- Dafto* a *mung* who lives at *sang fyók*, a pond between Nung and Namprík of the Tingbung area 38, 13. (Comp. *Daftor dŭt* 38, 19).
- Daftor dŭt* a *mung* who had his abode in a big *mung* tree which in former days stood at Kalimpong 38, 19.
- dam su bik só* a *mung* abode, location uncertain 37, 41.
- dang dŭ* a *mung* 31, 49.
- dar* a *mung* or a *mung* abode 18, 92.
- dar* a place at the foot of *kong chen*; some *rŭm* are said to live there 35, 7.
- dŭt* Basunam *gye* a *mung* living at *kam fón*, a rock above Sakyang, near Talung, west of Tingbung 38, 1 cf. 37, 24. The same *mung* was also said to live at *ví rŭm*, a pond or lake near Chumbi, Chumbi Valley 38, 17.
- dŭt* Kale *mik mar* a *mung* who lives at *sak lu*, a rock between Sakyang and Patong 38, 4.
- dŭt* Langtar a *mung* who lives in a rock standing above a lake in the locality of *sa cyong* (i. e. Sakyang) 38, 7.
- dŭt mik mar* a *mung* who lives at *kra si dŭng*, a lake or pond somewhere between the monasteries of Tashiding and Pemayangtse 38, 20.
- fă lo gra fă lo rŭm* the god of the warriors 23, 1; 24, 1; 25, 1.
- fo gróng thŭng* the creator of the world, married to *na zóng nyu* 8, 5.
- gan tok an ce* name or names of one or two *mung* and/or *mung* abode(s) at the Gangtok Monastery and at the Enche Monastery 37, 46. Cf. 38, 14f.
- ge bu* a *mung* causing coughs and colds 18, 24.
- hik tí mŭ nyŭ* / *hík tí mŭ nyŭ* a *mung* 31, 8; a *mung* and/or a *mung* abode 37, 48, somewhere below *ta dŭng sâng vok*, 37, 47, that is below *gan tok an ce* 37, 46.
- jer mŭ* a god, married to the goddess *kám mŭ*; they were said to be creators of cardamom 18, 41. Comp. *jer thŭng* 18, 27.
- jer thŭng* a god who created cardamom 18, 27. Comp. *jer mŭ* 18, 41.
- jó mo* Mindara a female *mung* said to live: (1) at the rock called *sak po* 38, 3, which stands below the lake *kam mín* 38, 2, that lies below *kam fón*, a rock above Sakyang, near Talung, west of Tingbung, 38, 1. (2) at *tá lóm cyŭ* (*cu*), a locality in western Sikkim in the neighbourhood of which there is a lake 38, 5. (3) at the lake *păn grŭm* below the Talung Monastery 38, 6.
- jyung sor kă ku* a *mung* 31, 3.
- kă bŭng* a mountain (*cu*) *mung* and/or a mountain *mung* abode close to *kong chen* 37, 20.
- kă cer ví* a *mung* 31, 43.

- kā cu /tsu lóm a mung* that causes diseases to children 18, 66.
- ka len pong vīk a mung*, one of the soldiers (*vīk*) or followers of *kong chen*. There was in former days in Kalimpong a big *mung* tree in which a *mung* called Daftor *dūt* had his abode 38, 19.
- kā por kóng chen* presumably the name of a *mung* 31, 11.
- ka thóng fi* one of the two gods of the Tree of Life; the other god is *nūng len*; 8, 3.
- kam fon a mung* rock above Sakyang, in the neighbourhood of Talung, west of Tingbung 37, 24. Comp. *kam fón vīk*, 38, 1.
- kam fón vīk a mung*, one of the soldiers (*vīk*) or followers of *kong chen*, who has his abode at *kam fón*, a rock above Sakyang, near Talung, west of Tingbung 38, 1. The name of the *mung* is *dūt Basunam gye*. Comp. *kam fon*, 37, 24.
- kam mín vīk a mung*, one of the soldiers (*vīk*) or followers of *kong chen*, who has his abode at *kam mín*, a lake below *kam fón*. The name of the *mung* is Lang Targe Marpa 38, 2.
- kām mǔ a goddess*, married to *jer mǔ*. They were said to be the creators of cardamom. 18, 41.
- kām si thing* the deity who instituted the marriage of human beings 34, 5.
- kām yǔ lóm a mung* that causes diseases to children 18, 64.
- kam yǔ thing* the deity who created all edible things 34, 6.
- kap lí kam cen a mung* and/or a *mung* abode below a locality called Nanggam(?) 37, 32.
- kār ko a place* at the end of the world; the *sǎ kyū thing* and the cardamom have come from *kār ko*; 32, 1.
- kār nít kār song a mung* abiding at a mountain (*cu*) 31, 54.
- kí lo a rǔm*, one of the four creators of female beings 19, 1, 56.
- kím a peak* at the back (i. e. west) of *kong chen*, one of the followers of *kong chen* 35, 16.
- kóm sí lóm a mung* that causes diseases to children 18, 63.
- kóng chen* Mount Kanchenjunga and/or the god residing on the peak of that mountain 19, 8; 31, 1; 37, 1; sometimes spelt *kǔng chen*.
- kóng lo a god*, a follower of *kong chen*, and the name of a peak close to *kong chen*, 35, 2.
- kra sí dǐng vīk a mung*, a soldier (*vīk*) of *kong chen*, living at a lake or pond somewhere between the Tashiding Monastery and the Pemayangtse Monastery. The name of the *mung* is *dūt mik mar*, 38, 20.
- kū dǔng a thing a mung* and/or a *mung* abode in the neighbourhood of the Talung Monastery, north of Tingbung 37, 16.
- kūm byong cloud*; some *mung* are coming with this cloud, 35, 10.
- kǔng chen* 35, 1, 18; 36, 1, 8; see *kóng chen*.
- kyo fo vīk a mung*, a soldier (*vīk*) of *kong chen*, living at *kyo fo*, a rock near Chumbi, Chumbi Valley. This *mung* is called Kyum. 38, 16.
- Kyum name* of a *mung*, see *kyo fo vīk*; 38, 16.
- la mi yong a mountain (cu) mung* 31, 37, comp. *lóng mi yong* 37, 10.
- lǎng dí yang rǎng gón name* of a mountain (*cu*) *mung* and/or a *mung* abode close to *kong chen* 37, 21.
- lang do pǔ nǔ a mung* and/or a *mung* abode close to Panshong(?) 37, 13.
- lǎng gom a mountain (cu) mung* living below the Talung Monastery 37, 30, comp. *lǎng góm*, 31, 58.
- lǎng góm a mountain (cu) mung* living below the Talung Monastery 31, 58, comp. *lǎng gom*, 37, 30.
- lǎng kó a mountain (cu) mung* and/or a *mung* abode close to *kong chen* 37, 18.
- lǎng kór name* of a *mung* and of his abode close to *kong chen* 37, 6.
- lǎng sók lǎng dok a mung* abode, location uncertain 37, 43.
- lǎng song a mountain (cu) mung* 31, 42.
- lǎng yi a mountain (cu) mung* 31, 48.
- Langshol pǔ nǔ a dūt mung* who has the title of king (*pǔ nǔ*). He lives at *ra vo*, a lake or pond in the neighbourhood of a bridge crossing the Tista 38, 18.
- Long Targe Marpa a mung*, a soldier (*vīk*) of *kong chen*, who lives at the lake called *kam mín* situated below *kam fón*, a rock above Sakyang, near Talung, west of Tingbung 38, 2.
- lí rǔm the god* of the house 40, 19.
- lóng mi yong name* of a *mung* and/or a *mung* abode close to *kong chen* 37, 10; comp. *la mi yong* 31, 37.
- luk nǐ lǎng bong name* of a mountain (*cu*) *mung* and/or his abode below the Talung Monastery 37, 34.
- Lusingi Garbo a mung* who is a soldier (*vīk*) of *kong chen*, and who lives at a lake or pond in the neighbourhood of the Pemayangtse Monastery 38, 21.
- lyang rǔm the god* of the world 40, 19.
- mǎ dyang dó name* of a *mung* and/or a *mung* abode close to *kong chen* 37, 23.

- mã la a rûm*, one of the four creators of female beings 19, 4.
- mã ro li pãng a mung* 31, 40.
- mã yel* some mythical beings residing at Kan-chenjunga and bestowing agricultural fertility on the people 6, 1 cf. 7, 1.
- mã yel tong* 1. the name of a creative deity  
2. the name of a peak close to *kong chen*; 34, 1.
- mã yûm a mung* 35, 5.
- mak nyóm a mung* causing death 18, 25.
- mam brûm* name of a *mung* and/or a *mung* abode below *kong chen* 37, 28.
- mãng dyam a mung* 18, 76.
- mãng la* name of one of the two male shoulder-gods 15, 1 (cf. *mãng kûng*).
- mãng ti yang* name of a *mung*, translated as "Darkness of the Night" 18, 74; 35, 4. Comp. *mãng tyang* 18, 81.
- mãng tyang a mung* 18, 81; comp. *mãng ti yang* 18, 74; 35, 4.
- mãng yang a mung* 18, 75.
- mũ lũng tong* a deity who created paddy rice, millet, and maize 34, 2.
- mãng kûng* name of one of the two male shoulder-gods 15, 1. (Cf. *mãng la*).
- na rím* name of a mountain (*cu mung*) and/or his abode 37, 37; it is below *sa kyet pã tok* 37, 36, which is below *lãng dí yang rãng cu* that is close to *kong chen* 37, 21.
- na rip* a female *rûm*, married to the *rûm* called *lar bong* 19, 37.
- na rip bũ* a deity who created the different kinds of soil, i. e. both the cultivable soil and the stony soil 34, 4.
- na ryeng lãng seng* name of a *mung* and/or a *mung* abode 37, 39 which is below *nam bũ* 37, 38, that is below *na rím* 37, 37, which is below *sa kyet pa tok* 37, 36, that is below *lãng dí yang rãng gón* which is close to *kong chen* 37, 21.
- na zóng nyu* the wife of *fo gróng thing*, the creator of the world 8, 5. (Comp. 18, 1f.).
- nam bũ* name of a mountain (*cu mung*) and/or his *mung* abode 37, 38, which is below *na rím cu* 37, 37, that is below *sa kyet pã tok* 37, 36, which is below *lãng dí yang rãng gón cu* that is close to *kong chen* 37, 21.
- nó nát bu a mung* who gives trouble, is harmful 20, 1.
- nũng len* one of the two gods of the Tree of Life 8, 3; the other god is *ka thóng fi*.
- nyót myũ rûm pãng* field gods. According to Baknar these gods are identical with the *sã kyũ* of *mã yel*. 16, 1.
- pã cyor pã tang* name of a mountain (*cu mung*) and/or his abode 31, 64.
- pã dím a mountain rûm* 1, 1, son of *na zong mũ nyũ* and a younger brother of *kong chen* 18, 18.
- pã kl* name of a mountain (*cu mung*) 31, 46, and/or a *mung* abode close to *kong chen* 37, 9.
- pã li yang* name of a mountain (*cu mung*) 31, 39; comp. *pã lyang* 37, 19.
- pã lyang* name of a mountain (*cu mung*) and/or a *mung* abode close to *kong chen* 37, 19; comp. *pã li yang* 31, 39.
- (*pã lyong* see *plyong*).
- pa rí rãng gón a mung* place by a slope in the rocks 18, 88.
- pa tet a mountain (cu mung)* 31, 51.
- pã wo hũng rí* name of a *mung* and name of the mountain peak Pauhuri of north-eastern Sikkim; a younger brother of *kong chen* 31, 10.
- pã zor a mountain (cu mung)* 31, 50.
- pãn dong a male rûm*, husband of *pãn song* 28, 4, 7; comp. *pãn dong cyũ (cu)* 31, 45.
- pãn dong cyũ (cu)* a mountain (*cu mung*) 31, 45; comp. *pãn dong* 28, 4, 7.
- pãn grûm* name of a lake below the Talung Monastery; at this lake lives a soldier (*vik*) of *kong chen* who is a female *mung* called *jó mo Mindara*. 38, 6.
- pãn jing a mountain (cu mung)* 31, 36.
- pãn krong* name of a soldier (*vik*) of *kong chen*, a rock in Pantong, near Sakyang, west of Tingbung. The name of the *mung* living at this rock is *tũk fyil Nangzim* 38, 8.
- pan kror hla shen a mung* 31, 65 (possibly identical with Pantor, Text No. 21).
- pãn song a female rûm*, wife of *pãn dong*, 28, 5, 8; comp. *pan song cyũ (cu)* 31, 38.
- pãn song cyũ (cu)* a mountain (*cu mung*) 31, 38; comp. *pãn song* 28, 5, 8.
- Pantor a *mung* looking like a ferocious bull and living in a strange, weird rock, protruding from a hillock in the Tingbung area. Text No. 21. Possibly identical with *pãn kror hla shen* 31, 65.
- par vot pan dot* name of a *mung* and/or a *mung* abode close to *kong chen* 37, 25.
- pe ma yang ci a mung* soldier (*vik*) of *kong chen*. This *mung*, who lives at a lake or pond in the neighbourhood of the Pemayangtse Monastery, is called Lusingi Garbo. 38, 21.
- pi yũng gong* name of a *mung* abode, somewhere up in the mountains, location uncertain 37, 40.
- plyong a mung* 18, 23 (the spelling is questionable, comp. *pã lyong*).
- pyák sor kã kyót a mung* 31, 4.

- ra bylk* name of a *mung* and/or a *mung* abode close to *kong chen* 37, 22.
- ra vo* name of a lake or pond in the neighbourhood of a bridge crossing the Tista. There lives a *mung* called *dūt Langshol* who has the title of king (*pū nū*) and who is a soldier (*vtk*) of *kong chen* 38, 18.
- ra yor ram* name of a *mung* abode, location uncertain 37, 44.
- rak sot lang dóng* name of a mountain (*cu*) *mung* and/or a *mung* abode below the Talung Monastery 37, 33.
- ram bong lăm* name of a *mung* and/or a *mung* abode close to *kong chen* 37, 26.
- rang dyang* name of a mountain (*cu*) *mung* 31, 52.
- rang gang* name of a mountain (*cu*) *mung* 31, 53.
- răng nóp* name of a rock of the Tingbung area; this rock is the abode of a *mung*, called *Taksol*, who is a soldier (*vtk*) of *kong chen* 38, 11.
- răng yang dang* name of a lake in the neighbourhood of Tingbung; the abode of a *mung*, called *tā rek* ("Earth-Worm"), who is a soldier (*vik*) of *kong chen* 38, 9.
- rel bū kúp* a son of the goddess *na zóng nyo* 19, 39.
- rip vik* a *mung* soldier (*vik*) of *kong chen*, abiding below *kong chen* 37, 17.
- róng* god, gods (not specified) 18, 93.
- rům lyang* Heaven 40, 22f.
- sa cyong* name of a locality at Sakyang, west of Tingbung where there is a lake at the foot of a rock. In this rock lives a *mung*, a soldier (*vik*) of *kong chen*, who is called *dūt Langtar* 38, 7.
- sā gí* 1. a name of God, the representation of power Text No. 26 (title); 2. name of a ceremony in honour of *sā gí* 27, 1.
- sa hem cóm* (*tsóm*) name of a rock close to the *hla thu* place. At this rock lives a *mung* called *cen Kale mik mar* who is a soldier (*vik*) of *kong chen* 38, 12 (for the name of the *mung* cf. the *mung* name *dūt Kale mik mar* 38, 4).
- Sahim* name of a *mung* soldier (*vik*) of *kong chen* who lives at *tăng tyól*, a pond in the Tingbung area 38, 10.
- sā hyor* name of the tutelary deity (*rům*) of the blacksmith 13, 1; 14, 1.
- sā hyór* name of a mountain (*cu*) *mung* 31, 44 (comp. *sā hyūr* 37, 7).
- sa hyūr* name of a mountain (*cu*) *mung* and of his abode close to *kong chen* 37, 7 (comp. *sā hyór* 31, 44).
- sa kyet pa tok* name of a *mung* and/or a *mung* locality 37, 36, below *lăng dí yang rãng gón cyú* (*cu*), which is close to *kong chen* 37, 21.
- sā kyū* one of the *mă yel* gods, the god of paddy rice; called *rům*: 6, 1; 8, 1 f.; 32, 12, 18; called *thing*: 32, 1, 17.
- sā ling* *sā tho gen* name of a mountain (*cu*) *mung* 31, 60.
- sā mok* *sā bok* name of a mountain (*cu*) *mung* 31, 61.
- sā no lăng kyol* name of a *mung* 31, 41.
- sā nóm* one of the *mă yel rům* 8, 1.
- sa nyór lóng tsám* name of a male *mung* and of his abode; it is not quite clear whether we are here dealing with one or two *mung* (*sa nyór* and *lóng tsám*); 37, 5.
- sā rong* name of a mountain (*cu*) *mung* 31, 47.
- sā thóng* tiger, a mythical evil power 35, 11.
- sā vi* name of a *rům* who is one of the *mă yel* gods and the god of millet 6, 2.
- sak cům* (*tsům*) *sak par* a *mung* who causes diseases (*lóm*) to children 18, 65.
- sak lu* name of a rock between Sakyang and Patong; there lives a *mung* called *dūt Kale mik mar* who is a soldier (*vik*) of *kong chen* 38, 4.
- sak po* name of a *mung* rock 38, 3, below the lake *kam mín* 38, 2, which is situated below the rock *kam jón* above Sakyang, near Talung, west of Tingbung 38, 1. At the *sak po* rock lives a female *mung* called *jó mo* Mindara who is a soldier (*vik*) of *kong chen* 38, 3.
- sak tsům thing* a deity who created the thought of man and his ability to think 34, 7.
- săng cer mit* name of a female(?) mountain (*cu*) *mung* 31, 56.
- sang fyók* name of a pond between Nung and Namprík in the Tingbung area. There lives a *mung* called *Dafto* who is a soldier (*vik*) of *kong chen* 38, 13.
- sang jóm săng pi yok* name of a *mung* and/or a *mung* abode 37, 35 which is below *lăng dí yang rãng gón* that is close to *kong chen* 37, 21.
- săng kyon dăng zot* name of a mountain (*cu*) *mung* 31, 63.
- săng lo* name of a *rům* that is one of the four creators of female beings 19, 2, 57.
- sap dok ă mũ* name of a dangerous *mung* who causes itching, skin diseases, and death 18, 53.
- sen bū kúp* (or: *sel bū kúp*) name of a son of the goddess *na zóng nyo* 19, 40.
- shā rãng* a *rům*, one of the *mă yel* gods, and the god of maize 6, 3.
- shā só rāk rok* the creator and protector of minor domestic animals and fowls such as goats, pigs, and hens 7, 9.
- sóm* name of a place at the foot of *kong chen*; some *dūt mung* are said to live there 35, 9 (comp. *sóm sả tsúk*).



- sóm róng* name of a place at the foot of *kong chen*; some *düt mung* are said to live there 35, 8.
- sóm sǎ tsük* the rainbow (religious language), supposed to stand at the end of the world 35, 9. (Comp. *sóm*).
- sór* name of a *mung* 18, 22.
- sǔ tsük rǔm* the sun-god 40, 19.
- ta dǔng sǎng vok* name of a *mung* and/or a *mung* abode, location uncertain 37, 47, but it is somewhere below the Gangtok Monastery and the Enche Monastery 37, 46.
- ta krǎ* name of a *mung* causing venereal diseases 18, 25.
- ta kri* name of a mountain (*cu*) *mung* and/or a *mung* abode below the Talung Monastery 37, 31 (comp. *tat kri* 31, 59).
- tǎ lóm* name of a *mung* and of its abode close to *kong chen* 37, 8.
- tǎ lóm cyũ* (*cu*) a locality in western Sikkim in the neighbourhood of which there is a lake. The mountain (*cu*) *mung* living there is a soldier (*vik*) of *kong chen* and is called *jó mo* Mindara 38, 5. (The same *mung* is said to live at a rock called *sak po* 38, 3, and at *pǎn grǔm* 38, 6).
- tǎ lom pǎn grim* name of a mountain god and of a mountain peak southeast of Kanchenjunga 31, 2.
- ta lyũ mǔ mǔ* name of the underground (underworld); probably a mythological name 6, 14.
- tǎ mar cyo men* name of a *mung* 31, 66.
- tǎ rek* "Earth-Worm", the name of a *mung*, a soldier (*vik*) of *kong chen*, who lives at the lake *rǎng yang dang* in the neighbourhood of Tingbung 38, 9.
- tak bar* name of a *mung* and/or a *mung* abode at the back (west) of *kong chen* 37, 14.
- tak bo* name of a great *rǔm* 19, 50, 53 (comp. *tak bo thǐng* 31, 6).
- tak bo thǐng* name of a primeval mythological figure who, together with *nǎ zóng nyo*, created the first human beings, etc. 31, 6 (comp. *tak bo rǔm* 19, 50, 53).
- tak bo tsom* name of a *mung* 31, 24.
- tak cyom* name of a mountain (*cu*) *mung* 31, 57 (comp. *tak cyóm kǎ óm* 37, 27).
- tak cyóm kǎ óm* name of a *mung* peak, location unknown 37, 27 (comp. *tak cyom* 31, 57).
- tak lo na nil* name of a *mung* and/or a *mung* abode to the north of *kong chen* 37, 29.
- tak pǔ* name of a *mung* causing diseases in the genitals 18, 26.
- tak se tsám* name of a male *mung* and his abode close to *kong chen* 37, 4 (comp. *tak se tsom* 31, 17).
- tak se tsom* name of a *mung* 31, 17 (comp. *tak se tsám* 37, 4).
- tak she* a great *rǔm* 19, 49, 52 (comp. *tak she thǐng* 31, 5).
- tak she thǐng* Lepcha name of the Tibetan saint Padmasambhava 31, 5 (comp. *tak she rǔm* 19, 49, 52).
- Taksol name of a *mung* who is a soldier (*vik*) of *kong chen* and who lives at *rǎng nóp*, a rock in the Tingbung area 38, 11.
- tǎk sóm* name of a *mung* and/or a *mung* abode close to *kong chen* 37, 11.
- tang dong* name of a mountain (*cu*) *mung* 31, 55.
- tǎng tyól* name of a pond in the Tingbung area; there lives a *mung* called Sahim, who is a soldier (*vik*) of *kong chen* 38, 10.
- tar bom bǔ* name of a deity who created all religious songs as well as the name of a peak close to *kong chen* 34, 3 (comp. *tar bong* 19, 36).
- tar bong* name of a *rǔm* married to *na rip* 19, 36, see 19, 37 (comp. *tar bom bǔ* 34, 3).
- tat kri* name of a mountain (*cu*) *mung* 31, 59 (comp. *ta kri* 37, 59).
- thǔng cu*(*tsu*) *lóm* name of a *mung* who causes diseases to children 18, 67.
- tsóng* (*cóng*) the *mung* of the Limbus (here) 35, 15. Ordinary meaning: the Limbus living in Nepal.
- tǎk fyił* Nangzim name of a *mung* soldier (*vik*) of *kong chen* who lives at the rock *pǎn krong* at Pantong, near Sakyang, west of Tingbung 38, 8.
- tǔm long* name of a *mung* and/or a *mung* abode close to *kong chen* 37, 12.
- vi rǔm* name of a pond or lake near Chumbi, Chumbi Valley; there lives a *mung* called *düt Basunam gye* who is a soldier (*vik*) of *kong chen* 38, 17.
- vik ram* name of a *mung* and/or a *mung* abode, location uncertain 37, 45.
- yap ce yǔm ce* name of a *mung* of natural light 37, 15.
- yǔk rǔm* name of a god 19, 55.
- yǔm bǔ yat bǔ* name of a *mung* abode, location uncertain 37, 42.
- zo mon pǎ tam* presumably the name of a *mung* or the location of a *mung* 31, 9.

## LIST OF PERSONAL NAMES

Dictionary analysis of the personal names given in Part I, Chapter: Personal Names, and of some few other names given in the Commentary to Part II. Tsering is generally the informant of the local meaning of the names.

### Names of Men and Boys

- a chok* "The Best, Prominent". For analysis, see Text No. 40, 1.
- a hryän* "Long". Cf. Dict. 378b *hryän* s. length . . . *a-hryän* adj. tall, long.
- a kyeng* "Odd Person". Cf. Dict. 33a *kyeng*, see Dict. 13a *kang* 2. *a-kang* adj. single, alone, an odd one. *a gyeng*, probably the same as Dict. 396a *sä-gyeng* s. the goral (deer) *Nemorhoedus goral*, according to George Watt, *A Dictionary of the Economic Products of India* (Calcutta 1888-1896), p. 1247, Antelope goral, *Cemas goral*.
- a nang* "Straight". Cf. Dict. 191a *nang* 1. vb. to be straight as thing, to be correct, to be upright, to be just, etc. and *a-nang* adj. straight, straightforward, upright; impartial, just, even, candid.
- a pól* "Fruit". Cf. Dict. 222b *pól*, *a-pól* s. 1. the fruit of trees, and Gram. p. 101.
- a shül* "Cast off the Slough". Cf. Dict. 431b *shül* vb. to slip along the ground like anything flat, and Dict. 425a *shäl* or *shäl* vb. 1. to slide along, 2. to slip off, to slip down (as thing).
- a täp* "Able". Cf. Dict. 134b *täp*, see also Dict. 153b *thüp* vb. 1. to be lasting, durable as cloth . . . 3. to be able to bear, to endure, to suffer.
- a tyäp* "Knot". Cf. Dict. 144a *tyäp* 2. vb. 1. to knot . . . s. *a-tyäp* a knot.
- che ring* "Long Life", see Text No. 40, 3, and Text No. 14, 4 Commentary. It is a very common Tibetan name, cf. Tib. Jäs. 450b and 528b.
- ctng* "Think". Cf. Dict. 79a *ctng* vb. 1. to think, to reflect, etc.
- cho bo kä lók* "Lama Rat". Cf. Dict. 91a *cho-bo* s. a learned man, a scholar, a clergyman, a monk, and Tib. Jäs. 173a *jó-bo* 1. the elder brother, 2. . . in Central Tibet used as an honorary title for noblemen and priests. For the second part of the name, see *kä lók*.
- có ro* "Boiled Tea-Leaves". Cf. Dict. 85a *có* s. tea, the tea-leaf, and 338b *ro* s. flavour, savour, taste. It was suggested that the name referred to the aroma of boiled tea. Cf. also Tib. Jäs. 535b *ro* I. taste, flavour . . . 3. residue, remains sediment . . . *ja-ro* tea-leaves in a tea-pot, and 171a *ja* 3. tea. See also Dict. Thib.-Latin-Franç. 347a *ja-ro*, résidus du thé (après ébullion).
- dem bo* "Firm". Cf. Tib. Jäs. 250b *dám-po* 1. strong, firm.
- dór zi* "Dorje" i. e. Thunderbolt, see Text No. 40, 9.
- ga pu* "Old Man". Cf. Tib. Jäs. 103b *rgád-po* 1. an old man, a man gray with old age, 2. an elder, senior, headman of a village.
- gár bu* "Solid". Cf. Tib. Jäs. 67b *gár-bu* solid, not hollow.
- glu* Name of a month, corresponding approx. to our September-October. Cf. Dict. 67b and see Part I, Calendar.
- gra já lo* Probably related to the name of the god of the warriors: *já lo gra já lo räm*, see Texts Nos. 23, 1; 24, 1 and 25, 1.
- gye bo* "Victor". Cf. Dict. 61b *gye-bo* or *gye-pu* s. a conqueror, a victor, a winner; see also The Story of *gye bu*, Part I. Cf. Tib. Jäs. 109a *rgyál-po* 1. king . . . *rgyál-bu* prince.
- hla ri bo* "Artist, Painter". Cf. Dict. 380b *hla-ri-bo* painter, and Tib. Jäs. 599b *lha-bris-mkhan* or *-pa* a painter of gods.
- hlak bo* "Wednesday". Cf. Gram. p. 140 and Dict. 380b *hlak-po* Mercury, cf. Tib. Jäs. 600b

- lhág-pa* 1. Mercury, 2. Wednesday. See also Part I, Calendar.
- hlam bo* "Tall". Cf. Dict. 381a *hlam* 1. vb. to stretch out, to extend.
- ing kúp* "Younger Brother Very Short", or "Nephew Very Short", see Text No. 40, 16.
- kā li* "Squirrel". Cf. Dict. 8b s. 1. *kā-li* a spec. of squirrel, 2. generic term for squirrel.
- kā lók* "Rat". Cf. Dict. 8b *kā-lók* s. a rat.
- kā lók kyong* "Village Rat". Cf. *kā lók* above and Dict. 33b *kyong* s. a town, a village. The translation is not quite certain, the meaning is perhaps: a village full of rats, i. e. the bearer of the name is just as detestable as a village full of rats. Cf. Tib. Jäs. 79a *grong* an inhabited place, a human habitation, house, village, town.
- kā lók pa nyóm* "Old Rat". Cf. *kā lók* above and Dict. 205a *pā-nyóm* s. an old man.
- kha tag* "Jug". Cf. Dict. 45a *kha-tak* s. a bamboo cup.
- khar pu* "The Man of the Castle" (?). See Text No. 40, 1.
- kri bo* "Bell". Cf. Dict. 36b *kri-bo* or *kri-po* s. a bell. Cf. Tib. Jäs. 263a *dril-bu*, bell.
- kyab thyók* "Protector". Cf. Dict. 165b *thyók* vb. 1. to harbour, to screen, to shield, to shelter, to protect, and Tib. Jäs. 26a *skyabs* protection, defence, help.
- la vo* "Moon". Cf. Dict. 344a *la-vo* s. the moon, and Tib. Jäs. 490b *zlá-ba* I. moon.
- nā chat* "Pain". Cf. Dict. 75a *chát* vb. to have sharp pain in the body. *nā* cf. Dict. 188a *nā*-I. pref. forms nomina and adjectiva. To *chát* cf. Tib. Jäs. 145b *gcód-pa* to cut.
- na dónq* "Person Who Is in Search". Cf. Dict. 183a *dónq*, *dón* 6. vb. to search, to seek after, and Dict. 188a *nā*-I. pref. forms nomina and adjectiva.
- nor den* "Wealthy". Cf. Dict. 199b *nor-den* adj. possessing wealth, wealthy, and Gram. p. 106. Cf. Tib. Jäs. 290a *nor dang ldán-pa* rich, wealthy . . . Poetically, and forming part of certain expressions and names, without *dang* and *pa* . . . *nor-ldán*.
- nyó* "Loan". Cf. Dict. 112b *nyó*, *a-nyó* s. a loan. Cf. Tib. Jäs. 201a *brnyán-pa* to borrow.
- pa sang* "Friday". Cf. Gram. p. 140 and Dict. 212a *pa-sang* name of the planet Venus, *za pa-sang* Friday, cf. Tib. Jäs. 322a *pa-sangs*, see
- 321b *pa(-wa)-sangs* 1. the planet Venus, 2. Friday.
- pā tek* "Vessel". Cf. Dict. 137a *tek* 3. II. . . . *pā-tek* s. a vessel or holder for anything.
- pā thok* "Water Jug". Cf. Dict. 205b *pā-thok* s. a small vessel for holding bird-lime 'ayók *pā-thok*.
- pāk* "Short". Cf. Dict. 209a *pāk* vb. n. to be cut off, to be minus . . . *a-pāk* s. a piece, fragment.
- pang khar* "Walking Stick". Cf. Dict. 212a *pang* in compositions *pang kar* or *pang khar* s. 1. a scourge, a switch, 2. a priest's staff. Cf. Tib. Jäs. 386a *dbang* 1. might, power, potency and 55b 'khár-ba I. s. 1. staff, see 54a *mkhár-ba* 1. staff, stick.
- phem bo* "Saturday". Cf. Gram. p. 140 and Dict. 315a *za* s. a planet . . . *za phem-bo*, Saturn, Saturday, cf. Tib. Jäs. 492a *gza* planet . . . *gza-spén-pa* Saturday, and 331a *spén-pa* 1. the planet Saturn . . . 2. Saturday.
- phur bo* "Thursday". Cf. Gram. p. 140 and Dict. 233b *phur-bo* the planet Jupiter, Thursday, cf. Tib. Jäs. 344b *phúr-bu*, see 344a *phúr-pa* . . . *phúr-bu* 2. (*gza*)*phúr-bu*, the planet Jupiter; its day: Thursday.
- pro* "Bhutanese" i. e. "Man from Bhutan". Cf. Dict. 226b *pru* s. Bhutan people, cf. Tib. Jäs. 401b *brúg-pa* I. s. 2. Bhotan.
- pun sól* "Straight", "Long". Cf. Dict. 423b *sól* 2. . . . *pā-sól* or *pün-sól* adj. straight, long.
- rig zing* "Clever Fellow". Cf. Tib. Jäs. 527b *rig-dzin* . . . as partic.: a man of parts, a clever fellow. In western Tibet also used as an indication of monks of a distinct order in which marriage is allowed, cf. Marx 1894, p. 101, Note 2, see Schlagintweit 1905, p. 548, Note 103.
- räng jí* (Name of a tree). Cf. Dict. 335b *räng-ji kung*, see 132b *tüng-jil kung*, see 188b *nā-jil kung*, name of a tree [correct: plant], Euphorbia macaranga.
- sā nyim bo* "Giver of Alms". Cf. Dict. 396b *sā-nyim byi* vb. to give alms. Cf. Tib. Jäs. 594a *bsod-snyoms* alms, gifts presented to clerical persons.
- sa ryók* "Tiger-Cat". Cf. Dict. 401a *sā-ryók* s. a tiger-cat.
- sang do* "Long". See Text No. 40, 3.
- she rap* "Wise Man". Cf. Dict. 433a *she-rap* s. wit, understanding, knowledge, wisdom, cf. Tib. Jäs. 562b *shes-ráb* 1. "great knowledge", wisdom etc.

*sung bo* "Charm Box", "Amulet". Cf. Dict. 412b *sung-bo* s. an amulet, a charm. Cf. Tib. Jäs. 583a *srung-ba* II. s. 2. the person or the thing keeping, guarding, esp. amulet, etc.  
*sung vo* "River". For comparison see Texts Nos. 18, 50 and 19, 12. Cf. Tib. Jäs. 433a *gtsang-po*, river, etc.

*ta la bo* "Crab". Name of a variety of crabs. Cf. Dict. 119b *tā-la*, see 121a *tā-hí* s. a crab.  
*tā lūk* "Frog". Cf. Dict. 120a *tā-lūk* s. a frog, the common water species.  
*thong lyók* "Palm of the Foot". Cf. Dict. 157a *thong*, *a-thong* s. the foot, and 157b *a-thong lyók* s. the sole of the foot.  
*thyók* "Protector". Cf. Dict. 165b *thyók* vb. 1. to harbour, to screen, to shield, to shelter, to protect, cf. this List: *kyab thyók*.  
*tom bo* "Firm". Cf. Dict. 142b *tóm* 1. vb. to be firm, to be strong, etc. . . . *tóm-bo* adj. strong, firm, solid, inflexible.  
*tsóng tük* "Quiver". Cf. Dict. 309b *tsóng* 1. s. an arrow, and 129a *tük* vb. t. to cover, and 129b *a-tük* s. a covering etc.  
*tük po* "String". Cf. Dict. 130b *tük-po* s. string, cord. Cf. Tib. Jäs. 227b *thág-pa* I. rope, cord.  
*tük fyil* "Ant". Cf. Dict. 130b *tük-fyil* s. an ant. Comp. Text No. 9, 2.  
*tüng dar* "Drum". Cf. Dict. 133a *tüng-dar* s. a drum.

### Names of Women and Girls

*a fóng* "Green", "Fresh(?)". Cf. Dict. 243b *fóng* 2. vb. 1. to be green . . . *a-fóng* adj. green (colour), fresh (smile).  
*a ják* "Last Child". Cf. Dict. 93a *ják* vb. to have remnants, to be left . . . *ják*, *a-ják* s. the remnants . . . the finale, the close, the end, the last, the rear, *a-ják-bo* adj. the last one.  
*a kit* "Peaceable". Cf. Dict. 33a *kyet*, see 31a *kyät* vb. to be quiet . . . *a-kyät* (*a-kyet*) s. 1. ease, quiet, tranquility. Tsering: Used of a child that does not give any trouble.  
*a pít* "Narrow". Cf. Dict. 215a *pít* 1. vb. to be narrow (as a road) to be tight (as clothes) . . . *a-pít* adj. narrow, met. to be abstemious, to be economical, to be prudent. Tsering: The name may refer to a difficult birth.  
*a sháp* "Nest". Cf. Dict. 426a *shap* 2. vb. to make nest, as bird, pig, rat, etc. . . . *a-sháp* s. the nest of bird, the bed of small animals (as rats, dogs).  
*a shók* "Fat". Cf. Dict. 435a *shók* 2. s. grease, fat. Cf. Tib. Jäs. 471b *zhag* 2. fat, grease, etc.

This Lepcha name was said to have the implied meaning of "healthy" as fatness is considered to be a symptom of good health.

*bang mo* "Short and Stout". Cf. Dict. 253b *bang*, *ban*, vb. to diminish to decrease . . . to chop in small pieces, abridge.

*ce bo* "Beloved". Cf. Dict. 82b *ce* 1. vb. to be careful of etc. *ce-bo* adj. careful . . . affectionate . . . beloved.

*ce mo* "Careful". See *ce bo*.

*cho ten* "Stupa". Cf. Dict. 91a *cho* III. . . . *cho-ten* s. a monument, a sacred building, cf. Tib. Jäs. 167a *mchod-rten* 1. etymologically, receptacle of offerings, 2. usually: a sacred pyramidal building etc.

*dã kam* "Short Sleep". Cf. Dict. 168b *da* 1. vb. n. to recline, to rest, to lie down, and Dict. 15a *kam* V. adv. 1. a little, a small quantity.

*dã wa* "Monday". Cf. Gram. p. 140 and Dict. 169a *da* 3. . . . *da-wa* s. the planet Luna, Monday: *za da-wa*, cf. 315a *za da-wa*. Cf. Tib. Jäs. 490b *zlá-ba* I. s. moon, and Jäs. 492a *gza* . . . *gza-zlá-ba* Monday.

*dang nyí kung* "Low Grandmother". Cf. Dict. 169b *dang* 1. s. the low ground etc. and Dict. 106b *nyí* 5. *nyí-kung*, s. grandmother.

*gyá lü* "Lazy". Cf. Dict. 60a *gyá* vb. 1. to be cautious, 2. to rest from labour, to refrain from work. *lü* cf. Dict. 350b *-lü* postp. affixed expresses the manner or mode of the preceding word, see also Gram. p. 96. Cf. Tib. Jäs. 548a *lugs*, 1. the casting, founding . . . 2. way, manner, fashion, mode, method . . . established manner, custom, usage, etc.

*ít í* "Bad Smell". Cf. Dict. 450b *'ayít*, *ít*, s. the dung of man or animal, excrement, faeces. The meaning is that the person emits a strong and offensive faecal stench. (Cover name).

*jing mo* "Girl that Cries and Weeps Much". Cf. Dict. 95b *ji* 1. vb. to be peevish and fretful and cry for things, said of children; and Dict. 295b *mo*, *a-mo* s. . . . woman, female.

*jíp* "Flatten Out", "Smoothing". Cf. Dict. 97b *jíp* IV. vb. t. to place in order to arrange, to adjust, to smooth.

*kã lók íl* "Excrement of Rat". See *kã lók*, above, and *íl* above. (Cover name).

*ka zár* "Smiling". Cf. Dict. 315a *zár* 1. vb. n. to be bright, to shine (as any thing), to be

- cheerful, as of countenance, cf. Dict. 307a *tsür* vb. n. to radiate, to emit rays. Cf. Tib. Jäs. 168b 'chär-ba, pf. *shar*, to rise, to appear . . . to shine.
- kät thăp* "Eleven". Cf. Dict. 6b *kă-tí kät-thăp* eleven, and Gram. p. 115. Here an abbreviation.
- le tŭp* "Fulfiller of Work". Cf. Dict. 356b *le* 4. s. an action, and 134b *tŭp* or *thŭb* vb. 1. to be able, to be good, convenient, to be fit for, and 153b *thŭp* vb. 4 . . . to be fit, to be proper, suitable. Cf. Tib. Jäs. 545a *las* I. s. 1. action, act, deed, work . . . labour, manual labour, and Jäs. 207b *gtŭb-pa* to be able, cf. 234a *thŭb-pa*.
- na jyät* "Let Us Go Father-in-Law". Cf. Dict. 200a *nong* 1. vb. to go, here: 1. pers. plur. imp., see 201a, or hort., see Gram. p. 62. Cf. Dict. 244a *jyät*, *a-jyät* s. a father-in-law.
- nam pŭt* "Born after New Year". Cf. Dict. 192a *nam* 2. s. a year . . . *nam pŭt* year to be ended, cf. 216a *pŭt* vb. n. to expire (year, time etc.) to be ended, finished.
- nom bo* "Caught". Cf. Dict. 203a *nóm* 3. vb. to reach, to overtake, etc. . . . and 260b *-bo* an affix . . . gives the signification of nouns "agentis" and adjectives . . . is passive as well as active; see also Gram. p. 97 ff.
- óng* or *óng mo* "Blessing". Cf. Dict. 449a *óng* 2. s. blessing. Cf. possibly Tib. Jäs. 386a *dbang* 1. might, power, potency etc.
- pe mo* "Grass", "Fodder". Cf. Dict. 225a *pye*, *pe*, s. fodder for cattle.
- pót mo* "Fruitful". Cf. Names of Men and Boys, see a *pót*.
- sóng mo* "Heavy". Cf. possibly Dict. 421b *sóng* 6. s. a balance, scales, also the weights. Cf. Tib. Jäs. 580b *srang* I. 1. pair of scales, balance . . . 3. weight, in a general sense.
- tă 'ayŭ* "Woman". Cf. Dict. 324a *yŭ* 1. . . . *tă 'ayŭ* s. a wife, a female, a woman . . . *tă 'ayŭ* feminine in opp. to *tă-gri* masculine.
- tshe ring í* "Long Life". Cf. Names of Men and Boys, see *che ring*.
- tshŭ hlam mo* "Long Life". Cf. Dict. 311b *tshŭ* 1. s. life, lifetime, and Tib. Jäs. 450a *tshe* s. 1. time . . . 2. time of life . . . life, and Dict. 381a *hlam* 1. vb. to stretch out, to extend.
- tuk chuk mo* "Kissing", "Kissing Woman". Cf. Dict. 82a *cuk*, *tŭk-cuk* s. 1. a chirping as of a bird, *tŭk-cuk mat*, vb. to chirp; 2. a kiss, a kissing noise, *tŭk-cuk mat* vb. to kiss. Cf. Haarh: A Limbu-English Glossary, Copenhagen 1960, p. 10 *chŭ-mā* kiss, Skrt. *cumb*, to kiss . . . New. *cupā*, a kiss.

## ABBREVIATIONS

a	when added to the page number of a book whose pages are divided into two columns, the reference is to the left column.	instr.	instrumentalis, instrumentally.
abb., abbrev.	abbreviated.	n. pr.	nomen proprium.
ablat.	ablative.	p.	page.
acc.	accusative.	part.	participle.
adj.	adjective.	Part I.	Part I of the present publication.
adv.	adverb.	pass.	passive.
approx.	approximate, approximately.	perf. or pf.	perfect.
b	when added to the page number of a book whose pages are divided into two columns, the reference is to the right column.	pers.	person.
caus.	causative.	pl. or plur.	plural.
cf.	confer, conferendum.	post. or postp. or postposit.	postpositive, post-position.
comp. or cp.	compare.	pref.	prefix.
dat.	dative.	resp.	respectful, respectfully.
e. g.	for instance.	s. or sbst. or subst.	substantive.
expl.	explanation	singl.	singular.
explet.	expletive.	Skt.	Sanskrit.
gen. or genet.	genitive.	Tib.	Tibetan.
hon.	honourable, honorific.	trsl.	translation.
i. e.	that is.	vb.	verb.
imp.	imperative.	vb. n.	verb neutral.
inf.	infinitive.	vb. t.	verb transitive.
		viz.	namely.
		°	after a word refers to the List of Words.

## LEPCHA WORDS

The following Lepcha words are used in the commentary without any explanation. For further information see the List of Words.

*bong thing* a priest.

*ci* local beer, made of millet.

*dūt* a superior type of *mung*.

*mün* priest or priestess.

*mung* demon or devil.

*rüm* god or benevolent spirit.

*tor ma* Tib. term, cf. Jäs. 210 a, often used by the Lepchas for their *chu / cho kóng*, a conical, ceremonial figure made of moulded rice. (Cf. e.g. Text No. 31, 58 commentary, and see Part I).

*lüng bór* figurative expression.

## ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

- Text No. 6, 14: *tă ko na li*, cf. Dict. 349a *li* 4. . . . *li*, *a-li* s. seed; produce, and 139b *tok* s. the head . . . *tok nă-li nă-zóng nyo* the great goddess of procreation, 189a *nă-li pün-dí* s. n. pr. queen Ná-li, wife of *rŭm zóng pǎ-no*; she taught the females the art of weaving cloth and domestic duties, also presented them with the sickle *ban hur* and instructed them in agriculture. To *na*, cf. Dict. 188a *nă*- I. pref. forms nomina and adjectiva etc. . . . also a few nomina propria (female consorts of gods, demons, etc.).
- Tekst No. 6, 15: Explanation, cf. also Dict. 20a *kŭp* s. a child . . . 6. profit, interest of money, opposite *mo*, Gram. 129.
- Text No. 7, 4: *tă rol tă rol bū* maize, ceremonial word . . . cf. Dict. 330a *răl*, vb. t. to push out with fingers as the seed of maize *kŭn-tsong răl*, cf. 331b *ral*, *a-ral* 1. adj. direct, straight; open, not closed . . . *ral rŭy*, see under *kŭn-tsong* 19a *kŭn-tsong ral rŭy* head (of maize) when ripe. To *tă*, cf. Dict. 115a prefix . . . 2. forms nomina (substantiva) from verbal roots . . . *ral*, *răl*, cf. 337a *răl* i. q. *ról* to roll, as tree, stone . . . *tă-răl* s. a slipping, a rolling over.
- Text No. 11, 4: The term *a bar* is also used of a man in the prime of life, cf. Dict. 255b *bar*, *a-bar* . . . *a-bar-ka mak*, to die while still young, and *a-bar a-mán-ka mǎ-kón-nŭn* let us not die in the prime of life. In that case the meaning of line 4 would be: Do not cause me to die while I am in the prime of life.
- Text No. 18, 78: To *ƒong*, comp. Dict. 239a *ƒang* vb. to cut wood into lengths, to hew . . . *tă ƒang*, *a-ƒang* 1. a piece, a bar; a log of wood . . .
- Text No. 18, 82: To *ƒang ƒing*, comp. Dict. 241a *ƒing* vb. n. to be clear as water or sky . . . *a-ƒing* 1. adj. clear, transparent . . . redupl. *ƒŭng-ƒing-bo* adj. blue.
- Text No. 18, 89: To *som pŭ* bridge, cf. Dict. 215b *pŭ* 4. . . . *sóm-pŭ* s. the place where a bridge is fixed, and Dict. 422b *sóm* 4. s. a bridge. Cf. Tib. Jäs. 486b *zám-pa* bridge.
- Text No. 20, 1: To *nát* cf. Tib. Jäs. 311a *gnód-pa* 1. vb. to hurt, to harm etc. . . . 2. sbst. damage, harm, injury . . . *gnod-sbyin* a class of demons.
- Text No. 36, 10: To *pát* cf. also Dict. 222b *pót*, *a-pót* s. 1. the fruit of trees.
- Text No. 37, p. 121: *Paraphrase*. The priest's prayer while he throws pieces of yak meat to the *rŭm* and to the *mung*:
- I. Invocation of *kong chen* accompanied by a cultic exclamation confirming the offering given (1-2).
  - II. Invocations of some forty-six mountain *mung* and of the wife of *kong chen*, interspersed with confirmation of the offerings given (3-49(50)).
  - III. Final confirmation of the offerings given (51-52).
- Text No. 40, 5: To *nŭp* cf. Tib. Jäs. 305a *nŭ-bo* a man's younger brother (book-language, and Central Tibet, especially the provinces Ú and Tsang) and 305a *nŭ-ba* to suck and *nu(-ba)-po*, *mo* a suckling. To *zóng* cf. Tib. Jäs. 144b *gcung-po* respectfully a younger brother.
- Text No. 40, 11f.: One might suggest that the translation should run: "our father's descent (lineage, i. e. *pŭ tsho* or *a gít*) is *tam sang*"; but Tamsang gave the translation as quoted. It is possibly a colloquial phrase.
- Text No. 40, 14: To *za tshóng* or *za sóng* wife, partner in life, cf. possibly Tib. Jäs. 159b *chúng-ma*, respectfully *btsŭn-mo* wife, consort, partner.
- Text No. 40, 16: To *kŭp* cf. Dict. 20b 7. *kŭp* affixed to words gives the signification of small, little.

## LITERATURE

(For a more comprehensive bibliography, see Part I.)

- Ali: Ali, Sálím: *The Birds of Sikkim*. Oxford University Press 1962.
- Brown 1944: Brown, Percy: *Tours in Sikkim and the Darjeeling District* by Percy Brown, revised and edited with Additions by Joan Townend. Calcutta 1944.
- Das, 1896: Das, Kali Kumar: *The Lepcha People and their Notions of Heaven and Hell*. (Journal of the Buddhist Text Society of India, vol. IV, part 1, Appendix I. Calcutta, 1896).
- Das, 1904: Das, Sarat Chandra: *Journal to Lhasa and Central Tibet*. London 1904.
- Dict.: *Dictionary of the Lepcha-Language*, compiled by the late General G. B. Mainwaring, revised and completed by Albert Grünwedel, Berlin. Berlin, 1898.
- Dict. Thib.-Latin-Franç.: Desgodins, C. H., Renou et Fage: *Dictionnaire thibétain-latin-français par les Missionnaires Catholiques de Thibet*. Hongkong, 1899.
- Forrest, R. A. D.: *The Linguistic Position of Rong (Lepcha)*. (Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. 82, 1962, pp. 331-335).
- Gammie, Gaz.: Gammie, J. see *The Gazetteer of Sikkim*, Calcutta 1894, articles on vegetation pp. 80-95, on butterflies pp. 112-115, on reptiles pp. 188-190, on birds pp. 191-197, on mammals pp. 235-239.
- Gaz.: *The Gazetteer of Sikkim*. With an Introduction by H. H. Risley. 1894, Calcutta.
- Gorer: Gorer, Geoffrey: *Himalayan Village, an account of The Lepchas of Sikkim*. With an Introduction by J. H. Hutton. 1938, London (Michael Joseph).
- Gorer and Nebesky-Wojkowitz, see *Nebesky-Wojkowitz and Gorer*.
- Gram.: *A Grammar of the Róng (Lepcha) Language as it Exists in the Dorjeling and Sikim Hills*. By Colonel G. B. Mainwaring, Bengal Staff Corps. 1876, Calcutta.
- Grünwedel, 1896: *Ein Kapitel des Ta-she-shung*. Von Albert Grünwedel. (Festschrift für Adolf Bastian pp. 461-482). Berlin 1896.
- Grünwedel and Mainwaring: *Lepcha-English Dictionary*, see Dict.
- Grünwedel, 1898: *Padmasambhava und Mandāra* (Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, vol. 52, pp. 447-461).
- Grünwedel, 1913: *Padmasambhava und Verwandtes* (Baessler-Archiv, Beiträge zur Völkerkunde. Herausgegeben aus Mitteln des Baessler-Instituts unter Mitwirkung der Direktoren der Ethnologischen Abteilungen des Königlichen Museums für Völkerkunde in Berlin. Redigiert von P. Ehrenreich. Band III pp. 1-37. 1913, Leipzig und Berlin).
- Haarh: *The Lepcha Script* by Erik Haarh. (Acta Orientalia, vol. XXIV, 3-4, pp. 107-122). Copenhagen.
- Haarh, 1960: *A Limbu-English Glossary*, by Erik Haarh. Copenhagen 1960.
- Hermanns: *The Indo-Tibetans. The Indo-Tibetan and Mongoloid Problem in the Southern Himalaya and North-Northeast India*. By Fr. Matthias Hermanns. 1954, Bombay (K. L. Fernandes).
- Hoffman, T. 1892: *Exploration in Sikkim to the North-East of Kanchinjunga. Journey to Tolung etc.* by White and T. Hoffman, (Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. XIV, Sept. 1892, pp. 613 ff.).
- Hoffmann, 1950: *Quellen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Bon-Religion*. Von Helmut Hoffmann (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur. Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse. Jahrgang 1950, Nr. 4). Wiesbaden (Franz Steiner Verlag).
- Hooker: *Himalayan Journals. Notes of a Naturalist in Bengal, the Sikkim and Nepal Himalayas, the Khasia Mountains, etc.* I-II. By Joseph Dalton Hooker. 1854. (Dict. refers to this edition). A new edition, carefully revised and condensed. I-II. 1855. (The present author refers to this edition).
- Jäs.: *A Tibetan-English Dictionary with Special Reference to the Prevailing Dialects*. By H. A.



- Jäschke, Late Moravian Missionary at Kye-lang, British Lahoul. 1934 (Reprint), London.
- Mainwaring: Dictionary of the Lepcha-Language etc., see: Dict.
- Mainwaring: A Grammar of the Róng (Lepcha) Language etc., see: Gram.
- Marx 1894: Marx, Karl: History of Ladakh. (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. 53, pp. 97 ff. 1894, Calcutta).
- Morris: Living with Lepchas. A Book about the Sikkim Himalayas. By John Morris. 1938, London.
- Nebesky-Wojkowitz, 1947: Die tibetische Bön-Religion. (Archiv für Völkerkunde, Wien, 1947 Bd. 6, pp. 26–68).
- Nebesky-Wojkowitz, EA, vol. V, No. 1: Ancient Funeral Ceremonies of the Lepchas. By R. de Nebesky-Wojkowitz. (The Eastern Anthropologist, Lucknow 1951, vol. V. No. 1, pp. 27–40).
- Nebesky-Wojkowitz, AS vol. VI, 1–4: Hochzeitslieder der Lepchas. Von R. de Nebesky-Wojkowitz (Asiatische Studien, Zeitschrift der Schweizerischen Gesellschaft für Asienkunde, vol. VI, 1–4, pp. 30–40). 1953.
- Nebesky-Wojkowitz, 1953 a: Die Legende vom Turmbau der Lepcha. Von René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz. (Anthropos. Internationale Zeitschrift für Völker- und Sprachkunde. Band 48, pp. 890 ff. 1953. Posieux (Freiburg), Schweiz).
- Nebesky-Wojkowitz, 1956 a: Oracles and Demons of Tibet. The Cult and Iconography of the Tibetan Protective Deities. By René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz. 1956, 'S-Gravenhage.
- Nebesky-Wojkowitz and Geoffrey Gorer, EA, vol. IV, No. 2: The Use of Thread-Crosses in Lepcha Lamaist Ceremonies. By R. von Nebesky-Wojkowitz and Geoffrey Gorer. (The Eastern Anthropologist, Lucknow 1951, vol. IV, No. 2, pp. 65–87).
- Pander/Grünwedel: Das Pantheon des Tschangtscha Hutuktu. Ein Beitrag zur Iconographie des Lamaismus. Herausgegeben von Albert Grünwedel. (Veröffentlichungen aus dem Königlichen Museum für Völkerkunde. Bd. I. Berlin 1890).
- Risley, 1892: Risley, H. H. The Tribes and Castes of Bengal. I–II. Calcutta 1892.
- Risley, Gaz.: Risley, H. H.: History of Sikkim and its Rulers, see The Gazetteer of Sikkim, Calcutta 1894, pp. 5–45.
- Rock, 1953: Excerpts from a History of Sikkim. By J. F. Rock. (Anthropos. Internationale Zeitschrift für Völker- und Sprachkunde. Band 48. 1953, pp. 925–948. Posieux (Freiburg), Schweiz).
- Shafer, 1957: Bibliography of Sino-Tibetan Languages. Editor Robert Shafer, Berkeley. 1957, Wiesbaden.
- Schlagintweit, 1863: Buddhismus in Tibet. Von E. Schlagintweit. 1863, Leipzig.
- Schlagintweit, 1905: Die Lebensbeschreibung von Padma Sambhava dem Begründer des Lamaismus. II. Teil: Wi ken und Erlebnisse in Indien. Aus dem Tibetischen übersetzt von Emil Schlagintweit (Abhandlungen der philosophisch-philologischen Klasse der Königlichen Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Bd. 23, Abt. 3, pp. 519–576, München 1905).
- Schulemann, 1958: Geschichte der Dalai-Lamas. Von Günther Schulemann. Leipzig, 1958.
- Sketch-Map: See maps in Part I or Part III.
- Stocks: Folk-Lore and Customs of the Lap-chas of Sikkim. By C. de Beauvoir Stocks. (Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series, vol. XXI. 1925. Article No. 23, pp. 325–505. Calcutta, 1927).
- Tucci 1949: Tibetan Painted Scrolls I–II by Giuseppe Tucci. Rome 1949.
- Waddell, 1892: Place and River-Names in the Darjiling District and Sikkim. By L. A. Waddell. (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Vol. LX. Part I. (History, Antiquities, etc.) No. II, pp. 53–79 (1891). Calcutta, 1892).
- Waddell, 1899: The "Lepchas" or "Rong" and their Songs. By L. A. Waddell. (Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie. Band XII, pp. 41–57. 1899, Leiden).
- Waddell, 1900: Among the Himalayas. By L. A. Waddell. 2nd ed. 1900. Westminster.
- Waddell, 1939: The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism. By L. Austine Waddell. Second edition. Cambridge 1939 (Reprint).
- Waddell, Gaz.: List of Sikkim Birds and Notes thereon (Part I of The Gazetteer of Sikkim, pp. 198–234), or Lamaism in Sikkim. (Part II of The Gazetteer of Sikkim, pp. 241–392. 1894. Calcutta). See: Gaz.
- Watt: Watt, George: A Dictionary of the Economic Products of India. Calcutta 1888–1896. (references in Dict.).
- White, Gaz.: White, J. C.: Note on Agriculture in Sikkim, see The Gazetteer of Sikkim, Calcutta 1894, pp. 74–79.

# Books Published by The National Museum of Denmark

## ARCHEOLOGICAL HISTORICAL SERIES - ARKÆOLOGISK-HISTORISK RÆKKE (In quarto)

I. AXEL STEENSBERG: Ancient Harvesting Implements. 1943 .....	27,00 d. kr.
II. THERKEL MATHIASSEN: Studier over Vestjyllands Oldtidsbebyggelse (English summary). 1948 (out of print) .....	
III. C. M. SMIDT: Roskilde Domkirkes Middelalderlige Bygningshistorie (Resumé français). 1949 .....	27.00 - -
IV. ANDERS BÆKSTED: Målruner og Troldruner. 1952 (out of print) .....	
V. RUDI THOMSEN: Early Roman Coinage. Vol. I. 1957 (out of print) .....	
VI. MARIE-LOUISE BUHL: The Late Egyptian Anthropoid Stone Sarcophagi. 1959 (out of print)	
VII. THERKEL MATHIASSEN: Nordvestsjællands Oldtidsbebyggelse. 1959 .....	54.25 - -
VIII. O. E. RAVN: A Catalogue of Oriental Cylinder Seals and Impressions in the Danish National Museum. 1960 .....	43.50 - -
IX. RUDI THOMSEN: Early Roman Coinage. Vol. II. 1961 .....	98.25 - -
X. RUDI THOMSEN: Early Roman Coinage. Vol. III. 1961 .....	76.75 - -
XI. MOGENS ØRSNES: Form og Stil i Sydskandinaviens Yngre Germanske Jernalder (Mit deutscher Zusammenfassung). 1966 .....	85.00 - -

## ETHNOGRAPHICAL SERIES - ETNOGRAFISK RÆKKE (In quarto)

I. Ethnographical Studies. Published on the Occasion of the Centenary of the Ethnographical Department National Museum. 1941 .....	27.00 - -
II. C. G. FEILBERG: La Tente Noire. 1944 .....	27.00 - -
III. HENNY HARALD HANSEN: Mongol Costumes. 1950 (out of print) .....	
IV. C. G. FEILBERG: Les Papis. 1952 .....	30.25 - -
V. MARTHA BOYER: Mongol Jewellery. 1952 (out of print) .....	
VI. KAJ BIRKET-SMITH: The Chugach Eskimo. 1953 (out of print) .....	
VII. HENNY HARALD HANSEN: The Kurdish Woman's Life. 1961 .....	60.25 - -
VIII. NIELS FOCK: Waiwai, Religion and Society of an Amazonian Tribe. 1963 .....	70.00 - -
IX. JOHANNES NICOLAISEN: Ecology and Culture of the Pastoral Tuareg. 1963. ....	120.00 - -
X. JENS YDE: Material Culture of the Waiwai. 1965 .....	85.00 - -
XI. Part II. HALFDAN SIIGER and JØRGEN RISCHÉL: The Lepchas. 1967 .....	
XI. Part I. HALFDAN SIIGER: The Lepchas (in preparation) .....	

## MONOGRAPHS - STØRRE BERETNINGER (In folio)

I. P. J. RIIS: Hama. Fouilles et recherches de la Fondation Carlsberg 1931-1938 (II <sub>3</sub> ). 1948	82.00 - -
II. OLE KLINDT-JENSEN: Bornholm i Folkevandringstiden (English summary). (out of print)	
III. P. J. RIIS, V. POULSEN et E. HAMMERSHAIMB: Hama. Fouilles et recherches de la Fondation Carlsberg 1931-1938 (IV <sub>2</sub> ). 1957 .....	108.50 - -
IV. E. FUGMANN: Hama. Fouilles et recherches de la Fondation Carlsberg 1931-1938 (II <sub>1</sub> ). 1958 .....	136.25 - -
V. MARTHA BOYER: Japanese Export Lacquers from the Seventeenth Century in the National Museum of Denmark. 1959 .....	133.00 - -
VI. C. J. BECKER: Føromersk Jernalder i Syd- og Midtjylland (Mit deutscher Zusammen- fassung). 1961 .....	108.50 - -

## DANSKE VOLDSTEDER FRA OLDTID OG MIDDELALDER

I. VILH. LA COUR and HANS STIESDAL: Tisted Amt. (English summary). 1957 .....	82.00 - -
II. VILH. LA COUR: Næsholm. (English summary) 1961. ....	108.50 - -
III. VILH. LA COUR and HANS STIESDAL: Hjørring Amt. (English summary). 1963 .....	108.50 - -

## OTHER PUBLICATIONS

SAMUEL H. ELBERT and TORBEN MONBERG: From the Two Canoes. Language and Culture of Rennell and Bellona Islands. Vol. I. 1965 .....	60.00 - -
TORBEN MONBERG: The Religion of Bellona Island. Language and Culture of Rennell and Bellona Islands. Vol. II. Part 1. 1966 .....	30.00 - -
The National Museum of Denmark. Editor: AAGE ROUSSELL. 1957 .....	54.25 - -