

Identifying a Tribe of Sub-Himalaya : A Socio-Cultural Aspects of Tamang

Sudash Lama

The society is the repository of human behavior through the ages. It reflects the ideology and various cultural dimensions of mankind. The society is also a representative of civilization and, social structure is the indicator of organized human behavior. The folk songs of the Tamang tribe start with “*Amailey Hoi Amaily*”, which praised the Motherhood, and indicate that ancient Tamang society was matriarchal (Tamang: BS 2051). Even today the position of the women in the social activities is equivalent of men and sometime the decision of women is more influential than men. The unification of Nepal by the great king *Prithivinarayan Shah*² brought the idea of Hinduization. This process led to passing of the Act of 1854, which categorized the Tamang community as ‘*Bhote*’³ and set into the lowest category of *panichal Jaat*⁴ or Shudras of Hindu caste hierarchy. The formation of social order that took form in Nepal followed patterns presaged in the greater social history of South Asia. As Dumont recounts, those who became Shudras in Indic varna ideology were originally conceived of as servants (Holmberg: 1996:26). The inclusion of the Tamang in the Hindu caste hierarchy especially in Nepal, also reflect the significant state ideology to bring this beef eater into the order of the Hindu cultural domain. But such inclusion by the state, with the identification as carrion-beef eater gave boost to the development of Tamang’s

-
1. See *Amailey Hoi Amailey, Amailey Hoi Amaily, Rapsi chiwa Chu Damphu, Khalse Shemba Bilawa*, means “Praising the Mother, and admiring the Mother, saying that the instrument that I am beating, who is the its maker” Santabir Lama Pakhrin’s *Tamba Kaiten Whai Rimthim* (Samvat 2064), Ratna Pustak Bhandar, Kathmandu, Nepal, (p 08)
 2. See ‘*Tamang Jati*’ (Samvat 2051), Parsuram Tamang, Nepal Rajkiya Pragya Pratisthan, Kathmandu, Nepa (p 46)
 3. It derived from people of *Bhotdesa*, The Tibet was known as Bhot, and Tamang as they believe are of Tibetan origin, who eats beef and dwells in high altitude of Himalaya, Though Tamang were not hindu by religion neither they come within hindu caste system. But King *Prithvinarayan Shah* to make the unified Hindu Nepal, brought all the non-Hindu into the purview of Hindu caste hierarchy by every means.
 4. See ‘*Order in Paradox, Myth, Ritual and Exchange among Nepal’s Tamang* (1996), David H. Holmberg, Motilal Banarasidas, Delhi, (p 26) writes as “The Murmi-Bhote, though, did not become “untouchable” as one might expect in the Brahmanical encounter and incorporation of subjugated non-Hindu populations, even though they had several attributes usually associated with untouchable, notably beef eating. The legal codes of 1854 and other nineteenth-century codes classified the Bhote including Tamang as pure (Chokkho) (HMG 1966: see Hofer 1979) or *panichalney* (those caste from water can be accepted). Although they were thus set off from untouchables – the *Pani nachalney Jaat* or those castes from whom water is not acceptable – they were drinkers (*matwali*) and subject to enslavement (*masinya*). These attribute placed them below other alcohol drinkers like the Magar and Gurung who were not enslavable, and the high-caste Hindus, who wore sacred threads, did not consume alcohol, and could not be enslaved. Although, the codes do not specifically relegate particular groups to specific varna (Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaishya, Sudra) or the encompassing caste groupings of Indic theory (Hofer 1979:118), the *Bhote* or *Tamang* by these criteria emerge somewhat ambiguously like Shudras”

regional ethnic identity. The elevation of Tamang from unclean and unrecognized caste to the level of Shudras of *Panichal jaat* makes them socially uplifted and somewhat identified in the society of Hindu social order. Because of the inclusion into Hindu hierarchical order, the Tamang's primordial society was drastically changed into the patriarchal. The primitive society of Tamang is now going through the transitional changes in its economy, culture and even in political. They were in the north, influenced by Tibetan culture and in south were highly infused by the Hindu culture. The nature of the Tamang society depends on two elements; one is internal elements which, organized and gives continuity to the society, and another is external, which is the good conductor, coordinator and controller of the social elements (Tamang:BS 2051:47). While Tamang society is formed on the basis of cross-cousin marriage, which results for the most part not in extensive alliances across a large population but in intensive alliances among a small set of patrilines residing in neighboring villages" (Holmberg:1996 :31). Basically, the Tamang society revolves around clan relation, kinship and marriage which is, according to them is a bond of blood and bond of mutual understanding.

I

Caste Structure

The first and basic internal element of the Tamang society is called '*Rhui*⁵' or clan. In Tamang society, '*Rhui*' is an elementary factor of establishing relation between parents and children in a unified social order. The conception of the *Rhui* is a bond, which has been since primeval unified the all Tamang into oneness, which help to preserve their culture and kinsman by directing and controlling the system of pro-creation and re-generation. Some sociologist has understood the meaning of *Rhui* as 'Jaat' or caste, but it is also impossible to interpret it as caste according to the Hindu social hierarchy. According to the Hindu varna system, there are only four castes and these are *Brahman*, *Kshtriya*, *Vaisa*, *Sudra* and a *gotra* also can be divide into various castes, whereas such classification is totally absent in Tamang social order. The *Rhui* can be called 'clan', tribe, patrilineage, family genealogy, paternal relative, Bone relative and bone. There are three social meaning of *Rhui*, (1) Bone, (2) Clan and (3) Social Stratum (Tamang: BS 2051:47,). The Tamang society is also has similar connotation of the *Rhui*. This element plays significant role in reproduction and to carry on paternal lineage in the Tamang societal structure. According to the Tamang belief system, the bone of men is passed on genetically to the children through the process of intimacy with his partner and construct the bones of the infant in the womb while blood and flesh is the contribution of mother. Since, the bone of children is made out of fathers whereas other parts constitute from the element of mother's body. Considering this, the bone is genetically inherited from father, and such patri-leanage classification of 'Bone' or *Rhui* makes the lineage of Tamang patriarchal society. The one clan group of Tamang, who resides anywhere of the world called the one bone people. However, *Rhui* is the identification of Tamang in the society. This is as well determining factor of their ancestor, relatives and social status.

5. Means '*Gotra*' or "Bone relative"

The Tamang tribe differentiates the one people from another through the *Rhui*, which had been inherited genetically by the father. This term is also called as ‘clan’ or *Thar*. Many clan means, many *Rhui*. How many clan or *Rhui* is in Tamang society? This is not yet solved but many Tamang researcher has collected and compiled the names of clan and their tutelary deity along with the place of origin. The Santabir Lama (pakhrin)⁶ in his work classified the 49 clans and out of which 32 clans with their origin and *kuldevta* and 17 other clans without mentioning *kuldevta* and place of origin. This account is also supported by Macdonald in his article “*The Tamang is seen by one of themselves*” (1987:138). The classification of clan or *Rhui*, according to ‘*Rhuichen Chyopey lha Whai*’ is follows:

Sl.No.	<i>Babsa</i> (place of origin)	<i>Rhui/Thar</i> or Clan	<i>Fola</i> or <i>Kuldevta</i>
1.	<i>Dongyal</i>	<i>Dong</i>	<i>Murgulen</i>
2.	<i>Nakpo Chyagi Gombo</i>	<i>Yonzone</i>	<i>Lama Konzo Mahakal</i>
3.	<i>Kdhili Brakhar</i>	<i>Bomzane</i>	<i>Dongmarchan</i>
4.	<i>Shyargi Gombo</i>	<i>Lopchan</i>	<i>Apinal Lama Konzo Nal Jyormu</i>
5.		<i>Gyamdan</i>	<i>Gyalbo Lhahi Bu Nanghsari Mamu</i>
6.		<i>Goley</i>	- Do-
7.		<i>Domdan</i>	-Do-
8.		<i>Bal</i>	-Do-
9.		<i>Dartang</i>	-Do-
10.		<i>Titung</i>	-Do-
11.		<i>Gangtang</i>	--Do-
12.		<i>Gongbo</i>	-Do-
13.	<i>Muku</i>	<i>Moktan</i>	<i>Yapjey Lahi Gyalbo, Khdili Cheyman Gyalbo</i>
14.	<i>Sergong</i>	<i>Ghising</i>	<i>Lugu Chang Marten</i>
15.	<i>Yalung Sho</i>	<i>Thing</i>	<i>Nhima Mewa Changri</i>
16.	<i>Changkong</i>	<i>Nyasur</i>	<i>Chan</i>
17.	<i>Gyanak</i>	<i>Gyaba</i>	<i>Gyalgi Dhurla Manggi</i>
18.	<i>Selmondal</i>	<i>Glan</i>	<i>Pekar Gyalbo</i>

6. The *Rhuichen Chyopey La Whai* section of Santabir Lama (pakhrin) is the collection of folklore which narrates the history of clan or *Rhui* and their place of origin with ancestral deity. The folklore goes like this;

Amailey Hoi Amailey, Amailey Hoi Amailey
Dogni Dopta thi Khatpa, Yulgi Cho Ho Rimporche,
Gyagar Dunla Sarita Bon, Boylu Nanghla Naru Bon,
Rong Shum Namla Mhi Chyen Bon, Mhi chyon nurabu shyal karmo,
Ganba gan shum fyafulla, Jigten Tamchai Shekhalma,
Rhuichen chyopey Shekhalma, Kukpa kha choi thol khamla,
Bhrasing-bulwa ful khamala, Bi-si chiwa aaingam,
Dhyansi bori ri durga, Rhuichen chyopey pangla dhyam
 1) *Dong- Dongla sala Dongla bab*
Rhuigo fola murgu len
 2) *Yonzon- Nakpo chyapi gombola bab*
Rhuigi fola yonzonla
Lama konzyo mahakaletc

7. This is one of the chapter of Santabir Lama’s work “*Tamba Kaiten Whai Rimthim*” which is a collection of Tamang folk songs and this section talks about different clan of Tamang and their place of origin.

Sl.No.	<i>Babsa</i> (place of origin)	<i>Rhui/Thar</i> or Clan	<i>Fola</i> or <i>Kuldevta</i>
19.	<i>Jyanggangi</i>	<i>Zyngio</i>	<i>Silakarpo</i>
20.	<i>Duma</i>	<i>Dumzun</i>	<i>Jambal Shengyan Lama Konzyo</i>
21.	<i>Thotho Ring</i>	<i>Thokar</i>	<i>Thoichan Karpo dak marchan Karpo</i>
22.	<i>Sharuthothari</i>	<i>Rumba</i>	<i>Karpo</i>
23.	<i>Purang Chya</i>	<i>Pakhrin</i>	<i>Changrila Guru Chanchan Shyargi Jyo</i>
24.	<i>Shermi Marandal</i>	<i>Waiba</i>	<i>Karpojyo Choman Gyalbo Yablkarpo</i>
25.	<i>Chita</i>	<i>Marpa</i>	<i>Boila Gyalbo</i>
26.	<i>Goma</i>	<i>Gongba</i>	<i>Lama Konzyo</i>
27.	<i>Lo Gyalsari</i>	<i>Lo</i>	<i>Jyamal SinseLama Konzyo</i>
28.	<i>Syanchey</i>	<i>Toisang</i>	<i>Uigi Gyalbo Yhinchey Lahi</i>
29.	<i>Shyang</i>	<i>Shyangbo</i>	<i>Gungthang Jyoha Yabjey Jhoha</i>
30.	<i>Sinka</i>	<i>Dheke</i>	<i>Nhima Hoisar</i>
31.	<i>Tuku</i>	<i>Tupa</i>	<i>Yhan Chan Mamu Dui Choi</i>
32.	<i>Lobo Gonbo</i>	<i>Blon</i>	<i>Chan</i>
33.	<i>Goma Siwang</i>	<i>Gomden</i>	<i>Jyamal Furba Thilen</i> <i>Gyagarnela, Dotinajyewe</i> <i>Bande Gyalbo</i>
34.	<i>Changpey</i>	<i>Mikchan</i>	<i>Changrila</i>
35.	<i>Lungi Khorlo</i>	<i>Lungba</i>	<i>Khyungchen Sinhi Laden</i>
36.	<i>Palgi Sammey</i>	<i>Zimba</i>	<i>Bal Thoi Chan</i>
37.	<i>Brokhar Gombo</i>	<i>Singar</i>	<i>Chanten</i>
38.	<i>Supa gyal</i>	<i>Bajyu</i>	<i>Sharma Bon</i>
39.		<i>Nharden</i>	
40.		<i>Chyumi</i>	
41.		<i>Jhumi</i>	
42.		<i>Lama Khor</i>	
43.		<i>Samden</i>	
44.		<i>Hopden</i>	
45.		<i>Negi</i>	
46.		<i>Singdan</i>	
47.		<i>Khani Khor</i>	
48.		<i>Jhongdan</i>	
49.		<i>Kolden</i>	

These *Rhui* or clans are very important element of Tamang social structure which regulate and controlled the almost all the ceremony of the community. This neither can be changed nor can be adopted, but this clan or *Thar* be awarded to a person, who gets birth in the same *kula* or family. Since, Tamang *Thar* is related with a person by birth, so it can not be changed by the ritual or by any means.

The Concept of *Barha Tamang* and *Athara Jaat* (Twelve Tamang & Eighteen Caste):

The Tamang society is based on convention and tradition. The concept of caste (according to the hindu caste hierarchy) is totally absent. This community is traditionally divided into broad category of 12 Tamang and 18 Tamang. The system of 12 *panthi* and 18 *panthi* is also prevalent among the *Magar* of sub-Himalaya. This Tamang or Lama or Murmi is

categorized into two sections “12 Tamang & 18 Jaat or Tamang”. The twelve Tamang is believed to be pure descendant of Lord ‘Maheswar’ (Vansitart 1909:141). These Tamangs are socially higher than the ‘Eighteen Jaat’ (Vansitart 1909:142). Many anthropologist, sociologist, and historian have stated the same view of division. The concept of ‘12 Tamang and 18 Jaat’ is interpreted by many writer as “12 jaat and 18 Jaat”, this reflects the notion of caste hierarchy in Tamang like Hindu social order. But this classification of caste hierarchy in Tamang like Hindu social structure does not prove the existence of caste system in Tamang. There are no higher and lower caste. This classification is not based on caste system, but it is classified according to the *Thar (Rhui)*, which is based on patrilineage and marriage kinship relation. The Tamang are primarily divided into 12 tribal groups, who had occupied the certain territory, which became the line of identification of these Tamangs. These Tamangs are as follows: - (1) *Bojyu* (2) *Bal (Dong)* (3) *Dumzan* (4) *Ghising* (5) *Gyaba* (6) *Goley* (7) *Mikchan* (8) *Moktan* (9) *Pakhrin* (10) *Syangdan* (11) *Thing and* (12) *Yonzan*. They were inhabited in their ancestral area (*Kipat*) which made them pure 12 Tamangs (Vansitart: 1909).

The ‘Eighteen Jaat Tamang’ are broadly divided into three groups. These are (1). *Gothar* (2). *Nharba* (3). *Shangri*. These Tamangs do not have sub clan. In traditional Tamang society, the marriage with other caste is not permitted, if anyone do so, and then have to face consequence of being ostracized from the Tamang clan system and get the new clan or *Thar* by their offsprings. Such marriage makes the eighteen *Jaat* Tamang who is below than the pure 12 Tamangs, and have to purify them for three generation to get the earlier place in pure Tamangs. If a Tamang man marries to woman of *Brahman*, *Chettri* or *Thakuri* of Khas caste then his child bear the clan of *Gothar*. This is neither pure Tamang nor ostracized Tamang but this is the clan which is subject to purifying. The child of Tamang men and Newar women become the *Nharba*. This *Nharba* clan or *Thar* is not easily acceptable in the social structure of Tamang community, whereas this is the system of punishment and to get the earlier place in the society, they have to purify themselves for three generation. And child from with *Magar*, *Limbu*, *Gurung*, *Rai* and *Sunuwar* woman, will get the *Thar* of *Shangri*. The concept of 12 Tamang and 18 Jaat Tamang shows that the 12 Tamangs are pure and who had occupied the settled place hereditary and 18 jaat Tamang are those who gets birth from the union of Tamang men and women of Newar, Gurung, Magar etc. The *Thar* of 12 Tamang is same as of the 18 jaat Tamang, but 12 Tamangs believes themselves higher than the clan or *Thar* of 18 jaat Tamangs who are the offspring of mixed marriage system. The classification of 12 and 18 Tamang is not based on caste but it is based on the ‘pure Tamang and mixed blood Tamang’ (Hemendorf (1955-56).

*Rhuichen Chopela Thungrap*⁸ or ‘description and origin of 18 clans or Thar’ and “*Rhuichen Chohey*” means description of 18 clans or *thar*, this proves that most of writer has mention about 18 clans and its origin and description. The concept of 12 Tamang and 18 jaat are very vague term, moreover it carries social identity of a group but according to the Tamang writer, that there were 18 clans or *Thar* among the Tamang of 12 ancestral areas

8. See *jigten Tamchai* written by Buddhiman Miktan, which contained this chapter says about origin of clan of Tamang

(Kipat). So this 18 *Thar* of 12 Kipat's Tamang have to face amalgamation with various new sects and in this process grew up many sub clans. Parsuram Tamang in his book "*Tamang Jati*" recorded the 134 clans or *Thars* of Tamang.

The concept of "Swangey Bhai"(Sagik) or Thar Brotherhood:

Tamang social structure is very traditional and one of the instances of this system is *Thar* Brotherhood. The *Thar* or clan who worship the similar *kuldevta* considered the 'Swangey Bhai' by the Tamang people. The Tamang community does not marry within the *Swangey Bhai* Thars or they are considered as brothers from the same ancestor. The names of *Swangey Bhai* of 18 Thars of Tamang are follows:-

- 1). *Dong*:— *Grangdan, Goley, Titung, Bal, Dimdong, Gongba, Gyamden, Dartang, Gangtang*
- 2). *Yonzon*:— *Bonzan, Dumzan, Lopchan, Mikchan*
- 3). *Ghising*:— *Lo, Glan, Yhesur*
- 4). *Moktan*:— *Syangdan, Pakhrin, Syangbo, Thokar*
- 5). *Rumba*:— *Zimba, Gyaba, Waiba, Gongba*
- 6). *Lopchan*:— *Chothen, Blenden, Shyongsun, Nharten, Galden*
- 7). *Thing*:— *Marpa, Toisang*
- 8). *Nyasur*:— *Singar, Blon*
- 9). *Lo* :— *Loba, Ghising, Glan*
- 10). *Marpa*:— *Thing, Toisang*
- 11). *Tupa* :—
- 12). *Blon*:— *Syangbo, Syangdan*
- 13). *Singar*:— *Yhesur, Thing, Toisang, Blon*
- 14). *Bajyu*:—
- 15). *Lungpa*:—
- 16). *Gyapa*:— *Rumba, Zimba, Waiba, Gongba*
- 17). *Thokar*:— *Moktan, Syangdan, Pakhrin, Syangbo*
- 18). *Pakhrin*:— *Syangdan, Moktan, Syangbo, Thokar.*

The tradition, social customs and moral values of Tamang are still alive in the form of oral tradition. These tradition and customs are made by the ancestors to tackle with the contemporary economy and production which is encircled by the *Rhui* to organized the society, according to the prevalent social and political situation. The codification and formalization of Tamang customs and tradition is absent but such norms and moral values are transmitted to new generation through oral culture by ancestors which enabled the Tamang people to follows such values of high morality with enthusiastically. Considering the Tamang tradition, they are very rigid in the case of bone-related marriage system. Moreover they ostracized the clan member from the social system who does not follow bone-relation of Tamang, they do not ostracize the couple but even their children too not accept by the society.

II

Life Style:

Initially, Tamang's life style were directly influenced by the Tibetan culture and practices, they were following the Tibetan mode of habitation, but later transformed themselves into the style of local habitation and became localized by following the life style, convenient to the climate and environment for them. Tamang were inheriting the Tibetan culture and carried on this social and cultural behavior of Tibet, in the area wherever they settled. But, Tamang makes effort to preserve their ethnographic life style and culture, according to the environment, climate, culture and habitation. The life-style of human being portrayed the original nature of that species; all the members of the society are inter-related with the various aspects of that environment where they live. In Tamang culture equal importance is given to social rites as well to the material culture, which is called life-style. The human culture is directly and indirectly affected by life-style, every human race has adopted religion, culture according to the country and society in various angels and their needs of the time, but formation of cultural heritage, modification, adaptation and assimilation is directly influenced by the life-style. The determining factor of human culture is life-style, which exhibits the image of a race, behavior and their nature.

Tamang ethnic group inhabit many parts of the sub-Himalaya particularly Nepal, India (Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri, Sikkim, Assam, Manipur etc), Burma and many more. There settlement is effected by geographical environment; we find Tamang habitation especially in hilly region. Tamang are of mongoloid stock, is reflected in their physical structure and appearances. They possess stocky and well built physic, with medium short stature. This hilly tribe is of very unique bodily structure with slanted almond shaped eyes and flat noses with thick straight black hair. They have little facial hair but there are some rare cases of profuse growth. The Tamang has wide faces with big cheek bones with thick lips and their jaws are round and their complexions vary from the fair to the wheat brown and sometime dark. The bodily structure of the Tamang and their habitation in hilly tracks makes them different from other cultural group, they have to construct the houses according to the region and climate, and their dresses are too very much influenced by their habitation. Tamang has very simple living style and much is dependent on nature, their food habits are greatly centered on the field of their own and to some extent wild cereals. Their style of house construction reflects the pastoralist and tribal nature of livelihood. Their houses are constructed of stone and roofs are made of splitshake, though marginalized families will make the houses of cane matting or some combination of stone, wood and bamboo. Tamang houses are clustered into one place for making a dense village. There are cobble-stone path at every corner of the village of their easy movement. They used stone plates for making the houses of the walls, thatch or wooden planked roofs held down by stones. The door and window of the Tamang house are too small, and here reflects their belief on astronomy because they always make the entrance door towards east and window are opening to either north or south, the direction where they finds slopes. The single storied houses are common among the Tamang but double and triple storied house are also not rare depending on their financial status. Normally, their houses accommodate all their belonging within the house, where we find the bedding is

rolled up in one side and livestock like the goats, chickens, sheep etc are in another side. The common feature of all the tamang is that they have at least one cowshed, either near of the house or in the field of their cultivation. The life of the day-today life centered around the hearth, which is located at the centre of the floor, and beside hearth they have alter of the tutelary deity (*kul devta*) which they keep sacred and untouched from any stranger. Although the ideal social life is that a son must move away from his father's home when he claims his inheritance, and build his own house, but some poorer families' lives under single roof. In double storied houses upper storied are used as bed room but generally they kept all their belonging of their daily use from foodstuff to nails and ropes. The double house has roofed verandah whereas single storied houses open verandah outside of the main door and it is called *piddi*, since the interior of the house is very dark, this verandah is used as a sort of open living room, where guests are seated and discussions are held. The *piddi* is made of earth and it is like plinth but in tamang houses it is well decorated by lying mates, and *piddi* is used to for weaving gossiping and idling for all the section of family either male or group of female or within family groups. So this *piddi* of Tamang house becomes the living room as well and centre of social interaction. The Tamang has great belief on animism, and they make the highland or heap as the place of their local guardian, the place or heap is called *stan or devistan* where they do give puja in every occasion. The area which has great influence of Buddhism particularly, *nyingmapa* sect, they put images of *Ratilila* (symbolic image of Bajrayana Buddhism) at the top of Village, that the entire trespasser can see it. This is image of belief among Tamangs that this will ward off the evil from the village and protect the same from various natural calamities; even this will ensure that women folk of the family may not remain barren.

Normally, most of the Tamangs practice the ritual of animistic form of belief, and they are doing puja in their respective villages according to the animism. But instead of that, we know that they are adherents of *nyingmapa* sect of Tibetan Buddhism, so the villages where we find traces of this sect greatly, we find whole village is surrounded by the typical religious flag, containing *Mantra* on it, for warding off evil spirits and wishing for boom in their day to-day life. In such village we find common worshipping centre for all the villagers, called Gumpha (*ghyang*), as they are follower of *nyigmapa sect* of Tibetan Buddhism so their gumpha is of the white color. The gumpha has altar where statue of Gurupadmasamvawa (*gururimpoche*) been placed at the centre, Guru Dakpo (*malevolent form of gurupadmasamvawa*) and *Singdongma, Choikyong* are placed in both the sides of the altar. As the follower of *nyingmapa* sect believe that Gurupadmasamvawa is the reincarnation of Gautama Buddha, so they don't placed the statue of Buddha at the altar but they used to keep the statue of Buddha besides of the other statue. Tamang used to build a rest shed at every corner of the village that the tired traveler can get the rest. In such public places Buddhist Tamang used to inscribe the *mantra* of Buddhism in stone slate, in the name of deceased person, which is called "*om Thassi*" by cleaning the place, lights the lamp (*nanghsal*). Another very important religious thing in the name of deceased person is *rab-ney* (establishment of pancha-buddha). The Tamang used to construct the hemispherical

dome shaped stupa in the memory of deceased relatives called *Mhaney* or *Chorten* and follower of the Buddhist sect used to move around the stupa in clockwise manner.

Generally, the village of Tamang does not need any center of worshipping, because they have to propitiate various forms of deity of animistic belief. Since it does not need any common centre of worshipping but they prefer either heap of earth, beneath a tree or at the corner of a big stone. This place is called *Bhume-sthan* or place of worship where they do give puja to *Sibda-Nibda* (worship of soil), *nag-nagini* (worship of snake god and goddess) and *chan* (worship of hunter). The Tamang never cut down the trees of around of the *Bhumesthan* and neither have they ever dumped over the area. Literary, in Tamang village there may not be the single gumpa but it is sure that there will be *Bhumesthan* in every locality. They are very cautious in choosing the place of habitation; they take care of the climate, water sources, field for grazing their animals and forests. Tamang gives much importance to places of worship for propitiating their tribal deity as well as for their Buddhistic belief.

Dresses and Ornamentation:

The ethnographic identity of Tamang in particular and of all the races is reflected in their fundamental dresses. The dresses of an ethnic group carried on their ancestral tradition and behavioral approach. The dress of Tamang ethnic group has been passed from many changes and alteration, but still they are able to preserve their ancestral dress system. If we observed the dresses and apparel of ancient Tamang, we find uniformity in the dresses. The most of highland Tamang use to wear primitive form of dress, which is called *gado* (*gya*). Such type of apparel was vague in the community of central Himalayan Mongol, where people wrapped a long cloth, making a knot over the shoulder, so tamang too has same dress style. This *gado* is also popular among the other tribal groups of sub-Himalayan region like *gurung*,

The women folk of the Tamang society have more choice in apparel than the men folk. In this globalize world, the dresses of the Tamang too had gone revolutionary changes, it is little impossible to get uniformity in the wearing of Tamang. They had adopted or imitated the dress style of their neighbors along with other customs. But if we observe the apparel design of highland dwelling Tamang, then we find uniformity with little adoption of other cultural group. The men folk of Tamang community prefer to wear *Banktey Bhoto* (a kind of sleeveless vest), *Kacchhar* (loin-cloth), waist coat, *Daura-Surwal* (traditional dress of Nepalese), cap (traditional cap of Nepalese), and they use to tied the waist by wrapping a cloth to hold the *Khukri* (ethnic identified weapon of Gurkhas). The Tamang usually like the black colour *Daura-surwal* and waist wrapping cloth is of the white colour. The aged person use to wrap a homespun white cloth round the head like turban called *Pheta*, is a alternative of the cap. While womenfolk of the Tamang community like decorated skirt like cloth called 'Faria' (*Shyama*) of various colour such as maroon, red, and velvety or *makmali*. They also use hand made waist cloth (*mujetro*) to cover their upper part of the body. The highland cold region womenfolk prefer *Bakkhu* and lower altitude they wear *shyama* and *Choubandi cholo* (a kind of shirt) with *pachyora* (*chunri*). In highland Himalayan region women use to wear *Syama* (sari like cloth), Ghagra (*Dorma*) and Bakkhu (*Chua*) in winter

and sometime a handmade coat (*Surki*). Tamang women have a typical dress code, particularly a small cloth which wore either in the back of hips or in front, is called *pangden*, this can be wear by both married and unmarried women, so it difficulty to identified a married women out of the mass. The above mentioned Tamang's dress has great transition but now it come to the uniformity by the efforts of *Nepal Tamang Ghedung Sangha* (*Association for Nepal Tamang Ghedung*), and All India Tamang Buddhist Association. They made deep thought and officially declared the uniform dress code for the Tamang. According to the new dress code dress style is similar to the traditional dress of the Tamang but *pangden* must wear in back by married women and in front by the unmarried girls, and in their cap they have symbol of *Cross Bajra* called *Dorje Gyadam* and symbol of 'Totola' (*oroxyalum Indicum*) flower.

Tamang are very much fond of ornaments. The womenfolk wear many ornaments comparatively than the men folk as is the case of many other tribes of the world. The Tamang men folk wear only earring (*Kundal*) and Bangles, apart from this they do not have more ornament to wear. But for the women they have in their ornaments *Cheptey Sun* (*gold plates for ear*), *Dhungri* (*roll of the gold for ear*), *Bhutil* and gold and silver bangles called *singikarmu mugga* (semi-precious stone) and gold ornaments called *gahu* etc. The gold or silver jantar (square amulets hung on the chest on a string or necklace) are also worn by both the sexes depending on financial capacity. They also use nose ring (*nak-phuli*) made of gold, *marmika* or *sirphul* on their hair and *ringa* or *sirbandi* (stripes of gold) on their forehead. Tamang women also wear a kind of necklace and ring made of various gold and silver coins. When Tamang came into the influenced of Hindu culture, the *Tamangnis* (women folk of Tamang) use to wear *pote* and *pote* with *Tilhari* (*a kind of necklace made of small pieces of glass with a decorated gold ornaments*). Generally, there are no such traditions that woman folk of Tamang have to pierce their nose or ear but to wear ornaments they do so. This activity of Tamangs proves their fond for ornaments. This means that it is not explicitly state that Tamang wear some particular ornaments, their ornaments too very much depend on habitation, environment and their neighbors.

Food Habits:

As Tamang are highland dweller of sub-Himalaya region, and their food habits are very much influenced by the climate, and fertility of the hilly area. They have to live on the foodstuff grown around the area. Generally, in the hill region, the cultivation of maize, millets, wheat and barley are interestingly high. The Tamang lives on the products, cultivated on their field; they are rarely use rice as their favorite food because the cultivation of paddy in the highland is not possible. The rice is the secondary food of the Tamang. They cultivate three types of millet or *kodo* (*sangai in tamang*) these are white, red and black or seto, chamre and kalo kodo (*tar sanga, ola sanga, chup sanga*), and two kinds of maize, white and yellow (*tar makai, ur makai*). Tamang also produced potato (*teme*), squash (*parsi*), Taro (*pindalu*) and pepper. The favorite food among them is the porridge (Dhindo) like meal of the maize and millets. As because they lives in the cold region so, they prepare liquor (*airak*) of the millets and sometime of the rice, they also makes rice bear of the

maize, wheat, millets and barley to keep their body warm. They use rice of the paddy in various festivals and in marriages they prepare *selroti* (a kind of circular loaf of rice-flour cook in ghee or oil), and in *Ihochar* (*Tamang's New Year*) they cooked *khapsey* (traditional food). Apart from liquor and rice beer, they eat meat very fondly, the beef is not banned among them. But some clans or septs, according to their tradition do not cook the meat of buffalo and pork. For example the western Nepal's Tamang do not eat pork whereas eastern Nepal's like to eat pork. Though *Negi* (*clan group of Tamang*) and *Lopchan* (*clan group of Tamang*) eastern Tamang prohibited from eating pork and *Blon* (*clan group of Tamang*) do not eat meat of buffalo. The chicken is common meat for all the Tamang; they celebrate all the occasion or festivals with the feast of chicken.

Although, Tamang are by nature habituated to drink of tea, liquor, milk, curd and other liquid food. They make the tea by mixing salt, ghee and sometime to make it staple they mixed flour of steamed maize and etc. Tamang are very good agriculturist and they used the every chunk of land to produce vegetable, the favorite among them are leafy vegetable of various forms of plants like mustard, squash, Rayo (cole, a kind of vegetable leaf). They also make provisions for the winter, when they would not find vegetable. They damp the leaf of 'Raya' or cole in a pit underground by pressing and after month, open up in the sun and dry it up as straw, which is stored as vegetable for the winter, is called "Gundruk" or 'Sinki' (fermented traditional food of Tamang).

Handicraft and Painting:

"Thangu Shengwa Whai"
Sailung Gangla Shyogo Dong.
Thasi Shyug Sisi Nak !
Bala Mhalangai Chon Sosi
Thing pingai Chon Sosi !
Tamba Kaiten Whai Khelsi
Thangu Shengwa Whai Gosi !!
Tungna Rapsi Shyamami
Thangu Shengsi Chamami !!
Robang Gangla Dongbi Ghik
Purang Chyola Mhendo Ghik !!
Lahi Yulla Thaw Dong !
Jambulingla Jyang Chungpodong
Thangu Nangri Chya Khamu !
Thangu Chyama Sem Kyolamu !

(Tamba Kaiten Whai Rimthim)

9. The song says about various colour that can be used for making different tools and pictures, the song can be translated freely like this ; By cutting the kakati wood of sailing forests they make paper, prepared the colour of red, white, yellow, green, and blue. Remembering the song of Tamba (poet & historian), sung the song of writing picture, playing Tungna singing song. Making picture flawlessly, Kalpa vriksha of Heave, Pipal vriksha of this world, tree of Himalaya, flower of north foothills, automatically comes into picture. Picture is so lovely but love of this material world is more loveable. (Tamba Kaiten whai Rimthim, By Santabir Lama (pakhrin) samvat 2064, Ratna pustak Bhandar, Kathmandu. P 41)

As like other tribes of the globe, Tamang also greatly influenced by the religion and culture, which bestow them own style of art and sculpture. The most creative handicraft and painting of the Tamang is “Thangka” culture. As like Tamang, there are other cultural groups too, who makes the Thangka, but Tamang has occupied an important place in this art. They are adherents of *nyingmapa* sect of Himalayan Lamaist Buddhism, where *Thangka* has occupied an important place as centre of belief. Thangka may be derived from the Tibetan word ‘*Thanku*’ and it is the object of religious inspiration and sentiments. The central theme of the *thanka* is to portray the images of *gururimpoché* (*gurupadmasamvawa*), *guruchengreshi* (*awalokiteshara*), *sakyamuni Buddha*, and *Shivakhorlo* (*cycle of emotions*). The Tamangs use to worship the *Thangka* as a preaching of Lord Buddha and as his religious representative in this material world. They believe that if object of religious representative is worshipped, then it will lead them to the salvation and by accruing merit. There is no consensus among the historian, that when Tamang embrace Buddhism but there is no doubt that they became the follower of the creed with its arrival into the Himalayan region. Though, it is an established fact that Tamang accepted the Tibetan Buddhism after the 8th century A.D, when Guru Padmasavawa established the sect. Since they embrace the Tibetan Buddhism and their form of belief, it is obvious that their life style has been influenced by the creed. Therefore, the Thangka prepared by the Tamang has greatly influenced by the Tibetan culture. In Tamang society ‘Lama’ (Priest) has great respect, they were esteemed as ‘Tamang guru’ and all the religious ceremony is incomplete without ‘Lama’. The Lama artist who makes statue, idol, thanka according to the religion is called “*khaiba Lama*” they possess great skill of preparing such things and transmitted to the generation as education. They not only makes statue, and thanka but also skilled in making stupa. Their skill in art makes them important in the Tamang society along with Lama (priest).

The *Thangka* which is prepared in very fine cloth and decorated in and around of the sanctum in Buddhist houses, depicted the picture of Buddha, Padmasamvawa, Mandala, and other deities of Tantrik Buddhism is a “Scroll Painting”. This culture of making thanka in the Himalayan region is popular from time immemorial. According to the Dhanbajra Bajracharya in his “*Licchavikal Ko Avilekh* (inscriptions of Licchavi)”, Kirtipur Nepal, writes that the art of making thanka is a very ancient art of Himalayan region which does not contained time, date and name of any ruling king. As Thangka is prepared in perishable material, so it is not possible to calculate, from which period this culture is started in the region, but according to the Bajracharya, the culture is conceived in the Himalayan states and later adopted by the Tibetan, when Buddhism made its entry into the Tibet. The scroll painting of the Himalayan region of Licchavi rule became Thangka in Tibet. Initially it is influenced the Tibetan Thangka culture but later all the thanka follows the style of Tibet in their making style. In 11th century we find full fledge development of thanka and also establishment of tradition or school of *Thangka making*. In this way upto 17th century there is at least six schools or tradition of *Thangka making* in Tibet. These are (1) Kadam Tradition of Thangka making, (2) Valri Tradition, (3) Menri Tradition, (4) Khenri Tradition, (5) Karma Ghardi Tradition, and (6) Dopal Tradition. We find two types of Thangka making style among

the Tamang community; these are *dithang* style, where a special cloth is prepared for thanka and in which background colour is cautiously selected. Secondly, *Gothang* style of thanka making is written in silky cloth.

Tamang were artisan by nature and development of *tantrik* Buddhism infused aesthetic creativity to this community. They were adept not only to make thanka, out of religious attachment but they also sculptured various forms of bronze and metal statue of their deity. According to the M.A Lichtenberg-Van Mierlo in his "*Tamang Art: A Parallel Style in the Tantrik Buddhist art of Nepal*" writes as "Its style characteristics show a marked differences from what is generally acknowledge as being typical for Nepalese and Tibetan Metal sculpture. When occasionally a Tamang statue is discussed, it has been classified as being Nepalese without further differentiation or has been wrongly quoted as being Tibetan. Stylistically the Tamang bronzes differ considerably from other Nepalese productions, whether Buddhist or Hindu. Considering their specific art idiom and particular atmosphere they deserve to be regarded as distinctive style". Lichtenberg again compares the Tamang art and describe its characteristics as "The Tamang bronze are not heavily decorated. The majority of them are not gold plated. The ornamentation on garments is kept very sparse. The forms are generally sober; there is an economy of line. The torso is elongated. In general the volumes and curves of the body of Nepalese statue are fuller and round than those of Tamang bronze. Compared to Nepalese bronzes they look dispassionate In their bronzes the Tamang have a preference for portraying the historical Buddha, *Padmasambhava*, *Vajrasatta*, *Avalokitesvara* and *Tara*, while in their paintings they depict wrathful deities. Tamang bronzes display a stylization of devotional features. They possess a mystical intensity and are sometime endowed with a fascinating numinosity". "The Tamang bronze show compositional and stylistic similarities to Buddhist metal sculpture found in Bihar and Bengal, datable from the eight to the twelve centuries A.D., which do not show any stylistic relationship with the pala-sena art of the same period". The Tamang bronzes has independent characteristic of art, which exhibit no outer influence but reflect the aesthetic belief of Tamang on Tantrik Buddhism and their skills of metal artisanship.

The Tamang of lower altitude are engaged in preparing 'hand-made paper' from time of their ancestor, due to which they were called '*kagatey*'. This profession of paper making was concentrated in Tamang community but wave of globalizations also influence the paper making industry. The most of the artisan were of Tamang community and this industrial revolution, brought the industry into the hands of other racial groups. Tamang were not only making Thangka and bronze metal but they were equally interested in painting. The walls and interior of the Gumpa, the common worshipping centre of the Tamang, are decorated by exotic paintings of various deity of the Tantrik Buddhism. Their knowledge of art, colour and perfect execution made them popular among the community. The Tamang were very much skilled in making 'carpet'. The description of Kautilya in his *arthasastra* (2:11:97-106) mention that woolen blankets and carpets were imported from twelve villages of *Nepala*. According to the Tamang chronology that Tamang are divided into twelve 'Kipat' or grama. The description of Kautilya and Tamang chronology has some meeting point that 'twelve

grama of Nepala' which proves the artisan quality of the Tamang. The carpets prepared by the Tamang have great demand because they use furs of sheep, goat and yak.

The Tamangs are agro-pastoralist, and their habitations are from high altitude to the foothills of the Himalaya. Their economy system is mostly based on barter system, because their habitation area is sparsely populated, while most of the families are clan members of the same ancestor. As they are depend on agriculture, and skilled enough to make the artifact to cultivate the land and to store the commodities along with day-today necessary article or weapons. To till the land they prepare the plough (*halo*), Yoke (*jua*) by wood carving technique and *Halludo* (a rope for connecting the plough with yoke). The Tamang of the highland Himalaya, use to make the article of their everyday life these are; *dalo* (a kind of bamboo basket), *Doko* (a big eyed bamboo basket which carried on the back), *Thunse* (Bamboo or cane-band basket, without pores), *Vhakari* (a large basket for storing grain: a coarse matting made of split bamboo), *Mandro* (cane mate), *Chakati* (a small cushion or seat made of outer leaf of maize), *Namlo* (a rope with a band for carrying a load), and *Dori* (string or rope). They are also adept in making cloths of their use and weapon for cutting, digging, and even for hunting. Tamang villages are always in the fringes of the settlement and marketing system is based on traditional system of exchange, which most of the tribal do in their respective region. The surplus article of daily use is exchanged with the commodities which artisan do not have, which is called 'Barter System'.

III

Ethnographically identified folk dances and musical instrument:

The ethnic identity is reflected in the folk culture and literature. The folk culture is one of the integral parts of the community. The folk dances are one of primary essence of the folk culture. Basically, folk dances represent the ethnic community and it displays the whole life-style of the group. The Tamang community is an assimilation of Bon, Buddhism and its primitive social customs. As it has variedness in culture, every culture directed the folk dances according to their tradition. The Tamang are jolly by nature, and their only medium of entertainment is folk dances and songs at the *mela-jatra*. The *mela-jatra* is like festival, where most of the tamang youth use to dance with their partner, which reflects the importance of folk dance to them. The socially influenced folk dances are most important to deal with a community, these are;

'Damphu Naach'

In Tamang society, there are varieties of dances but one of the most important and ethnographically identified folk dances is *Damphu Naach*. According to the Santabir Lama Pakhrin in his "*Tamba Kaiten whai Rimthim*" the Tamang use to portray all the occasion of their life through songs, and with the songs they dance with the beating of *Damphu*. Usually, *Damphu Naach* is performed in marriage and hair cutting ceremony and other festivals.

'Chomlu Naach'

This is a group dance, girls and boys make the two rows and expressing their love, nuttiness, through song is called *Chomlu Naach*. This dance is similar with the *Syabru* dance of the Sherpa and Yolmo of Himalaya.

Mhendomaya is another important ethnic dance of the Tamang community. This is reciprocal kind of song and dance system. In some places this form of dance has taken the top place of their entertainment. Generally, in marriages, and festivals they use to dance with song.

The Tamangs are adherents of Tantrik Buddhism, while their social structure is based on *Tamba* culture and their customs also pervaded by this system, but considering their belief, which has penetrated significant influence on their social life. In this belief system (Tantrik Buddhism), the role of the Lama (priest) is highly esteemed and important. The Lama supervised, all the religious ceremony of Tamang community even funeral too comes under the ritual periphery of a Lama. These Lamas, use to invoke the spirits for propitiating them in various occasions by chanting mantras and peculiar dance forms of religiously important. In tantrik Buddhism dance by priest Lama is an important aspect of ritual. These dance forms are:

'*Bakcham Naach*' is the dance form collectively performed by the Lama. This is an important dance ritual of Lama, according to the Tibetan Buddhism which is prevailed in Tamang community. To perform this dance, it needs a typical religious dress and certain decoration to be fitted in religious ceremony. This dance is the symbolic representation of Buddha's victory over the demonic elements.

'*Mhanichepa*': This dance is influenced by the Sherpa ethnic community of Himalaya region. Generally, the follower of *nyingmapa* sect of Tibetan Buddhism use to perform this forms of dance in their various religious ceremony. This dance is performed around alter of fire with necessary item of oblation. For this religious dance men and women stands in row and *Mhanichepa* song is sing by the Lama priest and villagers danced making the circle of fire pit by uttering the *om mha ni pad me hu* mantra in sequence one by one.

'*Tormamharsho*' is a dance form performed by the Lama priest during funeral ceremony of deceased person. This is the *jhangter* tradition of Tibetan Buddhism. The *Tormamharsho* dance is performed to complete the funeral ceremony and to bless the family of deceased person all happiness with free of all obstacle from the spirits of dead one.

'*Jungwa naach*' is a ritual dance which is also performed in funeral ceremony. According to the Tibetan Buddhism, to complete the funeral, Lama Priest makes the effigy (*Ghur*) of dead person by clay and placed as a symbol of deceased one in funeral *Mandapa* (*Dajeng*). The ritualistic dance performed during the time of bringing the *Ghur* into the *Mandapa* is called *Jungwa* dance.

The Tamang are identified as tribal ethnic community by virtue of this, there emerged various types of art, painting, and article. This assigned them an 'Identity' as cultural group. And in this context folk musical instrument is integral part of the Tamang identity. The Tamang tribe is also not untouched by the wave of modernization and assimilation, but still they use to beat the ethnographically identified musical instrument, which has been used by their ancestor. As Tamang are very much fond of music, their every occasion is finished with *whai* or song and dance in the beats of *Damphu* (one side beating drum).

The '**Damphu**' is considered to be the ethnic identity of the Tamang. The *Damphu* is used only by this community, especially during marriages, hair-cutting and in other ceremony *damphu* is essential, as the symbol of racial identity. As in most of the cultural ceremony the beating of *damphu* is an integral part, which makes it the 'cultural symbolism' of the Tamang community. Besides the cultural ceremony, the Tamang actively participate in festivals like *mela-jatra* with dancing in the beat of *damphu*. They follow the path of Tantrik Buddhism, but their social customs are headed by *Tamba*; literally 'speaker, talker, mouthpiece (custodian of the rite and ritual) and in his description the *damphu* is a principal instrument to express his knowledge of rite and rituals through song or *whai*. Therefore, the *damphu* is one of the most important pillars of Tamang ethnic culture.

The preparation of *damphu* has a certain style, whereas it does not have any established theoretical conception of its making but there are many vague mythologies of its existence. As Dr. Rajesh Gautam and Asoke K Thapa-Magar in their "Tribal Ethnography of Nepal Vol-II" (1994:279) has recorded the origin of *damphu*, as "according to the Tamang belief, the story begins in ancient times, when a man called Lama Pemdorje, went to the jungle to hunt. He is supposed to have killed a *ghoral* (wild mountain goat) and skinned off. After this, it is believed Pemdorje desired to make a musical instrument and so he felt the need for a piece of wood. Thus he cut a branch of a *koiralo* (*Ambursing*) tree and made a ring with the wood. Then he stretched the *ghoral's* skin over this wooden frame and fastened it at the edges with bamboo nails. Then he beat on this skin and heard the emergence of a soft sound". Then he saw a pair of *Danphe* or *Munal* (pigeon like Himalayan bird) bird, where a bird perhaps male one trying to impress other by making circles of the bird and sometime flying and sitting regularly, so Pemdorje, impressed by the act of *Danphe* or *Munal*, imitated the act and he enjoyed it. So he made a replica of *Danphe* Bird and pasted it at the top of *Damphu* with the split of bamboo. While beating the *damphu*, he played the split of bamboo, so accordingly replica of *Danphe* spring with the beats of *Damphu*. In this way Pemdorje spread the news of his invention by dancing like *Danphe* and *Munal* and popularized this instrument. Thus the *damphu*, which is said to have been invented by Lama Pemdorje can be seen playing by the majority of Tamang people.

'**Tungna**' another important musical instrument played by most of the Tamang. This instrument is in totality the older version of modern Guitar and Violin. *Tungna* is made of wood, has the string to play same as in above mentioned instrument. Generally, to play the *tungana*, left hand holds the instrument and played the string by right hand like Guitar. The most of the Himalayan dwellers use to play this, while for the Tamang, this is the supporting instrument, during dancing and singing in the beats of *damphu*.

'**Murchunga**' (like wedge) is another most favorite folk musical instrument of the hill tribes of Himalaya along with Tamang. The tribal people of the Himalaya use to play the leaf of plant and make the sound favorite to ear as a medium of avoiding loneliness and enjoy it as entertainment. *Murchunga* is a reformed version of playing leaf of plant and it is made of iron plate, which is gripping into the lips and played by the fingers. This is used by both the men and women folk of the Tamang community. They play the *Murchunga*, when they were in field or in jungle or in grazing their animals. This is the easiest medium of entertainment

used by most of the villagers in their respective working area. This is also used as a subordinate instrument with *dampfu* and *tungna* during concerts.

The Tamang are adherents of both Bon and Tantrik Buddhism, so their musical instruments too mixture of two religion apart from ethnographically identified musical instruments. The Tamang has greater influence of Tantrik Buddhism so they use mostly religiously sanctioned instruments during their religious ceremony. But instruments used by the *jhakri* or shaman are also not neglected because majority of Tamang has deep belief on shaman particularly in warding off evil spirits and curing of the some of disease.

'*Dhyangro*' (*daha*) is one of the instruments used by the Tamang shaman. This is a flat drum made of the bark of *koirala* (Ambursing) and struck with the cane stick on both sides during warding off the evil spirits or to propitiating the demons. Usually, the *Dhangro* is one side beating drum but due to influence of Buddhism it is transform into both side beating drum. The Lama (priest) also uses *Dhangro* as principal instrument of their religious ceremony, whereas the *Dhangro* of Lama is both sides beating brum with a stick made of skin of ox. '*Ghanta Bajra*' or Dilbu Dorje, a small bell with sign of *bajra* used by the Lama (priest) during religious ceremony.

'*Damaru*' a kind of small drum, played by waving the hands. This is used by both hindu and Buddhist to complete their religious accomplishment. According to the Buddhist philosophy the sound of two sides of *Damaru*, symbolize the masculine and feminine creator of the universe and propitiate them.

'*Kangling*' made of shin of dead person. According to the tradition of Tantrik Buddhism, bone from below the knee of dead person, is used as blowing instrument after propitiating the spirits of that dead person by chanting the Tantrik mantra. During funeral ceremony it is blow from the hole of knee joint, it is actually to propitiate the soul of deceased person which is called *Rab-ney*.

'*Shankha*' (Dhung) a counc shell. This is used by the Lama to invoke the God and Goddess during religious ceremony.

'*Jhyamta*' (Bubchhal) is made of brass and broze. According to the Tibetan Buddhism, a pair of *Jhyamta* is compulsory. It will give the rhythm to other instrument during chanting of *mantra*.

'*Ghaling*' a kind of clarinet but made of brass,

'*Lafa*' is a wind instrument but it is fitted into three pieces, during blowing it has to stand on ground or it needs a carrier in walking motion.

'*Ghantimala*'; a garland of small bells worn by *jhakri* or shaman. During the propitiating ceremony the *jhakri* use to wear *ghantimala* in his body. When *jhakri* trembles during invoking ceremony these *ghantimala* gives the sound. The Bon or *jhakri* wear this *ghantimala* to make his role much influential among the public

In conclusion of this paper I must say that the intention of this paper is to project the Tamang tribe of the continent through their social structural process and some kind of specific ethnographic element. The wave of modernization is sweeping out most of the conventions

and tradition of various ethnic group of the globe but instead of such transformation there are some tribal groups which are still fighting for preserving their ethnic social values and norms and Tamang is one of them. The first section of my paper is about the internal structure of society and its various aspects which makes the Tamang a distinct ethnic group, and it shows how society is interlinked by the some cultural values. The second section of the paper tries to highlight living style of this community, their dresses and ornamentation, economic activity and even some handicrafts and painting which reflects the fundamentality of material culture of the Tamang. The third section of the paper shows some ethnographically identified musical instrument which are supposed to belong to this particular community but there are some instrument which are also used by Tamang which are from the religious perspective. The process of globalization also influenced this community; their social structure is now penetrated by outer force and began to be flexible form rigid norms of the society. The transformation in life style is reflected in apparel, economic activity and various material process which is totally shifted from pastoralist to industry based economy. This ethnic community instead of being influenced by modernization and assimilation and acculturation with various other ethnic groups did not lose their tradition in totality and able to continuing their cultural identity.

Refernces:

- 1) Chatterjee, Suniti Kumar: *Kirata Jana Kriti*, The Indo-Mongoloids:- their contribution to the History and culture of India, The Asiatic Society, Kolkata, 2007 (2nd Reprint)
- 2) Ray, Niharranjan, translated by John W Hood: *History of the Bengali People* (Ancient Period) Orient Longman Limited, Calcutta, 1994
- 3) Kumar Manoj, *Neolithic and Tribal Cultures of Himalayan Region* B.R. Publishing Corporation, Delhi-110052 (2010),
- 4) Tamang Parsuram,: *Tamang Jati* (samvat 2051), Nepal Rajkiya Pragya Pratisthan, Kathamandu, Nepal
- 5) Holmberg David H., *Order in Paradox, Myth Ritual and Exchange among Nepal's Tamang*, (Reprint 2005), Motital Banarasi Das , Delhi
- 6) Lama, Santabir: *Tamba Kaiten Whai Rimthim*, P.B. Gyabak 1983
- 7) A.C. Banerjee: *Aspects of Buddhist Culture from Tibetan Sources*; Firma KLM Pvt. Ltd, Calcutta, 1984.
- 8) C.C.Sanyal: *The Meches & The Toos, Two Sub-Himalayan Tribes of North Benal*, The University of North Bengal, 1973
- 9) E. Norbeck: *Religion in Primitive Society*, Harper & Row Publishers, New York and Evanson, 1961
- 10) K. Pradhan : *Pahilo Pahar*, Shyam Prakasan, Darjeeling 1982
- 11) Thomas E. Fircke : - *Himalayan Households : Tamang Demography and Domestic Process*, Book Faith India, 1993