GERT - MATTHIAS WEGNER THE NĀYKHĪBĀJĀ OF THE NEWAR BUTCHERS

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GERT - MATTHIAS WEGNER THE NĀYKHĪBĀJĀ OF BHAKTAPUR STUDIES IN NEWAR DRUMMING II



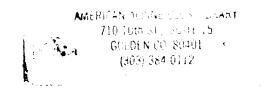
FRANZ STEINER VERLAG WIESBADEN GMBH STUTTGART

THE NÄYKHĪBĀJĀ OF BHAKTAPUR STUDIES IN NEWAR DRUMMING II

BY

GERT - MATTHIAS WEGNER

WITH 52 PLATES AND 2 MAPS





FRANZ STEINER VERLAG WIESBADEN GMBH
STUTTGART
1988

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Preface

This study is based on a survey held in Bhaktapur during 1983 and on my own apprenticeship of $n\bar{a}ykh\tilde{i}$ (the butchers' drum) during 1985 and 1986 with $\hat{S}r\bar{i}$ Kājīlāl $\hat{S}ah\bar{i}$ from $J\tilde{e}l\bar{a}$. Bhaktapur, which led to my participation as a $n\bar{a}ykh\bar{i}$ drummer during various ritual processions. My Guruju, $\hat{S}r\bar{i}$ Kājīlāl, kept his promise to teach me everything, despite the threats he received from some traditionalists, and despite the black magic connected with the ominous $s\bar{i}b\bar{a}j\bar{a}$ -music (the piece played during death processions).

The day after the completion of my $s\bar{\imath}b\bar{a}j\bar{a}$ apprenticeship I fell seriously ill and was restored to health only twelve days later by some spiritual medicine $(vibh\bar{u}ti)$ which counteracted the deadly spell within minutes. I decided to publish this material only after consulting with a spiritual guide who made me realize that it was not the music but the reputation of the piece, which had worked on my mind and led to physical destruction. I gladly followed his advice to do my duty with an untroubled mind; - as Arjuna regathered his strength after Śri Kṛṣṇa's revelations. But even an illusion may harm those who do not know how to master it. For those I repeat Kājīlāl's warning: The $s\bar{\imath}b\bar{a}j\bar{a}$ -piece must not be played outside its ritual context.

I humbly present this study as a report of my research activities to the Research Division of Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur.

I am grateful to my Guruji, Pandit Nikhil Ghosh of Bombay, by whose intensive training in the art of tabla playing I was able to absorb and understand the Newar drumming in quite a short time, my Guruji, Śrī Kā iīlāl Šāhī. for sharing with me his knowledge and Bhaktapur's drum-maker, Śrī Bil Bahadur muscianship. Kulu. demonstrating the construction of the nāykhī, and Sri Ganeshman Basukala for translating during some teaching sessions, questionning all the Nay groups, and helping in so many ways. I would also like to thank Dr. Niels Gutschow for drawing the maps and helping with his knowledge as a veteran scholar of Bhaktapur, SrI Nutan Sharma for writing down all the compositions in Devanāgarī script, Bhāju Darasha Newami for

translating an extract version into Newari, and Ms. Carol Tingey for revising the English manuscript.

The present study and my research in Nepal could not have been realized without the generous grant of the German Research Council (Deutsche Foschungsgemeinschaft).

The Sanskrit terms are spelt here as they are pronounced by the Bhaktapur Newars. The transcription of Newari terms follows the mode of B. Kölver and I. Sresthacharya.

Bhaktapur, 24th of March 1987

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Dedicated to my Guruju, Śrī Kājīlāl Śāhī

Introduction

The nāykhībājā of the Newar butchers (Nāy or Kasāī) plays a prominent role during many town rituals of Bhaktapur. The repertoire always corresponds closely with the event and the location. The expressions range from mere signals to the extreme sadness of sībājā (death music) or to the rhythmic ecstasy and joyful indulgement of calti (a dance piece). The instruments are the nāykhī, a two-headed drum of varying shape (barrel to cylindrical), played with a stick and a flat left hand, and the pair of sichyāḥ-cymbals which are called kāy by the Nāy. Occasionally, for some prestigeous death-procession, the number of players and instruments can be multiplied.

Compared to the boisterous $dhimayb\bar{a}j\bar{a}$ and $dh\tilde{a}b\bar{a}j\bar{a}$ of the $Jy\bar{a}pu$ and other castes, $n\bar{a}ykh\tilde{i}b\bar{a}j\bar{a}$ has a kind of subdued quality, which immediately identifies it during processions.

The combination of $n\bar{a}ykh\tilde{\imath}$ and $sichya\bar{h}$ is not restricted to the $N\bar{a}y$. These instruments are also played by the Buddhist groups during the month of $g\tilde{u}l\bar{a}$, and during the performances of the $navab\bar{a}j\bar{a}$ ensembles. The $n\bar{a}ykh\tilde{\imath}b\bar{a}j\bar{a}$, however, is so closely associated with the butcher caste, that it inevitably stigmatizes the player as a $N\bar{a}y$.

The butchers find themselves at the very bottom of the Newar ritual hierarchy. Eating in their presence would be unthinkable for a $Jy\bar{a}pu$. Luckily for the $N\bar{a}y$, they have somebody below themselves: They cannot take their food when the Kulu (drum-maker) is around. The caste stigma surely is a chief reason for the $N\bar{a}y$ boys to refuse the learning of $n\bar{a}ykh\tilde{i}b\bar{a}j\bar{a}$. I have been requested desperately by some to teach them to play dhimay or $tabl\bar{a}$ instead, which would make them look and sound like upper-caste.

Another reason for the decline of this art form is the funding plight of the nāykhībājā performances. Since the land reforms connected with the guthi saṃsthān act in the 1960ies most of the land was lost, which until then had financed the groups. The centralized payment through the guthi

samsthān often remains a theoretical one. So the sound of nāykhībājā is becoming rare in Bhaktapur.

The low caste of the butchers does not necessarily imply a similar financial disposition. Although there are some extremely poor families, others were able through their traditional profession as meat sellers to become rich and influential. In the olden days, all the $N\bar{a}y$ families were regularly dispropriated by the king, their profession offering them 'inadequate means'. This financial degradation went along with another one: $N\bar{a}y$ women were frequently taken as concubines by wealthy members of the upper castes.

Even nowadays male small-talk tends to consider Nay girls as the most beautiful ones among all the Newar castes. No doubt, fruits beyond reach are the sweetest, but this talk may have some real basis.

According to their low status, the $N\bar{a}y$ had to settle at the very periphery of the town, far away from the royal palace and the ritual centres (see map 1; p. 13).

The nāykhībājā-groups and their performances

Most of the 14 Nāy sīguthis (death ritual associations) own a set of instruments for the performance of sībājā during their death processions. Thus, the Nāy guthis constitute the nucleus for the nāykhībājā-groups, whatever other duties the players may have to observe during the town rituals.

The groups are listed here in relation to the gods of music, Nāsaḥdyaḥ and Haimādyaḥ, whom the musicians worship during their learning period. The gods and the respective groups are (from East to West):

the g	ods of	music	rela	<u>ited nāykhībājā</u>

Sujamādhi Nāsaḥ

and Haimākhyah Haimā: Jēlā

Tāthu Nāsah and Haimā: Lāmugah

Kvāthãdau

Kvākacā

Cvachẽ Nāsaḥ and Haimā:

Cvachě

Cvachẽ Nasaḥ

and Bālākhu Haimā: Byāsi

Nāsaḥmana Nāsaḥ and Haimā: Cāsukhyaḥ

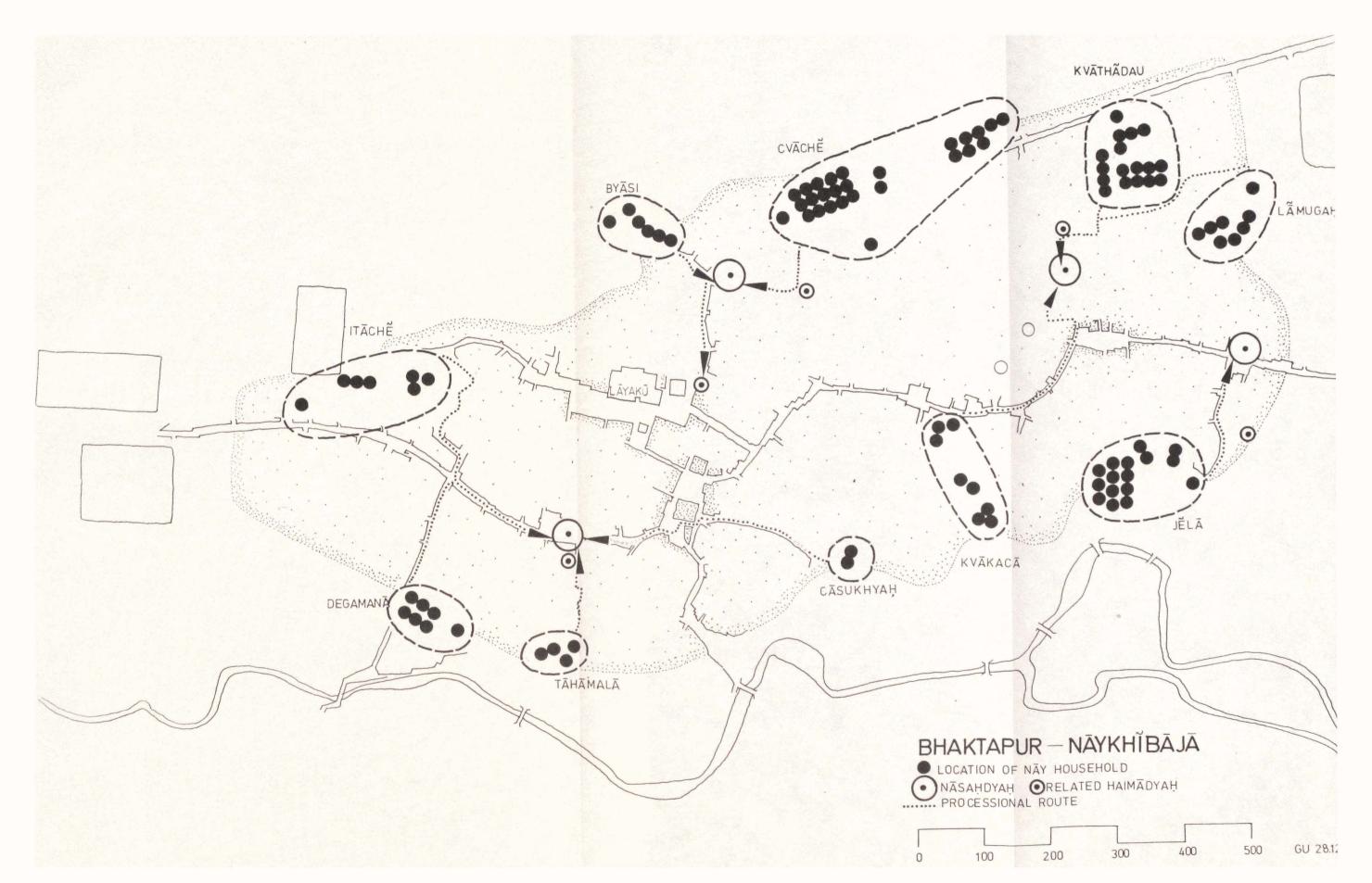
Tāhāmalā Degamanā

Itāchē

At the time of this survey (1983) the $Kv\bar{a}kac\bar{a}$ group (located between $J\tilde{e}l\bar{a}$ and $C\bar{a}sukhyah$) did not exist. The instruments were there in the possession of the guthi, but since the previous generation there was nobody to play them. Only in 1985 the guthi requested Shri Kājilāl to revive their $n\bar{a}ykh\bar{i}b\bar{a}j\bar{a}$ by training a group of eight boys. Until today (March 1987) these boys were not able to learn the whole repertoire. $s\bar{i}b\bar{a}j\bar{a}$, considered as the most difficult piece, remains to be taught.

Bhaktapur map 1

Location of the ten $n \bar{a} y k h \tilde{i} b \bar{a} j \bar{a}$ groups in relation to the essential pair of $N \bar{a} s a h d y a h / H a i m \bar{a} d y a h$ (the gods of music) who are worshipped during the apprenticeship. According to their low status, the $N \bar{a} y$ had to settle at the very periphery of the town, far away from the royal palace $(l \bar{a} y a k u)$ and the ritual centres.



The rituals connected with a musical apprenticeship have been described (Wegner 1986). Nāy musicians are initiated on similar lines. The only difference is the number of the gods who receive daily offerings from the students. During the initial Nāsah-sāle-pūjā not only Nāsaḥdyaḥ and Haimādyaḥ are transferred to the practicing room, but also Betāl, the chaotic spirit associated with Nāsaḥdyaḥ as well as Bhairava. These three gods are represented during the apprenticeship by three betelnuts resting each one on a bed of rice in a clay cup (kisali).

The learning of $s\bar{i}b\bar{a}j\bar{a}$ requires a special setting: a lonely room, sound-proof and inaccessible to any outsider. The reason for these precautions is the black magic which is said to work on those who listen to this piece outside its ritual context, i.e. the actual death procession. People may fall ill and die. Even those who learn or teach this piece are risking their lives. No wonder Kājīlāl hates to teach $s\bar{i}b\bar{a}j\bar{a}$. Whenever he was compelled to, either his own health suffered severely or he lost one of his close family members. However, he seems to be the only player in Bhaktapur who can play this piece correctly.

 $S\bar{\imath}b\bar{a}j\bar{a}$ -performances are not restricted to the members of one $n\bar{a}ykh\tilde{\imath}b\bar{a}j\bar{a}$ -group. If the occassion demands it, the best players of the town will unite to accompany some prominent $N\bar{a}y's$ body to the cremation $gh\bar{a}t$. Other ritual duties are frequently circulating among players of different groups, depending upon who is free on a certain day, or who likes to play with whom.

In Bhaktapur, $sib\bar{a}j\bar{a}$ is played almost exclusively for $N\bar{a}y$ funerals. There are only two exceptions: When the Rājopadyāya priest of Taleju temple dies, the Nay may decide to honour him with their music. The other occassion is the annual funeral procession of the gods. On the day of Bhagasiti (during May) the Navadurgā, (protecting gods Bhaktapur, represented by 11 masks which are worn by dancers), receive a final sheep sacrifice on the Sujamadhi dabu (platform). The dancers enact the death of the gods and proceed towards Bramayani pith, where are cremated. The nāykhībājā provided by the Byāsi group plays the piece pūjākhĩ until they are out of the town. Cyāmasiṅgha, a stone well on the right side of the route to Bramayāṇī, indicates the place from where $sar{\imath}bar{a}jar{a}$ starts. As $sar{\imath}bar{a}jar{a}$ has been conceived to accompany death processions from the house of the deceased to the ghát, and the music always corresponds with the locality, on this special occassion the piece cannot be played from the beginning. It starts with the first repetition of section A and follows the usual pattern until the end. While returning to the town, the nāykhībājā plays bārā dāygu, which signals: return from a ritual event. During a common death procession, however, sībājā is the only music to be played. The group returns home in silence.

In other towns of Kathmandu Valley the $sib\ddot{a}j\ddot{a}$ -music may accompany also death processions of those castes ranking above the $N\dot{a}y$ in the ritual hierarchy. Frequently it is accompanied by a group of huge $k\tilde{a}$ -trumpets, played by members of the Khusah caste (in Patan). These instruments do not play melodies. With their underwordly sounds rather, they add to the sinister mood of the event.



Sibājā-performance during a Nāy funeral procession from Tacapāḥ to Bramayāṇi (25/9/1984)

Usually, a Nay funeral procession starts at the house of the deceased. Some people, however, who feel their death approaching, prefer to leave this world at Hanuman ghat, which is considered auspicious. case, the processional route to the burning place covers only a distance of 25 metres (see map 2: p.59). Still, the complete sibā jā-sequence A B C A B D E A B A D F must be played, which takes a minimum of fifteen Apart from their cremation site at Hanuman ghat, the Nay are burnt either at Bramayāṇī ghāt or at Cupī ghāt, depending on the location of their houses. The Nay cremation places are always a little apart from those used by the higher castes. At Cupî ghāt it is on the opposite bank of the Hanumante river, next to those of the Saymi, Chipa, and Bhā.

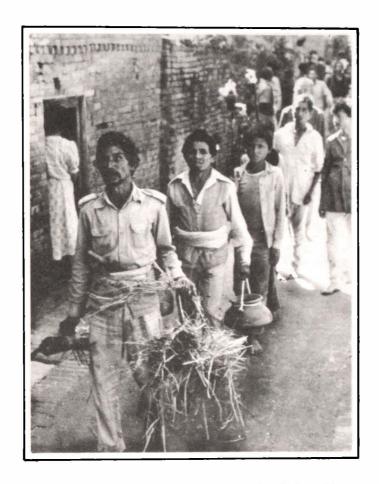
I observed the death procession of a wealthy $N\bar{a}y$ (on 25th of Sept. 1984), where $sib\bar{a}j\bar{a}$ was performed by four $sich\bar{a}h$ -players and four $n\bar{a}ykh\tilde{i}$ -players. The procession (see map 2 p.59) started at the house of the deceased at $Tacap\bar{a}h$, passed the $chv\bar{a}s\bar{a}$ -stone covered with ritual gifts for the Jugi (tailor-musician), and went via $Datt\bar{a}treya$ Square up to $Bramay\bar{a}n\bar{i}$ $p\bar{i}th$, where the body was cremated at the Westernmost of the four cremation places, (not counting the one for the $Navadurg\bar{a}$ masks, which is exactly in front of the $p\bar{i}th$).

The $s\bar{\imath}b\bar{a}j\bar{a}$ -group started playing in front of the house and stopped proceeding at the Southeastern corner of the Bramayānī pīth. Remaining there, they kept playing the respective patterns accompanying the circulation of the funeral pyre, the dropping of the corpse, the approach of the straw torch towards the head of the dead one (the ultimate duty of a Newar son towards his father). With this, the music ended. (For the detailed correspondence of $s\bar{\imath}b\bar{a}j\bar{a}$ with the locality see "The repertoire and its notation")

All the procession members were $N\bar{a}y$. They succeeded as follows:

- a) a man carrying straw and the $d\bar{a}ga$ $batt\bar{\imath}$, a straw torch with a bamboo handle, which is used by the son to light the funeral pyre;
- b) a carrier of clay pots $(b\bar{a}j\tilde{a})$ filled with puffed rice $(t\bar{a}y)$ and $abh\bar{i}r$ -powder and coins, which he keeps distributing at every corner and at every temple $(t\bar{a}y\ halegu)$;

- c) several torch bearers; these decorative torches (musyã pvāḥ) are donated each by one of the daughters;
- d) the sībājā-group;
- e) the weeping female relatives;
- f) the corpse carried and accompanied by male relatives and guthimembers.



A Nāy funeral procession (25/9/1984) headed by dāga battī, followed by the bājā and the musyā pvāḥ

The various duties of $n\bar{a}ykh\tilde{i}b\bar{a}j\bar{a}$ during town rituals and family occasions other than $s\tilde{i}b\bar{a}j\bar{a}$ ($k\bar{a}yt\bar{a}-p\bar{u}j\bar{a}$, etc.) range from mere public attention catching for some announcement (cvaykegu) to the detailed correspondence with a given event and its meaningful representation on the audible level.

A usual duty is the accompaniment of a procession visiting a god for an offering, or of a god moving through the town. The music starts with dyahlhāygu, an invocation of Nāsaḥdyaḥ. When the procession moves towards the location of the ritual, pūjākhī is played. This piece is It employs a five beat time-measure, which is easily recognized. extremely rare in Newar music and used only for very auspicious events. Besides pūjākhī, only the processional music of the Navadurgā is set in this metre. When the procession reaches the $p\bar{u}j\bar{a}$ place, either dyahlhaygu is played as an invocation of the respective god, or cvaykegu, which calls the attention upon the ritual action. On the way back, bārā dāygu is played, which is set in a slow three beat time-The procession concludes with another invocation of Nasahdyah measure. (dyaḥlhāygu).

This standard sequence:

start : dyaḥlhāygu

procession moves forth : $p\bar{u}j\bar{a}kh\tilde{i}$

ritual action : dyaḥlhāygu or cvaykegu

procession moves back : $b\bar{a}r\bar{a}\ d\bar{a}ygu$ end : $dyahlh\bar{a}ygu$

applies only during Hindu processions. If the drummer feels inspired, he may insert the joyful calti-piece when the group proceeds through the town. Usually this causes some enthusiasts to dance and enjoy themselves.

When the five Dipākara Buddhas leave their monasteries to visit the town on Pañcadān carhe and Māgh sākrānti, the most important one, the Dipākara from Kvāthādau, is accompanied with the sedate bārekhī-piece. The Buddhas interrupt their procession at twenty-two locations to dance respectful round for the local gods. The music for this dance of the Buddhas is supplied by a Sāymi (oilpresser) group with pvana-trumpets. When the Buddhas proceed, nāykhībājā takes over again with bārekhī. This procession starts and ends also with dyaḥlhāygu.



Nāykhībājā and Mahālī-oboe (played by a Jugi tailor-musician) accompanying the Ekanta-Kumaris to their Āgamchē at Mulāchē (dasaī 1985)

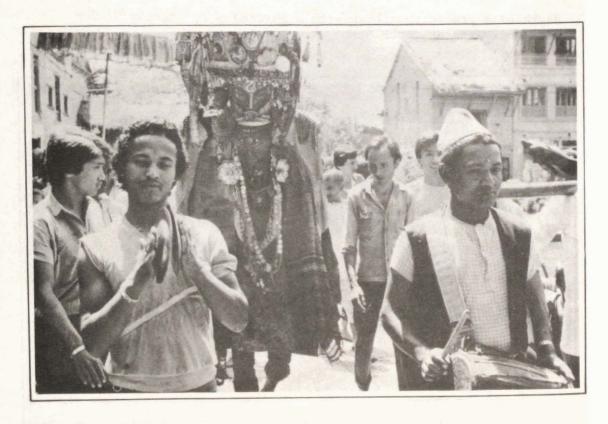
Nāykhībājā preceding a bier with a covered pot, during bisket 1986 (bhājākhacāḥ-jātrā)

Photo: Niels Gutschow





Nāykhībājā preceding Akāśa Bhairava, who is represented by a painting on a straw mat, during his procession through Bhaktapur on the last day of Indra jātrā 1986



Nāykhĩbājā accompanying the Dipãkara Buddha from Kvãthãdau during his procession on Pañcadān carhe 1986

The announcement piece cvaykegu, which occurs as section D during $s\bar{t}b\bar{a}j\bar{a}$, was used during the $R\bar{a}na$ -period to announce the four days of unrestricted public gambling after $dasa\tilde{t}$, for political proclamations, and for the bau halegu procession on $p\bar{a}sah$ carhe, when rice stained with fresh goat-blood is distributed at the streeet-crossings to pacify the evil spirits of headache, fainting, and suicide. The following story is told about the ritual's origin:

One of the Malla-rulers desired to extend his palace, for which he required land owned by the Taleju-temple. (In an other version, the king needed a Brahman's land to build a temple for the newly imported goddess The priest refused to submit to the royal request. The Brahman could not accept this king took the land by force. He chose to commit suicide at the flat stone slab (pisāsa) sacrilege. in the Eastern Taleju-courtyard. His soul became transformed into an evil spirit. The king, now responsible for a Brahman's death, (which is even worse than killing a cow), installed a monthly pūjā, (eleven carhe $p\bar{u}j\bar{a}$ and one $pis\bar{a}sa$ $p\bar{u}j\bar{a}$) to pacify the ghost. On the day of pasah carhe, eight goats are sacrificed in the inner Taleju-courtyard, another one in the Southeast corner of the outer courtyard. The blood of the latter animal is sprinkled over a large pot with rice. One Duĩ (Dvãcā) and a helper carry this pot - the goat on top - through the town and throw out handfuls of rice to feed the evil spirits. To make sure they get the message, nāykhībājā has to play cvaykegu all the way. lack of funds, the Nay have boycotted this procession since 1983.

During the 1983 sacrifice an interesting detail revealed how priests and spirits alike may be betrayed by a clever goat-seller: For blood sacrifices only completely white or black goats are accepted. Naturally, they are the more expensive kind. When the helper led the animal to the sacrifice, however, his hands became stained with black shoe-polish. Everybody became tense, when it came to the omen revealing the divine acceptance of the offering. A little water is sprinkled on the animal's head. If it does not shake it off vehemently, the whole ritual has to be repeated because of some inherent mistake. Luckily, in this case the goat bravely shook its head, and was cut on the spot.

During dasaĩ, Jẽlā nāykhĩbājā and Byāsi nāykhĩbājā are responsible for the various duties connected with the Navadurgā. The groups alternate every year.

On aṣṭamī a pūjā at the Navadurgā dyaḥchẽ, (nāykhĩbājā plays dyaḥlhāygu), is succeeded by a procession to the Jēlā Nāsaḥdyaḥ, (nāykhĩbājā plays pūjā khĩ), the exclusive music god of the Navadurgā. The Navadurgā dancers worship Nāsaḥdyaḥ and their instruments with a blood sacrifice and perform a brief dance without masks. During this pūjā the nāykhĩbājā plays calti to entertain the crowd. The dancers are accompanied back to their dyaḥchẽ with bārā dāygu.

On navamī evening, Śrī Kājīlāl, (who gets a refund from his Byāsi colleagues, if he does this during their term), binds the fabulous khāme-buffalo and leads it from the Navadurgā dyaḥchē to Bramayānī pīṭh. Then he returns to the dyaḥchē and with the help of one more Nāy accompanies the Navadurgā group to Bramayānī pīṭh while playing pūjā khĩ. There he sacrifices the khāme and plays cvaykegu. Kājīlāl is famous for his skill in cutting the jugular in such a way that the blood gushes out like a fountain. This is exactly what the Navadurgā require to satisfy their lust for blood comfortably. At midnight Kājīlāl accompanies the Navadurgā to Yāchē where they 'steal' their masks which are exposed in a phalicā. During this night, the public is shyed away from all the Navadurgās' activities. Kājīlāl and his colleague are the only outsiders permitted.

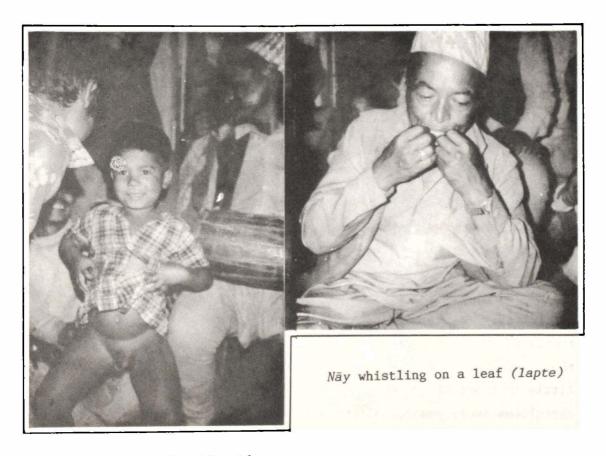
Previously, an ensemble of sixteen $k\tilde{a}$, (huge trumpets played by the $S\bar{a}ymi$), used to walk in front of the $Navadurg\bar{a}$, announcing the gods with their multivoiced roar. Alas, these deep, unearthly sounds have disappeared. Nowadays, only two $k\tilde{a}$ players join the $Navadurg\bar{a}$ during $navam\bar{i}$ night, but their instruments do not function anymore. The disappearance of the deepest sounds is known as a symptom of decline in many music cultures.

On dasamī evening the Navadurgā put on their masks at Bramayānī pīṭh and walk towards the town where they receive their first ritual invitations. The two Nāy walk in front playing $n\bar{a}ykh\bar{i}$ and sichyāh, while carrying the head of the khāme buffalo dangling from a stick which

rests on their shoulders. In this way they accompany the gods during their round through Bhaktapur until bihi, (on the next Tuesday or Saturday after triyadasi), when the Navadurgä finally drink the khäme blood and relish the well-decayed brain. Kajīlāl is rewarded with the neck portion of the khāme head which by now, (up to eight days after the sacrifice), emits a considerable stench.

For a detailed account of all the ritual duties of $n\ddot{a}ykh\tilde{i}b\ddot{a}j\ddot{a}$ see Appendix No. 1.

During family feasts of the Nay, the calti-piece usually drives the mood to a joyous climax, so that everybody feels tempted to dance. Occassionally somebody picks a leaf, folds it as a mouth-piece and join the $n\bar{a}ykh\bar{i}b\bar{a}j\bar{a}$, whistling a popular tune. These leaves (lapte) are stored in several $N\bar{a}y$ houses, where they are used to stitch throw-away leaf-cups and plates for sale. $Shr\bar{i} K\bar{a}j\bar{i}l\bar{a}l$ and his numerous family-members exist entirely on this occupation.



Nāy boy enjoying himself during a private feast

The Nāy-nāyāḥ and their ritual duties

The $N\bar{a}y$ of Bhaktapur have leaders $(n\bar{a}yah)$ who are most honoured among the butchers. The $n\bar{a}yah$ do not play music, they send their people to play. The title is inherited. The Mu $n\bar{a}yah$ (main $n\bar{a}yah$) is the leader of the exclusive six. The six $n\bar{a}yah$ are listed here according to their status:

1. Mu nāyah : Sujamān Śāhī from Kvāthādau

2. Nyemhā nāyah : Purna Bahadur Śāhī from Kvāthādau

3. Svamhā nāyah : Mahilā Śāhī from Tekhācva

4. Pyemhā nāyaḥ : Gyān Bahadur Śāhī from Galasi pvukhu

5. Nāmhā nāyaḥ : Rāmkājī Śāhī from Jĕlā

6. Khumaḥ nāyaḥ : Gaṇeś Bahadur Śāhī from Itāchē

The third $n\bar{a}yah$ carries the nickname Jaybijay $Kucinīmh\bar{a}$, which means, that he is responsible for the job – well done or not – at the Taleju temple, where the $n\bar{a}yah$ test the animals and sacrifice them to the goddess. During the 32-36 $th\bar{a}$ $p\bar{u}j\bar{a}s$ per year one buffalo and two goats are cut for Taleju. Each $n\bar{a}yah$ gets 1 kg of meat in return.

The main sacrifices happen during dasaĩ. They are performed by all the six nāyaḥ together, wearing their traditional white frocks, belts, and hats (ghāji nā, jani, phaytā). On gatasthāpana and pañcamī, the nāyaḥ sacrifice two selected buffaloes (tisāme) for Chumā Gaņes. night between navamī and dasamī they sacrifice twenty-five buffaloes for Taleju and carve them up. On the day of dasamī, around 11 a.m. six nāyah leave the inner Taleju courtyard, their white robes considerably stained with blood, and are received in the bekvacukva courtyard by the respective nāykhībājā-groups, who have come to lead them home with bārā dāygu (return from the pūjā). The nayah wait a little in front of the Golden Gate (layku), while one of them, (this job circulates every year), offers blood and meat to Indrayani at her pith. Eventually they proceed home, distributing shreds of buffalo meat and flowers to the crowd. These little meat pieces are a powerful remedy against ghosts and evil spirits residing in the houses. The meat is grilled on pieces of charcoal until it produces fumes, which the spirits detest.

In return for all the duties, the $Taleju\ guth i$ supplies every $n\bar{a}yah$ with 30 $p\bar{a}th\bar{i}$ of rice per year and 25 gaj (1 gaj = 36 inchess) of white cloth every three years for the traditional dress. The $n\bar{a}ykhib\bar{a}j\bar{a}$ -players attending the dasami-procession are rewarded by their leaders with fresh meat and blood.

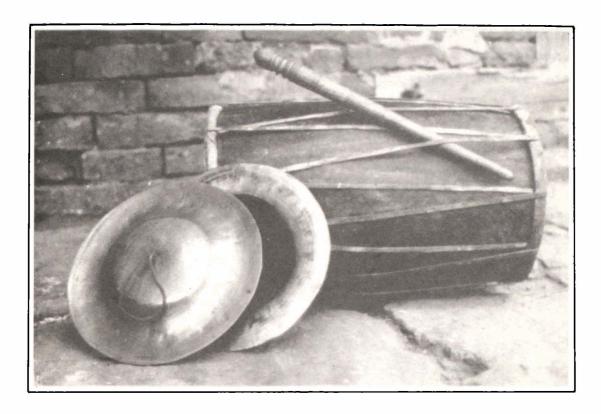


Naykhibaja escorting the six nayah home (dasami 1986)



 $N \bar{a} y - n \bar{a} y a h$ leaving the Golden Gate after a night of butchering (dasamī 1986)

The nāykhī and its construction



 $N\bar{a}ykh\tilde{i}$ (length: 35 cm, diameter at the heads: 19 cm) with stick (kachicā) and pair of sichyāḥ cymbals (diameter: 19 cm)

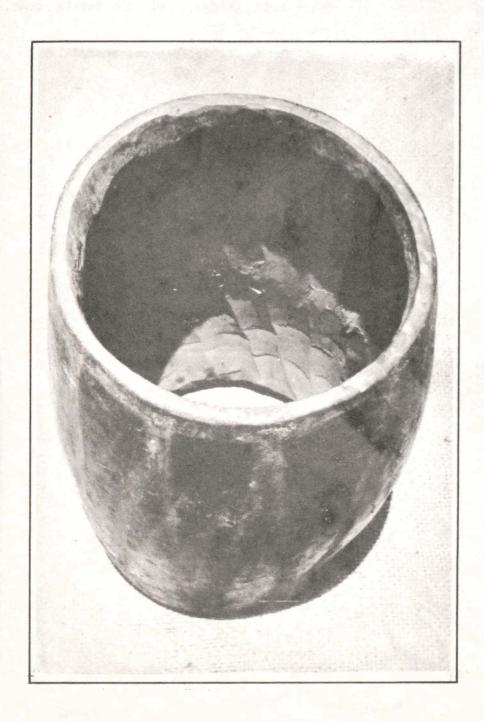
The $n\bar{a}ykh\tilde{\imath}$ is made from a hollowed tree trunk. Its shape varies considerably from cylindrical to barrel shape. One of the two hides carries a tuning paste $(masal\bar{a})$ inside, which lends this skin a deeper sound-quality than the other one. This hide is generally played with a stick $(kachic\bar{a})$, occasionally with the fingertip of the right middle finger, producing a rubbing vibrato sound called $v\tilde{\imath}$ or $kv\tilde{\imath}$. To get this sound clearly, the hide's surface is prepared with resin and the finger wetted by casually putting it into the mouth.

The drum-head producing the lower sound of the two is called $N\bar{a}sa\dot{h}$, the other one $Haim\bar{a}$. The drum is always kept in such a way that the $N\bar{a}sa\dot{h}$ -hide faces upwards. This terminology is peculiar for the $N\bar{a}y$. All the other Newar musicians, even when they play the $n\bar{a}ykh\tilde{i}$ in another context $(navab\bar{a}j\bar{a}, etc.)$, apply the terms in the opposite way. When they store the drums, the high-sounding drum-hide $(N\bar{a}sa\dot{h})$ faces upwards, the deep-

sounding one (Haimā or Mākā) down. If the drum hangs at the wall, the Haimā hide must face either towards the ceiling or towards the closest wall. This method of keeping drums is strictly observed by everybody. The esoteric reason, however, is generally not known.

A German geomantic, Mr. Peter Hess, tested all my Newar drums with his subtle methods (dowsing rod and pendulum). He confirmed that, indeed. extremely low energies of opposite qualities are continuously emitted by The one emitted by the higher-pitched head is the two drum heads. beneficial for human beings, the other one not. Thus the traditional storing method for drums helps to attain a beneficial atmosphere. of Yet, the Nay are employing the converse method storing The reason for this remains obscure. We are guessing, however that there may be a direct connection between this deliberate unleashing of destructive energies with the drum, and with professional the occupation of the butchers as experts in killing and slaughtering.

Bhaktapur's drum-maker, $\acute{S}r\bar{\imath}$ Bil Bahadur Kulu, demonstrated the construction of the two $n\bar{a}ykh\tilde{\imath}$ hides. The following photo series illustrates this hand-breaking process.



gvaḥ (body of the drum) made of cāsī or jhvāle cvābva wood (diameter at both ends: 19 cm)

Tools of the Kulu_

1st row (left to right) : $N\bar{a}sah$ -hide ($ch\tilde{e}gu$), of the cow, with ring

(pvatā)

Haimā-hide (chegu), of the female goat,

with ring (pvatā)

flat stone (1vahã) for tool sharpening

2nd row : stone hammer (1vahā)

flat bamboo piece (benā)

hole piercing awl (pvāḥ khanegu ācā)

blade (lapi)

flat awl (gvaḥgu ācā)

pliers (chālicā)

3rd row : leather string $(t\tilde{a} b\tilde{a}l\tilde{a})$

cotton string (kākhipaḥ)

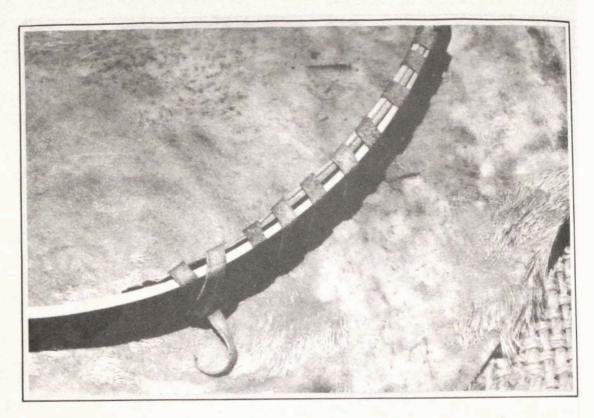
water pot (karuvā)





Cutting the wetted ${\it Haim\bar{a}}{\it -hide}$ into shape $({\it c\bar{a}h}\ 1{\it akegu}\ {\it or}\ c\bar{\it ah}\ utig\~ekegu)$

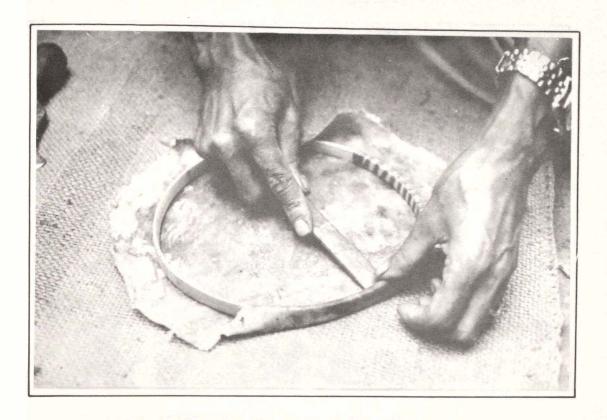




Binding the cane ring $(pvat\bar{a})$ with a leather string $(pvat\bar{a})$ $c\bar{s}gu)$

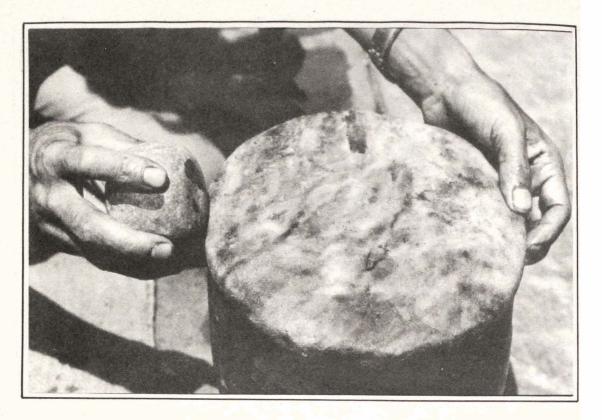
Cleaning the Haimā-hide (chēgu) with the blade (chēgu pīgu or chēgu svigu)





Jacketing the pvatā with the help of the benā (pvatā tulegu)





Fitting the Haimā--hide on to the drum (Haimā jukegu)

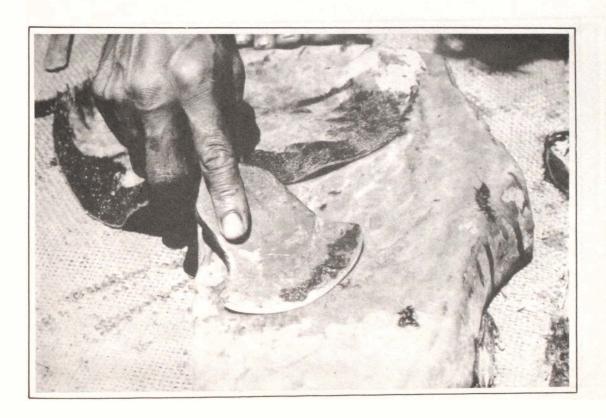
Cutting the wetted Nāsaḥ-hide into shape (cāḥ lakegu or cāḥ utigẽkegu)





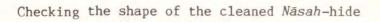
Cleaning the Nāsaḥ-hide (chēgu pīgu or chēgu svigu)







Cleaning the Nāsaḥ-hide (chēgu pīgu or chēgu svigu)



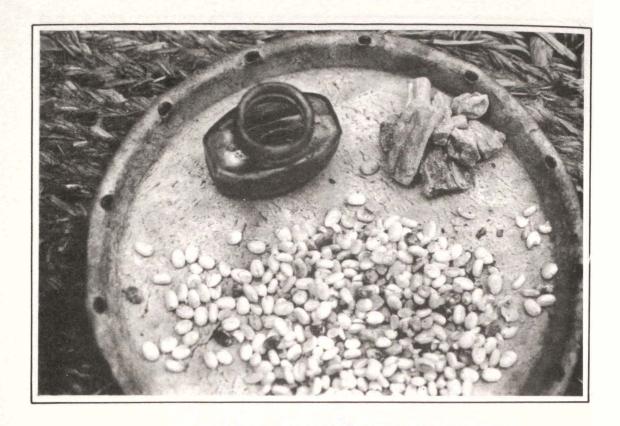




Wetting the Nāsaḥ-hide (chēgu phvaygu) for jacketing

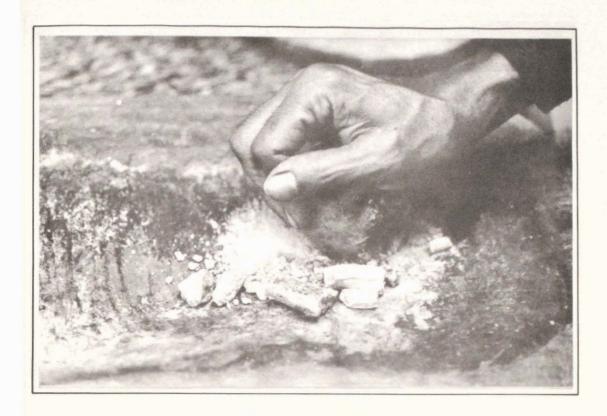






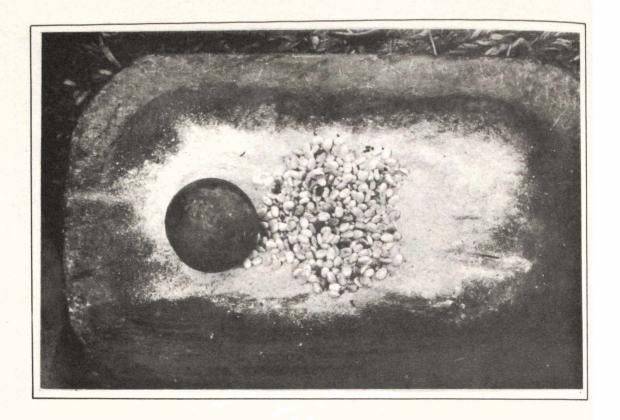
The three components of the tuning-paste (masalā): mustard oil (cikã), resin from the sāl tree (sāl dhūp), and castor-seeds (alapu)



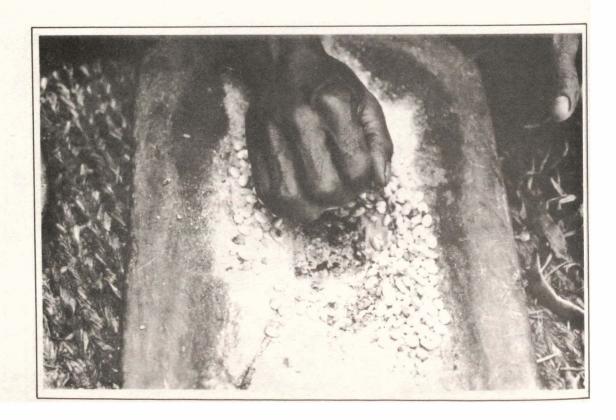


Crushing and grinding the resin $(s\bar{a}1\ dh\bar{u}p)$ with the help of a round stone $(1vah\tilde{a})$





Crushing and grinding the castor-seeds (alapu)





Adding the mustard oil (cikã)



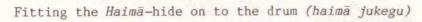


Mixing the three components throughly, until the $\mathit{masal\bar{a}}$ becomes sticky and glutinous





Putting the masalā-paste on the Nāsaḥ-hide (masalā taygu or masalā ilegu)





Tying both the drum hides (nikhě kākegu) with string





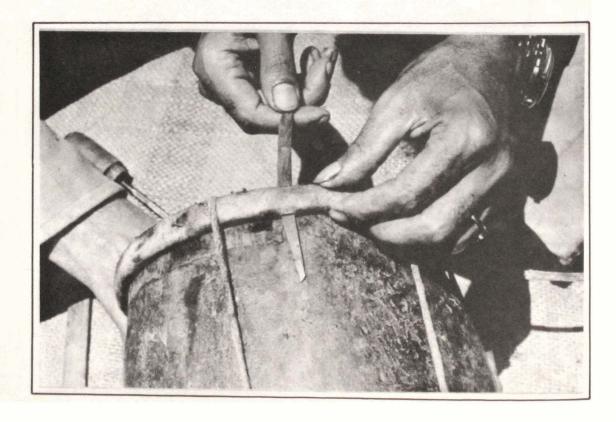
Tying both the drum hides (nikhẽ kākegu)

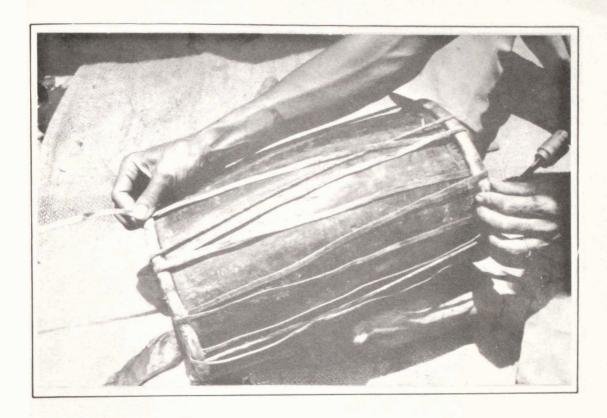
Tightening the string with the help of the toe (tutî $k\bar{a}k\bar{a}h$ $t\bar{a}ygu$)





Piercing twelve holes $(pv\bar{a}h, khanegu)$ and putting the leather strap $(t\tilde{a} \ b\bar{a}l\bar{a})$ through them one by one





Connecting the two $pvat\bar{a}$ with the leather strap ($pvat\bar{a}$ $kvak\bar{a}ygu$) and balancing the tension

Piercing the remaining holes and putting the strap through them $(pv\bar{a}h, khan\bar{a}h, t\tilde{a}, tay\bar{a}h, cv\tilde{a}gu)$

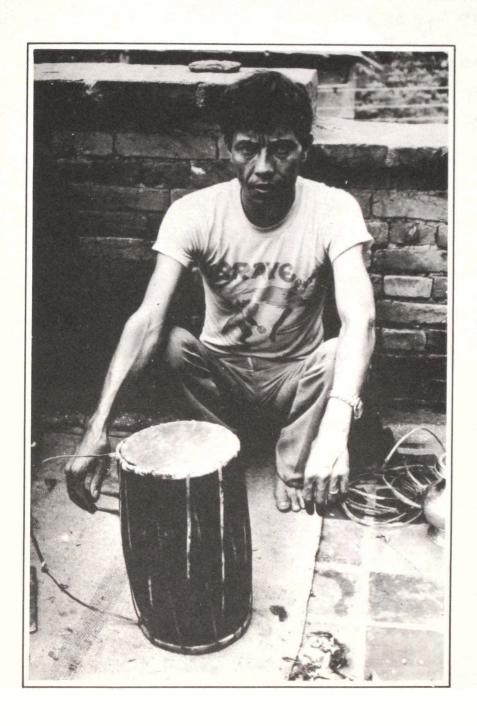




Levelling the drum-hides with the hammer ($c\bar{a}h$ matha vakugu) and tightening the strap ($t\tilde{a}$ sahgu)



The work is complete. The $n\bar{a}ykh\tilde{\imath}$ is drying in the sun (nibhālay pāḥgu), while the Kulu, Sri Kul Bahadur, is relaxing.



During the working process the *Kulu* has to use his feet to support the drum, which the gods, who are invoked through the music, might take as an offence. So, an excuse $p\bar{u}j\bar{a}$ (chemā $p\bar{u}j\bar{a}$) is still performed by some drum-makers after the completion of their work. The $p\bar{u}j\bar{a}$ requirements are usually supplied by the customer.

Śrł Bil Bahadur does this only for the sole $dyahkh\tilde{i}$ existing in Bhaktapur, the drum of the $Navadurg\bar{a}$. This most sacred instrument has to be repaired every year on the day of $Gane\acute{s}$ cauth \tilde{i} , before Indra jatra (August/September). It requires a $M\tilde{a}k\bar{a}$ -hide of the female $y\bar{a}k$ and a $N\bar{a}sah$ -hide of the cow. For this job, the Kulu gets annually 10 $kuruv\bar{a}$ of rice. Until about a decade ago, the $Navadurg\bar{a}$ supplied him with a chicken for the performance of the $chem\bar{a}$ $p\bar{u}j\bar{a}$, and invited him for a meal $(samay\ baji)$. Those generous days are gone. Nowdays the Kulu does the $p\bar{u}j\bar{a}$ on his own behalf. He offers an egg to the $Navadurg\bar{a}$ to avoid their divine displeasure.

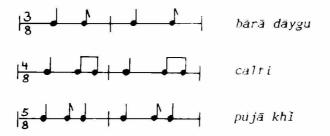
The playing techniques of sichyāḥ and nāykhĩ



The sichyāḥ-cymbals supply the typical shallow brass-sound for nāykhībaja. The player holds them loosely to facilitate a long and only partly dampened vibration. To produce the desired sound quality, he has to lift the outer fingers of his hands, and strike the cymbals gently in a swaying manner, with the right hand moving up and the left hand down. With this playing technique the untimely breaking of the precious instruments can be avoided.

The art of sichyah-making is extinct in Kathmandu Valley. Occasionally, copies with an inferior sound quality reach the local markets in Kathmandu and Patan.

The patterns played with sichyäh are:



The sichyāh player has to support the nāykhĩ drummer, and has to adjust his strokes accordingly. To do this effectively, he has to know the compositions as well as the drummer. He even has to sense the change of a pattern, before it actually happens. This cannot be described in words. It can only be taught practically.

When played by the $N\bar{a}y$, the $n\bar{a}ykh\tilde{\imath}$ produces six different sounds, four single sounds and two combination sounds:

- pā The Haimā hide (higher pitch) is approached by the flat left hand, with slightly spread, but relaxed fingers.
 Occassionally, pa indicates a very soft pā.
- The right hand holds the stick loosely between index finger and thumb, and strikes at the center of the Nāsaḥ hide (lower pitch, with masalā inside), which throws the stick back. Occasionally, da indicates a very soft dã. In rapid successions, dã can be replaced by na, offering an easier pronunciation.
- thu The stick is locked with the palm. It strikes at the center and dampens the Nāsaḥ hide instantly.
- The rapidly moistened middle finger of the right hand is supported by the thumb and rubs with its tip across the Nāsaḥ hide. The forearm with the extended thumb 'shoves' the middle finger ahead. If the sound is not produced, the hide needs rubbing with resin and breathing over a few times.
- $kv\tilde{i}$ a combination of $p\bar{a}$ and $v\tilde{i}$
- dhã a combination of $p\bar{a}$ and $d\tilde{a}$

It is astonishing that the $N\bar{a}y$ do not employ a system of drumming syllables as a memorizing aid. Only $s\bar{i}b\bar{a}j\bar{a}$ is transmitted with the help of syllables. But there are so many, that they veil the composition, rather than revealing the structure of the piece. This seems to be an attempt to make the piece inaccessible to the uninitiated.

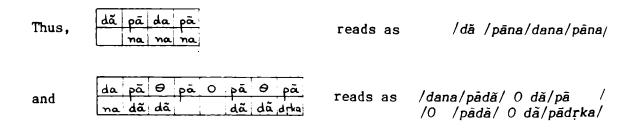
When Kājīlāl started to teach me the first piece, $p\bar{u}j\bar{a}$ $kh\bar{i}$, he tried to invent a few syllables, which did not correspond at all with the beats. Finally, I had to invent a system of syllables, based on those which are already used in the $navab\bar{a}j\bar{a}$ —and $g\bar{u}l\bar{a}b\bar{a}j\bar{a}$ —repertoire of $n\bar{a}ykh\bar{i}$. With this system it was possible to note down the compositions and at the same time convey the actual sounds of the drum and the related playing techniques.

In our teaching sessions, Kājīlāl kept playing the pieces over and over again, until I was able to copy him to his satisfaction. As he remembers compositions as a whole and not as a chain consisting of different segments, it was impossible for him to repeat a certain pattern slowly for the sake of grasping it easily. He had to play the complete piece again from the beginning and at full speed. longer compositions, i.e. calti and sībājā, this method can be very The only solution is complete concentration. As I was time-consuming. able to play nāykhī before this apprenticeship started, alreadv Kājīlāl's habit of always playing at full speed could not discourage me. But for a new drumming student, the lack of a proper teaching method based on drumming syllables, must be a major obstacle. However, the inability to isolate a pattern from the organic whole of a complex piece, seems to be common with quite a few Newar drummers.

The notation

The nāykhībājā repertoire is presented here in two different systems of notation, i.e. Western staff notation, which gives a clear and rather abstract picture of the anatomy of the music, and an oriental notation of drumming syllables, which allows the reader to imitate the sounds of the drum with his own voice; just like any Newar player would do while memorizing his repertoire. This oriental system of notation is a modified version of the one developed by Nikhil Ghosh (1968). It can be applied for any kind of Newar drumming (see Wegner 1986), and allows the reader to read the drumming syllables with exact rhythm.

The drumming syllables are written in a system of boxes indicating the time measurement which is called $m\bar{a}tr\bar{a}$ in Indian music theory. Each box is divided into two by a horizontal line. If there is only one beat per $m\bar{a}tr\bar{a}$, the syllable is written into the upper box. If there is a $m\bar{a}tr\bar{a}$ without a beat, the sign 0 stands for a sounding rest. If there is a half $m\bar{a}tr\bar{a}$ rest, the sign 0 is applied.



The pair of brackets { } indicates that the part included has to be repeated. A number above the closing bracket shows how many times that part is to be played. Sometimes, instead of a number, the expression ad lib. (shortcut from Latin ad libitum) leaves it up to the player, how many times to repeat.

 reader to the line where the repetition starts. does not mean an interruption of the playing. The line below the arrow has to follow immediately.

A small, wave-like arrow above the syllable $kv\tilde{i}$ indicates the change of the pitch (up and down) caused by the middle finger rubbing across the $N\bar{a}sah$ -hide.

Usually, every three or four mātrā a vertical line connects all the systems of a page. These divisions follow the cycle of sichyāḥ, which keeps repeating every three or four mātrā.

In the Western staff notation, only the upper, middle, and lower line are used.

lower line : dã, da, na (undampened Nāsaḥ-hide)

middle line : thu, vî (dampened Nāsaḥ-hide)

upper line : pā, pa (Haimā-hide)

One quaver corresponds with one $m\bar{a}tr\bar{a}$ of the oriental notation. The bar-lines frame one cycle of $sichy\bar{a}h$.

The repertoire

The $n\bar{a}ykh\tilde{i}b\bar{a}j\bar{a}$ repertoire is comparatively small but excellent. It covers a wider range of expression than any other processional music and fulfils the demands of the various rituals very well. Even the more elementary pieces $p\bar{u}j\bar{a}$ $kh\tilde{i}$, $b\bar{a}r\bar{a}$ $d\bar{a}ygu$, $b\bar{a}re$ $kh\tilde{i}$, reveal the touch of the masters who conceived these patterns. Without exception the origin of the pieces is ancient and original Newar.

There is not a single reminiscence of any other musical style or The naykhibaja repertoire remained untouched and unique, influence. which is quite unusual, as most of the other forms of Newar music frequently borrow from each other's repertoire. It is exceptional versatility, as for instance, Bhāju Ganesh Bahadur Sijakhva from Yāchē plays dhimay and dhā in processions, lālākhī with his dāphāgroup, and sichyāh with the navabājā. Naturally, all these different forms meet in his mind, and he may feel tempted to transfer an appealing pattern from one drum to the other, - which he actually did (see Wegner But being a Jyāpu implies that the nāykhībājā repertoire is 1986). inaccessible. Musicians of other castes never mix with the Nay to the extent of becoming acquainted with their music, and vice versa. Besides, the ominous reputation of $s\bar{i}b\bar{a}j\bar{a}$ is quite a repellent to any outsider's curiosity.

SĪBĀJĀ

Sībājā, the death music, has been conceived to accompany the deceased from their houses to the respective burning place (i.e. Bramayānī ghāt, Hanumān ghāt, Cupĩ ghät). It closely corresponds with the different stages of the processional route. Significantly, new patterns emerge at localities related to the other-world, the realm of the departed souls. Furthermore, the emotional impact of the music irresistably links minds of the participants with the beyond, transports them into abysmal sadness, confronts them with eternity. This goes far beyond an aweinspiring aesthetic experience. Ιt literally kills everyday consciousness. Pure void permeating existence.

Sībājā is structured into the following sequences:

ABC

ABDE

A B

ADF

Each section - symbolized by a capital letter - is repeated as many times as is required to reach the next locality indicating a change to the following pattern.

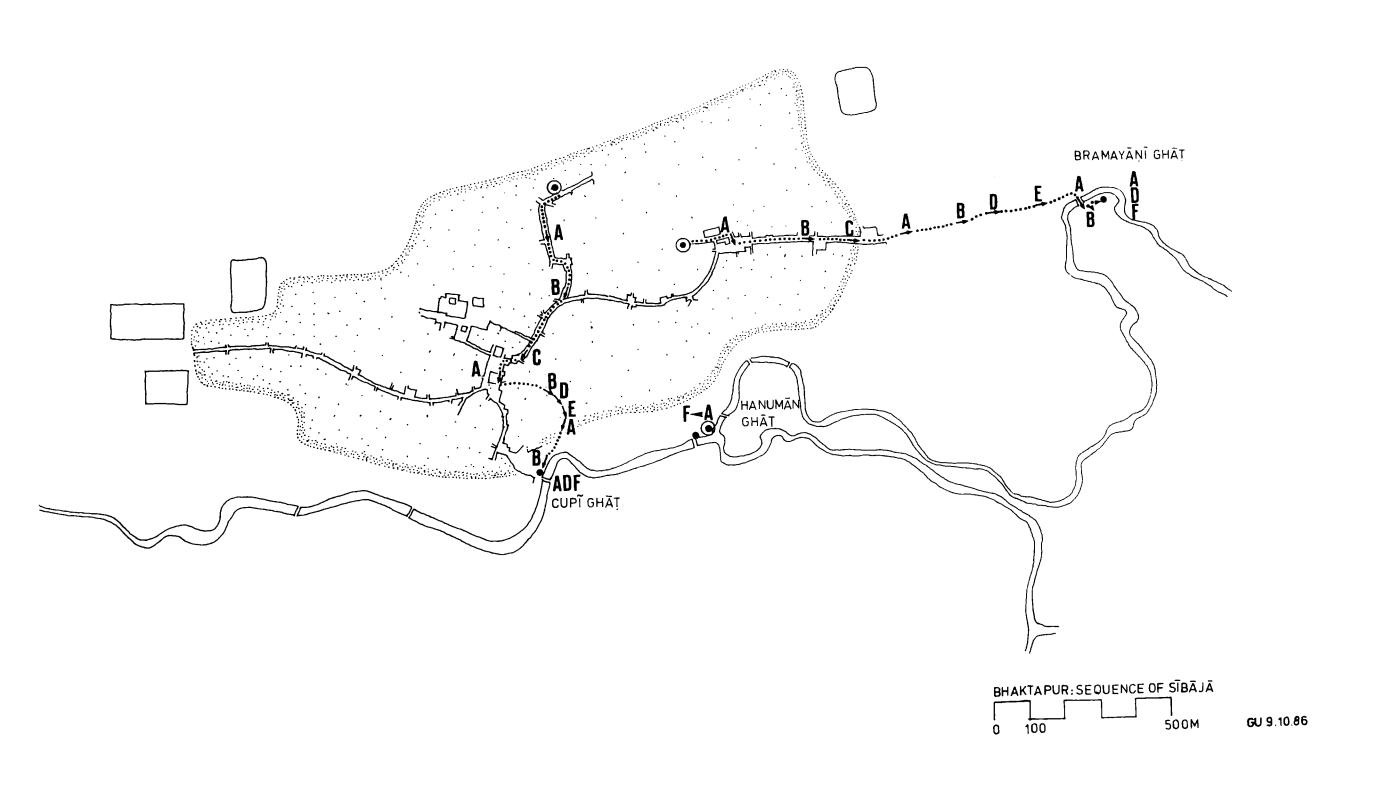
- A is set in a slow, hesitant 3- beat metre giving a suitable pace to the procession.
- B starts with a lively 4-beat metre which dies abruptly in a series of wails, produced by the rubbing sound kvi.
- C returns to the 3-beat metre of A, now intensified by continuous wails.
- D (derived from cvaykegu and set in 4 mātrā), exhausts itself in hectic monotony.
- E picks up again the slow 3-beat metre of A and C and employs mainly soft, whispering, lifeless strokes of the left hand.
- F is called diyegu and is applied as a standard stopping phrase in sībājā, cvaykegu, and pūjā khĩ. With its odd metre it effectively cuts off the preceding pattern.

The following chart shows the relationship of the $s\bar{i}b\bar{a}j\bar{a}$ -patterns with the localities passed by the death-processions. All the processions develop along completely parallel lines (see map 2, p.59).

The relationship of the $s\bar{t}b\bar{a}j\bar{a}$ -patterns with the localities passed by the death-processions

pattern	procession heading for Cupî ghāṭ	procession heading for Bramayanî ghat		
A	from the house up to Cvache chvāsaḥ (major street crossing)	from the house up to Dattātreya chvāsaḥ (major street crossing)		
В	up to <i>Sukul dhvakā</i> chvāsaḥ (major street crossing)	up to <i>Sujamādhi chvāsaḥ</i> (major street crossing)		
С	up to <i>Kvachē chvāsaḥ</i> (major street crossing)	up to the foundation stones of Bhaktapur's ancient town gate (the town ends here)		
A	up to <i>Calāku chvāsaḥ</i> (major street crossing)	up to <i>Khyaḥ pvukhu</i> , a pond serving as a bottom-wash. after obeying nature's call		
В	up to <i>Durgā pīṭh</i>	up to <i>Dyaḥ Ilãcā Gaṇeś</i> plṭh		
D	up to the lane leading to Badrakālī pīṭh	up to Bramayāṇī khyaḥ, burying site for infants (mimapvumā mācā)		
E	passing this road crossing	up to the path leading down to the river bank (Bramayāṇī ghāṭ kvahã vānegu lãcã)		
A	up to sītātāpvucā-bridge	crossing the Bramayāṇī-bridge		
В	up to the path leading down to the funeral site; the nāykhĩbājā group stops here	up to Bramayāṇī pīṭh; the nāykhĩbājā group stops at the Southeastern corner of the pṛṭh		
A	water and offers water to to chases the evil spirits a	way with his performance of <i>pret</i> ted again, and the procession e three timess. The body is laid		
D	The eldest son of the deceased starts the fire by putting the straw torch at the head of the corpse.			
F	The music stops. The relat guth1 members watch the bod	ives wait at the $phalicar{a}$. A few y turning into ashes.		

Finally some ashes are carried into the river with a bunch of straw. The procession returns without music.



Bhaktapur

map 2

The sequence of $s\bar{l}b\bar{a}j\bar{a}$ (A-F) accompanying the $N\bar{a}y$ death processions to the three cremation sites at $Bramay\bar{a}n\bar{i}$ $gh\bar{a}t$, $Hanum\bar{a}n$ $gh\bar{a}t$, and $Cup\tilde{i}$ $gh\bar{a}t$. Depending on the location of the deceased's house, the procession ends either at $Bramay\bar{a}n\bar{i}$ or at $Cup\tilde{i}$ $gh\bar{a}t$. If a person wishes to await his death at $Hanum\bar{a}n$ $gh\bar{a}t$, he is carried there.

Seven days later follows the ritual of nhenumā biyegu. The Jugi receives an offering of rice, dal, egg, dried fish, and peabread, and performs a $p\bar{u}j\bar{a}$ for the soul of the deceased at the door of his (the Jugi's) home. At midnight a meal is offered to the deceased by his relatives and put on the Kumār stone in front of their house. The dogs come and devastate the offering. Their barking is the sign to pick up the remnants and throw them into the river.

After ten days follows the purification rite $d\tilde{u}$ by $\tilde{e}kegu$, in which the $s\tilde{\imath}b\tilde{a}j\tilde{a}$ -players participate. It includes shaving, nail-cutting, bathing in the river, drying the body at a straw fire, and receiving sacred water which is sprinkled thrice over the head by the ritual specialist (either a $Bajr\bar{a}ch\bar{a}rya$ or Khusah).

After thirteen (or forty-five) days a $\acute{s}raddh\bar{a}$ is performed by a \it{Khusah} from Patan. All participants of the procession are served an elaborate meal, which is the reward for the musicians.

CVAYKEGU

This piece employs only two short and similar patterns. With their hectic monotony they immediately catch everybody's attention, which is exactly the purpose of *cvaykegu* (announcing). The piece ends with *diyegu*.

DYAHLHĀYGU

Serving as an invocation of $N\bar{a}sa\dot{h}dya\dot{h}$ and other gods, this piece is played at the beginning and end of every performance of $n\bar{a}ykh\tilde{i}b\bar{a}j\bar{a}$, except $s\tilde{i}b\bar{a}j\bar{a}$. $Dya\dot{h}lh\bar{a}ygu$ is structured

A A B

C C B

D D B

PŪJĀ KHĨ

This piece employs two alternating patterns set in the rare five beat metre. It signals: 'Approaching the place of ritual action' and ends with diyegu.

BĀRĀ DĀYGU

Setting a slow and festive pace, this piece signals: 'Returning from a ritual event'.

BĀRE KHĨ

Starting with a rather pompous phrase, this piece sets a slow and subdued pace for the Buddhist processions, where it accompanies the Dipākara Buddha from Kvāthādau.

CALTI

This delightful piece accumulates a multitude of enjoyable rhythms, which are organized in small sections. Though notated here in a definite succession, these sections are usually combined on the spot and according to the wish of the drummer. Only the starting section is defined by the slower tempo. This version was taught to me by $Kaj\bar{I}lal$, but whenever he plays the piece in public, he alters it.

Most of the Bhaktapur players are not able to play calti to Kājīlāl's technical standard. They deliberately leave out a few strokes in order to reach the necessary speed. With some players, the piece is not even recognizable. It requires virtuosity and stamina and a superb sense of organization.

Usually the listeners cannot resist the joyful impact of the music. Their bodies start dancing, and they forget themselves. This irresistable effect of calti is gladly intensified with the help of a little aylā (home-made liquor).

Appendix One:
The nāykhībājā-groups
in detail

The nine nāykhībājā groups of Bhaktapur are listed here according to their location from East to West. Information is given about the instruments, players, group members, gods worshipped during the apprenticeship, performances and other duties, and salary.

Jělā nāykhlbājā

Instruments: 1 nāykhĩ, 1 sichyāḥ

Players: Kājilāl Śāhī, Rāmbhakta Śāhī, Buddhilāl Śāhī

Group members: 13 families

Worshipping: Sujamādhi Nāsah, Haimākhyah Haimā

Performances: accompanying all the monthly bau halegu processions during every carhe (boycotted since 1983), accompanying the Dipākara Buddha from Kvāthādau during pañcadān carhe and Māgh sañkrāntī, accompanying the Navadurgā every alternate year during dasaī (aṣṭamī up to bihi), accompanying Bramayānī from her dyaḥchē to Dattātreya square (Bramayānī-jātrā) during bisket, accompanying Ākāśa-Bhairava during Indra-jātrā, meeting the nāyaḥ at the Taleju temple on dasamī morning and accompanying them home, playing sībājā for the 13 families. Reward only for Navadurgā duties.

Lāmugaḥ nāykhībājā

Instruments: 1 nāykhĩ, 1 sichyāḥ

Players: Nhuche Bahādur Śāhī, Ratna Bahādur Śāhī

Group members: 18 families

Worshipping: Tāthu Nāsaḥ and Haimā

Performances: Accompanying Bālkumārī and Kuṭi Pvāka Gaṇeś during their bisket-jātrā through Kvāthādau, accompanying a cow durring gāī-jātrā (only if required), playing during the sīghuṭhī feast at Yvamārī puni, playing sībājā for the 18 families. All the guṭhī-land got lost. No payment.

3) Kvāthědau nāykhībājā

Instruments: 1 nāykhī, 1 sichyāh

Players: Rāmkājī Śāhī, Pūrna Bahādur Śāhī

Group members: 17 families

Worshipping: Tāthu Nāsaḥ and Haimā

Performances: accompanying the monthly bau halegu processions (boycotted since?), meeting the $n\bar{a}yah$ at the Taleju temple on $dasam\bar{s}$ morning and accompanying them home, playing $s\bar{s}b\bar{a}j\bar{a}$ for the 17 families. All the $guth\bar{s}$ -land got lost. No payment.

4) Cvache naykhîbaja

Instruments: 1 nāykhĩ, 1 sichyāh

Players: Ganes Śāhī, Rāmkājī Śāhī, Cirkājī Śāhī

Group members: 5 families

Worshipping: Cvache Nasah and Haima

Performances: accompanying one of the five Dipākara Buddhas on Māgh Sañkrāntī, accompanying Bhairav during all his bisket actions, (whenever he enters or leaves the rāth), including his intercourse with Ajimā, accompanying the bier during Bhājākhācaḥ jātrā, (each player gets 4 pathi rice and 4 pathi beaten rice), accompanying Chumā Gaṇeś on 4th of Baiśākh, accompanying a cow during gāī-jātrā (if required), playing during the sīguṭhī feasts (3 days, pāsā carhe and phāgun puni), playing sībājā for the 5 families. All the sīguṭhī-land got lost. No payment.

Byāsi nāykhībājā

Instruments: 1 nāykhĩ, 1 sichyāḥ

Players: Tulsi Narayan Śahī, Biku Narayan Śahī

Group members: 8 families

Worshipping: Cvache Nasah and Balakhu Haima

Performances: playing at Yaḥsīkhyaḥ during the erection and the felling of the pole on 30th of Cait and 1st of Baiśākh, accompanying Ākāśa Bhairava during Indra jātrā, accompanying the Navadurgā from their dyaḥchē up to Bramayānī pīth during Bhagasiti (boycotted in 1986),

accompanying the Dipākara Buddha during pañcadān carhe and Māgh sañkrāntī, accompanying the Navadurgā during dasaī, playing sībājā for the 8 families. Reward only for the Navadurgā duties (invitation for kuchī bhvē on aṣṭamī).

6) Cāsukhyaḥ nāykhĩbājā

Instruments: 1 nāykhĩ, 1 sichyāḥ

Players: Jītlāl Śāhī, Lāl Bahādur Śāhī, Gyān Bahādur Śāhī (nāyaḥ)

Group members: 2 families

Worshipping: Nāsaḥmana Nāsaḥ and Haimā

Performances: accompanying the $Du\tilde{I}m\bar{a}ju$ during bisket from the Taleju temple to $Mul\tilde{a}ch\tilde{e}$ ($th\tilde{a}ch\tilde{e}$) and to Sukul Dvakha ($Karm\bar{a}c\bar{a}rya$ $agamch\tilde{e}$) and back to Taleju, accompanying the monthly bau halegu processions (boycotted), meeting the $n\bar{a}yah$ at the Taleju temple on $dasam\tilde{\iota}$ morning and accompanying them home, playing $s\tilde{\iota}b\bar{a}j\bar{a}$ for 2 families. Only the $n\bar{a}yah$ receives 30 $p\bar{a}th\tilde{\iota}$ rice and 25 gaj white cloth from the $guth\tilde{\iota}$ $samsth\tilde{a}n$.

7) Tāhāmala nāykhībājā (Bvalāchē nāykhībājā)

Instruments: 1 nāykhĩ, 1 sichyāh

Plavers: Gyan Bahadur Śahī, Kajīlal Śahī, Akīl Bahadur Śahī

Group members: 20 families

Worshipping: Nāsaḥmana Nāsaḥ and Haimā

Performances: accompanying the monthly bau halegu processions (boycotted), playing at Yaḥsīkhyaḥ during the erection and the felling of the pole on 30th of Cait and 1st of Baiśākh, (this duty keeps rotating between Tāhāmala and Byāsi), playing for enjoyment during the Mahākālī/Mahālaksmi-jatra on 2nd of Baiśākh, meeting the nāyaḥ at the Taleju temple on dasamī morning and accompanying them home, playing sībājā for the 20 families.

8) Degamanā nāykhībājā

Instruments: 1 nāykhĩ, 1 sichyāḥ

Players: Nuchelāl Śāhī, Pūrna Bahādur Śāhī

Group members: 18 families

Worshipping: Nāsaḥmana Nāsaḥ and Haimā

Performances: accompanying Bārāhi during bisket (tĩpva-jātrā), accompanying the Ekānta Kumārī from Khaumā up to Balamphu on navamī afternoon, (playing together with one Jugi, who plays mahālī), playing sībājā for the 18 families. The guṭhī saṃsthān offers a meal and 10/= Rs. each.

9) Itāchē nāykhībājā

Instruments: 1 nāykhĩ, 1 sichyāḥ

Players: Candra Bahādur Śāhī, Gaņeś Bahādur Śahī

Group members: 5 families

Worshipping: Nāsaḥmana Nāsaḥ and Haimā

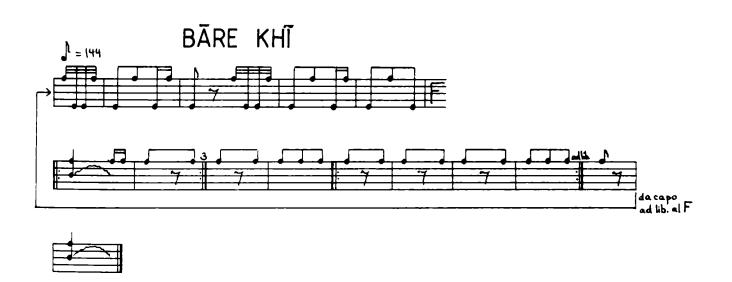
Performances: accompanying Indrāyanī during Indra-jātrā, accompanying Bhairava and Indrāyanī during bisket (boycotted), meeting the nāyah at the Taleju temple on dasamī morning and accompanying them home, playing sībājā for the 5 families.

Appendix Two: Transcriptions



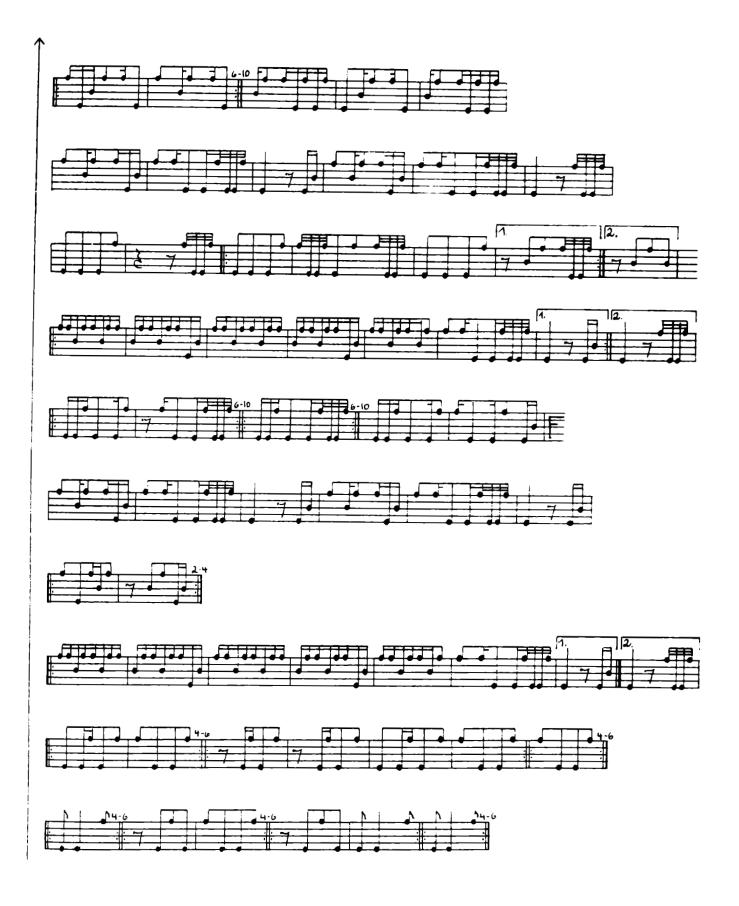


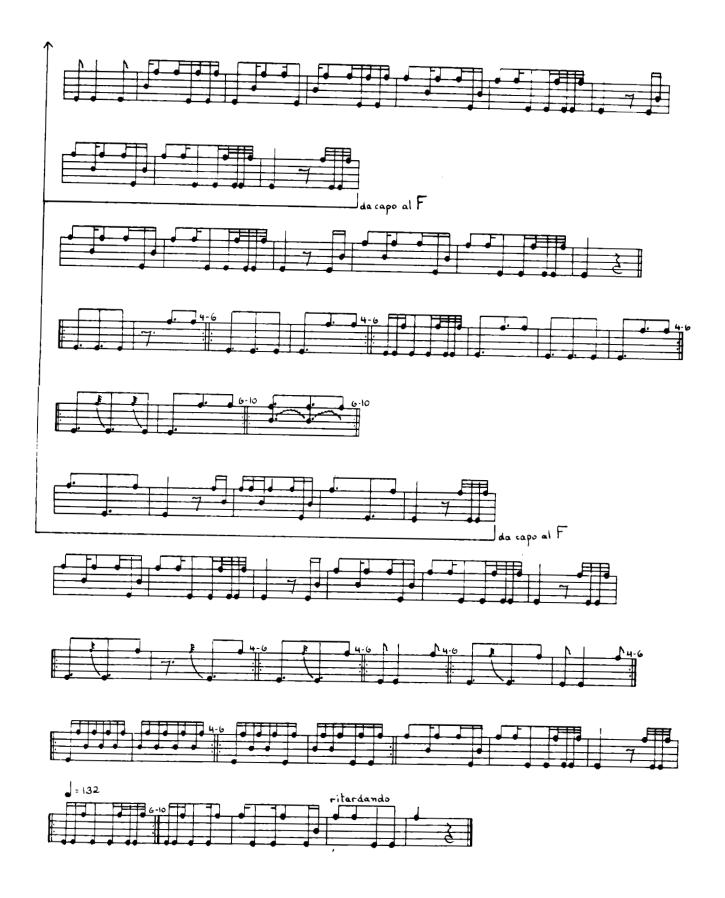


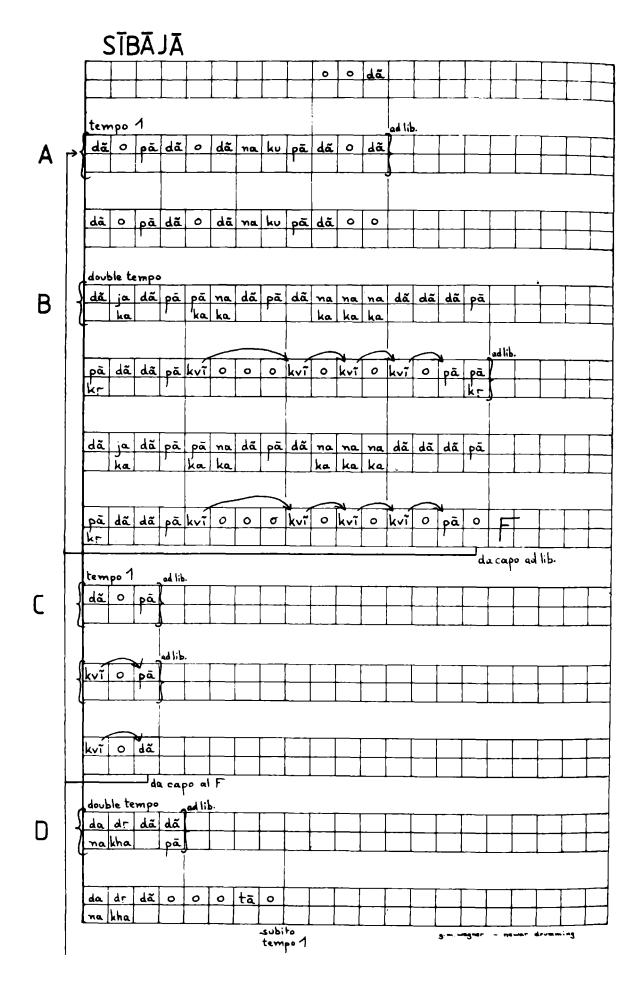


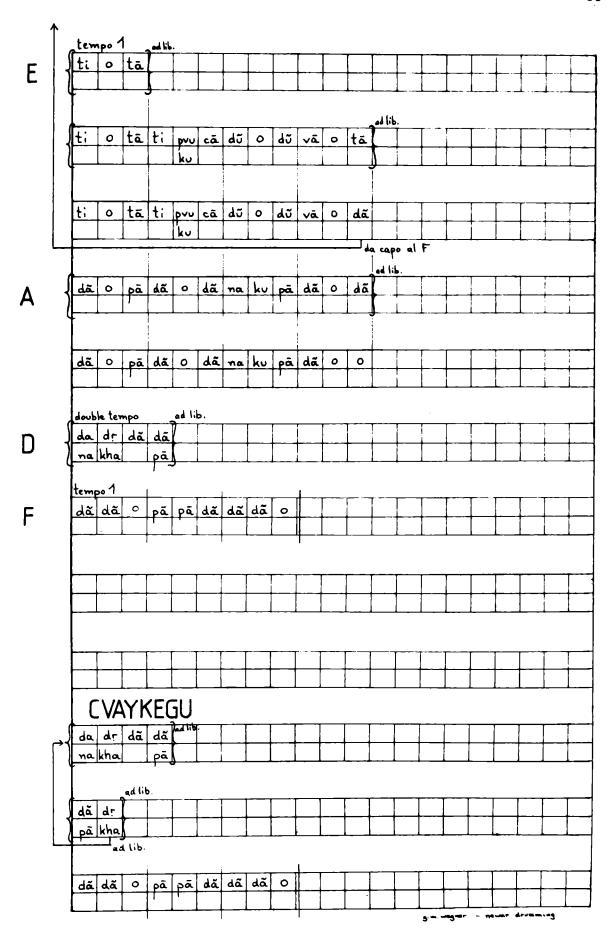




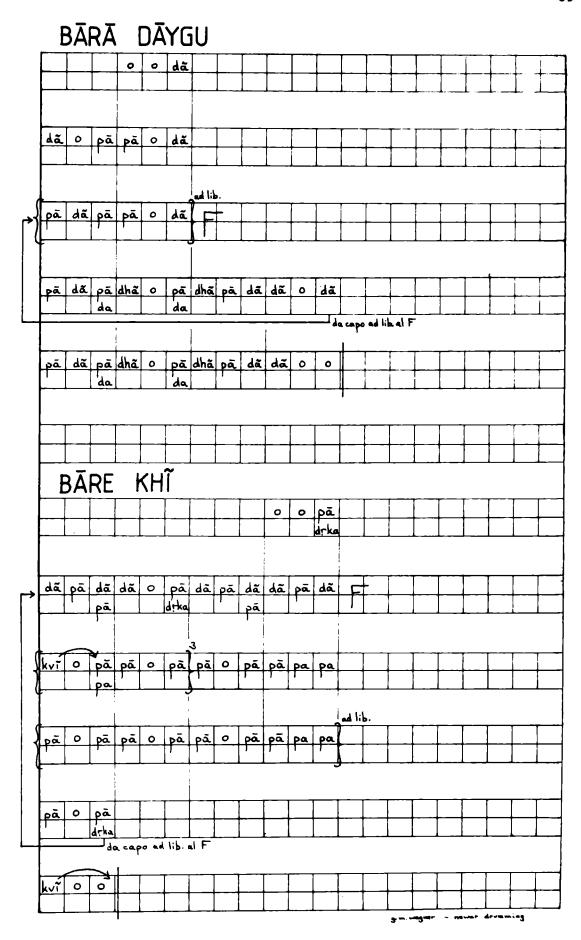




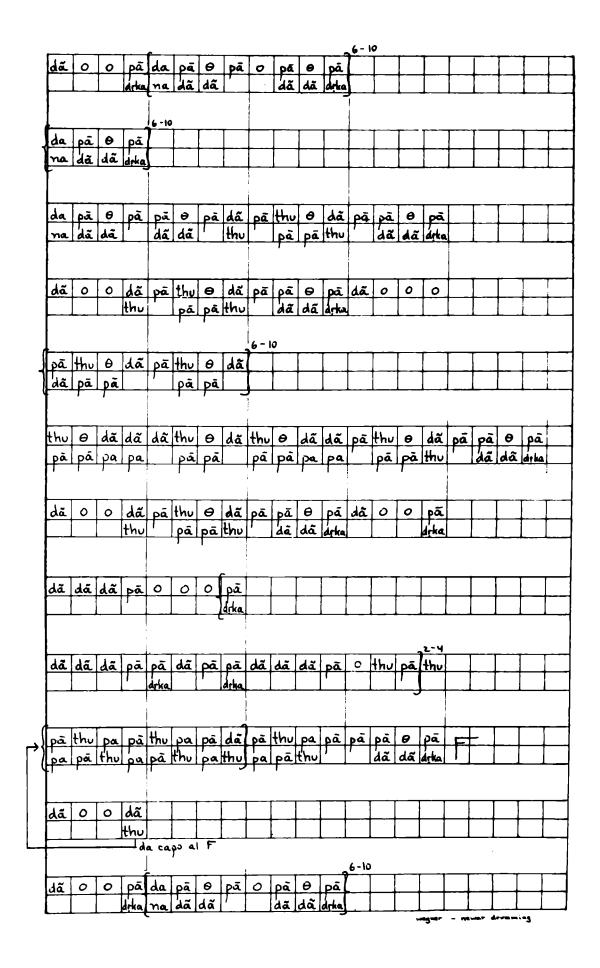


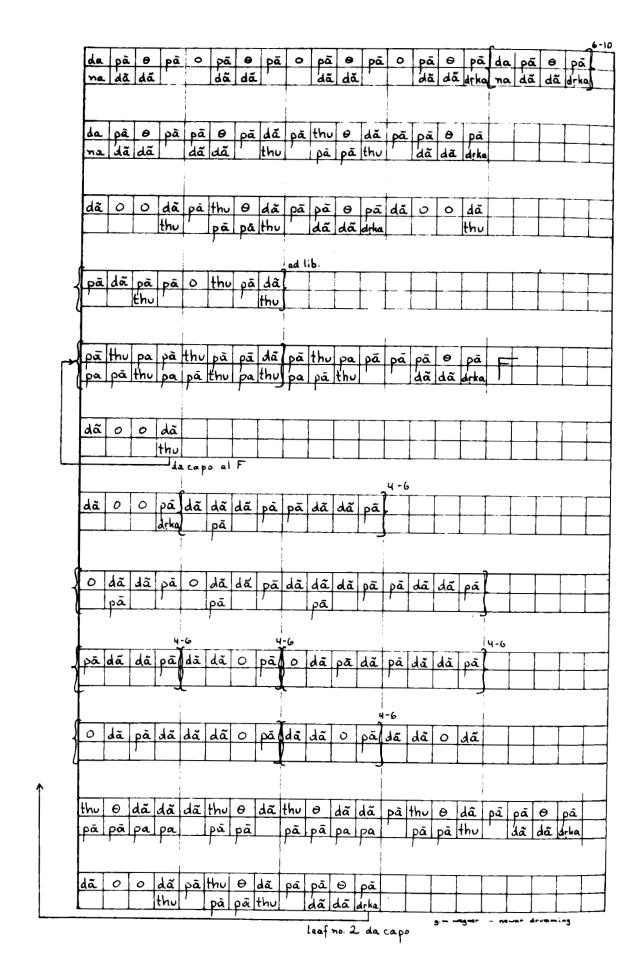


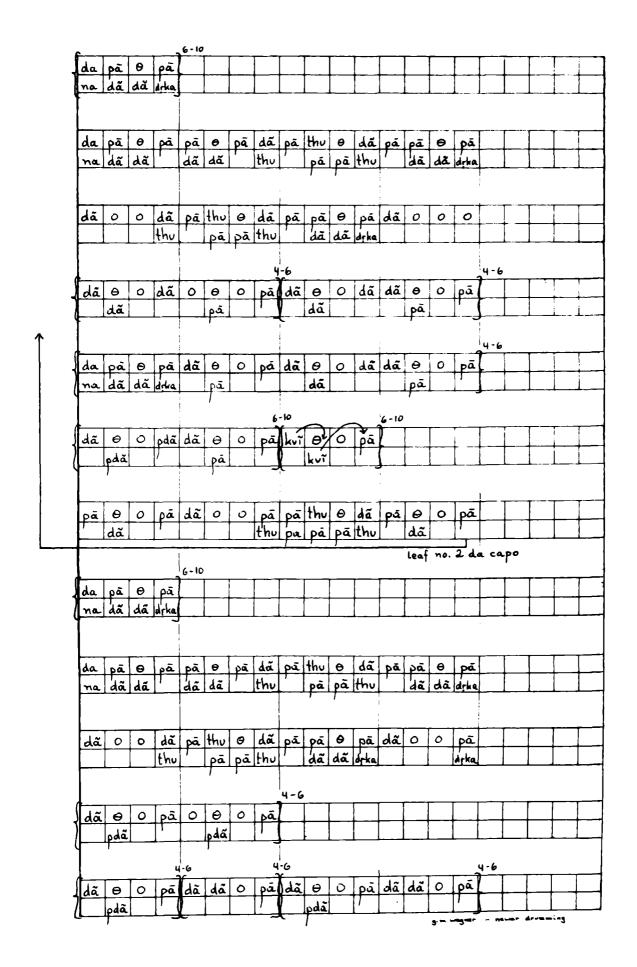
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Appendix Three: Newari version

ख्वपया नाय्खि बाजं

च्विमः- भाजु गेर्ट माथियास् वेग्नर भाय् हिउम्हः- भाजु दरशा नेवािम

न्ह्यत खँः

नेवाःतय् थःगु पहलं बाजं स्यनेगु ज्याय् व थःगु बाजं थायेगु संस्कृति दथ्वी आपालं पानाच्चंगु जक मखु झं झं तापाना वंगु नं सीद्। थ्वं सफुतिं थथे तापानाच्चंगु पहःयात स्वायेगु ज्या यासें ''नाय्'' जातयापि नेवाःतय्सं नेपाःया संगीतया धुकू जायेकाः मेमेपि मनूतय्त बिया वयाच्चंगु देनयात उलेगु कुतः यायेत्यंगु दु। थ्वं सफू जिम्ह गुरू श्री काजिलाल साहीयात द्वहलपा च्वना।

थौंकन्हय् (२०४४) ख्वप देशय् नाय्खि बाजं थाइपि झिखलः दु। तर छुं नं धार्मिक ज्याय् नाय्खि बाजं थाइपिन्त माछिकथं आर्थिक ग्वाहालि जूगु खने मदु। अपो धयाथें नाय्खि बाजं थाइपिन्त मेमेपिसं वास्ता याःगु नं. खने मदु। जातीय दमनया कारणं थ्वं नाय्खि बाजंया कला निहया निहथं क्वाहा वनाच्वगु दु। नाय्बाजा थाइपि "नाय्" त जक जूगुलि नं. थौंकन्हय्या नव युवकपिन्सं थ्वं बाजं स्यनेगु कुतः मयाःगु खः।

वास्तवय् संगीतयात सफूखय् जक लिकुंका तये फैमखु। थ्व अविरल रूपं अभ्यास याना तुं चवने माः। जि थ्व बाजं जिमि गुरू ख्वप जैंलाया श्री काजिलाल साहीपाखें वि.सं. २०४२।४३ सं थायेगु सयेका। अबलेंनिसें हे धायेमाः जि थ्व नाय्धिं बाजं आपालं धार्मिक ज्याय् थायेगु याना। अले पश्चिम जर्मनी, स्वीडेन व फिनलैण्ड थें ज्यागु देशय् तकं थाना क्यना। अनयापि मनूतय्सं थ्व बाजं प्रति अभिरूचि क्यंसें नेपाः प्रति हे उत्सुकता क्यंगु जि वाः चायेका।

सःचि गथे ब्वनेगुः

नाय्रि बाजया बोलि नं मेमेगु थायेगु बाजया चि थें तुं सः चि छ्यलाः थायेज्यू। गुगु DHIMAY BAJA OF BHAKTAPUR (ख्वपया धिमे बाजं) सफूखय् नं न्ह्यथनागु दु। नाय्तसें थाइगु बाजया बोलि पाय्छिकथं पिल्वय्गु ज्या बांलाक जूगु खने मदु। (सी बाजं बाहेक) जि थ्वं सफूखय् नव बाजाया बोलि थें तुं नाय्रिचचायागु बोलि छ्यलागु दु। थुकें ब्विमिपन्त नं नाय्रिखयागु सः पिकायेगुली ग्वाहालि याइ।

थ्व बोलि क्वय् बियातया थें क्वथा क्वथाय् व्यक्त यानातयाग् द् ग्कें शास्त्रीय संगीत कथं ई अथवा मात्रायात संकेत याइ। प्रत्येक क्वथायात ध्वलं निब्ब थला तयागु दु। गनं छगू जक मात्रा दुथाय् छकः जक दायेगु जूसा च्वय्यागु क्वथाय् चि तयेगु। छगू जक मात्रा दी माःथाय् ० (सुन्ना) चि जक तयातयागु दु। गनं बागू जक मात्रा दी माःथाय् ० (सुन्नायात ब्वथलाः) चि तयातयागु द्।

गथेकि इ. पा इ. पा

ब्बनेगु थथे दिं । पान दन पान

व इ पा । पा । पा । पा । पा । म । दे दे दे दक

व्वनेगु थथे हिन पार्दि । दंपा ।

e e पा दं e दं पा दुक

गनं गनं ज्वः ब्राकेट दुषाय् व झ्वः छिसकथं हानं दोहरे यायेमाः। अले गनं गनं ल्याः बियातया कथं प्यकः न्याकः नं दोहरे यायेमाः। अथवा थः यतले नं थायेज्यू।

गनं गनं बोलिया छुं छुं ब्व दोहरे याये माःथाय् Γ ध्व चि बियातयागु दु। ध्व Γ चि बियातयाथाय् तक जक थायेगु वयां क्वय्यागु छघो थाये म्वाः अले छकोलं मेगु बोलि थाःवनेगु।

थ्व चि क्वीं सःवयेके माःथाय् थलाः क्वलाः याना यंकेगु। थ्व दथुपतिचाय् ई भचा कयाः नासः पाखे घोटे यायेग्।

प्रत्येक स्वंगू व प्यंगू मात्रा क्यनेत च्वय् क्वय्या घो तयागु दु। थ्व व्वथलेगु ज्या छिस्याःया आवर्त कथं नं न्ह्याः वनाच्वंग् दु। गुकि स्वंगु अथवा प्यंगु मात्रा दोहरे ज्या च्वनी।

बोलया सःचिः

नायिं बाजंया बोल मेमेग बाजं स्वयाः चीपसां तसकं बालाः। थ्व बाजंया महत्त्व व प्रयोग मेमेगु बाजं स्वयाः आपालं दु अले गुगुं धार्मिक पुजाय् मदयेकं मगाः। उलि जक मखु थ्व नेवाः जाति दुने प्राचीन कालनिसें प्यपुना च्वंगु बाजं खः।

सी बाजं :

ध्व बाजंया जन्म हे सु मन्त धाःसा छें निसें थःथःगु इलाकाया घाट तक यंकेत जूगु खः। (ख्वप देशय् चृपि घाट, ब्रम्हायणी घाट, हनुमान घाट) ध्व बाजंया बोलि सी लंपुया थाय् कथं हिला वनी। ध्व बाजंया बोलि मनूतयेगु आत्मीय संसार नाप हे स्वापू दयाच्वंगु सीदु। ध्व बोलि थायेगु पहः थथे ब्वथला क्यने छि—

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प्रत्येक ब्वयात छगः छगः आखलं क्यनाच्वंगु दु। वहे बोलि दोहरे त्यहरे यानाः थायेमाः । सी लंप्या मेगु थाय् मथ्यंतलें अले विशेष थाय् स्वयाः बोलि हिलावं वनी।

ख्वपय् देशय् सी बाजं क्वय् बियातया कथं स्वथी ज्याय् थायेगु याना वयाच्वंगु दु --

- (१) स् नाय् नेवाः सीबलय् गुथियारतय्सं सःतेगु कोछित धाःसा
- (२) तलेज्या राजोपाध्याय प्रोहित स्वर्गारोहण जइवं नायतयसं स्वडच्छां सन्मान यायेवं
- (३) भगसिति खुनु नवदुर्गाया स्वर्गारोहण जुइवं प्याखं मो फुक सुर्जमाढी मुनाः ब्रम्हायणी पीठय् ख्वाःपाः उइयंकीबलय् शहरपिनेसं लाःगु तुं दुगु च्याम्ह सिंह थ्यनेवं सी बाजं थायेगु चलन द्।

ध्वः सी बाजं स्यनेत विशेष व्यवस्था यायेमाः। सः पिमज्वः गु एकान्तगु कोथा माः छाय्धाः सा ध्व स्यने बलय् पिने च्वंपिन्सं थुकेया बोलि तायेके बी मज्यू। सीम्ह हः गु थें भ्रम जुइयः। अले बिरामी जुयाः सी नं यः। स्यनीम्ह व स्यना काइम्हेसिया जिवय् हे हानी जुइयः। जि ध्व बाजं स्यनाबलय् नं सयेके धुंका तसकं म्हसुख मन्त अले विभुती हयाः झारे यानाः झिनिन्हु दुबलय् तिनि लाल। अकें जिम्ह गुरूं सी बाजं न्ह्यः लाः थाय् थाय्मज्यू धकाः ब्यूगु ख्याचो माने याये हे माल।

च्चयेकेग् :

थ्व निगू चिचिहाकःगु व ज्वःलाःगु बोलि थायेगु याः। थ्व बाजं थायेवं आकाझाकां मनूतय् न्हायुपं तिति स्वानाः आकर्षित ज्इ। थथे जुइगुयात हे च्वयेकेगु धाइ।

द्यो ल्हायेगुः

थ्व नासः द्यो व मेमेपि देव देवतापिनिगु नामं थायेगु याइ। नाय्खि बाजंया न्ह्यागु नं ताल न्ह्याके न्ह्यो व सिधयेका द्यो ल्हायेग् याइ। तर सी बाजं थायेबलय् मखु।

पुजा खिः

थ्व बोली न्यागू मात्रा दु अले निगू निगू मात्रा अतः गानाः थायेमाः। थ्व बाजं थायेवं पुजा वनेग्यात संकेत याई। अले पुजा थासय् थ्यनेवं दियेगु धाइ।

बारा दायेगुः

थ्व धीलां थायेगु बाजं ख:। थ्वो बोर्लि द्योयाथाय् वनाः लिहां वःगुयात संकेत याइ।

बारे खिः

थ्व बोलि क्वाथंदौंया दिपंकर बुद्ध तथागत न्ह्याकेबलय् जक थाई। थ्व नं बारा दायेगु थें धीलां जक थायेगु याः।

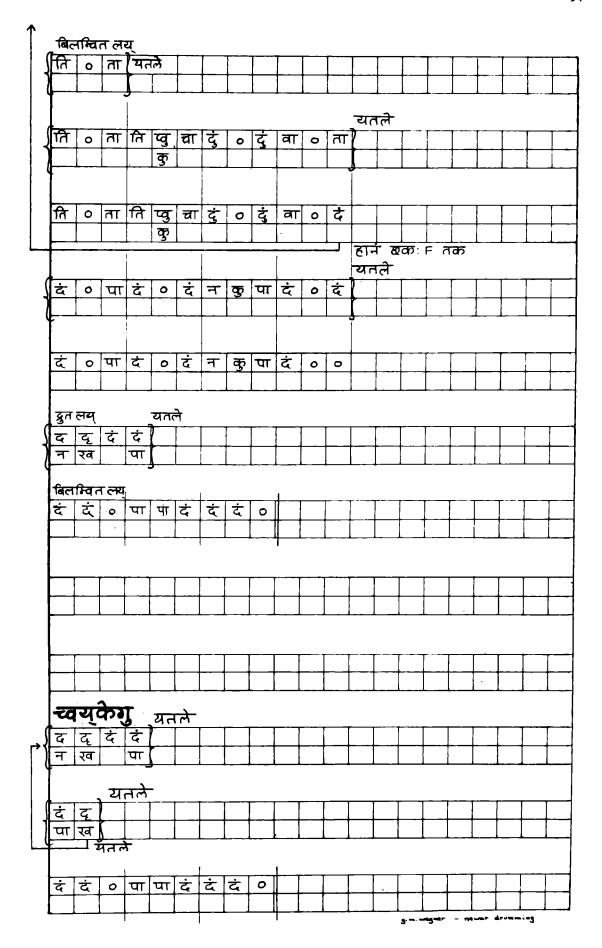
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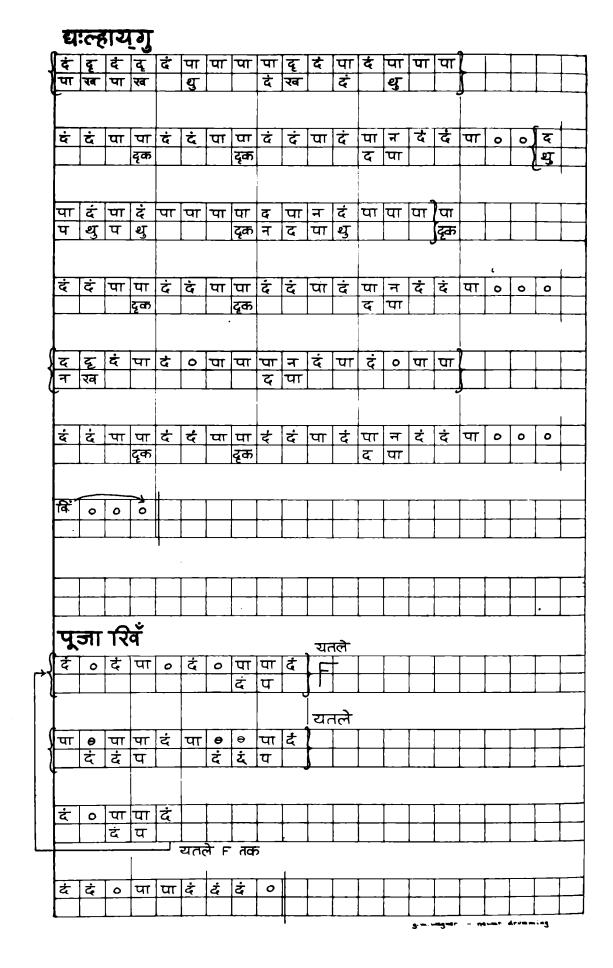
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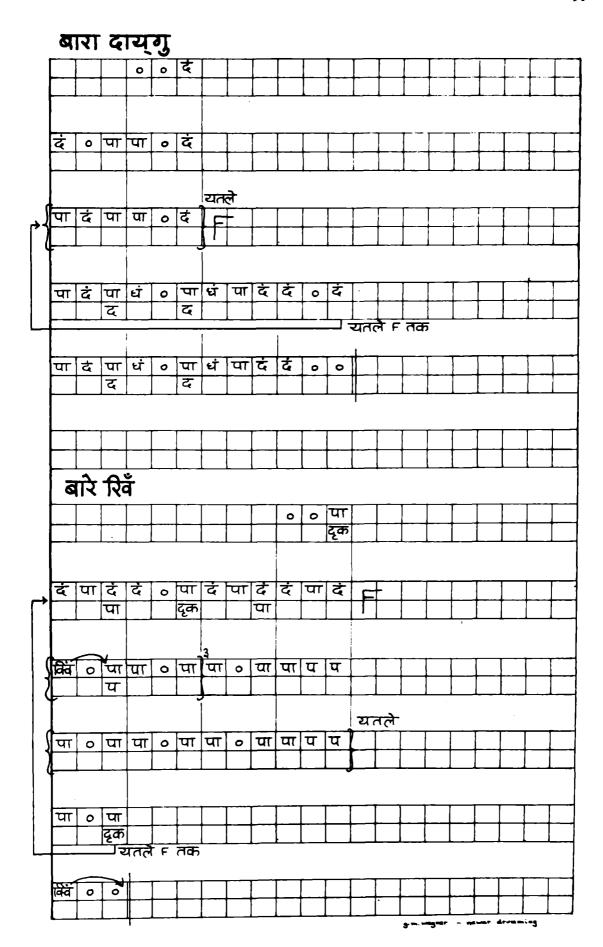
घ्व बोलि थायेवं सक्तिया मनय् न्ह्याद्पुसे च्नी। अले चिनी हाक्येक जक थायेमाः। घ्योम्। अले चिनी हाक्येक जक थायेमाः। घ्योम्। अले चिनी हाक्येक जक थायेमाः। यायेम्। अतः गानाः थायेम्। उत्ति चिना चेल्ता बोलि निर्म क्रियं काजिलालं थे मिपसं क्रियं बाजं यायेमाः। छोतेम्। धाःसा न्ह्याबले छग् हे जक जुड़। ख्वप देश्य् काजिलालं थे मिपसं ब्युकःया बोलि तसकं स्पष्ट जू। नाप नापं थाद्वा व्युकःया बोलि व्युकःया बोलि तसकं याद्वा व्यावः याद्वा व्यावः याद्वा व्यावः यायेम् इयाःमं हं धेग् ज्वले मज् । बाजं थानातं च्योम् अगल्ति व्युकःया कलाय् प्राह्म विष्णता सीद्गु जक मख्रे मुक्ते मज् । बाजं थानातं च्योम् अगला अगला स्वावः व्यावः यायेम् विष्णते याद्वा व्यावः याव्या याद्वा याद

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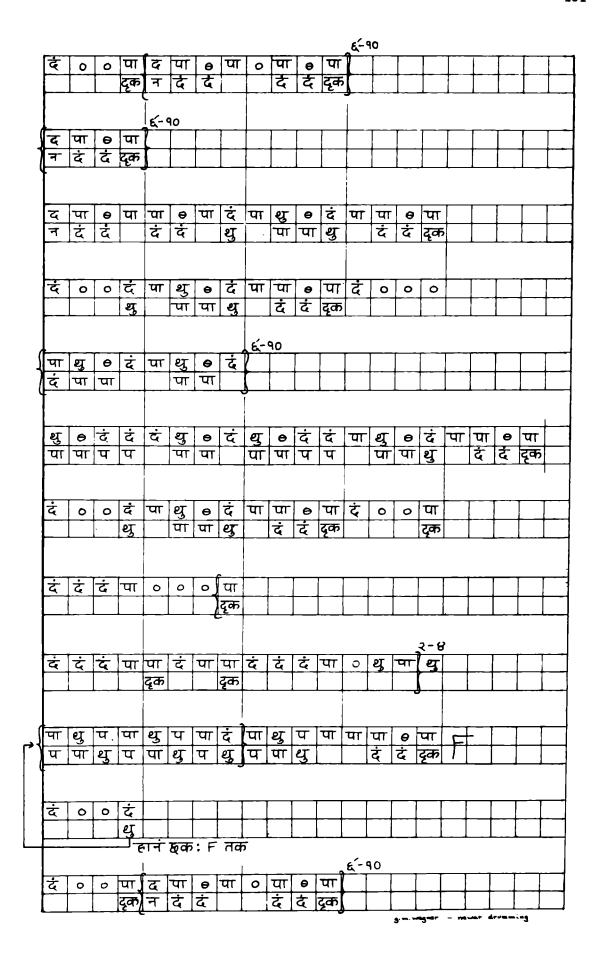




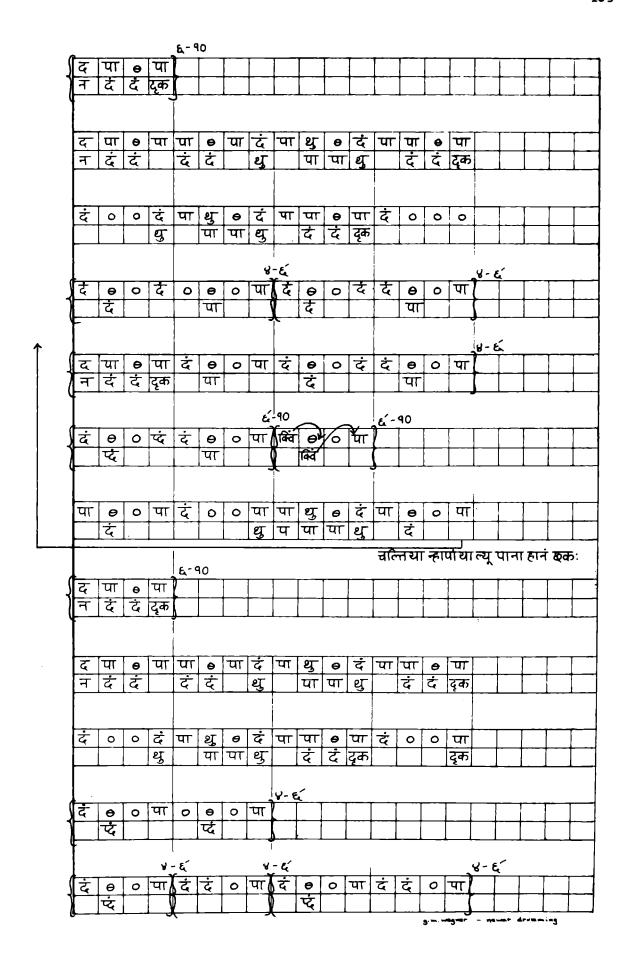


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Glossary

abhīr red powder; a pūjā requisite

ācā awl

āgamchẽ house of the esoteric clan god

Ajimā consort of Bhairava

alapu castor seeds

Arjuna hero from the Mahābhārata

astamī eighth day of the waxing moon

ayl $ar{a}$ liquor $bar{a}jar{a}$ clay pot

Bajrāchārya Buddhist priest

bārā dāygu nāykhĩbājā piece for returning home

bāre khĩ nāykhĩbājā piece for Buddhist processions
bau halegu ritual distribution of rice to evil spirits

benā flat bamboo tool of Kulu

Betāl chaotic spirit connected with Bhairava and Nāsaḥdyaḥ

Bhā funeral bearers' caste

Bhagasiti festival of well-cleaning (May)
Bhairava terrifying aspect of Lord Śiva

bhājākhacāḥ-jātrā part of the bisket-jātrā, Bhaktapur's New Year

festival

bihi blood drinking day of the Navadurgā (dasaī)

Bramayānī one of the astamātrka, the protecting mother

goddesses of Bhaktapur

calti nāykhĩbājā piece

cauthi fourteenth day of the waning moon

 $car{a}s\widetilde{i}$ a tree $char{a}licar{a}$ pliers $char{e}gu$ hide

chemā pūjā excuse pūjā
Chipā dyers' caste

chvāsā a peculiar stone at every street crossing, connected

with the death rites

cikã oil

da drumming syllable

dã ibid.

dabu platform, stage

dāgā battī straw torch with bamboo handle; for funeral dāphā group singing with lālākhĩ accompaniment

dasaĩ autumn festival, beginning of Navadurgā dances

dasamī tenth day of the waxing moon

dhã drumming syllable dhã procession drum

dhābājā ensemble of dhā, bhuchyāḥ, sichyāḥ

dhimay procession drum

dhimaybājā ensemble of dhimay, bhuchyāḥ, sichyāḥ

diyegu stopping phrase of nāykhī pieces

Duff carriers' caste

dũ byếkegu purification rite following a funeral

Dvãcā carriers' caste

dyah god

dyaḥchē house of god

dyaḥkhĩ drum of the Navadurgā

dyaḥlhāygu musical invocation of a god

Kumārī goddess, personified by a girl

gaj 1 gaj = 36 inches

Ganes Siva's son with elephant head, Lord of good luck,

prosperity, happiness, drumming

ghāji nã ritual dress of the Nāy-nāyah

ghāt sacred site at the river banks with steps
guthī social organization for funeral rites, etc.

guthi samsthan roof organization of the guthis

 $g\tilde{u}l\bar{a}$ procession month of the Buddhist groups

guru teacher

guruji ibid. (Hindi)
guruju ibid. (Newari)
gvah body of the drum

gvahgu ācā flat awl

Haimā terrifying aspect of Nāsaḥdyaḥ

Haimādyaḥ ibid.

Indra vedic god

Indrāyanī one of the aṣṭamātṛka

jani belt

jātrā festival

jhvāle cvābva

a tree

Jug1

tailor-musicians' caste

Jyāpu

farmers' caste

kẫ

a long trumpet played by Saymi and Khusah

kachicā

drum stick

kākhipaḥ

cotton string

karuvā

water pot

Kasāī

butchers' caste

kãy

Nāy term for sichyāḥ

kāytā pūjā

initiation ceremony for boys

khã me

sacrificial buffalo for the Navadurgā

Khusah

palanquin bearers' caste

kisali

clay cup with rice and betelnut

Ku1u

drum makers' caste

Kumār

son of Śiva

kuruvā

l kuruva = 2 mānā (approximately 1 litre)

kvĩ

drumming syllable

1ãcã

path

lālākhĩ

a drum used for dapha accompaniment

lapi

blade

1apte

leaf; leaf-plate

1āyaku

Bhaktapur's royal palace

1vahã

stone

Măka

Mahākā1a

masalā

tuning paste

mātrã

time measurement

mu nāyah

the first nāyah

musyã pvāh

torch

na

drumming syllable

Nāsaḥ

Lord of music and dance

Nāsaḥdyaḥ

ibid.

Nāsah sāle pūjā

initial $p\bar{u}j\bar{a}$ of drumming apprenticeship

Navadurgā

protecting gods of Bhaktapur, represented by masks

navabā jā

ensemble of nine drums

navamī

ninth day of the waxing moon

Nāy

butchers' caste

nāyah

• .

leader

nāykhĩ

a drum

nāykhībājā nāykhī and sichyāḥ, played by Nāy

pa drumming syllable

pā ibid.

pāsaḥ carhe cauthī of Cait (April)
phalicā resting place with a roof

phaytā ritual hat

pisāsa evil spirit located at a stone in the Taleju

courtyard

pīth stone representing a god

pūjā ritual offering

pūjā khī drumming piece for pūjā

pvāḥ khanegu ācā hole piercing awl

pvana trumpet played by Saymi and Jyapu

pvatā leather ring

pvukhu pond

Rājopadyāya a Brahman priest

Rānā family name of the prime ministers who ruled Nepal

from 1846 to 1951

 $s\bar{a}1$ dhūp resin from the $s\bar{a}1$ tree

samay baji a ritual hors d'oeuvre preceding bhve, the ritual

feast

Sāymi oilpressers' caste sīguthī funeral organization

sībājā drumming piece for funeral processions

sichyāḥ pair of cymbals śraddha a death rite Śrī Kṛṣṇa Lord Kṛṣṇa tã bālā leather strap

tablā North Indian drum (court music, bhajan)

Taleju principal goddess of Bhaktapur

tāy puffed rice

tāy halegu distributing puffed rice

thu drumming syllable
tisā me a sacrificial buffalo

triyadasī thirteenth day of the waxing moon

vi drumming syllable

vibhūti sacred ashes

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